Audio Production in Youth Work: An international comparative case study between Irish and South African community radio stations.

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Abstract

In this dissertation I examine the potential for audio production in a youth development setting, located within a community radio station. In particular I explore how participation in audio training can offer participants opportunities for reflection, identity building and critical awareness.

I use a case study approach that looks at two Irish studies I conducted at community radio stations in West Clare and Limerick City. I also draw from a period of observation at a community radio station in Cape Town, South Africa.

In my review of the literature I look at conceptions of youth, examine contemporary youth radio practice and explore ideas around identity, 'other', agency and voice. Through working with youth groups I developed a pedagogy that builds from a situation where adult workers and young people co-create audio texts. Resulting from this, I was interested to explore how projects could remain youth-led and sites of agentive practice, while at the same time be learning focused.

I found that pedagogies that were flexible and with a 'product' focus were best suited to developing a richer process where learning could be better facilitated. In addition, through using an 'imagined audience' I found it possible to create a reflective practice.

Declaration of originality

Declaration: I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original research and does not contain the work of any other individual. All sources that have been consulted have been identified and acknowledged in the appropriate way.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In 2013 I was preparing to meet a group of young people to begin a project at Raidio Corca Baiscinn, a community radio station in West Clare. The project came about through outreach work I had done on behalf of the station in Kilrush, a market town, five miles from the studio in Kilkee. I was entering into a partnership with a youth worker to start a project with a group of seven young women aged 12-14 to create a radio show. In researching the experience of other youth radio projects around the world I began my first steps into what would become this research. I found a lively field of academic research drawing from a variety of disciplines. The literature however did not take into account the particularities of the Irish situation nor were there many studies that offered lessons I could use to shape my then, upcoming project. This research is in part written for those who are seeking to begin a project but lack the theory or practical advice to do so. It attempts to bring together a diverse range of theory under the umbrella of media and communications.

My professional journey to this work began as a documentary producer for public service broadcaster RTE. There I produced several short documentaries and this left me with a commitment to producing content with high production values. Later, I took a role as current affairs journalist for a regional commercial youth radio station. I produced a youth daily two-hour show that was branded as youth current affairs. I became disillusioned with the narrow variety of topics and focus on celebrity programming that was pushed as youth-centred. I began to make documentaries for the station and worked with young people as narrators and contributors on topics that were relevant to their lived experience and communities. When I left commercial radio for the community sector I carried my interest in youth programming with me. At community level I became interested in an existing youth show on Raidio Corca Baiscinn where I began to mentor the young volunteers. I found however that the content of this show mirrored closely that which I had left behind on commercial radio. I knew

from my experience of producing documentaries that young people had a lot to say about their worlds from politics to sexual identity, the environment, racism, drugs and other issues relevant to them. My belief was that commercial and public service radio was failing young people in Ireland. I saw in the community sector immense potential for activating socially conscious programming produced by young people. However, I knew little of bridging the gap from producing *for* young people to helping young people become producers of quality products in a youth development setting. How this gap was traversed forms the substantive body of this research.

Youth media is a development activity that uses media as a tool to engage young people in a system of learning. Though not a distinct academic field in itself, there is a body of literature devoted to the study of how best to use applied media in youth development contexts. In general the writings relevant to youth media come from a variety of disciples including education, sociology, geography, cultural theory, psychology and media and communication studies. I drew heavily on writing from these various disciplines and others to build the theoretical framework for this study.

My reading throughout this process has been wide and I have been influenced by scholars from a variety of fields including, communities of practice; Wenger, narrative; Bruner, education; Soep and Chavez, psychology; Larson. In particular I have found the work of Bourdieu, Freire, the New London School, Lather and Buckingham to have been formative in my development as a researcher. The references section contains other scholars whose work has benefitted mine enormously. Together these readings helped to create a patchwork of theory from which I could make a 'home' for this project. In my findings I attempt to add to this theory and show that this research has relevance for those working, or researching, in the community media and youth work fields.

This research involved three fieldwork studies, two in Ireland and one in South Africa, which I detail in Chapter 4. The participants on all three projects were from socially excluded and geographically isolated areas. The first fieldwork

study took place at Raidio Corca Baiscinn (RCB) in West Clare. Here I had the opportunity to study a youth radio project that was operating on model that took participation in the project as its measurement of success. The opportunity to study this model was crucial in providing me with data and observations against which I could measure my later projects. There were variable factors in each fieldwork study that meant that direct comparisons between each was difficult. However in each study there were learning outcomes and a number of key issues occurred in each site, which allowed me to identify a number of cross case findings.

In Chapter 5 I focus on the learning outcomes for participants that emerged during the fieldwork studies. It looks at the accepted goals from the literature and takes a critical approach to how these goals manifested during this research. It goes on to identify and examine previously unexplored areas that add to the theory and practice of the field. The value of a creative approach to the medium and importance of place, role and music in particular, are given careful treatment.

Chapter 6 examines three models of youth radio I observed during the study, including my own. In this chapter I analyse the three approaches identifying strengths and weaknesses in each. In this chapter I detail my own model for working with young people in audio production.

In Chapter 7 I explore audience and how it manifested in the case studies. I show how the use of an 'imagined audience' can help build a reflective practice. In addition I argue that a focus on audience helps improve the process leading towards better developmental outcomes for participants in youth radio projects.

Chapter 8 looks at the implications this research holds for organisations that work with young people, particularly in an Irish context. It steps away from pedagogy and turns its gaze to the structural conditions, which manifest in an underuse of existing resources and I argue that increased partnerships between youth work services and community radio stations could benefit both.

Chapter 9 contains my conclusions, limitations of the study, recommendations for the community and youth sectors and possible directions for future researchers. Here I draw together the strands identified in the preceding chapters and solidify the contribution this research makes to knowledge.

A note on terminology: Throughout I refer to audio and radio projects. I use these terms interchangeably. I do so in recognition that radio is in the process of moving to an online platform. The pedagogies discussed here can equally be applied to situations where there is no fm broadcast.

Chapter 2
Review of the literature

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I explore some of the key areas that are relevant to this research. I begin by looking at the concept of youth itself and show how this is not fixed. I then explore issues around identity, 'other', agency and voice as they are important considerations throughout this study. In the section on youth work I examine the Irish picture in particular I look at 'targeted' projects and how the sector has been transformed by an evidence culture. I then look to youth media scholars and focus on debates around editorial control and teaching media. Finally I review some perspectives on audience and how they relate to this study.

2.2 Youth

A history of 'youth' in Western art and folk culture reveals a somewhat contradictory relationship to this period of life. On the one hand 'youth' is celebrated for its qualities such as strength, beauty, idealism and energy but at the same time is characterised as being feckless, disrespectful and foolish (Gillis, 1981:3). The term 'youth' itself is less than clear, being youthful is seen as an ideal but when this is applied to young people it becomes laden with negative meanings (Jones, 2009:5). It was not until the late industrial revolution that child protection laws and expansions in education saw working class children become distinguished from adults and with that a period of grace in the march of life (Aries 1962:14). Further advances in the welfare and education systems across the West have seen our understanding of, and age that youth applies to, shift. Jones (2009) points out that it is "policy legislation above all else which defines life stages mainly by age" (Jones, 2009:3). This shift is continuous and ongoing. The sociological move to examine youth began to place an emphasis on understanding how young people fit and interact with social structures rather than the psychological approach, which characterises the period as one of psychological instability (Jones 2009:5). This shift has seen the Western conception of youth to be taken as the time between leaving school and becoming an adult by joining the labour market and moving out of home. This

typically includes young people aged 15-24 but as noted, this is a moving parameter.

Anthropologists who have studied transitions of childhood to adulthood in traditional societies note clear rites of passage, which provide opportunities for establishing a strong community bond and help in positive identity formation (Mead 1928). These rites of passage often have full interactions between youth and adults in the community and are shown to help in building relations between generations (Zeldin, Camino, & Larson, 2005). In South Africa many xHosa young men go to 'the bush' to partake in traditional manhood ceremonies but return to their urban environments where this new adult position carries no relevance in the job market place. The absence of such contact between youth and community adults in Western societies manifests itself in negative attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that adults direct toward young people (Zeldin, Camino, & Larson, 2005). Psychological approaches to understanding Western conceptions of youth have proposed stages of development including what Erikson (1968) categories as a 'psychological moratorium' where we are free to explore identity alternatives without the adult commitments. Arnett (2000) notes that the move to a market-orientated society has increased the array of life alternatives for young people (career paths, romantic partners, lifestyle) but the collective support for identity development has decreased. Schwartz, Cote and Arnett (2005) commenting on 'emerging adults' note that those who "address these issues (life choices) in a proactive and agentic manner may be most likely to form a coherent sense of identity that can then be used to guide their life paths" (Schwartz, Cote and Arnett, 2005:203). Cote (2000) describes the situation in which emerging adults can make life choices based on "extensive deliberations" as "developmental individualisation", however Cote also notes how traditional barriers of gender, ethnicity and social class are breaking down to allow greater opportunities in society at large. Taking a historical view back to the industrial revolution this can be seen to be true however it ignores the body of contemporary empirical studies, which clearly demonstrate that access to higher education is still largely out of reach of marginalised young people in Ireland and South Africa (Clancy 2001, Baker 2004, Lynch 2006). Indeed research in Ireland

conducted by McCoy and Smyth (2003) show that despite the abolition of third level fees in 1996, participation in higher education for individuals from lower socio economic backgrounds was lower in 1998 than it was at the beginning of the 1980s. In South African society the political freedoms of the past twenty years have become somewhat sullied as young people are "diminished by frustrating encounters with the political process, victimisation by corrupt officials and enduring levels of unemployment and poverty" (Mattes 2011:14).

The period of social change in the late 1960's brought with it a discourse around generational conflict replacing class conflict (Jones 2009), this was reflected in popular culture with changes in music and style seeming to reinforce a break with 1950's traditional values. Hall et al (1976) rejected this generational conflict narrative at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies CCCS and their work on understanding youth subculture and style was to be highly influential. In their view the struggle was class based with hegemony the dominant force exerting the greatest influence in ordering society, "the most fundamental groups are the social classes and the major cultural configurations will be in a fundamental though mediated way 'class cultures' (Hall et al 1976:13). However the work of the 'Birmingham School' was broader than this and Bragg and Buckingham (2014) encourage a reading of the work of the 'Birmingham School' to take into account not only its historical context, with the collapse of the industrial economy and emerging identity politics, but also its theoretical/political nature over its empirical qualities.

The concept of youth continues to change as our society changes. Bragg and Buckingham (2014) reflecting on a volume on 'youth in the age of global media' consider the concept of 'youth' to be "elusive" and a "contingent cultural construction whose reference point is elusive and variable" (Bragg & Buckingham, 2014:273). This position holds especially when one takes a global view of youth but also applies within Irish and South African societies where my research is based. The social construction view calls for a greater awareness of the varied forms of exclusion young people are subject to. For Bragg and Buckingham (2014) this social construction view of youth does not render the

concept 'politically paralysed' but rather the "discourses, assumptions and definitions that surround and create the category of 'youth' have material consequences for young people themselves and…how we (as adults) talk about, with and to young people makes a difference" (Bragg & Buckingham, 2014:278). For some like Jones (2009) the increased relativity in "locate(ing) youth in the overall social structure has almost ended up annihilating it" (Jones, 2009:25). In my view the complexities of theory mirror the complicated realities of young people's lives. The poststructuralist arguments present an intellectual challenge to older theories but evidence continues to show that structure looms large in the lives of young people, suggesting class has not entirely been removed from the picture but rather is another piece of the complexity that is youth. This complexity is marked by the intersectional challenges of gender, ethnicity, asylum status and other aspects of modern life that young people must navigate. The work of Ecclestone, Biesta and Hughes (2009) on transitions in the lifecourse, demonstrates the interplay of identity, agency and structure and show that transitions have become enshrined in policy creating 'normative expectations' where attainment of specific targets means what it takes to make a successful transition has narrowed. This narrowing of 'success' has translated into achievement of higher education of some form for young people as the measurement of this. For Ecclestone, Biesta and Hughes (2009) the interplay of identity, agency and structure including work on gendered habitus by Colley (2006), offer opportunities for successful navigation of transitions through building a viable identity narrative. They further note that this involves a struggle for the nature and realisation of subjectivity and for the structures that surround this.

2.3 Youth conclusion

Our understanding of youth is undergoing constant revision. Sociological approaches have sought to understand youth in the context of the relationship with wider society. This attention has not brought any new clarity but rather has opened up the concept to more rigorous theoretical treatment. The social constructionist work on youth has demonstrated the impossibility of describing a monolith section of society and this calls for an ever more nuanced

understanding of young people and the often myriad interlocking factors they must face as they transition to adulthood. Successful transition as we have seen has become ever more closely tied to normative expectations around education. Understanding people young or old is tied to identity, agency and structure and the interplay therein, which I now turn to.

2.4 Identity
Within the small pool of literature devoted to youth audio production there is little mention of identity. An exception is Walker (2008) who sees a key purpose of youth radio as being to help young people develop a "critical lens through which they can explore their identities, communities, and the media" (Walker, 2008:201). A more common concept in the literature is that of 'voice' but this will later be shown to be fraught with ethical and practical concerns. Identity plays a greater role in the more voluminous literature on digital story telling (Goldman, Booker and McDermott, 2008) together with the related social action of agency (Hull and Katz 2006). Within the youth radio field the lack of attention to identity, and in particular on opportunities for identity transformation, is surprising given how central identity is said to be to the learning process (Wenger, 1998 Gee, 2000). In this section I will look at approaches to identity as it pertains to education and situated practice. This research study took place with young participants from marginalised communities; accordingly I examine literature on youth identity and stereotyping.

Gee (2000) considers identity to be a context specific quality not connected to a person's internal state but rather to their "performances in society" wherein we all have multiple identities (Gee, 2000:99). Schwartz (2006) sees identity as the "organisation of self-understandings that define one's place in the world" (Schwartz, 2006:5). Giddens (1991) outlines a number of elements that make up the 'self' or identity in late modernity, these include:

- The idea that the self is a reflexive project' for which the individual is responsible, that we are not what we are but what we make of ourselves.
- The self forms a trajectory of development from the past to the anticipated future.

- Self-identity presumes a narrative, the narrative self is made explicit...Autobiography in the broad sense of an interpretive self-history produced by the individual concerned is at the core of self identity in modern social life.
- Self-actualistaion is understood in terms of a balance between opportunity and risk.
- The life course is seen as a series of passages. (Giddens, 1991:75-79)

Giddens view of the self as a reflexive project that is not fixed but rather one that is a narrative and constantly maintained, speaks to the possibility of change within that 'self story'. Any examination of identity in modern society must take recognition of the structure of that society and the individuals place within this society including history and family. Bourdieu's theory of habitus (1972, 1990) examines the effect that familial and institutional philosophies and practices have on our ways of thinking, perceiving and acting:

> Through the habitus, the structure which has produced it governs practice, not by the process of a mechanical determination, but through the mediation of the orientations and limits it assigns to the habitus' operations of invention. As an acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted, the habitus engenders all the thoughts, all the perceptions, and all the actions consistent with those conditions" (Bourdieu 1977:95)

The theory of habitus offers a powerful way of situating the self within its sociohistorical context and operates as a theory of social reproduction. Critics however challenge it for being overly deterministic and in not giving sufficient space for the actor's 'room for maneuver' (Joas and Knobl 2011:21). Issues around social reproduction and the individual are crucial to this research given the emancipatory qualities that community radio and youth development espouse.

The work of Gee (2000) on identity as a lens for research in education has also informed this research. Gee used four ways of viewing identity: *Nature-identity* as the state of identity one is born with, *Institution-identity* as being authorised from institutions, *Discourse-identity* a social identity that is the result of discourse or dialogue of other people, this identity Gee says can be "placed on a continuum in terms of how active or passive one is in recruiting them" (Gee, 2000:104), finally *Affinity-identity* where identity comes with an individuals

attachment to an 'affinity group', "for members of an affinity group their allegiance is primarily to a set of common endeavors or practices and secondarily to other people in terms of culture" (Gee, 2000:105). Gee shows that nature-identities have been used to label certain groups on the basis of biology, whereas discource-identites are ways of being "certain kinds of people", Gee links his use of discourse-identity with the discourse work of Foucault and Lave and Wenger's (1998) communities of practice. For Gee, the individual navigates discourses through the trajectory of their life and the experiences within these discourses "are what constitute his or her never fully formed or always potentially changing 'core identity', the discourses are social and historical but the person's trajectory and narrativisation are individual" (Gee 2000:111). Gee notes that discourse-identities are sometimes ascribed to social groups, particularly non-elites and cites the role of hegemony in the manifestation of this.

Gee's theoretical development of identity also included an empirical analysis of the role discourse-identity plays in education. In his study of classroom practices in the United States, African American children were classified as 'at risk' learners and denied opportunities available to other children as a result of having a Discourse-identity ascribed to them by teachers but that this Discourse-identity was based on assumptions and not related to ability. Gee's analysis further shows that those with access to economic resources are able to practice greater mobility and access tools to help shape fluid identities whereas those without are often left to labour under a discourse-identity assigned to them,

> under these conditions it is more and more the poor who are left the prey of institutional identities and restraints. In the contemporary world, a lack of access, networking and mobility may be one of the root causes of poverty or diminished expectations. (Gee, 2000:121).

Identity then can be understood as shaped in a complex interplay of structure and interactions with others in society. The participants on the case studies presented in this research are all from marginalised communities and often have an identity assigned to them that sets that apart from other young people in society. Jones (2012) has demonstrated the demonisation of young working class

people in the UK and his work can well be applied to an Irish context. In light of this, a key component of identity as it pertains to this research is that of the 'Other' and 'stereotype.

2.5 Other

During the case studies the young participants had opportunities to conduct work outside of the community radio stations in settings that included a higher education institute, a commercial radio station and on the streets. The social interactions that occurred in the diverse settings provided insights into how the young people acted in environments that were not clearly marked as 'theirs'. If we understand that identity is in part formed in relation to others then examining the action/reaction of the participants and those they came into contact with in these environments is important.

The work of Goffman (1956) is a landmark in understanding how we are received in public, how judgments based on our 'signs' are used to form an immediate assumption of how we are and will be,

> When an individual enters the presence of others, they commonly seek to acquire information about him (or her) …for those present, many sources of information become accessible and many carriers or 'sign vehicles' become available for conveying this information. If unacquainted with the individual, observers can glean clues from his conduct and appearance which allows that to apply their previous experience with individuals roughly similar to the one before them or more important to apply untested stereotypes (Goffman, 1956:1)

For young people from marginalised communities the 'sign vehicles' of dress and accent frequently play a major role in how they are perceived by those from outside their communities. Within discussions during the case studies with the participants, again and again stereotype loomed large in the lives of the young people. These stereotypes and their application came from institutional figures such as police, teachers, youth workers and others such as business owners and classmates. Hall (1997) in his work on the 'other' notes that stereotyping "reduces, essentialises, naturalises and fixes 'difference'" (Hall, 1997:258).

Essentially a person is 'read' and reduced to a category in which all others like you are placed. Hall (1997) understood stereotyping as,

> part of the maintenance of social and symbolic order. It sets up a symbolic frontier between the normal and the deviant, the 'acceptable' and the 'unacceptable', what 'belongs' and what does not or is 'Other' (Hall, 1997:258).

In explanation of the 'Other', Hall sees it as occurring where there are inequalities of power and as a manifestation of hegemony whereby the 'acceptable' appears 'natural' and becomes the standard by which the 'Other' is measured. At times academic work such as this literature review can feel detached from 'real life' however witnessing the 'Other' in action and its effect on the lives of the young people during this study illuminated its harsh reality. The effect of the 'Other' was lessened to some degree within the safe confines of the community radio stations where the studies took place but it played a large part during work done outside of the stations. This manifested in not only how people acted towards the young participants, but in turn, how they then reacted in the different situations.

The effect of how stereotype impacts on education outcomes has been the subject of empirical studies (Schlenker and Weigold 1989, Steel 1988, Steel 1997). These studies offer a theory that to sustain school success one must be identified with school achievement in the sense of it being a part of one's self-definition or identity and that for this identification to form one must have the skills, interest and perceive good prospects within the domain and feel accepted and valued there (Steele 1997). The interplay of stereotype and social structure in education has seen children from marginalised communities leave school with lower outcomes than their peers from other social groups, in the United States this results in African American children falling progressively behind as they get older (Steele 1997), a similar pattern is observed in Irish studies (Baker, 2004).

2.6 Agency

Agency can be understood from a variety of standpoints including from psychological perspectives (Bruner 1994) to more explicitly political positions

(Freire 1970). Ecclestone (2007) takes agency to be "people's capacity to interact with others and with material conditions in order to shape their own destinies" (Ecclestone, 2007:2), an understanding I find helpful, she further notes that the idea that education should help people develop their capacities for agentic actions has been a Western tradition since the enlightenment. My approach to the concept embraces the intrinsic motivation (Larson, 2000) qualities of the psychological understanding of agency while recognising that engaging in a project that seeks to build agency is inherently political. As with identity, personal agency cannot be separated from the structures that the individual finds himself or herself in. The debate between individual agency and social structure has been present in the social sciences for the past half century.

Cote (2005) views the agency-structure divide as being perennial and intractable. Margolis (1999) sees the schism as a contrast between the extremes of the structuralism of Levi-Strauss and the existentialism of Sartre. Others look to the interplay between the two as a way of offering a reliable explanation of the individual in modern society. In his theory of 'structuration' Giddens examines the relationship between the self as a reflexive 'project' with a history, present and future that can express agency with how social structures influence social life, "agency refers not to the intentions people have in doing things but to their capability of doing those things in the first place" (Giddens, 1984:9). The literature between how much control the individual has versus social reproduction differs depending on which perspective one follows; at the very least I take the view of the "possibility of achieving a modicum of control over one's own behaviour (Holland 1998, Hull and Katz 2006). Despite this rather bleak assessment Hull and Katz (2006), writing on agency within a digital storytelling project contend that there exists an "abundant theoretical" and less abundant empirical literature, they term this literature the "discourse of possibility" (Hull and Katz, 2006:43) that illustrates how important it is for people to be able to influence their lives especially for, "people living in disenfranchised or disadvantaged communities where they are often segregated from the material and social resources of our society...and to believe in their present capabilities and imagined futures" (Hull and Katz, 2006:73). In the past

twenty years there has been a growing body of this literature of "possibility" centred on youth media production. While there is much to consider within this literature it often fails to take into account what Buckingham (2002) calls the "complex and messy realities of classroom practice" Buckingham (2002:9). The literature is often highly focused on the experience of the learner, this is correct but in my view a greater examination of the pedagogies used would benefit the field, future workers and in turn participants, a gap this research aims to address.

2.7 Voice

'Voice' and engaging it, has become a central feature of youth policy and practice in Ireland (Seebach, 2009) and the UK (Bragg, Manchester 2012). The concept of 'voice' features strongly in the literature on community media and youth development. In the latter field, 'voice' has come to be a central feature of both policy and practice. In terms of policy 'voice' features in the Irish register of Acts, "children will have a voice in matters which affect them and their views will be given due weight in accordance with their age and maturity' (Government of Ireland, 2000), this is seen as a direct linking with Article 12 of the UN Rights of the Child, which provides that a "child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child" (UN 1989). In youth work literature 'voice' features strongly and its expression has come to be seen as a marker of active participation and power for "people who are caught in a never ending struggle for survival, with ... no voice or power in decision making' (Hope and Timmell, 1984, p.3). Serido et al (2011) see youth voice as being connected with decision-making and that youth voice is an "important component of identity development that emerges through ongoing interactions with others" (Serido et al:55). For Rheingold (2008) 'voice' is said to be the,

> unique style of personal expression that distinguishes one's communications from those of others and can be called upon to help connect young peoples energetic involvement in identity formation with their potential engagement with society as citizens (Rheingold:101)

Rheingold's invoking of the personal is welcome as often in the literature on 'voice' there is a tendency to assume a uniform perspective from social groups that ignores subjective experience. Providing a 'voice' to the 'voiceless' is seen as a pillar of community media and there is a large volume of work which uses voice as a launchpad for discussion (Howley 2005, Lewis 2006, Barlow and Johnson 2009). This approach is based on the supposedly open and democratic nature of community broadcasting. Empirical studies however show that despite this open invitation to broadcast 'voice', community radio stations suffer from an underrepresentation of social groups including women, the young, refugees, senior citizens and others (Gunnel 2006), my own research of Irish community radio supports this as it reveals a near total absence of youth programming. In both youth work and community media literature the focus appears to be on claiming a space where 'voice' can be expressed thus assuming there are many waiting for their voices to be heard.

There has been much criticism of 'voice' and its role in youth media production. Citing the work of Trend (1997), Soep and Chavez (2005) point out that it is "as if the act of speaking one's mind as a young person is always already enduringly emancipatory" (Soep and Chavez, 2005:413). Bragg and Buckingham (2014) point out that 'voice' as a metaphor implies authenticity and arising spontaneously when youth are given the opportunity to express it but paradoxically youth are seen to need "training and development if they are to exercise voice in an acceptable manner" (Bragg and Buckingham 2014:279) relatedly, Buckingham (2002) questions what happens when the 'voice' of young producers does not match the views of educators. Perhaps it is the notion of 'giving' a voice to the voiceless that is most problematic as in my view implies an almost patronising if well intentioned motivation. Recognition of the limitations of 'voice' in youth work literature now appears to be relegating its importance as a useful concept to the practice, Serido et al (2011) conclude that "youth must have the opportunity to put voices into action…to become producers of their own development" (Serido et al, 2011:56). This call for action seems to lead us back to agency and its expression. Bragg and Manchester (2012) in their examination of student voice within the Creative Partnership program run in the

U.K. make the case for examining how voice is "produced through particular disciplinary technologies" and stress the need to,

> analyse the social subjectivities, relations and situatedness of such processes and to account for the material and symbolic resources needed in order to realise voice or to narrate one's story and place in the world (Bragg and Manchester, 2012:160)

Despite the criticisms outlined above 'voice' remains an important constituent in this research. My interest in this area began by working with young people from communities who through a combination of social and structural factors have traditionally been denied opportunities available to others their age. Encouraging them to consider their life experiences and views as legitimate, and to circulate this 'voice(s)' publicly through broadcast media is a central focus of this work. However the process of articulating this 'voice' is crucial to our understanding if we, workers and young people are to make a "journey to unknown destinations" (Bragg and Manchester, 2012:161).

2.8 Identity, 'Other', agency, voice conclusion

The discussion here centred on four areas, identity, 'Other', agency and voice. The conception of 'Other' is shown to have a negative affect on how young people are often judged based on 'sign vehicles'; this categorisation of 'Other' also extends into education with negative effects. The other three areas are interconnected and their importance is central to this research. Youth media projects are a process where 'voice' is developed and magnified but not given. In the process of producing media products young participants get the opportunity to express agency with the aim that this agentive practice will be transferred to other domains in their lives. Identity development is a long-term project that is clearly complex, as are the other three. Within youth media teams young people are exposed to new discourses, are given the skills, space and encouraged to try new roles. Taken together perhaps Hull and Katz (2006) are correct in their description of a "discourse of possibility".

2.9 Youth Work

Youth work is a broad church that traditionally is a voluntary practice between adults and young people. Youth work is not a historically conscious practice (Coussee, 2008:1). Gilchrist, Jeffs and Spence (2001) note, "community and youth work has made a huge contribution to the wellbeing of communities but with a few honourable exceptions it has failed to produce its own histories" (Gilchrist, Jeffs and Spence 2001:3). This lack of a historical awareness of effective and especially ineffective practice, means the area is itself 'at risk' of rehashing tired policies. In Ireland the voluntary aspect remains but government is increasingly playing a role through funding youth work organisations. Since the 1990's Irish youth work has taken a decidedly positivist turn within a neoliberal government sphere (Kiely, 2009). This turn has accelerated since the economic crash of 2008. Here I present an overview of Irish youth work and in particular look at the governmentality analysis of the sector presented by Kiely and Meade (2018).

Youth work in Ireland and elsewhere occurs within a variety of bodies and its practices are many and varied. It takes place in various settings ranging from the unstructured to the structured. It engages young people from all backgrounds. Foroige, the largest national youth work organisation in Ireland, runs programs including entrepreneurship, computer coding and a range of youth cafes. The sector is regulated by the 2001 Youth Work Ireland Act, which defines youth work as:

> A planned programme of education designed for the purpose of aiding and enhancing the personal and social development of young people through their voluntary involvement, and which is complementary to their formal, academic or vocational education and training and provided primarily by voluntary youth work organisations. (Youth Work Act, Irl, 2001).

The Youth Service of Northern Ireland has a similar working definition

> supporting young people to address inequalities which hinder their development, challenging them to be active and equal citizens within their community and enabling them to come to an awareness and understanding of the deeper structural, social and political dilemmas that underpin the labeling and exclusion of many young people (NI 2010).

The definition contained in the Republic of Ireland stresses education and includes the notion that there is a voluntary element to participation by young people. The inclusion of both of these terms is problematic in that not all youth projects are education based or indeed voluntary. 'Youth reach' students are paid to attend class and there is considerable pressure on young people to participate in the 'youth justice model' such as the Garda (Irish police) Youth Diversion Project (Scanlon et al, 2011). In addition, the idea that Youth Work is complementary to formal education is also problematic. The Northern Irish definition I find to be more ambitious. It sets out to challenge young people, includes a dimension of critical analysis and encourages a look at structural conditions that impact the lives of young people.

In Ireland over the past number of years there has been growing involvement by the State in the funding of youth work. The bulk of this has been 'targeted' at young people who are deemed to be 'at risk' of developmental outcomes, in particular the emphasis has been on drugs and crime prevention. Scanlon et al (2011) note that the additional state funding has been welcomed by the youth work sector, but have warned that a

> two-tier service is developing in which the 'mainstream' is under-funded while 'targeted' projects take on a compensatory role, making up for the shortcomings of statutory services, including justice, education and health. (Scanlon et al, 2011:3)

The two-tier system is divided between 'mainstream' and 'targeted' projects. In their study Scanlon et al (2011), found that nearly three quarters of 'targeted' projects work with groups in which most or all of the young people are from financially disadvantaged backgrounds, compared to only 12 per cent of 'mainstream' youth work groups and within the 'targeted' groups, 48 per cent of young people they work with experience behavioural difficulties, compared to only 3 per cent within 'mainstream' youth work groups (Scanlon et al 2011:7). Within this system, 'mainstream' youth work is largely staffed by volunteers and receives minimal state funding while 'targeted' projects are staffed by professional youth workers with larger state support.

'Targeted' youth work is not new and its history can be traced back to the 19th century. However what is new is the use of youth work as means of *compensating* for failures in education, health, justice and urban planning by successive Irish governments (Kiely, 2009). This new provision of youth services involves 'targeting' young people, usually by age, geographical location and by using family history, to form new youth groups, which are then set apart from 'mainstream' youth clubs. 'Targeted' projects have been defended as a means of allocating scarce resources to those most excluded. Some youth workers report that they provide a 'safe space' in which young people can open up about problems that others in the group may share (Barrett, 2003). Other youth workers point out that they are often the first point of contact for marginalised young people who can access support with a view to moving on to 'mainstream' youth projects (Scanlon et al 2011).

However, rather than promoting equality and inclusiveness, 'targeted' projects may reinforce the 'targeted' group's sense of difference and separateness. Moreover, the principle of voluntary participation is compromised by projects which are characterised by "more coercive kinds of participation and a greater orientation towards the surveillance and control of young people' (Kiely, 2009: 23). Scanlon et al (2011) found that volunteers and project workers felt that the inclusive qualities of youth work were being undermined by a system that removed some of the most already socially excluded young people from mainstream youth work projects. Projects such as the Garda (Irish Police) Youth Diversion project which is a partnership between police services and youth workers is seen to stigmatise young people as 'trouble makers'. Furthermore they are also widely perceived within communities as rewarding troublesome young people (Barrett 2003).

Kiely and Meade (2018) in a comprehensive theoretical review of policy and practice in the Irish youth work sector view the state-dominated 'targeted' system of youth work as having facilitated the "commodification of Irish youth work" within "distinctly neoliberal rationalities" (Kiely and Meade, 2018:4). They employ a governmentality perspective (Foucault, 1978) where power is

understood as "dispersed and relational, assuming different forms within different social relationships" (Kiely and Meade, 2018:5). This dispersal of power results in what Rose (2000) explains as government occurring in "different spaces" and through "different technologies",

> "linking together forms of judgment, modes of perception, practices of calculation types of authority, architectural forms, machinery and all manner of technical devices with the aspiration of producing certain outcomes in terms of the conduct of the governed" (Rose, 2000:323).

For their analysis Kiely and Meade (2018) examined the major state policy documents since 2008 to uncover a clear positivist stance with a 'fetish' for outcomes that are value for money and that can be rebranded and replicated. This impetus for this evidence drive has seen the establishment of The Centre for Effective Services (CES), a self-styled "think and do tank" that is an implementation partner with the Government Youth Affairs Unit on policy. Within this remit it produced the National Quality Standards Framework (NQSF) in 2010. The NQFS is a quality assurance process and funding for all youth work organisations is contingent upon their participation with it. For Kiely and Meade (2018) the rationale behind the NQSF is to ensure, "youth work delivers predictable results in line with competitive and increasingly neoliberalised modes of resource allocation" (Kiely and Meade, 2018:8). In addition to the NQFS the Department for Youth and Child Affairs DYCA commissioned two research documents. One a map of youth studies with a focus on outcomes (Youth Work, a systematic map of the literature 2013). The aim of the map is to see how "outcomes could be measured and assessed effectively" (Irish Department Children and Youth Affairs, 2013:iv), in the foreword to the map, the then Minister for Children welcomed it saying it will "add to a growing body of evidence in Ireland and internationally about how effective youth work can lead to positive outcomes for young people, with wider social and economic benefits" (Irish Department Children and Youth Affairs, 2013:v). Within the map there is an emphasis on studies that use random control trials and of the 93 studies that were examined under the category of 'Evaluations of impact' only one study was Irish based, two were from non-English language countries and 68 were studies

conducted in the USA. Studies which used a case study methodology were characterised by the following,

> although useful in gathering data, particularly with novel activities or in under-researched geographical areas to gain an understanding about what is happening on the ground, their role in providing data on '*what works'* is limited.(Irish Department Children and Youth Affairs, 2013:35)

The map was produced by the Evidence for Policy and Practice Information and Co-ordinating Centre in London (EPPI-Centre). The EPPI-Centre was set up as part of a drive in the UK to link policy with research. Hammersley (2005) views the major role of systematic reviews, such as the youth work one produced for the Irish government, to "facilitate national economic growth" (Hammersley, 2005:319). The second document is a cost benefit analysis of a selection of programs (The Value for Money and Policy Review of Youth Programs). This latter document views the role of the Department and youth officer as 'principal and agent' where the youth officer is charged with "implementing DCYA policy" (DCYA 2014:124), in this use of language can be seen a clear example of managerialism coming into youth work policy and by extension practice.

Taken together these two documents have become the centerpiece of Irish government policy, and so, determine where scarce resources are allocated. The National Youth Council of Ireland, the umbrella body representing youth organisations is supportive of this evidence drive, in what Kiely and Meade (2018) call a "climate of policy submissiveness" (Kiely and Meade, 2018:16). This drive to have evidence at the centre piece of social policy is not unique to Ireland or indeed youth work. Lather (2004) writing from a feminist qualitative perspective comments on this link,

> objectivity is enshrined in prediction, explanation, and verification override description, interpretation and discovery. Values and politics, human volition and program variability, cultural diversity, multiple disciplinary perspectives, the import of partnerships with practitioners...are all swept away in a unified theory of scientific advancement (Lather 2004:762)

The impact of this on projects such as the one under study in this research is that the work becomes invisible if it cannot demonstrate clear pre-determined outcomes. The neo-liberal evidence policy driving youth work in Ireland and elsewhere places pressure on youth work services to involve themselves in projects that are already proven, where the end is known at the beginning. For a novel project in Ireland, such as my work, this creates difficulty in attracting partnerships between youth work services. For de st Croix, this evidence/funding link "threatens forms of practice that are open-ended, long-term, youth centred and relationship based and which have outcomes that are negotiated and fluid, emerging and changing over time" (de st Croix, 2017:18). This policy/evidence relationship risks becoming a self-reproducing character "whereby the discipline of funding arrangements orients youth work toward particular ends, which then serve as a template and a justification for further use of state funds" (Kiely and Meade, 2018:8). Kiely and Meade (2018) further contend that this evidence culture has now become hegemonic in Ireland.

2.10 Conclusion youth work

The 'evidence turn' in Irish youth work has accelerated since 2008 and shows no sign of abating. The 'problem' with such an approach is that much of the positive aspects of youth work are not captured by reductive outcome evaluations. Through the use of questionable, narrow, empirical studies the state has sought to create a technocratic view of practice that presents a closed argument. This outcome focus has the effect of tying practice to prescribed ends. This shift has coincided with the development of a two-tier system that segregates marginalised young people into 'targeted' projects. These developments take youth work further away from its origins as youth-led where relationships are built with other young people and adults overtime, in a dialogical manner and not with predetermined ends. This transition appears to confirm the fears that youth work has come under the control of "powerful social forces serving goals and functions that are at first glance improper to youth work: smooth integration in the prevailing social order and individual prevention of all kinds of social diseases" (Coussee, 2008:1). For Kiely and Meade (2018) the imperative is for

higher education to engage in "policy relevant counter-science" and for those in the field to reject "rigidifying agendas and prescribed outcomes and allow young people to imagine and explore ways of thinking, being and acting at their own pace" (Kiely and Meade, 2018:21). However youth services are caught in a funding trap, dependent on state support but resistance is possible, projects such as youth radio can operate outside of the dominant framework but this is difficult.

2.11 Youth media

The central question posed in this research is how effective is audio production in a youth development setting? To answer this we need to look at the properties inherent in audio production that lend its suitability to work of this kind and explore some of the key debates in the literature of the field.

Youth media can be conceived as a tool, practice, perhaps even a movement (Soep & Chavez, 2005:409). The first review of the field came in 2001 in what is now considered a landmark piece of work. Campbell, Hoey and Perlman canvassed Youth Media practices from across North America and came to define Youth Media as: "media conceived, developed and produced by youth and disseminated to others" (Campbell et al, 200:1). While any academic writer is grateful for a working definition of their field, they are frequently problematic and require some qualification. In the case of Youth Media this can be particularly difficult given the range of practices and rapid technological changes which impact its study.

Never has it been as cheap or quick to generate text, sound, or moving images for public access. Rheingold (2008) notes that young people are "increasingly seeking to adopt, appropriate, and invent ways to participate in cultural production"(Rheingold, 2008:9). This opportunity for creativity has great civic potential as it has turned people from "spectators and consumers into innovators and creators" (Levine, 2008:122). Posting edited content is now a daily activity for many young people and this new digital literacy has allowed

young people to think, feel, express themselves and understand their worlds through image, sound and text (Jenkins 2009).

Youth radio, of the type conceived in this research project is looking to draw on developmental education qualities, indeed it is this emphasis on education which marks it as distinct from the plethora of activities which can be conceived of as being youth media. Media education aims to develop both critical understanding and active participation of the media, it enables young people to interpret and make informed judgments as consumers of media; but it also enables them to "become producers of media in their own right, and thereby to become more powerful participants in society" (Buckingham, 2001:4). Youth radio as we speak of may be better understood if its goals are looked at, these include youth learning, community development, media literacy, technical and editorial skills, personal expression, critical thinking, aesthetic innovation, and social change (Soep and Chavez, 2010:410), to these can be added; increasing local decision making by young people (Broadbent, 2010:235). Youth radio is more concerned with developing young people's critical and creative abilities – rather than training a new generation of journalists (Louw, 2007). Walker (2008) adds that "a key purpose of youth media is to help young people develop a critical lens through which they can explore their identities, communities, and the media, as well as to act upon the world through self-representation and civic engagement" (Walker, 2008:201), this is similar to how Stewart (2002) defines knowledge as being "positions from which people make sense of their worlds and their place in them, and from which they construct their concepts of agency, the possible, and their own capacities to do" (Stewart 2002:82).

Youth radio is attractive from a youth development perspective for a number of key reasons. The first is that radio is a 'hands on' activity. There is a large amount of technical skills to be acquired before one is proficient enough to be able to confidently control a studio or produce a piece, this technical aspect is innately appealing to many young people and the teaching of this allows an experiential style of learning from the outset. The second is that audio can make use of a range of skills. There is room for extroverts who want to be centre but also for

more introverted characters who may prefer to be sound engineers or researchers or indeed presenters. This is particularly useful from a group dynamic viewpoint. Thirdly, many young people are comfortable in front of a screen and in using software, which means that editing or other technical issues do not faze young people, indeed they positively enjoy the technical aspect of the projects. Hopkins (2011) correctly identifies two processes at work in the development of non-formal learning opportunities around media production,

> on the one hand on media as an area of interest with which to engage young people including access to associated technology and, on the other, using the development of critical media skills as a key tool in empowering active citizens (Hopkins, 2011:183)

Hopkins' observation of media and technology proved to be evident in my case studies however I did not focus on the concept of citizenship during this research. My early intention was to do so however following research, particularly the work of Wells (2015) and Mascheroni (2015) on actualizing citizenry and young people, I chose instead to look at issues of identity, agency and voice. A radio programme may be youth produced for an audience, in keeping with the Campbell *et al* (2001) definition but not be considered youth radio in the context of this research if it fails to have youth development at it's core. This important distinction introduces one of the central debates in the field.

2.12 'Product v Process'

Campbell *et al* (2001) characterise the balance between having young people participate and enjoy the experience and delivering on the goals of youth radio as a 'product versus process' dialogue. Curiously however this dialogue is absent from much of the literature. The 'product/process' question and the implications this has for my approach to pedagogy will form an important part of later chapters.

In 'process' orientated youth radio projects the emphasis is almost purely on participation with little if any regard paid to the audio texts produced (the product). In this model participation is the most important element. This type of

project is beneficial to participants in many of the same ways that 'product' orientated projects are, namely: teamwork, volunteering, technical skills. In a 2006 study Chan notes that the social part of creating media is more significant than what is produced or for whom, having fun and participating are the most important values (Chan, 2006:221). This model of being 'on-air' as a goal in itself is the most common mode of Youth Radio in Ireland. Citing the work of various researchers including Gunell (2006), Walker (2008), Marchi (2009) and Chavez and Soep (2010), amongst others I reject this model. Having had the opportunity to observe and work on purely 'process' youth radio projects I see their benefits as being limited in contrast to 'product' orientated programs chiefly due to a lack of mentoring or monitoring of 'process' projects. However it is important to note that successful 'product' approaches are ones that build on the inherently good properties evidenced in 'process' models.

Where youth projects are found in Irish community radio youth stations, they follow what I call a 'laissez faire' approach. In this model teams are left to entirely self-select content with no adult oversight, typically resulting in radio texts that are derivate of commercial radio. Radio programs of this nature generally do not have adult producer involvement and so the participants do not benefit from experienced producers or other workers and thereby allowing less opportunities for 'generational encounters' (Wenger, 1998) where 'newbies' can learn from 'old-timers'. Frequently in 'laissez faire' approaches young people are given rudimentary training and then left to 'play' in the studio. The result is typically poor quality, with little if any regard for potential audience. In contrast, 'product' focused projects retain the benefits of the 'laissez faire' model while adding to the participants in terms of structure, access to skills and a focus on audience. Whereas 'laissez faire' programming content typically revolves around music, chat, celebrity gossip etc. (essentially derivative of commercial radio), youth radio as understood here is more concerned with issue-based programming and in developing participants to become proactive in their selection of topics, adopting a more journalistic approach and a regard for content that is rooted producing quality radio texts. Making radio of this type requires training, nurturing and mentoring of participants by experienced

producers. Those running courses or projects see them as vehicles for "increasing social and political participation in the community" (Marchi, 2009:133). Indeed without this vision and understanding amongst staff or trainers, delivering this type of programming would be impossible. Through the course of this research I adapted my teaching to suit the particulars of the different studies and developed an approach I call a 'learning' model for youth radio projects.

The reason why the 'laissez faire' model dominates in Ireland can be explained by two factors. The first is resources. Community radio stations in Ireland and the UK are frequently under resourced. Manchester in a (2013) study reported that 53% of community stations operating in the UK do so in a financially insecure situation and are understaffed (Manchester, 2013:11). This lack of resources means that not only is staff time is limited but planning for future projects and creating legacy is difficult. Youth radio as we consider it here, is a labour intensive process. The second reason is more difficult to quantify. Day (2009) notes that community radio stations can provide spaces to allow previously excluded groups such as "minorities, women, the unemployed and youth access to new forms of communication to better increase the democratization of the media" (Day, 2009:105). However while correctly identifying community radio as a potential site of emancipatory media practice, she does raise the question as to how alternative or emancipatory they prove to be? One factor perhaps holding back a more engaged community radio sector is the level of training that employees and volunteers receive. Day (2005) addresses this, recommending that those working in community radio "educate themselves in the debates surrounding the democratization of the media and crucially, then inform the wider community of the opportunities available through community media" (Day, 2005:12). A lack of financial resources impacts on the provision of projects in one way by simply having less people available but also through creating an uncertain future which hampers planning.

2.13 Editorial control.

Another common debate in much of the literature (Marchi 2009, Walker 2008) is editorial control. A key feature of Youth Media is that topics should be youth selected or as Soep and Chavez (2005) term it 'youth-led inquiry' (Chavez and Soep, 2005:421). This can quickly turn into difficulty when youths gather to make a program and decide to imitate commercial radio while instructors hope for more socially engaged items. This tension lies at the core of the challenge for the educator, how to get young people to tackle big issues in such a way that they retain agency?

This also raises an important ethical consideration regarding how genuine is the claim that the media is conceived by youth? It would be relatively easy if one was to populate youth radio teams with young people who want to become journalists or who want a career in media i.e. self-selection. However doing so would miss the point of developmental education which seeks to extend opportunities for learning to as wide a group in society as possible, "not the privilege of the few but the right of all" (Freire, 1970:72).

Frequently in the 'laissez faire' model once participants receive the basic training and are left to produce their own shows the resulting broadcasts are poor copies of mainstream youth radio as detailed in the studies listed above. Marchi (2009) examined the history of a Youth Media project in the United States where the participants, while "expressing agency in making radio programs ('process'), merely reproduced dominant cultural messages about gender, class, race, and consumerism in their media products" (Marchi 2009:134). This ran contrary to the founders of the radio station under study in Marchi's work. In her work Marchi suggests that the explanation for this lay perhaps in a Gramscian reading where the dominance of commercial radio has had a hegemonic effect,

> years of exclusive exposure to for-profit radio in a society saturated with commercial images and values and no previous models of non-commercial radio to draw upon that the participants were completely unaware of the creative and oppositional potential of radio (Marchi, 2009:134)

However there is an obvious danger inherent in this view. Rather than

respecting what young people produce and examine their cultural productions in their own right this interventionist approach can appear arrogant and paternalistic, the 'teacher' knows best and must liberate the student from their ideological oppression. Buckingham (2002) summarises this as follows:

> in practice this often results in considerable tension and even a degree of hypocrisy: much of what students are expected to 'discover' in such teaching is pre-determined and much of what passes for analysis is simply a sophisticated exercise in guessing what is in the teachers mind (Buckingham, 2002:8)

This warning is fundamental to this research. It speaks to the careful consideration that must be given to the nature of the relationship between participants and workers on youth radio projects. Managing this power/knowledge (Foucault 1980) relationship is at the heart of the pedagogy. It is complicated, 'messy' and must walk a continual ethical line. The goal of collaboration should not necessarily be consensus (Stack, 2009) but rather a 'joint framing' (Soep and Chavez, 2005) of the production audio texts as a social justice intervention. In my methodology I give further consideration to these issues.

Bourdieu through his scientific humanism approach demonstrates that cultural needs and consumption are a product of home and education or as he succinctly puts it; "the 'eye' is a product of history reproduced by education" (Bourdieu, 1984:4). This means that a cultural product has meaning and interest for someone who possesses the cultural competence, what he termed 'cultural capital' to comprehend and decode this product. Bourdieu showed that this 'cultural capital' was necessary to become a 'legitimate actor' in a cultural field. His analysis of 'taste' (1984) showed that class relations are reproduced in cultural relations and demonstrated how certain types of culture (dominant class) come to be seen as 'legitimate' over others.

Irish youth radio operates in a competitive market and as a result its' content is designed to appeal to the largest potential pool of listeners/customers; in essence the listeners are being sold to the advertisers. The youth radio on offer from RTE suffers from a "distinct lack of public service provision" (Hannon,

2013:9). The results of this are what contemporary youth radio stations offer its listeners and as a result shape taste; entertainment news is presented alongside current affairs while issues relevant to young people such as youth unemployment, sexuality racism etc. are largely ignored. Youth radio stations then are consequently,

> charged with the legitimising, reinforcing capacity which objectification always possesses, especially when, as is the case now, the logic of structural homologies assigns it to a prestigious group so that it functions as an authority which authorises and reinforces dispositions by giving them a collectively recognized expression (Bourdieu, 1984:231)

Stations then have the power, freedom and market imperative to shape taste. A counterpoint to this should come through better regulation or rather more accurately enforcement in the case of commercial radio and a true commitment to public service broadcasting from RTE but this is absent. Young people then approach youth radio programs as 'novices', both in terms of technique and understanding of form and lack a frame of reference against which they can come to realise the possibilities that radio can offer as both the production and consumption of culture require that subjects are equipped with the 'cultural capital' to do so (Bourdieu, 1984). This has profound implications for youth radio programs. It makes the role of educator an essential and difficult one, as a new language of possibility and expression must be opened for the participants and has clear implications for the 'process' v 'product' debate

In my view Bourdieu's work offers tremendous and challenging insights for this research. Identifying 'legitimate' culture and identification of the role 'habitus' plays has been formative in my approach to pedagogy and the project overall. In contrast to the "fantasies of empowerment and liberation" (Buckingham, 2002:11) inherent in critical pedagogy or the nihilism of much postmodern work I find in Bourdieu's analysis, a language of possibility,

> thus the tastes actually realised depend on the state of the system of goods offered; every change in the system of goods induces a change in tastes. But conversely, every change in tastes resulting from a transformation of the conditions of existence and of the corresponding disposition will tend to induce, directly or indirectly, a transformation of the field of production (Bourdieu, 1984:234)

If this holds true then young people emerging from a system of education that is youth radio, equipped with the tools to comprehend media production and having produced their own counter narrative to contemporary events, can be in a position to influence the field. Their 'taste' will have evolved through exposure to alternative approaches to radio production and consequently be in a position, either 'directly or indirectly', to be able to 'transform the field of production'.

2.14 Literacy, education and using media.

In this section I will orientate this research project within contemporary discourses surrounding media education and media literacy.

Present controversies on manipulation through media are not new. The Frankfurt School warned of the threats of the mass media back in the first half of the twentieth century. Contained within their warnings were also what could be seen as the first attempts at creating a language of resistance, Horkheimer (1937) described critical theory as "not simply the theory of emancipation, it is the practice of it as well" (Horkheimer, 1937: 223). As far back as the 1960's there have been urgent calls to build a literacy of the media. Marshall McLuhan argued that societies are shaped more by the nature of the communication technology than by the message the medium carries. As television penetrated homes on a widespread basis McLuhan and Fiore suggested that going to school was a 'rear-view-mirror' that interrupted the education of technology (McLuhan and Fiore, 1967:63). The UNESCO Declaration on Media Education Issued by the representatives of 19 nations at UNESCO's 1982 International Symposium on Media Education at Grunwald, Germany noted:

> if the arguments for media education as a preparation for responsible citizenship are formidable now, in the very near future with the development of communication technology such as satellite broadcasting, two-way cable systems, television data systems, video cassette and disc materials, they ought to be irresistible, given the increasing degree of choice in media consumption resulting from these developments (UNESCO 1982)

Given that this document was produced before the Internet age and while the technologies it lists as being of the 'very near future' are now largely obsolete, the arguments for media education have strengthened. Since 2009 the European commission has encouraged member states to debate the inclusion of media literacy in its compulsory education curricula (EAVI, 2009). Indeed the implications of the 2016 election in the United States including alleged threats to democracy, and the parallel and connected rise of Facebook as the new dominant media platform which has brought along a fragmented and personalized media sphere, the question of a media literate population is again urgent to policy planners. The uncovering of widespread data harvesting and subsequent use in black propaganda operations in the United States and elsewhere amply demonstrates that as well as the medium being the message, manipulation keeps pace with the medium. A recent large-scale study in the US measured the civic online reasoning competencies of almost 8,000 participants from Universities and Colleges. The study looked to evaluate the ability of young internet users to reach warranted conclusions about social and political issues from digital sources, it found that 82% of respondents were unable to identify 'sponsored content', 85% were unable to correctly distinguish between biased research and independent fact checked journalism and 94% were unable to identify the source of an article that used data from research funded by a lobby group (McGrew et al, 2017:5-6). In this context where does media literacy find itself and more fundamentally, what do we understand by literacy and how does it relate to youth radio and this research?

Literacy in its narrow meaning is given to be the ability to read and write but even this hides a history marked by contestation over the power and authority to access, interpret and produce printed texts (Luke, 1989). Street (2003) draws a distinction between 'autonomous' and 'ideological' models of literacy. Autonomous literacy, the standard view in a variety of fields, holds that literacy in itself will have effects on the social and cognitive practices of the beholder or society, that it is a neutral skill which can be viewed as separate to history and culture. This view has been challenged from a wide body of different disciples including those who have come to be known as "New Literacy Studies" (NLS)

(Gee, 1991; Street, 1996). The NLS alternative to viewing literacy as a neutral, autonomous skill is known as the ideological model of literacy. It posits that literacy is a social practice "always embedded in socially constructed epistemological principles that are rooted in conceptions of knowledge, identity, being and context" (Street, 2003:77). Literacy in this sense then is a contested 'ideological' space and the process of acquiring it leads to people becoming critically engaged leading towards transformation (Buckingham, 2003). This view of literacy as being contested and socially situated connects well with other theoretical perspectives explored in this research and supports my position of youth radio as being an emancipatory practice. The widespread use of multimedia technology in the information-based society presented a challenge to literacy scholars, one that is continually being worked out. One group of academics known as the New London group developed the concept of 'multiliteracies' in response to the new symbolic of multimedia. Central to the 'multiliteracies' approach is the concept of Design. Understood in this context learning and productivity are said to be the results of the Designs or structures of 'complex systems of people, environment, technology, beliefs and texts' (New London, group 1996:76). The Design Approach included three elements; Available Designs (existing material), Designing (production) and the Redesigned (product). This framework is applicable across different modes of meaning including linguistic, spatial and audio design. As well as identifying 'multiliteracies', the New London group developed a pedagogy for its teaching which they stated 'does not involve writing over existing subjectivities with the language of the dominant culture' (New London group, 1996:72). Within this pedagogy were the following stages, *situated practice, overt instruction, critical framing* and *transformed design.*

The debate in literacy theory between skill versus social practice has followed into media literacy. Livingstone (2004) argues that prioritising questions of skill tends to neglect the social contexts in which the different technologies and texts that mediate communication are encountered. Rather than being a technical skill, media literacy is taken as the ability to access, analyse, evaluate and create content in whatever form it comes (Aufderhedie, 1993). Since 2009 European

Union countries have been encouraged to promote media literacy within their jurisdictions. In Ireland the BAI produced its first media literacy document that eschewed a definition but chose to focus on the following competencies:

- **Understand** and critically evaluate broadcast, digital and other media content and services, in order to make informed choices and best manage media use.

- **Access** and use broadcast and digital media content and services in a safe and secure manner, to maximise opportunities and minimise risks.

- **Create** and participate, via media, in a responsible, ethical and effective manner, in the creative, cultural and democratic aspects of society. (BAI 2016:6-8)

These competencies clearly borrow from the earlier definition put forward by Aufderhedie. Approaches to media literacy have traditionally diverged from a 'protectionist' view that look to protect young people from the negative effects of mass media and a more 'dialogical' approach that look at the multiple ways in which young people adopt, make use of and interpret media in their everyday lives. Presently, the role of media literacy is seen to help young people "reflect on their own activity as both 'readers' and 'writers' of media texts and understand the broader social and economic factors that are in play" (Buckingham, 2003:14). Jenkins (2009) argues that media literacy must counteract three core problems:

- *Participation gap*, i.e. the fact that young people's access to new media is unevenly distributed and so is their possibility to share the opportunities they offer, as the persistence of the digital divide show
- *Transparency problem,* i.e. the assumption that they are already capable of reflecting on their media experiences articulating critically their understandings of how the media shape their perceptions of the world.
- *Ethics challenge,* i.e. the assumption that young people can develop and apply some ethical norms and standards to orient responsibly their practices as media makers and as participants in online communities. (Jenkins, 2009:3-4).

Policy makers are increasingly looking to be seen to play a greater role in helping to promote media literacy. However what role policy makers play in media literacy is contested. Is the purpose of media literacy to enable people to

accommodate to the existing media landscape? to critique it? or even to critique the society that represents itself through media in particular ways? (Biljeska, 2012:6). While there is apparent agreement over its importance there are some unresolved debates over whether media literacy is a personal skill in or if it is something broader dealing with knowledge, citizenship, participation in society and lately, national security and democracy itself. Livingston (2004) points out that in advancing policy,

> it would clarify matters to disentangle three arguments: the pedagogic argument that people learn best about media through making it; the employment argument that those with new media skills are increasingly needed as the information sector expands; and the cultural politics argument that citizens have the right to self-representation and cultural participation. (Livingston, 2004:6)

The three elements Livingston identifies speak to youth radio projects that are firmly rooted in understanding media trough production, seek to build skill capacities within participants and have at its core a commitment to democratizing media and promoting participation. Capello (2017) points out the crucial factor is no longer access to information per se but rather the "capacity to select and process it in a critical, creative and responsible way turning it into significant knowledge and active participation" (Capello, 2017:40).

Present debates over data hacking, Facebook, concerns over teenage Internet usage and social media are but contemporary manifestations of a long struggle between those who regard media as part of an enlightenment process and those who take a more critical stance. As media literacy has expanded into mainstream discourse and policy, there is a danger that it is viewed in a positivist manner, as a skill to be acquired rather than understood as literacy that is 'grounded in the social contexts in which the different technologies and texts that mediate communication are encountered' (Livingstone, 2004:4). As well as the ability to 'read' and 'write' texts media literacy should aim to invite students to 'identify the cultural codes that structure an author's work, understand how these codes function as part of a social system, and disrupt the text through alternative interpretations' (Hobbs, 1998:22). Within media literacy theory today there are approaches to pedagogy that owe clearly to the work of Freire (1970) as

traditional, hierarchical relations between students and teachers are discouraged, in favour of co-learning where 'students are encouraged to "practice critique and collaboration" (Mihailidis, 2013:161).

2.15 Audience

A key actor, which is overlooked in much of the Youth Media literature and practice, is audience. Much of the literature on Youth Radio that emanates from sociological schools ignores the value of audience, instead focusing almost exclusively on outcomes for the participants e.g. (Walker 2008, Broadbent 2010, Hopkins 2011). In case of the previous two pieces of research the issue of external audience is not addressed.

Youth Media products should aim to inform the wider public on a range of topics, attempt to influence policy and present young peoples voices and opinions on issues which affect them, thereby working to improve the quality of the public sphere. Soep and Chavez (2005) offer the most explicit argument for linking Youth Radio products and influencing audiences. They observe that a major point of the youth media field is to:

> contribute insights and challenging perspectives to a mainstream media that too often ignores the experience and intelligence of youth (Soep and Chavez, 2005:419).

This commitment has seen several products, produced by young people working with the Youth Radio organisation in Oakland California, reach audiences of millions on National Public Radio in the United States (the origin of this project is from a Berkeley community radio station, demonstrating that quality and process can be mutually supportive). This level of exposure is an enormous opportunity for young people to reach actors who can help shape policy and influence public opinion, yet only a tiny number of Youth Media products will find their way onto this playing field. However beneath this truly mass level of audience lie several levels that can be of value to young producers.

Audience is composed of layers. From a production standpoint the 'imagined audience' is of crucial importance. The 'imagined audience' is a device used to get participants to think reflexively about their work. It is a mechanism for youth to assess how well their stories are working and a pedagogic device to encourage debate and focus on quality. Thompson (2011) notes that employing it "changes the relationship of the producers to the material in their stories" (Thompson, 2011:29). This has the effect of placing producers on a more professional setting, elevating the practice from personal expression to one of communication with a wider public. In effect, the imagined audience acts as a witness or a third entity beyond the dialogical relationship between producers and educators (Soep and Chavez, 2005:419).

The next level of audience is the immediate one of peers or first audience. This audience builds from the anticipated audience to encourage discussion and feedback amongst participants, an integral part of the Youth Radio classroom/studio structure. Asking participants to first use each other as audiences takes their thinking out of the realm of private thought and 'externalises it within the community' (Sawyer, 2006:24). This practice sees young people standing before an audience of peers and educator(s) to present their work and then defend it. For many teenagers this will be the first time they will have had to make such a presentation. This activity works best when others present, actively participate in discussion and it is the role of the educator to create the right environment where discussion can take place. Thompson (2011) argues that such practices offer multiple opportunities for learning that goes well beyond self-expression or technological expertise.

Moving beyond a peer audience the next level is that of friends and family, the first external audience and opportunity to share work outside of the group. While a mass audience is perhaps be the ultimate goal, this level of audience can for participants be the most important. Soep and Chavez (2005) note in 'many cases, even the smallest local outlet, but one that young people's friends actually listen to, might hold more sway than the largest audience composed primarily of adults' (Soep and Chavez 2005:410). Building on this may involve seeking

political figures or opinion makers such as journalists to join an audience, what Levine (2008) calls a 'politically relevant audience', this is especially true when program content lies in an area of interest for these potential audience members with the aim of influencing policy.

The final layer of audience lies with the wider public. Typically in community media the external audience is not at the forefront of strategic thinking, participation is the priority. Day (2005) notes that 'community radio, given the tiny size of the audience with which it interacts, must logically form and operate within one of many multi, micro-public spheres' (Day 2005:12). These micro-public spheres are an effective way to enable the democratization however the small audience is a problem.

2.16 Pedagogic approaches

The emphasis in of dialogue as being at the centre of a fruitful learning environment has a long tradition in radical social thought (Freire 1970, hooks 1994). hooks (1994) called for an 'engaged pedagogy' that looked for educators to examine the mutual learning that should take place. Within youth media work, Soep and Chavez (2005) developed the concept of a *pedagogy of collegiality*. This approach is grounded in the work of emancipatory education and, characterises "situations in which young people and adults jointly frame and carry out projects in a relationship marked by interdependence" (Soep and Chavez, 2005:418). The approach is not one that is blind to institutional, historical and cultural forces that exist in any pedagogical relationship but through a focus on producing quality radio and media products, seeks to bind adult educators and young producers in a process that is progressive with an output that can reach a wider audience. This product focus creates an environment where educators and participants co-create not only the learning environment but also the output. A key aspect to this pedagogy is that if conflict arises between product and process, the best interests of the young person are given priority. The benefit of having skilled adult participation within youth radio projects has been observed by

Huesca (2014) in a wide study that emphasied the social as well as technical benefits for young participants.

In my own study I did not look for 'producer potential' in participants with the view of ultimately creating better products. In addition, I was always careful not to lead the young people towards selecting content but rather looked to challenge their views and introduce diverse sources from which they could then decide for themselves. In the technical dimensions of their projects I instructed and demonstrated techniques rather than doing them myself even though this perhaps resulted in radio texts that were technically less accomplished. The pedagogy I developed incorporates aspects of various approaches, including that of action orientated media pedagogy.

Gunnel (2006) identifies Action orientated media pedagogy (AOMP) as a way of planning a learning scheme that uses media production as the driver of learning. The roots of this approach come largely from a German tradition of 'open channels' – licensed broadcasters distinct from commercial and public service providers. Their function was to create a space for local communication open to groups normally left out of communication processes. Similar to other pedagogy's discussed; AOMP considers the social aspect of learning and looks at how learning happens through action. In it, the learning process is designed so that learners "actively and creatively consider how to deal with their social reality to work at solutions independently and communally" (Gunnell, 2006:48). In AOMP there is an emphasis on how individual learning happens within a group environment. This I found useful as at times there was a conflict between individual learning and group success. This is particularly the case when in youth groups as the individual learning experience can at times take second place to overall group development. Schorb (1995 cited in Gunnel 2006) identifies a number of outcomes that should follow from an effective AOMP training programme including *Extension of production skills:* where participants learn how to create media products through instruction and practice, these skills in turn aid an *extension of perception and reflection skills* the making of media products should be done in a reflective way with an emphasis on how they will

be received by others, an *extension of communication skills* comes about not only through the process of scripting and production but also in negotiation with fellow members, these skills in turn should support and *acquisition of self-confidence in different social situations,* this growth in confidence comes from application of the previous skills and in particular from engaging with people outside of a persons usual circle. In particular instances when participants are given the opportunities to conduct interviews they can find themselves in the position of holding control of an encounter and asking questions, this for young people can be a new experience. These outcomes correctly identify some of the key learning objectives of media training projects and are applicable in this study. Schorb correctly makes the connection between media training and the benefits it brings to the whole person. This stands in contrast to technological positions that look to build employability skills into projects. While later employment in the media industry is a possibility for those taking part in youth radio projects, the focus is more on benefits such as reflective and communication skills and building confidence.

The outcomes of AOMP are supportive of a position where audio training offers participants an opportunity to develop skills that are transferable to other areas of their lives. Gunnel (2006) draws from these outcomes to develop principles to form a pedagogy that should be,

> based upon and refer to the learners real-life situation, take a learner centred approach, be structured so as to activate and involve the participants, be product orientated (Gunnell, 2006:49)

This pedagogic positioning is central to the work adopted in this research. Each principle is founded on a greater scaffold of work that created the organising framework around which I designed my case studies and deserves to be looked at in greater detail.

2.16.i Real life situations

Youth radio projects seeks to engage young learners with a method of learning that looks to recognise their various lifeworlds (New, London group, 1996) as central to the learning environment. Rather than assuming a uniform set of

learners it instead looks to respect and acknowledge the individual multi-layered lifeworlds that individuals bring to an educational setting. This positioning seeks to incorporate the lived and *imagined* experience (Soep and Chavez 2005) of young people into the heart of the learning environment. This positioning is part of a longer tradition in critical education that encourages people to 'read their world' (Freire, 1970). Goodman (2003) combines his 'critical literacy' of analysis and decoding of media with a focus on production by young people of media texts that are based on 'concerns and issues in their lives' (Goodman 2003:3). The existing knowledge that young people bring to youth radio projects is not only recognised, it shapes the content of productions, ultimately leading towards a potentially transformed perspective that can then help to make sense of future experiences (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000).

The young people in these studies all came from areas classified as marginalised. These communities form a central part of the lives of the young people and are often negatively portrayed in the media. Central to youth radio projects is a process that works towards producing radio texts that draws from these communities, that looks to them as areas of strengths as well as challenges, an approach Smith-Maddox, Solorzano, (2002) describe as an 'asset based view' of communities. In youth radio the young person and their community becomes the curriculum. They are encouraged to look within themselves and around their local areas for content for their programmes. This presentation of their subjective experience and their communities as legitimate sites of study and knowledge is inspired by a rhizomatic model of learning where the 'curriculum is constructed and negotiated in real time by contributions of those engaged in the learning process' (Cormier, 2008:4).

2.16.ii Take a learner centred approach

AOMP calls for flexibility in how teaching and the learning environment is created. This includes not only the content as described above but also the atmosphere of a project. In the first instance, young people's interest must be raised by a project. Having a project youth centred and 'fun' are important

factors in attracting participants. This youth centred approach should give young people the space and confidence in which they can shape actively shape the project. Educators listening and allowing young people to speak in language that feels comfortable to them helps creates this space. Editorial decisions such as music choices, story topics and overall mood should be co-created, with young peoples views being actively incorporated. An AOMP program should promote authentic and meaningful involvement where youth have opportunities for connection to others leading to self-discovery (Kreuger, 2005). If the goals of an AOMP project include extension of reflective skills, increased confidence and communication skills, then these should be practiced within the group as part of the practice and not suddenly arrived at as outcomes. This looks at affective outcomes from a learning environment. It adopts a socio-cultural approach to learning that looks at the relationships between "human mental functioning on the one hand and the cultural, institutional and historical situations in which this functioning takes place" (Wertsch, 1994:203).

2.16.iii Activate and involve the participants

Ideas around experiential learning are not new (Dewey 1910). Youth radio projects are centred on the process of producing radio texts. Participation in projects is voluntary and so looks for intrinsic motivation (Larson 2000) from young people to take part. Involvement of participants is one where the young people actively shape the project.

2.16.iv Product orientated

In my review of the literature I highlight the 'process v product' debate. In much of the literature on youth engagement in producing media relatively little attention is paid to product or audience. Action orientated media pedagogy calls for a product focus. Gunnel (2006) asserts that when products produced in development settings are made available to the public they are given "journalistic relevance and are no longer seen as exercises performed tentatively in sheltered situations" (Gunnel, 2006:55). This product focus became a key part of my approach to teaching. I encouraged participants to consider layers of audience and how this relates to the product they were making. Rather than

being an end itself, a focus on product was intended to improve the 'process' of learning. During the fieldwork sessions the young people were urged to consider themselves as legitimate participants in audio production and not as novices in a foreign setting. A focus on product served to create an atmosphere of professionalism and pride in the work they were undertaking. This approach stands in contrast with much of the current broadcasting by young people on Irish community radio.

My early plan for the fieldwork studies was to focus on current affairs and features as the radio genres the young people would learn and produce. During the studies it became clear that a rigid approach would not best serve the participants or remain true to the ethos of having projects youth-led. On the Wired project the young men were particularly keen on using hip-hop as the mode of expression. After initial misgivings I adopted a flexible approach and incorporated hip-hop into our sessions. During this period I was keen to find a suitable theory to support this mode of expression. There is a strong tradition in education research in using hip-hop in the classroom notably (Rodriguez 2009, Kelly 2013, Belle 2016). Akom (2009) goes further and has argued that hip-hop can be used as a critical pedagogy. Critical hip-hop pedagogy starts from the premise that

> hip-hop is an important lens for socio-political analysis and representation of marginalised communities and that youth driven research on hip-hop and popular culture is an instantiation of reading and acting upon the world that is critical pedagogy. (Akom 2009:55).

This critical pedagogy seeks to recognise the value of hip-hop as a 'reading of the world'. Embracing hip-hop as a learning practice became an important method of including participants who showed little appetite for more traditional approaches to journalism but were enthused at writing lyrics often with a clear critical stance. This flexibility in allowing young learners to direct the practice of the projects proved to a key part of the overall approach to structuring the learning environment. This recognition of the roles other genres of audio production can play was formative in my development as a researcher and trainer.

2.17 Communities of practice

The work of Wenger (1998) has been influential in how I approached the design and delivery of the case studies. His ideas on the character of 'reification' as "not only in their form but also in the processes by which they are integrated into ..practices" (Wenger, 1998:60) has been especially useful in helping me to develop my own pedagogy for youth radio projects. Understating the interplay between product and process and how to best leverage this for the benefit of learners is at the core of my model. His thoughts on identity in practice link well with other writers on identity but Wenger adds the dimension of participation in practices as a means to developing identity, something this research was aiming to do "identity in practice is defined socially not merely because it is reified in a social discourse and of social categories but also because it is produced as a lived experience of participation in specific communities." (Wenger, 1998: 151). He further links learning to identity noting how "learning transforms who we are and what we can do, it is an experience of identity" (Wenger, 1998: 215). Also influential in his work are the ideas of "generational encounters" (Wenger, 1998:99) where new and old members of a community of practice can meet and share and also his writing on imagination and building a reflective practice.

2.18 Storytelling as tool

During the course of the field studies it emerged that the young people had a rich repertoire of experiences and perspectives they wanted to share. Often during planning sessions participants would relate events from their lives in the course of developing an idea for broadcast. Many of these stories did not become radio pieces but the opportunity to share and contribute to an open dialogue was an important part of the ethos of the case studies. Certain items that were included in production were easier to craft as traditional radio pieces, which were scripted or interview based. Exploring other genres of radio production required a different toolkit. This was particularly the case with more personal accounts, discovering how to translate these into radio texts that engaged the young

people led to an embrace of narrative as tool using first person radio feature production as the genre.

Storytelling of course is not new; it has been used throughout the history of humankind for teaching and learning (Abrahamson 1998:3). Stories help make meaning out of experience and is key to learning (Bruner 1996). Verbal story telling is held to be a universal human activity and has been considered an evolutionary adaption (Mellmann 2012:30) and stories are valued as "culturally constructed expressions that are among the most universal means of organizing and articulating experience" (Turner & Bruner, 1986:15). In his work on narrative Bruner (1994) spoke of 'turning points' – moments when people report a sharp change in their lives and as points of departure to a changed self. Bruner described such moments as 'thickly agentive' (Bruner 1994:50). Kamp (2004) notes of narrative that a story is always a narrative, but narrative structure is not always limited to story (Kamp 2004:106). In a comprehensive study on Storytelling and crafting an agentive self, Katz and Hull (2006) point out that people can develop agentive selves, using the repertoire of tools, resources, relationships and cultural artifacts – the semiotic means that are available at particular historical moments in particular social and cultural contexts. In western education, writing occupies the primary mode of assessment. I will argue that Storytelling in radio production can provide an alternative means for representation and construction of the self. Rather than viewing the various genres of radio texts as separate, they in fact are performing the same operation: allowing young people to develop agentive selves.

Aided by communication technology digital Storytelling is proliferating (Lundby 2008:1) and in recent years there has been a large body of international work devoted to Digital Storytelling and its place in education (Meadows 2003; Ohler 2006; Hull and Katz 2006; Lundby 2008; Robin 2008; Ivala et al 2013). However there is a clear gap in this literature in the application of storytelling in audio form. This is surprising given the oral nature of how stories are initially related. Audio is an ideal medium for crafting stories evidenced by the strong traditions

of audio documentary in Europe and present expansion of narrative podcasting in the United States.

Digital Storytelling revolves around the art of combining stories with a variety of digital multimedia such as images, audio and video. Robin (2008) notes that similar to traditional storytelling, digital stories revolve around a chosen theme and often contain a particular viewpoint. The Centre for Digital Storytelling (CDS) is a non-profit organisation in the United States from which emerged the seven elements of digital story telling. This guide has become widely used and appears in the bulk of the literature on Digital Storytelling.

Seven Elements of Digital Storytelling
1. Point of View – What is the perspective of the author
2. A Dramatic Question – a question that will be answered by the end of the story
3. Emotional content – serious issues that speak to us in a personal and powerful way
4. The gift of your voice – a way to personalize the story to help the audience understand the context
5. The power of the soundtrack – music or other sounds that support the storyline
6. Economy – using enough content to tell the story without overloading the viewer/listener
7. Pacing – deals with how the story progresses

Table 2.1 Seven Elements of Digital Storytelling. Adapted from (Robin 2008).

In the studies listed above Digital Storytelling has show to hold numerous benefits in an education setting. The most frequently cited benefit is the interest, attention and motivation for 'digital native' students (Robin 2008:4). In a South African study, Ivala et al (2013) demonstrated that Digital Storytelling allows students to develop their personal and academic voice, present knowledge to a community of learners, receive situated feedback from their peers and in part due to the novelty effect of the medium, students were shown to be more

engaged than in traditional assignments. Interestingly, despite the seven elements of digital storytelling being developed for a predominantly visual medium they can be directly applied to a purely audio mode of communication. I applied these seven elements with participants as a means of encouraging them to engage critically with their work and to appreciate they were authors of texts and so in control of their creative output. This emphasis was part of an overall strategy of creating an atmosphere of professionalism and reflection for the participants during the case studies. Summarizing the work of several researchers in the field, Brown et al (2005) identified the multiliteracies involved in Digital Storytelling. I have adapted these to replace a visual literacy with an audio literacy.

- **Digital Literacy** – the ability to communicate with an ever-expanding community to discuss issues, gather information and seek help
- **Global Literacy** – the capacity to read, interpret, respond and contextualize messages from a global perspective
- **Technology Literacy** – the ability to use computers and other technology to improve learning, productivity and performance
- **Information Literacy** – the ability to find evaluate and synthesize information
- *Audio Literacy – the ability to understand, produce and communicate through audio using a variety of sources, genres and techniques*

Finally, the pedagogy for teaching multiliteracies developed by the New London Group (1996) also played a key part in my design and considerations in conducting the fieldwork studies. The stages of, situated practice, overt instruction, critical framing and transformed design were helpful in structuring the training on the last case study and in analysing the other two.

2.19 Conclusion

In this review of literature I explored some of the key scholars on issues relevant to this study. These areas included youth and youth work, which I showed to be a contested space. In particular I showed the impacts that neoliberal policies, driven by a positivist philosophy, are having on the youth work sector. In the section on identity, other, agency and voice I discussed different understandings of these. The writings on these subjects inform my approach to conducting youth radio and give me a deeper understanding of the complexities of engaging in youth projects where identity development is a concern. Within the youth media section I outlined the major writers in the field and in the following three connected sections; 'process v product', editorial control and media education I demonstrated some of the potential pitfalls of engaging in work which seeks to co-create products between young people and adult workers. I identified the layers of audience, which became significant in this study.

I spent a considerable period looking at various approaches to youth media production. I found that no single approach had a direct fit for the study at hand so I drew from a variety of work discussed in this review of the literature. From these various approaches I identified common areas that informed the design of my approach. They are that projects should be:

- Youth led in production of content with involved, interested input from trainers
- Informal in relations between all
- Flexible in terms of length, genre and conversation flow
- Situated in the lived experience of participants
- Encouraging of a critical stance and inbuilt critique
- Product focused

A core aim of this research is to design and test a pedagogy that can be replicated in further studies, in Ireland and elsewhere. Following this review of the literature, I combined a number of relevant pedagogic approaches, paying

special attention to action orientated media pedagogy (Gunnel, 2006), pedagogy of collegiality (Chavez and Soep, 2005), pedagogy of multiliteracies (New London Group, 1996) and critical hip-hop pedagogy (Akom, 2009). This collection of literature helped me to frame my own research and deliver my case studies. During the course of this research I developed my own approach to youth radio that I call the 'learning model'. It combines much of the work of the above.

In later chapters I will show that translating young people's existing passions into audio texts can offer a platform for engaging young people in development work that is at once situated in their 'lived experience' and also enjoyable to them. I found that hip-hop in particular appeals to young men and Akom's critical hip-hop pedagogy (2009) aided this work in a genre of audio I was unfamiliar with. Through applying this theory I was able to locate hip-hop production within a critical literacy. This enabled me to offer an 'alternative form of participation' (Wenger, 1998) to several group members in the Wired study. Use of this theory offers an effective way of bringing popular culture into a learning setting. The pedagogy of multiliteracies (New London Group, 1996) provided me with the conceptual tools to build the workshop environment. Its clear stages of situated practice, overt instruction, critical framing and transformed practice are an ideal fit for the work at hand. In particular the stage of critical framing is vitally important as I attempt to a build critical awareness into my own pedagogy. I supplement this stage with my an 'imagined audience' and adaption of the work of Thompson (2011) leading to the development of a culture related to Wenger's (1998) 'reflective practice'. During the case studies, this stage was an exciting part of the overall project characterised by shared working on topics and a culture of critique. In addition the focus on modes of meaning in the New London Group's (1996) writing reinforced my belief in the suitability of using audio in a youth development setting.

In terms of the relationship between worker and participant, the pedagogy of collegiality by Chavez and Soep (2005) helped bring clarity to what is a delicate balance. For those working with young people in this context, care must be shown to not overly lead in editorial decision-making. Content must be jointly

framed but 'youth-led'. This is especially the case when there is a high emphasis placed on product. It would be easier to produce radio texts of a higher technical standard if senior workers took a more controlling part in their making, however this would diminish the agentive qualities of a youth radio project.

This work draws heavily from an action orientated media pedagogy framework. Gunnel (2006) notes that teaching in this way should be based on real-life situations, take a learner centred approach, involve participants and be product orientated. My own work could be seen as an extension of this approach. I used this and the above theories and added to them. My contribution has been to build a 'reflective practice' through the use of the 'imagined audience'. By opening up radio projects to other genres of audio production such as music and storytelling a greater diversity of participants can be included and a greater variety of content created. In my pedagogy I explicitly focus on teaching 'hard skills' with a view to building independence. My 'learning' model looks to have a product focus but one that is in dialogue with the process, whereby one strengthens the other and both are in service of the participants' development.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This research question seeks to explore the suitability of communication technologies in a youth development context, using audio as the mode of delivery within a community radio setting. Within this frame are questions concerning approaches to learning, pedagogy, sites of study, outcomes for participants and workers, audience issues, the wider sector and relevant stakeholders. The central strand of this research has remained consistent since the beginning. However there has been a degree of evolution in the development of the research questions as the study progressed and core research questions have been refined as follows:

- What are the learning outcomes for the participants in youth radio programs?
- What approach to teaching creates a conducive learning environment in this context?
- What genre of radio text is best suited to this work?
- Does audience have a role? If so what?
- What role is there for the community radio sector in this work?

This research is a direct response to the lack of theory and a concurrent absence of practical information on how to structure a progressive learning environment for young people using audio. Within an Irish context, the absence of theory and practice in this area is near complete. The dearth of context specific theory and the lack of potential study sites required a significant degree of creativity in designing a methodology to test my thesis. This lack of theory and observable practice led me to develop my own framework that drew from the available literature and was shaped by my observations and experiences through the four years of this research project. In this chapter I will outline my choice of methodology and show which tools I used to gather data. I will also explain my approach to the design of the pedagogy I used in delivering training.

3.2 Case study

During late 2012 and early 2013 I was designing an outreach scheme that looked to engage local youth groups in a program of community radio training at Raidio Corca Basicinn (RCB), a community radio station in West Clare. Prior to this outreach project I had the opportunity to observe existing youth broadcasting at the station on a project called Spice of Life. My aim for this new project was to deliver a program that built on the existing standard community radio training to include a greater emphasis on personal development for the participants. In the planning stages for this project I looked for examples and approaches I could adapt. During this design phase I found little that could be directly applied to the work at hand. This lack of suitable theory and practical guides to working with young people using audio led me to research the wider fields of youth work, media literacy and education. During the planning stage for the outreach work I came to the realisation that the lack of material represented a gap. I began to document the process of establishing this outreach work for the project that would later become known as Chillax.

My primary method of inquiry has been the use of case study. Case study work was chosen as this provided the most suitable method of examining the learning environment. Case studies seek to answer focused questions by producing in-depth descriptions over a period usually less than a year (Hays, 2004). Coming into this research my objectives of inquiry were tightly focused, in the first instance I wanted to test whether audio production is a suitable method of engaging young people in a youth development practice and if so, what are the conditions under which learning is best facilitated?

I drew up a research plan that was to document the case study at RCB. This was then to be followed with a period of participant observation at a community radio station in South Africa, Bush Radio. The learning from these two sites was then to be further enhanced by a third fieldwork study in Ireland at Wired Fm. My initial time frame for each project was relatively short at three months teaching with approximately five months planning.

My decision to use three case studies was an attempt in part at arriving at some level of generalisability. This included elements in the case studies that were successful and equally, those that were not. The attempt at generalisability was motivated largely by the lack of supportive material in preparing for the project and an early aim became the production of a guide book for those seeking to work with young people in this way. However, as I commenced my research I soon became conscious that the diverse social contexts of the different case studies would present challenges to my attempts at replication (Stake, 1995). This awareness of the unreliability of generalisations in qualitative research became clearer as the project progressed and has had a major impact in my development as a researcher. As well as the different social contexts where these studies occurred, the young people themselves each brought their own personal and collective histories (Thorne, 2005). The overall aim was to use a case study approach to evaluate what was working for the young people, what combination of teaching styles and approaches to the medium itself would yield the greatest benefits for the participants?

The first case study site was at RCB in West Clare. As described above the research began during the planning stages for an outreach project that was looking to work with a local youth group. This group comprised seven young women aged 14 to 16 years of age. The project was a collaborative effort between the radio station and Clare Youth Service. The youth group had been assigned a key youth worker, Kate Bluett. This was a 'targeted' youth group meaning the members had been identified by authorities including social services and police figures as being 'at risk' of negative developmental outcomes. During the active research phase I documented the progress of the study using an observation journal updated after each session.

In my search for relevant supporting material I encountered a field that was fragmented, with important contributions from several disciplines. However there was little in the way of documented evidence relating to similar efforts to establish a youth development project at a community radio site. My early

preference was to study a similar youth project in Ireland but found no suitable youth radio project. There were community radio stations working with young people but these projects were and similar to the 'laissez fair' approach I had already observed at RCB prior to the Chillax project.

The objective in visiting another study site was to observe and document how other organisations engage in this type of work. I was particularly interested in pedagogy and issues around partnerships with local organisations. Given the lack of material available in Ireland, I extended my search worldwide. I identified my two potential organisations as research sites: Youth Radio (not to be confused with the field of study) in the United States of America and Bush Radio in South Africa.

Youth Radio offered potential for a variety of reasons. Youth Radio is a charity specialising in Youth Media education based in Oakland, California. It is an area with a mixture of post-industrial, gentrified and marginalised districts. Youth Radio recruits its participants from local underserved schools. They take part in an initial 12-week training program at the end of which they can advance on to specialisations in radio/audio, music or video production.

Youth Radio interested me for a number of reasons. Firstly it has an excellent track record in producing high quality radio products. These products have made their way to large audiences through being rebroadcast on National Public Radio. While being tightly product focused, Youth Radio remains grounded in youth development principles. This balancing of outcomes was something I was interested in exploring in my own work. As well as producing arresting radio products, Youth Radio has also been the site of excellent research carried out by among others, Soep and Chavez (2005, 2010) and Huesca (2014). The pedagogy of collegiality developed by Soep and Chavez who both taught at Youth Radio has influenced my own work.

The other potential site I identified was Bush Radio in Cape Town, South Africa. Bush Radio is the oldest community radio station in Africa and has a long

tradition in alternative media and is a pioneer of radio broadcasting with young people and children. This progressive approach to integrating young people into the heart of a community radio station I found appealing. In addition Bush itself has been the source of progressive scholarship notably Bosch (2009). I chose Bush Radio as my site of study primarily because Bush was a community radio station rather than an explicit afterschool project. This was significant as I was interested in comparing how community radio stations engaged with young people. I was interested to discover to what extent learning at Bush Radio could be understood within a 'community of practice' (Wenger, 1998) framework specifically whether 'generational encounters' were built into the station's modus operandi.

The aim of the final fieldwork study was bring together my analytic generalisations from both sites and test these with a new group. The site for this study was at Wired FM; the community radio station attached to Mary Immaculate College. Wired FM is the only fully licensed FM community radio station in Limerick City. The young people on the Wired project were from Limerick City itself and the research was conducted in partnership with Limerick Youth Service. Limerick Youth Service has a robust tradition in youth work and this research was strongly supported by the manager, Damian Landy and involved Frankie Daly, a youth worker. I chose to work with young people from Limerick partly because I know the area well as I had spent two years as a journalist with a local youth–focused commercial radio station in the city. Based on my prior two case studies I knew that local knowledge was an important part of rapport building. I also chose to use Wired for practical reasons as it allowed me a degree of flexibility with scheduling the project. This flexibility was aided by the generous support of station manager, Ray Burke.

During the research planning phase, my aim was to bring together the learning from the first two case studies to form a synthesis of theory and practice to be tested at the third study site. This final study was then to assist towards creating a concrete map for future workers in the field. This early aim was naïve as I had not carefully considered the impact variables would have on this research (Stake,

1995). The difficulties of replicating qualitative work in different contexts and the role of variables presented me with learning opportunities albeit not the ones I initially expected. The insights gathered from the three fieldwork studies do contain common findings, which I present later. The difficulties I experienced surrounding replication I argue will add to the theory for future researchers and for those in the field.

Conducting this research over the past four years has been a twofold inquiry. In the first instance my research aim was to explore audio production in a youth development context. I eschewed a narrow focus that overly drew from one academic discipline to one that engaged wholeheartedly in a broad social science research project. The second inquiry was of a more personal nature as at times I grappled with my own limitations as a researcher. Each stage of this research process presented challenges of varying degrees and often they were of an epistemological nature. Initially I anticipated choices around methodology to be a straightforward activity, one that was pragmatic, seeing case study work as the 'natural' home for this work. My final fieldwork study would then test my learning to 'arrive' at a guide for future workers in the field, this I now regard as an approach that could be characterised as positivistic, one that ignores the complexity of qualitative research. Through the research process and careful consideration, I refined my approach to come to a more nuanced understanding of my research area.

This research is largely grounded in critical theory, particularly of Education, Literacy and Culture. This critical stance extends to my consideration of suitable methodology and my own position as a researcher. Lather (2004) cites four properties that characterise critical research design:

> (1) they explore more interactive, dialogic, and reciprocal research methods that work toward transformative action and egalitarian participation;
> (2) they connect meaning to broader structures of social power, control, and history;
> (3) they work toward open, flexible theory building grounded in both confrontation with and respect for the experiences of people in their daily

lives and profound skepticism regarding appearances and "common sense";

(4) they foreground the tensions involved in speaking with rather than to/for marginalized groups in a way that works against the central danger in praxis-oriented empirical work: that of "emancipating" people in a way that imposes a researcher's agenda (Lather, 2004:209).

This critical approach to research design fits well with connected theories of pedagogy (Freire, 1970), literacy (Goodman, 2003) and participation (Hart, 1992) that I was exploring during my planning stages. Issues of dialogue, power and ethical stance in treatment of 'agency', 'identity' and 'voice' are at the heart of much of this study, the final point above from Lather is especially pertinent and a theme I return to throughout much of this work. Habermas (1974) recognises three categories of human interest that underscore knowledge claims: Prediction, Understanding, and Emancipation. This research lies within the category of Emancipation. Oriented toward the interests of marginalised social groups, an emancipatory, critical social science "develops out of the social relations of the research process itself, out of the enactment of research praxis that uses intellectual effort to work toward a more just society" (Lather, 2004:208).

The decision to use a case study based methodology was centred on the needs of the research question, the 'case' in case study (Yin, 1994). How I used this method was influenced however by other approaches including critical challenges to qualitative research. Noblit (2004) characterises critical ethnography as the joining of critical theory as the form of social analysis with the methodology of ethnography, as part of a critique of ideology and domination. Carspecken (1996) writing on critical ethnography noted oppression should be "studied, revealed and opposed" (Carspecken 1996:6) but crucially he further turns this critical approach on itself when he notes that claims to valid findings are in themselves acts of power. In my case study work, my approach to observation is influenced by this critical position. Throughout this research I attempted to remain aware of the relations among structure, process, and power that configure social settings (Foucault, 1980). This recognition of structural conditions presents a challenge to the idea of arriving at

an objective presentation of reality. This 'legitimation crisis' (Habermas, 1975) means that qualitative researchers cannot make a strong claim that what they report is the truth about those studied (Noblit, 2004:192). This conflict between positivist and postpositivist traditions has run through intellectual thought for over a generation. At the very least the awareness of these debates has helped my development as a researcher but more importantly it had a direct impact on how I engaged with research participants during this project. It led me to ask questions of the research including, what is its purpose? Was it emancipatory or a self-interested project to further my career? How accurate were my interpretations of what I observed? Did I correctly read the "final signified" (de Saussure, 1959) behind the language and gesture of participants? Is this even possible?

Adding to these questions of legitimation and positionality is the concept of 'Other' and its place within this research. The young participants on all three case studies were from what are classified as marginalised communities. My decision to work with participants from such communities was motivated by the Freiriean will to extend opportunities to those traditionally denied access to power. There is a danger however in treating marginalised young people as exotic in research work. Elsewhere I discuss Fleetwood's (2005) dis-ease with presentations of 'realness' and authenticity of youth of colour in digital storytelling products. hooks (1999) writing on the use of people of colour in Western popular culture writes that "within commodity culture, ethnicity becomes spice, seasoning that can liven up the dull dish that is mainstream white culture" (hooks, 1999:179). These warnings were important considerations during the active phase and in later analysis and write up. I questioned to what extent my preconceived notions of working class young people in Ireland and youth of colour from townships in South Africa directed my gaze as a researcher? Would I be drawn to sensationalism and stereotype? Further to this, Johnson-Bailey (1999) exploring the concept of 'Other' within feminist scholarship points out that traditionally there had been a tendency to treat women as a monolithic group. This serves to underscore the imperative to recognise the multiple subjectivities of participants and not have them act as spokespeople for their

community, their ethnic group or indeed for young people broadly a position that echoes a finding made by Manchester (2008).

3.3 My position as researcher.

My own position to the participants was that of external-outsider (Banks, 1998). A multitude of factors influenced how I was perceived by participants including my gender, race, age, accent and others (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). I occupied various roles throughout this study including trainer, participant observer and interacted with a variety of people at different levels. My role in delivering training to the young people is especially complicated given my responsibility to integrity in this research. This complication had several dimensions including my desire to create a positive experience for the participants, maintain a duty of care for their safety and remain independent so as to conduct clear research. This however is human work and the natural flow of a human relationship is one based on reciprocity (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). This reciprocity was an outcome of engaging in human interaction but also serves to assist in building rapport with research participants, something that was crucial if the case studies were to proceed at all.

Prior to undertaking this research project I had worked for two years in Limerick city as a journalist at a youth-focused commercial radio station, Spin South West. During this time I made several documentaries looking at youth issues in urban and rural settings. My approach to this documentary work included having young contributors narrate, write music, and suggest content. One project I worked on examined the urban regeneration project in Limerick City. This ten-year multi-agency plan involved massive government investment in four marginalised communities. For this documentary I worked with four young people from the affected areas who recorded their own observations of the changes they were witnessing. The documentary concluded with the young people interviewing, the head of the Regeneration Agency. Working on this documentary allowed me the opportunity to get to know parts of Limerick City that are usually closed to 'outsiders'. This experience of working closely with young people gave me a valuable grounding in some the issues that were of

importance to at least these young people. It also demonstrated to me that despite the common perception that young people are apathetic and disengaged, when given the opportunity young people are often willing to engage in critical work using media. Despite these formative involvements I was mindful during this research not to let my earlier experiences overly guide my present work. Scott and Russell (2005) warn against assumptions that there will be a convergence of values across study sites when engaging in participative and activist strategies. I carried my observations across study sites but each new site presented new challenges and I was guarded against assuming a universal positive attitude amongst the participants.

3.4 Ethical Considerations

Engaging in qualitative research calls for a careful examination of one's ethical approach. There is an extra dimension when the research is working with minors. These ethical considerations include the mandatory internal ethics committee but do not stop there. The pedagogy I used in this research involves co-creating the learning environment and creating audio products. This method of producing requires a careful reflexivity to maintain the integrity of research and practice a duty of care to the research participants.

My priority throughout the active phase of research was to ensure there was a safe environment for the participants. We worked through a dialogical process to produce the audio texts for broadcast. As well as researcher, my role was of trainer and mentor. The production process of texts was one characterised by 'youth-led inquiry' (Chavez and Soep, 2010). My involvement however extended beyond trainer to a position that used critical framing (New London Group, 1996) to encourage the participants to challenge preconceived ideas they had around structures effecting their understanding of issues and themselves. This pedagogic position frequently involved me questioning assumptions and approaches to production that the young people were pursuing. I was conscious to attempt to remain value neutral. I encouraged the young people to examine their positions and consider alternatives without I overly leading them. This was

a delicate balancing act and one that was a constant feature of the case studies. This balance gets to the heart of my approach to youth development. It involves a continuous pushing of boundaries of participants without impeding their agency and remaining aware that 'voice' can all too easily gave way into ventriloquy (Fine, 1994). Producing a quality product at the expense of youth development was not part of this research.

It was made clear to participants that they were engaging in a research project. Anonymity was guaranteed to all minors who took part and the names of those who contributed have been changed. An information sheet was provided to guardians that included highlighted potential topics to be covered for example, sex, drugs and racism (attached as Appendix E). These subjects were included at the behest of the ethics committee. I was uneasy about their inclusion as I felt they in some way prejudged what we were expected to discuss. The participant-led nature of the research meant that there was no guarantee that any of these subjects were going to be a part of our discussions. Consent forms from guardians were also required for all participants. The participants themselves also received an information sheet explaining that this was a research project and outlined what could be expected. These are attached in Appendices. While having a standard committee-agreed approach is welcome and necessary these procedures "concentrate primarily on the initial review of the experimental protocol" (Cassell, 1978:140).

Informed consent in particular has been criticised for potentially creating meaningless rituals rather than improving the ethics of field research (Thorne, 1980:285). Tisdale (2004) points out that "although the presence of professional codes of ethics give the appearance of a common basis to resolve ethical dilemmas, the ground becomes shaky indeed under the feet of researchers" (Tisdale, 2004:13). As stated my approach to ethics extended beyond the obligations of academic committees and was woven in to how I carried out the research.

May (1980) denotes five types of ethics: teleological, utilitarian, deontological, critical philosophy, and covenantal. A teleological approach assumes a responsibility to pursue certain good ends. In the case of this research it will add to the body of knowledge in media education in such a way as to be of benefit to the wider community and future young learners in audio courses/youth development. A strict interpretation of this ethical approach would have seen me prioritising future participants over those who partook in this study if a conflict of interest arose. A related ethical approach to teleological is that of utilitarianism, which focuses on the good or harm that human action produces. Similar to a teleological approach, adopting a strict utilitarian approach would have placed the greater benefit for future participants. A deontological approach is concerned with acting in certain ways towards others regardless of consequences. Tisdale (2004:16) cites rights theory as an example of a deontological approach where "our duties toward one another are to equally acknowledge the natural, inalienable rights of every individual". This rights based ethics may be contrasted with a covenantal treatment where special relationships are recognised and a 'one size fits all' attitude may not work in practice. Finally critical ethics focuses on special obligations to oppressed populations where actions of advocacy are considered right actions.

A strict application of any of the above ethical approaches I feel would have compromised the research. Instead I looked to conduct research in an ethical manner, cognisant of the above positions. My duties of care to the participants and wish for a positive developmental experience as well as the critical stance elsewhere meant I orientated towards a covenantal/critical ethical position.

Over time I developed a liking for the participants and cared about them outside the confines of my research. I learned of their personal lives, their hopes, struggles and wishes for the future. At times this deepening bond caused me concern when some of the young participants revealed personal information to me. I was conflicted in that I knew the case studies had finite timescales but it became obvious to me that many of the young people were looking for a supporting relationship that would extend beyond the scope of this study. I left

all three study sites satisfied with data for my research but with a distinct feeling of walking away from young people who at times expressed vulnerability and clearly had needs that a short term youth project could not satisfy. This leads me to the belief that youth audio projects should be open-ended and that community radio stations should look to build long term relationships with young people in the community.

3.5 Methods.

This research aims to add to the understanding of the use of audio in a youth development context. Depending on the research question, it has been shown that a multi-method approach to research can be helpful in the construct of validity (Campbell and Fiske, 1959). The primary method of inquiry was the use of three case studies with the aim of developing grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Different tools were used to gather data and included interviews both formal and semi-structured, evaluation questionnaires, surveys, a literature review, content analysis, case study observation and design. The use a variety of methods was dictated by the research questions and issues that arose during the course of the study. The goal of this data gathering was not an attempt at corroboration (Schutz et al, 2004) but an understanding of the complex interplay of sociocultural factors at work in this study. This ability to gather data from a variety of sources is one of the strengths of case study research (Yin, 1994).

3.5.i Observation

Observation was the primary method of data gathering in this research. This observation included all phases and included my interactions with the young participants as well as professionals and observing the culture and practice within other organisations.

Participant observation is a label for research requiring some extent of social participation to document or record ongoing events. Gold (1958) proposed four participant observation roles: the complete participant, the participant as observer, the observer as participant, and the complete observer. The variation

in the roles can been seen as operating along a continuum where the *complete participant* does not reveal to those under study that he/she is doing research. This technique was impossible for this study as those under study were minors and so guardian approval was required. This aside, it would have been unethical to withhold this information from the participants. At the other end of the continuum is the technique of *complete observer*. From a practical level this was an impossible methodology as I at times I occupied the role of trainer as well as researcher. Gold's third categorization, the *observer as participant* stance, enabled me to participate in the group activities as desired, yet retain the main role of researcher able to collect data. In the early stages of each fieldwork project the competencies of the groups were poor in terms of basic skills. As the case studies progressed the participants developed their capacities both technically and in terms of editorial judgment. The increased autonomy of the groups was encouraging as it meant two things: the first was that the participants were acquiring skills, the second was that I was able to occupy a more detached position allowed me as a researcher to step back and observe.

Each case study ran for a period of three to six months. At the RCB case study I initiated the study but shared planning of sessions and group facilitation with Kate Bluett, the group's youth worker. At Wired fm I worked alone for each stage, the youth worker on this project, Frankie Daly took a hands off approach. On the Bush study I joined as a member of a team that was made up of station staff. In each project I delivered training. It was during these sessions that the majority of the observation work took place. The training sessions were structured around providing ample time for 'learning by doing'. Debates and conflicts were youth led and self-regulated with the role of trainers being to keep the sessions 'moving' and provide a critical voice in the production process. This structure allowed me space to step back and observe how the participants were reacting to the environment. At other times I worked one to one with young people on tasks such as editing or recording and here too I had the opportunity to gauge motivation levels and assess to what extent skills were being acquired.

The atmosphere at all three sites was relaxed and conversation took a natural flow. Sessions were structured to allow an open exchange of ideas and these conversations often went off topic. It was during these periods that I often got the greatest insights into the lives of these young people. These insights gave me a deeper understanding of the lifeworlds of the young people and often it was from these conversations that ideas would flow for programmes. This relaxed, open atmosphere in effect became part of my pedagogic approach and was chosen as much for practical reasons as intellectual ones. The studio setup at the radio stations included a glass wall between studio and control room. Occasionally I would observe awkward body language such as eye rolling and muted conversations between the participants. I interpreted this to mean the participants were growing weary but they kept their spoken opinions away from my ears, what Goffman (1956) describes as a 'back region'. I respected their right to private discussions and even though I could perhaps have gained deeper insights into the production process and their true feelings at those moments I chose not to insist on knowing what the issue was unless an obvious breakdown between participants was apparent.

Opportunities for observation also extended to situations outside of the physical study sites. At RCB the group conducted a field trip to a local radio station and at Wired the group were given assignments that involved conducting interviews. These opportunities provided rich scenes of social interaction outside the safe space of the studio where the young people had become comfortable. At the end of each session I recorded fieldnotes in a word document. These notes included descriptions of the session including conversations and dialogues that took place. Following Stake (1995) these fieldnotes were reflective in their nature and included personal appraisals of how I felt the session had been. I consulted these notes prior to planning the following session to review progress and amend the course to suit the participants with the aim of producing a better learning experience. Reviewing these notes was a key part of my final write up process.

3.5.ii Interviews

A variety of interviews were conducted during this research. They ranged from quite formal arrangements where I interviewed adult workers to more informal 'chats' with the young participants what can be classified as focused interviews and non-directive interviews (Merton and Kendall, 1946). When conducting interviews with youth workers, station staff or management I felt comfortable in my role as interviewer. These respondents all had experience of being interviewed previously and were clear about the research process. As such these interviews were at times rigid and I stuck quite closely to pursuing information and in asking sometimes difficult questions in the pursuit of data. Interviews with station staff extended to debriefing sessions.

When interviewing young people I adopted a different stance. The process here became closer to a chat and flexibility became key. I conducted the interviews aside from group activity and often during one to one training encounters. This was a pragmatic decision as I felt that by isolating the person and asking questions formally would have not created the best environment for research. Often interviews were conducted with two young people together and in these cases I encouraged a position where they could prompt each other.

In both contexts I encouraged respondents to speak openly and attempted to encourage a guided conversation style (Lofland, 1994) interaction to develop. I made infrequent interjections but also offered my own personal views and experiences to foster a spirit of reciprocity. Coming into this research I had significant experience in making radio documentaries that I feel was beneficial in the interview setting particularly in the ability to tailor ones approach based on who is being interviewed. Interviews involve a variety of skills most crucially the ability to listen and to demonstrate this to the respondent through body language and an empathic stance.

3.5.iii Debriefing

At the end of each session in the Irish case studies a space was provided for feedback from group members. This opportunity for feedback was often informal and involved simple questions asking whether they had enjoyed the session and if they felt comfortable with material covered. This was an attempt at building a research environment that was open to feedback. Having the young people direct the content was a central feature of the work and I attempted to carry this freedom and choice across the entire project. For instance I would ask groups what areas they would like to work with the following week. This flexible approach to the curriculum was important as I was keen to foster a sense of ownership of the project with the young people.

Within the RCB project, debrief extended to phone calls and emails between the youth worker and myself. We would review each session and plan the next. These debriefs were important in building a sense of where the group was. The youth worker's experience and knowledge of the group was especially useful. On the Wired project the youth worker was uninterested in debrief aside from a very general question regarding behaviour of the participants. At Bush debrief sessions were conducted less formally and usually occurred outside of the work environment. I believe that debriefing sessions are crucial for workers and researchers in this field as they enable an immediate review of work and help in establishing consensus as well as identifying practices which are effective and those less so.

3.5.iv Sector survey

In planning this research I searched for suitable sites to conduct participant observation studies at a community radio station in Ireland. This early work involved contacting several of the larger stations to enquire about this possibility. As none of the stations I contacted were conducting comparable youth projects, I looked to international studies and decided to conduct a second field study in South Africa.

I was surprised at the lack of engagement with young people in the Irish community radio sector. In 2017 I turned my gaze again at youth engagement on Irish community radio stations and embarked on a major survey. I was looking to discover what community radio stations were broadcasting youth programmes. Of those who were broadcasting I wanted to analyse the production process and final product.

I used Manchester's (2013) report on youth learning opportunities in the community radio sector in the UK as a model. This was done using an email survey and follow up phone call. For this I excluded radio stations that were operating under a 'community of interest' remit (5). The remaining 17 stations were spread across the country (Appendix J). The rate of response from my email queries was poor. I followed up my questionnaire with phone calls to station managers or programme controllers. Several of these calls provided interesting responses regarding some of the barriers community radio staff perceive to exist to youth development projects.

In addition to this major survey I used evaluation questionnaires at the end of the RCB case study. The survey asked the respondents to rate the efficacy of the project by giving their responses to statements using a numerical scale. The usefulness of this data is questionable. I observed the respondents fill out these questionnaires and they seemed disengaged with the process however there were some surprising results. I include this data in my appendices. Given the level of disinterest in this exercise in RCB I decided against using it as a tool on the Wired project.

3.6 Issues around access

Central to the success of any participant observation based methodology is access to research subjects. Once clear research questions were formulated and a plan made for the three projects, access had to be negotiated. Choosing the right fieldwork sites was contingent upon a number of factors, all the while keeping in

mind the objective of collecting data to will help answer the research questions. There were three main stages of site selection in each fieldwork study.

3.7 Study sites.

Before forming a group the first task for the fieldwork was to secure the use of a radio studio in which to conduct the study. Prior to embarking on this research I had worked in the broadcast sector for five years. Personal contacts proved to be a major help in sourcing radio studios in Ireland. In the case of the South African fieldwork where no personal connections existed, contact was made via email, 18 months in advance. My time in South Africa was self-funded. In the Irish sites access was achieved in one instance by virtue of being an employee of the radio station (RCB) and in the second by approaching the community radio station attached to Mary Immaculate College (Wired fm).

3.8 Gatekeepers.

The research participants on this project were young people aged between 12 and 16 years of age. In keeping with a tradition of social activism (Deegan 1988, Feagin 2001), each study was located within what are classified as marginalised communities. In Ireland, within these communities, there is state intervention for youth development in the form of government funded youth work services whereas in South Africa NGO's are more active on the ground. These organisations provide young people with clubs and activities supervised by professional youth workers and volunteers. It was to these organizations I made approaches to assist in forming groups for the studies. The pathway to group formation was different in each case and the experience of forming groups will form a part of my findings.

Youth workers are often seen as neutral figures in contrast to police or teachers from the mainstream school system. The neutral orientation of youth workers is vital to avoid the pitfall of siding with a gatekeeper who represents one side of a

faction, as the researcher may be seen as affiliated with that faction, it also avoids the danger when using highly placed individuals as gatekeepers, that the researcher may be viewed as a 'spy' in the community (Bernard, 1994, p.33). This aspect of neutrality was essential for me as a researcher to maintain in all three-fieldwork studies. For example, in the Limerick based study there are deep-rooted grievances between rival communities in the city. These grievances are more than mere local rivalries. From the period 2003-2011 there were thirteen murders in the city related to gang activity that was at least partially territory based. While these murders were not strictly based on simple geography, the feud was marked by severe distrust between communities, this distrust filtered down to young people who continue to harbor mistrust of their peers from other parts of the city. In earlier media documentary work I encountered resistance in my attempts to get young people from different communities to collaborate. The community rivalry and violence in the Cape Flats area of Eastern Cape Town, where the second fieldwork took place is of a different character where the divisions run along even narrower geographical lines with competing gangs often separated by only a road. Once the decision to approach professional youth work organisations was taken, two clear gatekeepers were identified.

3.8.i Gatekeepers, Youth Work Managers

In forming a successful group it is necessary to cultivate a good relationship with Youth Worker managers. These are the gatekeepers to the Youth Workers themselves who in turn are gatekeepers to the young people. In each case study I approached Youth Work managers and outlined the project at hand, its methodology and likely outcomes for the young people. This approach was initially done on an informal basis taking the form of a meeting between manager and myself. The next step was to provide a research proposal and examples of consent forms. Youth Work in Ireland is organised on a county basis. Youth Work managers are responsible for all the Youth Workers in the county. Each area is then broken down by region with Youth Workers being given responsibility for a particular part of the city or county. This approach makes

sense from a logistics point of view but does not help in breaking down barriers to inter-community dialogue. Once Youth Work managers supported the project idea, the doors were opened to the next gatekeepers, the Youth Workers themselves.

3.6.iiGatekeepers ii Youth Workers

Youth Workers are the frontline in youth services. They plan, organise and carry out youth work actions. These take on a variety of forms including sport, music and lifestyle activities. These after school projects are supplemented by youth cafés or drop-in centers where young people come to 'hang out'. While there, youth workers often engage in information activities usually centered around encouraging positive life choices, especially in relation to sexual health, drug and alcohol misuse, education and employment paths and other areas relevant to the young peoples' lives. Youth workers also act as mentors and counselors providing a safe and positive environment in which young people feel free to express themselves. Youth work activities take place in groups and young people are encouraged to negotiate the various tasks and projects in a spirit of teamwork.

Once the initial clearance from the youth work manager has been obtained and introductions are made to youth workers the next task is to approach individual youth workers and offer them the opportunity of becoming involved in a project. I had a mixed experience at this stage that I later document. Speaking on a more general level the steps to getting youth workers to take up the offer typically went from a group email to all youth workers in the county. The next stage was to deliver a presentation and finally direct approach from the researcher to the youth workers. Success in getting gaining interest at this stage appeared to depend very much on the attitude of the individual youth workers.

As in the case with youth work managers, youth workers have a duty of care to the young people. They will not introduce a third party to their groups if they feel the project or the person is unsuitable. In preparation I familiarised myself with the area the youth worker represented. This included basic information such as

where the area was, what housing estates were there and what some of the main issues were. This prior knowledge was key is being able to demonstrate my credentials as a knowledgeable researcher. As stated previously I had the advantage of working as a journalist in each of the communities so I had some prior understanding of the issues. In the case of youth workers and their managers it was agreed that a copy of the final research report would be made available to them.

In the case of the South African fieldwork study I joined a pre-existing structure and so did not have to negotiate access. At Bush Radio participants come from the local school system in the Cape Flats region and through referrals. Participants also come from further across Cape Town. The aim in doing this is to recruit a diverse body of students for the program with the hope of encouraging better inter-community understanding.

3.8.iii Participants.

Each phase of gaining access carries the risk that the study will cease. To be in a position to offer training to a group of young people requires months of correspondence and trust building with youth work professionals. At all stages the young people were in control over the decision to partake or not in keeping with the voluntary nature of youth work. It is important not to foist a project upon a group of young people, as this will almost certainly guarantee its failure. They may have had difficulty in school and with authority figures so it was important from the outset to offer the radio course as something that they could make a positive, active choice in doing. This voluntary aspect of youth work is one of the defining features of the field (Seebach, 2008).

Both Irish field studies took different paths but in both a general plan was made by the youth work manager, youth workers and myself. This plan was a rough guide for what lay ahead. Once this was established I was introduced to the young people at their youth centers. My task was to gain their interest. Again I was fortunate in that I could draw from my experience as a producer in a commercial regional radio station that was popular with this age group. Rather

than delivering a power point presentation I sat with them informally over cups of tea and asked them about their level of interest in radio. Invariably this was said to be music, a marked difference with South Africa where the communicative power of the medium was apparent to the students from the outset. The unanimous interest in music amongst the Irish young people became a way of stimulating conversation. I kept the conversation on their terms asking who their favourite artists were and whether they heard enough of them on the radio. This sparked a debate in that the young people felt commercial radio was 'ok' but did not truly reflect their taste in music. I asked them to play samples of what they liked, partly out of curiosity but mostly to engage them. There was little point in talking about 'youth voice' or how they felt their communities were being represented at this early stage as they were unaccustomed to talking or thinking about the using the media in this way.

In many ways these initial meetings were microcosms' of how DeMunck and Sobo (1998) describe the process of a researcher gaining acceptance in participant observation studies, which they describe as a:

> process of hanging out that involves meeting and conversing with people to develop relationships over an extended period of time - there are three stages to the hanging out process, moving from a position of formal, ignorant intruder to welcome, knowledgeable intimate (DeMunck and Sobo, 1988:43).

The first stage is the stage at which the researcher is a stranger who is learning the social rules and language, making herself/himself known to the community, so they will begin to teach her/him how to behave appropriately in that culture. In my case I was in a youth culture. My displays of cultural competency in terms of music and apps for phones bought me some acceptance or at least opened a dialogue. In the second stage, one begins to merge with the crowd and stand out less as an intruder, what DeMunck and Sobo call the "acquaintance" stage. During this stage, the language becomes more familiar to the researcher, but he/she still may not be fluent in its use. My experience in commercial radio and earlier work meant I was aware of local slang and had a rudimentary understanding of the local communities. However I needed to be judicious in how I displayed this cultural knowledge for as Fine (1988) points out a false

attempt at rapport can backfire. The third stage they mention is called the "intimate" stage, during which the researcher has established relationships with cultural participants to the extent that he/she no longer has to think about what he/she says, but is as comfortable with the interaction as the participants are with her/him being there. At no point in any of the fieldwork studies did I feel I reached this 'intimate' stage. An expectation of doing so would have been unrealistic. Even after being involved with a project for months, sharing hours together and having warm relations I would remain outside the intimate stage. I was older, spoke differently, was conducting research and even though learning was done in a dialogical way – I was still viewed as somewhat of an authority figure. Throughout I displayed an attitude of respect towards the young people. They found I was prepared to listen to them and that I felt they were at times relaxed in my company. This acceptance notwithstanding, power issues whether or not those involved in the study recognise them, are "central to relationships between the researcher and the researched" (DeMarrais, 2004:64).
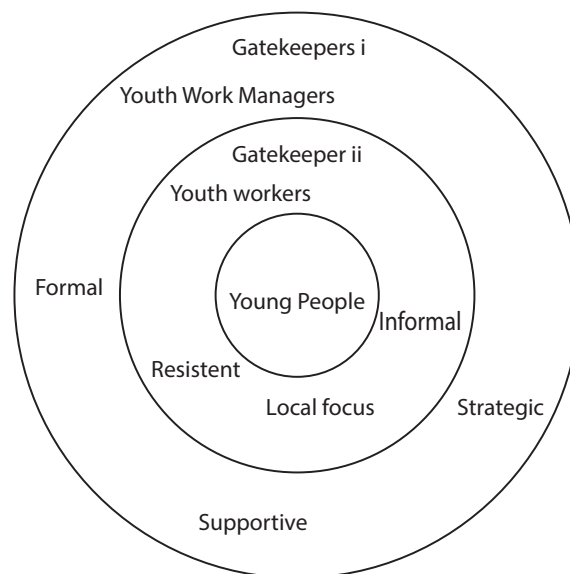
Fig 3.1 Pathways to engaging youth groups in Ireland

Figure 3.1 outlines my experience in approaching youth services to recruit research participants in Ireland. In general youth work managers were supportive of the aims of the project and embraced the originality of the concept. They were keen to discuss my research approach including my theoretical underpinning. Correspondences including meeting were formal and looked at long-term goals for potential participants. At the youth worker level I encountered a different reaction. There was far less enthusiasm for the project and I was treated as very much an outsider, in fact I found it easier to establish rapport and gain interest amongst the young participants than I did with those supposedly acting in their best interests. The youth workers who spoke to me seemed to assume I was naïve academic with little understanding of youth work practices or the reality of life in the communities where they worked. This notwithstanding the youth worker who engaged in the RCB project was open to new ideas keen to get involved while at Wired the youth worker was keen for 'his' young people to participate but he kept a distance from the project.

3.9 Prolonged engagement

Each fieldwork study was time intensive. I met with groups at least once a week for several hours over periods ranging from three to eight months. This extended period of time allowed me to build trust and a close relationship with the groups. It also enabled me to capture a large amount of data. Lincoln and Guba (1985) cite prolonged engagement as necessary to establish trustworthiness, they claim findings are considered to be more trustworthy, when the researcher can show that they spent a considerable amount of time in the setting. In the planning stage I assigned three months for each fieldwork study.

The length of engagement was I felt a minimum to assist the validity of the findings. Skills such as editing and desk operation are easier to measure and can be learned relatively quickly. While the acquisition of these skills, sometimes referred to as employability skills are welcome, they were not the main area of focus. A prolonged engagement allowed time for the development of a group ethos and application of critical skills. Moving beyond teaching 'how to' left me

free to do more observing of the groups in action. The data gleamed during these periods was richer for my lack of involvement in the process of producing content. Some of the richest data from came from periods of 'play' or informal chats. In a shorter project, time constraints mean these periods are virtually non-existent. The time frame for the RCB and Wired Fm studies both over-ran.

Attendance was sometimes an issue and school holidays interrupted the projects. Having the flexibility for an open ended timeframe proved to be useful in this case but I was conscious of my earlier initial plan at three months each. In the end I chose to allow the case studies to run longer as I believed ending at three months would have significantly reduced my data.

3.10 Rapport

In any use of the participant observation methodology, building rapport is critical. To use this methodology is to rely on those participating in the study to partake in the project. The researcher must cultivate at the very least a working relationship. In the case of this project where a dialogical pedagogy was used, building rapport was crucial.

Rapport is a difficult topic to articulate and explain. It fluctuates and can desert you as soon as it has been established (Kleiber, 2004). A researcher must constantly monitor the group as a whole and each individual member to gauge the level of rapport and can never be truly confident it is there. It is the most challenging aspect of any long-term participant observation study. Kawulich (2005) notes that it involves establishing a trusting relationship with the community, so that the:

> cultural members feel secure in sharing sensitive information with the researcher to the extent that they feel assured that the information gathered and reported will be presented accurately and dependably (Kawulich, 2005:15).

While there are no easy routes to rapport-building, behaviours such as active listening, showing respect and empathy, being truthful, and showing a

commitment to the well-being of the community or individual are essential. Rapport is also related to the issue of reciprocity. In the case of working with young people this is especially valuable. In each field study I often felt as if I were the one under study. In the first fieldwork site at RCB, the group consisted of 7 girls aged 12 to 14. Many of the young women came from a Traveller background and were very curious to know if I was married and how many children I had. When they learned I was still unmarried at 33 this provoked laughter and puzzlement. We later used this example to explore attitudes to marriage for content in the program. This honesty on my behalf and willingness to engage the group in chat paid off twofold: we deepened our mutual rapport and created content for a radio program. This example of curiosity from the young people was replicated in each fieldwork case, especially in the early stages. The young people wanted to know just who they were dealing with and I was prepared to offer details about my personal life in a spirit of reciprocity.

Flexibility in allowing the group to meander away from work was another strategy that worked in rapport building. Many of the young people who took part in this study had issues in school with authority. Adopting a rigid approach and sticking blindly to a lesson plan would have lost certain members of each group. In group work, once a key member decides to opt out or challenge the authority of the researcher keeping the group together can become a real challenge and lead to severely undesirable outcomes (Coffield and Borrill, 1983). Finally and perhaps most importantly, patience is key. Rapport is hard won and easily lost. Rushing the participants or displaying annoyance with them would not have helped the team spirit, accepting that not every session will see major or any progress is a part of this.

In working with groups of young people in this environment, a delicate balance between rapport building and authority must be kept. My role as researcher operated simultaneously with that of instructor and at times co-producer. This multilayered role was at times a difficult one to maintain. While the majority of contact went smoothly there were inevitable moments of challenge. Fine (1988) notes that some research with adolescents' places an observer in a position of

authority and such an approach carries with it its own threats where adolescents sometimes wish to 'break' the researcher and there may be a need for discipline. Fortunately, I did not encounter anything as extreme as this but I was tested by all groups at various stages. This was to be expected. Typically it involved one young person refusing to do a task. The resolution depended on the situation but I was consistent in adopting a strategy of negotiation rather than confrontation. An overt attempt to assert authority could have backfired but firmness was required at certain times. Remaining calm and in control of the situation were always my priorities. I was mindful that to come across as an authority figure would paint me in the role of a teacher such as they were used to from the school system. This was something I consciously avoided at all times even though I am an educator. Had I slipped into that role in their perception I believe challenging behaviour would have become more of an issue. When authority was challenged I subverted the threat by not reacting in a way they may have expected for example with warnings or threats of exclusion.

3.11 Approaches to delivery of training

In the planning stages before the first case study my research stretched across several fields. My prior experience in working with young people had been done with no training and little in the way of academic preparation. I realised that the RCB fieldwork study was going to be significantly different from my previous work as I was looking to build a more participative environment where young people were more in control of the project and my role would be as more akin to a mentor and trainer. This search led me to explore models of youth work including participation and various pedagogies.

3.12 Analysis of data

At the conclusion of the data gathering exercise I had a significant volume of material to be sorted. This included results from my survey of the sector, interviews, recorded material from radio shows and my fieldnotes. These fieldnotes were largely descriptive and helped in revisiting the projects. I began by working through my fieldnotes to review each case study. While doing this I

recorded themes that occurred across each site. This allowed me to identify common areas for cross case analysis that I used to write my findings. I attempted in my write up to bring out the personalities I encountered during the studies in an attempt to accurately represent the young people I worked closely with.

In order to organise my data for analysis I used a coding system. Charmaz (2006:46) describes coding as the pivotal link between data collection and explaining the meaning of the data. Theron (2015:9) views coding as an interpretative activity and notes how various factors will influence what codes are produced, not least the judgment of the researcher or researchers. In my work I reviewed all data and from this drew out events, comments, behaviours and other significant moments. From this large pile of data I built a database. I then sorted the data into five categories which were; pedagogy, experience of learner, properties of audio, implications for community radio and implications for youth work (table attached as appendix K). In the process of doing this I was able to consider what areas were relevant to this research and refine my data further. Through this coding process I then was able to identify to what codes I could attach the various findings with some occurring across all five codes and others only in one. In identifying and sorting these codes I was able to draw up a list of chapter headings which were further refined during the write up stage. Considerable time was spent in creating this database and the process of doing so allowed me to see the project in microcosm. Each code proved to be a rich area of further analysis allowing me to drill into the data.

Before I began writing my findings I revisited the literature to aid in the process of analysis. Before writing up began I checked back with people involved in the case studies such as youth workers, managers and station staff to help clarify certain areas. This process of consulting others helped in some degree to validate my notes and gave me confidence to reach conclusions in my findings. Despite using a variety of data sources to help in my efforts at validity, I recognise that in the end this work is representative of my experience during this study

3.13 Conclusion

Engaging in qualitative case study research calls for a careful consideration of method and ethical position.

In this chapter I have presented my methodology and offer a rationale for its use. I have also discussed the tools I used for data gathering and reviewed the pedagogic approaches that influenced this study. In the next section I examine each case study describing the setting, context and content. These preliminary findings will form the basis for later cross case analysis in my findings.

Chapter 4 Case study reports

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the three case studies conducted during this research. It begins with Raidio Corca Baiscinn in West Clare where I observed one youth project and conducted a case study of my design. The second case study examines youth radio at Bush Radio in South Africa and the third is the Wired project I ran in Limerick. Here I identify the major themes from each project, which I will later analyse in my findings.

4.2Fieldwork number one, Raidio Corca Baiscinn, Kilrush, West Clare.

The first fieldwork study conducted for this research was in Kilrush, West Clare. The project involved seven teenage girls aged 14 to 16. The project ran over a period of six months from October 2013 to April 2014.

4.3 Background to Area

Kilrush in South West Clare at first represents an unlikely site for a youth radio project. Located in the Shannon Estuary, in the far west of the country, Kilrush is a town with a population of 2,695 (2011 Census). The area is a historically impoverished region and continues to suffer from high levels of social exclusion. POBAL, the Irish government community development agency ranks the town as the fourth most disadvantaged community in the county, scoring -10.1 on the POBAL Deprivation Index, Killard and Kilkee rank lower and are also in South West Clare (POBAL 2011). At the time of this project, Kilrush urban district had an unemployment rate of 37.8% male, 23.0% female (POBAL 2011), within the communities served by this project the rates would have been significantly higher but figures are unavailable. The town has poor infrastructure, scant transport links and little in the way of public amenities or services.
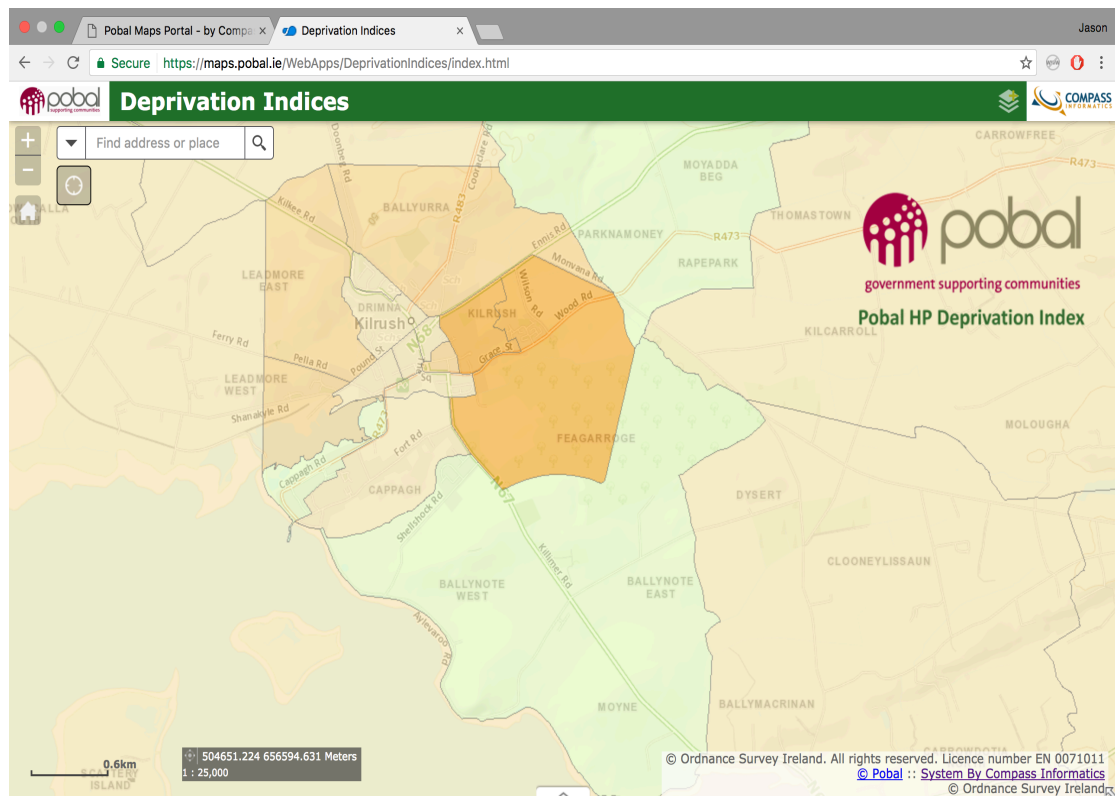
Fig. 4.1 Map of Kilrush showing deprivation index. Kilrush darker orange, (Pobal 2018).

High unemployment and geographical remoteness are features along the entire West Coast of Ireland. Kilrush however suffers from problems more usually associated with larger cities especially high levels of drug abuse, money lending, prostitution and violence. Since 2003 there have been numerous shootings and four drug-related murders along with dozens of serious assaults, a pattern that continues. The town frequently makes national headlines for the wrong reasons. In 2013 police interrupted heroin dealing outside the town's supermarket and again in December 2013 a large police operation arrested 11 people in connection with a violent money lending organisation operating from a vegetable stall in the town centre.

Kilrush's problems are compounded by a reluctance locally to acknowledge these problems. During my time as a producer at the community radio station, RCB, getting people to speak, even off-record, was difficult and when they did they often downplayed the town's problems. The area has in recent times been attempting to push itself as a tourist destination. Nearby Loop Head, won the Irish Times 'Best Place to Holiday' 2013 and community leaders, led by the

business community were attempting to attract visitors to the town. There is a feeling amongst these stakeholders including police and politicians that the negative media coverage only serves to damage the town's reputation. In 2012 at a Joint Policing Committee meeting in the town details were provided of efforts to tackle heroin dealing. At the conclusion of the meeting a senior police officer was quoted "the one thing we don't want to happen in this is that we don't want bad publicity for Kilrush" this was followed by the chairperson, a local politician who responded, "absolutely, I would ask for discretion from the press. We have to now keep our mouths shut and hope for the best" (Clare Champion, August 2013 and field notes). The town's social problems largely affect one local housing estate at the edge of the town, and there is a sense that the 'problem' is contained. The Local Government Reform act of 2014, abolished 75 town councils in Ireland including Kilrush. The loss of this further weakened the space in which people could highlight difficulties facing the town.

4.4 Background to Station

Raidio Corca Baiscinn (RCB) is a community radio station located in the town of Kilkee, approximately 10 kilometers from Kilrush. It has been a fully licensed community radio station since 2008, operating on a pirate basis before then. RCB is licensed to serve the historical region of Corca Baiscinn, which runs in a triangle from Kilrush to Doonbeg and everywhere west of that to Loop Head. The radio station was setup as a community development project to "provide a local information, entertainment and training resource for the people of West Clare by the people of West Clare" (RCB, 2008). Mary Farren, its first chairperson, commented that "radio just happened, it could have been any project but we were determined to set up a community development project in West Clare" (Farren, personal interview 2014).

The image of the three men in a *currach* is a classic image of the West of Ireland and is used in the station's logo (fig 4.1). It evokes an earlier time and is connected with a sense of tradition. The same can be said of the choice of name

for the radio station. Corca Baiscinn was a tribe of people ruling this area in the 8th century.

Figure 4.2 Raidio Corca Baiscinn logo.

These choices of name and image reflected much of the thinking of the board of the radio station and indeed the wider community. The choice of logo with its overtly nostalgic tone in many ways defined the character of the radio station. The adoption of the name and logo was not without controversy; a number of staff at the time favoured the image of a lighthouse to "reflect the maritime culture but also to represent the station as a project of hope, safety and opportunity" (Doyle, personal interview 2013). The radio station as community development project took a rather narrow view of what community it wished to serve. This was not the intention of the early founders but evolved overtime. Kilrush essentially represented a micro-urban environment with many associated social ills as outlined. This environment did not sit well with a classic west of Ireland view that the station came to embody. This was reflected in the station programming which had a strong emphasis on traditional music and culture, the environment and historical documentary programs. At the time I joined the station in 2012 there were no volunteers from the urban areas of Kilrush.

In recognition of its community development focus, the station receives funding from the Irish Department of Social Protection through the POBAL scheme. RCB is part of the Community Services Programme (CSP) which supports community businesses to deliver local services to their communities and to employ people from disadvantaged groups. This funding provided for a manager and four full time staff for the station, which compares favorably with other community radio stations these numbers have since been reduced to one manager and two full time equivalents.

The station is bound by its broadcast contract with the Broadcasting Authority of Ireland (BAI, the Irish broadcasting regulator) to uphold certain standards of programming. The contract states that programmes broadcast by the station shall:

1. Be of a general high standard
2. Be based on community access
3. Reflect special interests and needs of listeners in the specified area whom it is licensed to serve
4. Add to the diversity of programming already in existence in the specified area

(RCB, 2008:15)

The station has a 60/40, speech to music, air-time split. The contractual obligations to programming are further underpinned by the station's adoption of the AMARC charter (Appendix A) as a guiding philosophical document. It is prominently displayed in the station, a copy is given to all new volunteers and it is included as an appendix in the station contract. These documents together with the station's obligations under the terms of its POBAL funding, mean that the station has a responsibility to reflect in its programming, the community it is licensed to serve.

I joined the station as a paid producer in the autumn of 2012 working primarily on commissioned documentary programming. By summer of 2013 I had been promoted to the fulltime position of Programme Controller. The role of the Programme Controller was to manage and monitor the station output ensuring

that contractual obligations were being met. After spending almost a year at the station I was already familiar with the output. I identified gaps in the programming schedule and set about targeting various groups in the area through outreach programs.

4.5 Spice of life

When I joined the station there was a pre-existing youth programme. It comprised three girls and a boy aged 15-16. This group of four young people all lived close to the station and had a regular Friday night show called Spice of Life. The show had been running for over a year when I joined. I regularly interacted with these young people when they came to record and became friendly with them. This group was self-sufficient in terms of technical production and required no support to broadcast. They had full editorial control of the content of their show, Spice of Life could be described as a classic Irish youth radio model, an approach I term 'laissez faire'. The culture that these young people grew up with at the radio station was one whereby turning up to do a show was a success in itself, there was little, if any attention paid to the content of each show by station staff. Frequently the group would arrive at the station ten minutes before going live and prepare the show during that time.

As observed in other studies (Walker 2008, Marchi 2009, Hopkins 2011) the content of shows where there is little involvement of more senior staff or peers are largely derivate of commercial radio and typically of poor quality. This was the case in the Spice of Life program. There were frequent technical errors and little attempt was made to consider an audience other than themselves. The thirty-minute program sounded like a conversation between four teenagers complete with extended pauses and technical mishaps. This group proved themselves to be excellent volunteers and wonderful contributors to the lifeblood of the station. They made a consistent effort in fundraising activities and even attended the annual general meetings at the station.

As I got to know this group I began to work with them on the content for their show. This had to be delicately handled as they were used to a free environment where they had complete control and were clearly enjoying themselves, obviously I had to respect this and would not have wished to discourage them. I began by listening to their show and informally discussing it with them. They expressed an interest in learning more about radio production and so I gradually introduced them to skills such as editing and using portable recorders. These sessions were done on an ad hoc basis, as I did not wish to push this group away from the station by appearing to 'take over' their show. On one occasion, I showed the group a flier for a Youth Work Ireland scheme where a small grant of 200 euro was available to cover development topics. With my help, the group applied, was successful and went on to produce a programme on LGBT bullying in schools. During the production of this the group was highly motivated and began taking on other small projects within their regular show. The experience with this group demonstrated that these younger volunteers were more eager for learning than staff at the station had assumed. I continued to work with this group until they ended their volunteering at the station after they had finished school and left the area for college and university.

Outside of this group, the station had no volunteers under the age of 40. The absence of any younger volunteers from the nearby market town of Kilrush was particularly notable. Kilrush is the largest town in the region comprising a third of the area's population. The socioeconomic make up of the town should have meant that it was one of the places that the radio station focused its community outreach efforts.

4.6 Chillax

The experience of working with the Spice of Life team planted a seed and when I began looking for an outreach project in Kilrush, I had a good sense of where I wanted the project to go. The experience of observing and working with the Spice of Life team over an 18 month period led me to study approaches to radio training, particularly with young people. My earlier work at commercial radio

was primarily in creating programming for young people and later including young people in the production process of programmes as narrators, contributors and composers. I intended on this new project to be more ambitious in its approach to production. I hoped to create a learning environment where young people could learn the skills of radio production and apply these to critically examine issues in society. I was keenly aware of the difficulty and nuances of working with the concept of 'voice' in this context. In my role as programme controller, I set myself the task of looking for a youth project and I saw the town of Kilrush, with its large teenage population and few amenities as somewhere I could perhaps recruit potential volunteers for the station.

I began by contacting Youth Services in the regional head office in Ennis, the county town. From there I was given a couple of phone numbers of part-time youth workers. Those I contacted, including the youth worker on the Garda Diversion Project (Irish police) were less than enthusiastic about a radio course. Eventually I made contact by chance with a young youth worker, Kate Bluett, who had a group of seven young women aged 12-14. At the time this group were involved in a music project with a freelance singer. For this project the girls were learning pop songs accompanied on keyboard by the freelance worker. I offered the group our studios to record and during this session I asked Kate if she would be interested in perhaps working together on a radio project. Kate had been working with this group for three years and she felt that perhaps they needed a new challenge, especially given that the music project had not gone to plan and learning outcomes seemed limited from it. This was largely down to the fact that the singer working with the group seemed ill prepared for a youth work project and few opportunities presented for the girls to express agency.

Before the project got off the ground it encountered resistance at RCB. This was felt first at management level within the radio station. As mentioned, the station prided itself on its West of Ireland, rural identity. Championing rural isolation and offering training to older volunteers and those with disabilities was seen as the core mission of the station. An outreach project to the estates of Kilrush was

not a considered a wise use of station resources by station management. Acknowledging that Kilrush had social problems went against community representatives who preferred to focus on the positives of the region and promote tourism. The project also was going to be a labour intensive one and my manager was concerned that this work would take my focus off my other duties, particularly away from writing funding grants and delivering commissioned programming.

The Chillax project involved seven adolescent girls, aged 12 to 14 years of age, who were already engaged in a local youth project. All participants lived in the same neighbourhood, one that has been consistently identified as a socially disadvantaged area prompting the establishment of the youth project ten years previously. Many of the young people from the area are considered as being at risk of negative developmental outcomes, such as criminal behaviors, substance misuse, early school leaving, and long-term unemployment. The youth project the girls were a part of was funded by the Department of Health and was a 'targeted' project, this meant that social workers, police or teachers had identified members of the group for inclusion. This targeted approach to youth work is not without its criticisms as I explore in the review of the literature.

The neighbourhood the girls are from carried a significant social stigma locally. When the other younger volunteers at the station heard that "Shams" (local pejorative term for people from this area) were coming to get involved at the station there was much talk of why we were allowing 'them' to come. This reaction demonstrated some of the barriers that exist between young people at a local level. On one particular evening the two groups met by chance at the station and the atmosphere became tense. This was regrettable and in truth an experience that left me feeling despondent that these young people, separated by only a few miles held such suspicion of one another. These suspicions are largely inherited from family members. Since the completion of this project the area has continued to suffer from community violence.

Although Kate and I had experience of working with young people, this project was a new approach for us both. Over a period of three months Kate and I met several times to discuss what shape a radio project would take. Prior to the project Kate had worked with this group for three years and so had a good understanding of the group dynamics. This knowledge was valuable. It helped me to design a learning environment that would give the participants the opportunity for development on an individual level. Several of the group members had in the past displayed behavioural problems that were unhelpful including walking out of activities, aggressive behaviour towards other girls and workers and going absent while on fieldtrips. These behavioural problems manifested in a school life that often-involved discipline issues for all but one of the girls. Community and family violence was regrettably, a part of life. Several of the girls had family members in prison for violent offences including murder.

Kate reported that several of the girls had confidence issues that manifested in extreme shyness when communicating with people outside of their immediate social or family environment. The community the young women were from is cut off from Kilrush, on the periphery of which it stands. As a result people from this area tend to stick together. At school and in the wider region this area carries a social stigma that clearly weighed on these young women. Often this stigma manifested as shyness but at times the young women could become highly defensive and angry if they felt people were being disrespectful of where they were from, as happened when the two youth groups met at the station. Although they were proud of their area they were also highly critical of aspects of life there, this was a complicated position the young women found themselves in so early in life. Kate expressed reservations as to how this shyness would play out in a radio project. As well as identifying potential pitfalls, Kate reported that as a group they functioned well and were individually and collectively eager for new challenges. They trusted each other and were already mutually supportive and caring towards each other. Despite sometimes displaying shyness the group showed an eagerness to take on new projects.

The group had in the past two years been involved in two hip-hop dance classes, makeup classes and one music course. Freelance providers who were paid as 'trainers' by Clare Youth Service ran these courses. The girls had a mixed experience with these activities. While Kate reported they were good opportunities for group development they did not offer the girls many opportunities for personal expression or developing critical skills. Kate and I shared literature with each other from our fields of work and it became clear that we had a similar view of how the project could go. We discussed how feasible a radio project might be given the reticence of the girls to interact with those outside of their usual environment and how behavioural issues might play out. We felt the radio project presented a positive challenge to the group.

Our core philosophy was to encourage the girls to individually express agency. This desire to create a learning environment where self-expression could flourish was influenced by Percy-Smith's model of social learning (2006), which placed dialogue and equality at its core. I researched various pedagogical approaches and borrowed from several to influence the teaching style. From Soep and Chavez I was influenced by their pedagogy of collegiality (2005) that emphasised an environment where young people and adults co-create the learning environment as well as the radio text outputs. I felt that this approach would better serve the young women on this project as I could use my experience to mentor and develop skills with them. As well as this mentoring aspect, I was of the belief that a product focus would create a positive learning environment, particularly given my experience with the Spice of Life team who had no such focus. The aim in running this project was to create a positive experience for the young women and to draw learning from it, so that future workers in the field may benefit from the analysis.

Also influential was the New London group's pedagogy of multiliteracies (1990), particularly its organising stages of situated practice, overt instruction, critical framing and transformed design. I drew a link between using the 'imagined audience' and 'critical framing' to build an atmosphere of internal feedback, critical awareness that would lead towards the creation of a 'reflexive practice'

(Wenger, 1998) and an improved product/'transformed design'. The emphasis in this approach was at all times an improved learning experience rather than creating high quality radio texts. The finished product was to be a by-product of development and learning for the participants. In addition to the above approaches I found theory within Action-orientated media pedagogy (AOMP) to be a good fit for this project.

In light of the above theory I set the following broad goals for the project:

- Develop confidence in communication
- Expose the group to new ideas
- Work towards a culture of self-regulation
- Teach media skills
- Develop a critical awareness

I viewed these as a guide for direction rather than a set of pre-determined outcomes and purposefully left an open quality to them. Though I was working in a group situation, I was mindful at all times of respecting the subjectivity of the individual participants. The learning environment was to be tailored to allow individual contributions at the level the person felt comfortable. In addition I was also mindful that the girls should not be treated as spokespeople for either their community or their generation. At the same time the young women all came from the same community and I recognised that this was likely to shape at least some of the discussions we would be having. Similarly I anticipated that issues affecting young women in particular would form another area from which topics would emerge but again the girls were not there to speak on behalf of 'youth'.

4.7 Start up

As outlined in the methodology when I approached the group I had no guarantee that they would be interested in the project. Prior to meeting the group I agreed with their youth worker, Kate that should the girls reject the idea we would not have attempted to persuade them to do so.

The group typically met two evenings a week at the Youth Services drop-in centre in Kilrush. I joined the group on one of these evenings and was introduced by Kate. The meeting was very informal and slightly awkward as the girls were at first suspicious of me and I was very much seen as a 'formal intruder' (DeMunck & Sobo, 1988). I asked the group very general questions about their media habits and music interests, their responses were guarded. My previous role as producer on a regional music station, Spin South West a station that is popular with their age group provided an 'in'. After discussing the playlist and style of Spin South West a debate soon developed about how representative their favourite station was in terms of music. They felt that their music was not being played often enough on this station and instead they were using their phones to play music when they hung out together. What little radio they did listen to was absolutely limited to music consumption. Despite their apparent limited interest in media, they were all smart phone users and all social media users. Linking radio production with music and the idea that as social media users they were already producing content seemed to strike a cord with an initially dubious group. It must also be said however that the girls were bored, they did not want another hip-hop dance class and it was winter in the West of Ireland, if nothing else, the radio project was something different to do on a Tuesday night.

4.8 The production process

After a two-week period the girls indicated to Kate that they were interested in trying out the radio project. Together, the group, Kate and I agreed to meet on Tuesday evenings. The show was recorded on a fortnightly basis, allowing for a planning session at their youth club prior to each studio visit which I would facilitate with Kate. Each recording session would take place after some skills training at the station delivered by myself. Our plan was to run it over six weeks and within that timeframe record three shows.

The planning sessions involved the group meeting with the youth worker and myself for an hour or two at a time. These evenings were generally relaxed but there was a fairly heavy workload. The aim of each evening was to have a running order prepared for the following week's recording session. This meant finding topics, writing intros and selecting music. The first planning task was the allocation of roles to each participant for the show being prepared. Roles included producer, presenter, and sound engineer. With seven participants, there were typically three presenters, two sound engineers, and two producers. There was often disagreement amongst participants about who should occupy which role. Allowing participants to resolve these disputes internally provided valuable learning for the participants' ability to resolve conflict and make decisions as a group. Participants were encouraged to try a different role for each show, although some participants preferred certain roles to others and refused to change. Rather than insisting on rotation we allowed the group to manage these decisions independently. Overtime this division of labour saw individual girls excel in roles and others develop in unexpected ways. From the outset I encouraged the girls to consider themselves as professionals and to adopt the language around radio production. This was done to introduce the girls to the discourses around radio production and was influenced by the situated practice stage of the pedagogy of multiliteracies (New London, 1996).

In the planning sessions we encouraged the girls to think of areas of interest that they could create content from. The role of facilitators during planning sessions was to help shape topics by encouraging the group to reflect on their choices and by questioning, to draw out responses and challenge these. We began sessions by asking the group what they wanted to discuss. We also asked them to create lists such as What is important to you? What do you enjoy? What do you like about Kilrush? What would you Change? These questions then formed the basis for group discussions and from those discussions they selected material for the show. This work was done in pairs and as they worked the facilitators moved around and spoke with all of the girls. At the end of these exercises the pairs presented their lists on an A3 sheet of paper and the other girls were encouraged to give feedback. Once this was complete they democratically worked out which

topics would be included in the running order and later recording session. Once this was decided the girls began researching the selected topics on-line, and both Kate and I gave them tips on where to look for material. This provided me with the opportunity to begin to address issues of media literacy by explaining the difference between different sources of news. During planning sessions the girls also prepared scripts and drew up a running order. The assigned producers were responsible for this task.

In the first session we used the model of Spin South West to discuss presenting styles. The girls only experience with radio was from Spin South West or occasionally from Clare FM a local commercial station that was sometimes played at home but they did not report that they actively listened to it. The content on Spin South West is almost exclusively geared at music and celebrity items. This meant the girls lacked a frame of reference or to use the New London group's idea, the 'available designs' (1996) were exceptionally limited. We opted to use discussion formats they were familiar to this from their youth club work, to launch discussions and from these select items for broadcast. The girls wanted to include their own music choices, usually six songs per thirty-minute episode. This reduced the pressure of having to gather 30 minutes of material but also gave the show a youthful sound. In addition they had the opportunity to play some music not usually heard on commercial radio. The songs were used to segregate spoken word segments that were pre-prepared

I had material I planned to share with the girls, namely a variety of teenage radio programming from the United States that offered a different perspective on youth radio but I did not wish to introduce this early on in the project as I felt allowing them the opportunity to get comfortable in the studio environment was an early priority. The topics selected for the first recording were bullying, a fashion featured produced by Siobhan and a friend of the girls was invited in to perform a song.

Recording of their show was to take place on Tuesday evening at RCB studios in Kilkee. On the first evening the girls showed signs of being uncomfortable in the

new environment and were much quieter than usual. I began by giving them a tour and showing them basic studio operations. Each Tuesday at the station began with instruction from me in a different aspect of radio production. The plan at the end of the six weeks was that the group would have had a good basic training in the fundamentals of studio work, using portable recorders and editing. These skills were in addition to the content creation work that the planning sessions involved. The second planning session went smoothly and the girls were quick to get down to work. The main topic chosen concerned a lack of things for young people to do in Kilrush. For this the girls worked in pairs and came up with a list of things they would each like in the town. They then presented their ideas to each other and discussed them informally. My role during this was to prod them with questions regarding the specifics of where they would want the facilities but also asked them how they passed their time in the absence of such things. The girls decided to have a discussion during the show about the facilities they wanted in the town. The following is a transcript of this discussion from their second show:

> Ciara: What we would like to see is a running track, skate park, swimming pool and hurling club. What facilities do you think are important Maria?
>
> Maria: I think the facility we need in Kilrush is a hurling club because there are a lot of great people in Kilrush and they are very good and maybe one day they could be in an All-Ireland like the Clare team of this year.
>
> Ciara: And what about you Caitlin?
>
> Caitlin: I'd like to see a swimming pool cause it gets everyone together and it makes a lot of money for the community
>
> Ciara: Yeah, I think that too, Nicola?
>
> Nicola: I think there should be a cinema cause there used to be one years ago and young and old went into it and it would be great for the community. Siobhan?
>
> Siobhan: I'd like to see a Pennys cause there's a load of people like shopping there and they have to go all the way to Ennis.
>
> Ciara: Karen?

Karen: I'd like to see a graffiti wall cause you always go to Ennis and see them and it would be nice to brighten up all the burned out walls from all the building that aren't been used anymore

Ciara: And guys what do you think is stopping the facilities?...Sarah?

Sarah: I think people are too lazy and a lack of co-operation.

Ciara: Ok, is it people (not) pushing themselves to the limit or being too lazy altogether?....Nicola

Nicola: Being too lazy! (Chillax, transcript, November 2013).

In truth the discussion was weaker in contrast to the lively debate that they had during the planning session, as it was clear they were only getting used to being in a studio. When Ciara tried to move the conversation on from a list of things they wanted to asking the question "What's stopping the facilities?" the other girls were nervous about giving answers yet during planning discussions they had an animated conversation on this. I draw two inferences from this; the first is that despite having a product focus the process behind producing that product is where much of the learning occurs, if one was to judge the outcomes of this project purely by examining the finished product one would miss a lot of positive instances, which are difficult to capture. The second inference is that this group was, from a very early stage, looking to critically examine issues.

By now the girls were beginning to manage the division of labour themselves. One girl Veronica, wanted to select the music and the other girls supported this. She appeared happy when I told her that an industry title for this position was 'Director of Music' and I overheard her telling the other girls. The second recording session went well. At the station I showed the girls recording and editing skills and they all had an opportunity to use their own computer and edit a simple piece. I first asked them to sit around and watch me before they recorded each other and edited a section. This type of overt instruction was usually kept to about ten minutes before they had a chance to practice. I provided one to one coaching during this period. By now the project had been running four weeks and I was impressed by their commitment, attitude and

especially by their ability to learn skills in a quick space of time. Kate was more concerned with their behaviour and reported to me that she did not want the girls to start 'messing' but there were no issues. One of the goals we had aimed for was that the girls would self-regulate. For Kate the focus was on behaviour whereas I was hoping to see the group take greater ownership of production and allow me to step back. During the second recording session there was a key event which I felt highlighted the progress of the group overall. It occurred as the girls were in studio recording their second show:

Self-regulation in action

> Fieldnotes November 11th 2013
> During recording tonight the girls could not settle. Caitlin started laughing and couldn't speak. She tried several times to restart but the laughter spread to the others. This went on for about a minute. Ciara in the producer room grew impatient and said "okay guys we're recording let's go……GUYS!". They moved on - started laughing once more but then settled down"(Fieldnotes, 11/11/13)

This brief moment went by quickly but it demonstrates a number of things that I interpreted as being worthy of note. The first was to remind me that these were young women who were doing this training. When the course was going well i.e. ideas coming, skills being learned and we were working well together it became easy to forget that they had no experience in this type of environment. The only comparable experience was school and that for most of them was somewhere they did not enjoy. When they broke out in a fit of laughter it reminded me of being in school and trying to suppress laughter. I understood a little better in that moment how this experience in the radio studio might have felt for them. The more significant detail is obviously Ciara's intervention. Ciara was one of the younger girls at only 12. In planning sessions she was somewhat disinterested and at times it was difficult to get her to concentrate on the task at hand. She clearly enjoyed herself in the studio however. She was immediately drawn to the technical side of production and from the first recording session to the last she was one of two girls sitting in front of the desk operating the mixer. Ciara quickly learned the fairly tricky layout of the desk and monitored sound levels and recording inputs. When the other girls were laughing Ciara was not at all

impressed which they seemed to enjoy but she took control. One of the strengths of radio production is that it offers a variety of tasks, which call for different skills and Ciara found her home behind the desk. When this incident happened I was at the back of the control room trying to keep my presence to a minimum to allow the girls space to relax and not feel they were being monitored. After this happened I felt confident that I did not have to be constantly in the room with them and I let them know if there was a problem they could contact me but otherwise they were on their own during recording.

By the time the third planning session took place the group were showing signs of stress. There was clearly tension and some of them were withdrawn. Kate and I felt that perhaps we were pushing them too hard. Expecting a show planned by novices from one session was a tall order. While the Spice of Life team managed to plan a show in ten minutes, the difference between the content of both shows was clear with the Chillax group presenting carefully researched and written pieces. On the other side the Spice of Life team enjoyed their programming and kept returning. I wanted the Chillax group to have the same positive experience so we let the girls take their own pace in producing shows. If it took two or three planning sessions to get a show together that was fine by me. I suggested that they could take some evenings off from radio work to just chat and do their own thing. This easing of pressure helped with the mood of the girls many of whom had severe pressures from home lives. Planning sessions from then on were more relaxed and I got the opportunity to get to know the girls which I think helped us all to trust one another and build friendly relations. I encouraged them to come and use the station any time they liked even if it was just to go on-line. I wanted them to feel that the station was somewhere they could hangout. To my knowledge, none of them did so. This move to reduce pressure on production meant my six-week time scale was now not possible. However I made the decision to allow the project to unfold overtime and not set a deadline.

4.9 Editorial control

The Chillax project aimed to give as much freedom of expression as possible to the group. Overt instruction was kept to a minimum and the facilitators acted to help keep the discussions moving on and to offer critical perspectives, which the group was free to challenge. The young women participated in discussions, were curious about all manner of technical skills and generally showed an appetite for learning. It was clear to me that the group was capable and interested in extending themselves. As the project evolved and we got to know one another I began to encourage a greater critical approach to their work. This posed a central ethical question; if the group were free to do as they choose, then why interfere in content? I felt that intervention in this case was justified on the grounds that participants had more to gain from intervention than not, believing that a program that better challenged the group to realise their potential was within reach. This decision carried the risk of removing ownership of the programme from the group. It also raised the question of how to make expand topics while keeping the project interesting and relevant to this group. How this was done can be best illustrated by looking at a specific example.

4.10 The Fashion Slot

Each episode contained a fashion feature that was researched, written and presented by Siobhan. It involved outlining what adolescent girls were wearing locally and which celebrities' fashion they were following. This feature ran for two shows without input from Kate or I and would not have been without benefits as it involved planning, research, scripting, and was presented by a member of the group who was one of the more reticent speakers. During planning sessions we continuously spoke about how could we improve each part of the show. Kate and I emailed each other in the period in between sessions to 'check in', confirm times and suggest new ideas. In one of these email exchanges following a session that was less than productive Kate and I discussed how we could move the project forward. The project at this stage was six weeks old and we had done 4 sessions. For the most part it had so far been a positive experience however the girls were showing signs of fatigue, the body language and energy was not what it was at the beginning. We arranged a meeting where

At the midpoint of the project, Kate and I met and agreed that we should place less pressure on the group to produce material every week but at the same time increase the difficulty of the workload. Following this meeting Kate and I agreed that we would seek to increase the critical dimension of the project. We would do this not be handing over work to the group but rather to develop what they were already working on.

I worked with Siobhan to consider looking at Fashion from different perspectives including price, associated careers and the supply chain. She was open to new ways of looking at it and soon the other girls were involved in the discussion. Together we sourced online resources including videos regarding the issue of ethical fashion and watched these. One resource that particularly evoked a response was a video interview with an eleven year-old girl who worked in a clothing factory in Bangladesh. The interview initiated much discussion amongst participants regarding what they viewed as poor treatment of workers, including children, by exploitative employers in some clothing factories. The girls were clearly interested in this and I suggested they perhaps include it in their show. The idea of incorporating this different ethical perspective to the fashion feature appealed to the group. It was suggested by Kate and I that given that the participants themselves had previously been unaware of this ethical issue, they may like to see if other young people were also unaware. In response to this suggestion, the participants developed a short survey to be distributed at a youth festival they were due to attend. The survey asked respondents if they ever considered possible ethical implications when purchasing fashion wear and if they bought clothing from any companies who have been found to subject their staff to unfair and unhealthy conditions. The group surveyed other young people at the youth festival and the results were then used as material in preparing their show. The decision to conduct questionnaires was theirs and showed how the process of radio production could be transferred to other spheres.

The girls spent altogether a month preparing the Fashion Slot and decided to devote an entire episode to it. In planning sessions I demonstrated to the group they could use telephone interviews as part of their programming. I played the

group examples from National Public Radio and RTE of on-air interviews and asked the group to consider who they themselves could include. We researched ethical fashion sources and approached a U.K.-based academic, Helen Goworek, who was happy to be interviewed by the group. I helped the group in preparing questions by asking them to imagine what information they and the imagined audience wanted to know. The girls then contacted and recorded the interview with minimal support from me. This interview was subsequently broadcast as an item in their show.

This particular example of the Fashion Slot's development from a commercial replica to a well-researched critique on a contemporary topic reflected the evolution of the group and program over the six-month period. It highlighted that the group had much potential and were willing to take on new projects that pushed the limits of what they had previously done. The progress was not consistent, there were planning sessions in which little work was done and in these times I did not pressure or force them to produce material. I was careful not to direct the group or have them reflect my politics, to not practice 'voice' as 'ventriloquy'. I presented the group with a variety of options of how they may develop each part of their show and also to view the topics they were working on within a larger context. At all times I was careful to observe whether this was demotivating to them, but I did not see evidence of this. During times of stress or lack of enthusiasm I did not push the group and this I feel helped in maintain a positive atmosphere.

4.11 De-briefing and Evaluation

At the start of each planning session, Kate, the participants and I evaluated the previous show or session and the progress of the program overall. This evaluation was discussion-based and involved me putting open-ended questions to the group to prompt participants to reflect on their learning and on what they would like to change. This evaluation often involved dialogue regarding the participants' behaviour both towards each other and the facilitators, this provided opportunities for particular unhelpful behaviours to be challenged and

pro-social ones (such as teamwork) promoted. While behaviour was an important part of these debrief sessions in the early stages, overtime this faded away and in debrief, focus was on what the group enjoyed and what they wanted to do next. Additional de-briefing between the facilitators also took place after each session with the aim of planning how the groups' learning could be enhanced.

4.12 Summary

The RCB project presented me with a number of key insights that I will explore more fully in my findings when I compare all three case studies but here I offer a brief overview.

4.12.i Targeted Group

The young women on the RCB case study were part of a 'targeted' youth project funded by the Department of Health. They had been together for three years prior to this case study. During this period of time they had the opportunity to work with different youth workers. These youth workers varied in their strengths with some prepared to engage in new, challenging projects and others less so (Bluett, personal interview 2017). In this time the girls had the opportunity to form strong bonds as a group, however given the proximity to each other in their estate they may have formed these bonds regardless. The strong bond was an advantage in this case study and allowed us to go directly into production work.

The 'targeted' aspect of the group was however also a disadvantage. Opportunities for members of the Chillax group to work with others were limited as the funding model and practice of the youth service was to keep them together and separate. This had the effect of making them feel disconnected with the station as a whole. Their youth worker accompanied them to each recording session and on one occasion when they met the Spice of Life volunteers at the studio they were clearly very uneasy. The Spice of Life group was less than welcoming despite my efforts at introducing them. Even after six months of coming in and out of the station there still had the feel of a 'special project'

coming into the station rather than just another group of volunteers and so were not fully integrated within the practice of the community station.

4.12.ii Youth worker

The experience of working with the youth worker on the RCB project was a positive one. Kate was enthusiastic about the project from the outset. Her frustration at a negative experience the group had with a freelance music teacher had made her determined to create a positive atmosphere for the girls. Only later, after meeting many other youth workers did I appreciate the level of commitment and input she demonstrated.

4.12.iii Audience

One of the defining differences between this youth radio project and traditional community radio is the focus on audience. Whereas community radio often places participation as its priority, my approach is concerned with producing high quality media products that actively seek an audience in addition to participation. The purpose of this product focus is to create a better developmental process for the young people. In my approach, the 'imagined audience' is an important actor throughout the production process. Similarly the immediate audience of peers, actively feeds back into the production process. The 'imagined audience' is a tool used to place the group members on a more professional and reflexive footing. Its function is to get the participants thinking critically about their own work. Questions such as Who is this for? What would be their view? Is the sound good enough? Is this balanced for this listener? Are we trying new things? Would people want to keep listening to our program? These questions formed the basis of our planning sessions as they do in professional settings. From a pedagogic point of view, using the 'imagined audience' allowed the facilitators to encourage the participants to think reflexively about their work.

4.13 Conclusion

The RCB case study was a journey into the unknown. It was an experiment that looked to see how suitable a radio project would be with a group of young learners who had expressed no prior interest in media production. Though no outcomes were pre-determined, the ethos of the project was centred on providing opportunities for personal development including developing agency and identity, creativity, critical approaches to examining issues in society and skill acquisition. In later chapters I look at attempts at evaluating the project and draw out some findings, which I believe, are of significance for the community radio sector and youth work.

4.14 Second Fieldwork Study

The second fieldwork study took place at Bush Radio in Cape Town, South Africa. From October 2015 to December 2015.

Fig. 4.3 Bush Logo

4.15 Background to the area

Bush Radio is located on the east side of central Cape Town. It aims primarily to serve the Cape Flats area of Cape Town. The Cape Flats is a sandy stretch of land about 50 miles long to the East and South of Cape Town, about 20 miles from Bush studios. The area was established when the apartheid government introduced the Group Areas Act in 1966 with the aim of segregating the population of South Africa. This act forced the removal of the entire 'coloured' and 'black' populations of central Cape Town to new housing built on the 'Flats'. This upheaval broke apart longstanding 'mixed' communities. The areas to which they were removed suffered from poor infrastructure. The apartheid system, discriminatory by definition, was unconcerned with providing employment to non-whites. This breaking apart of community and dumping into an economically unsustainable environment led to chronic social problems such as

drugs, alcohol, 'gangsterism' and crime which continue to blight the Cape Flats communities to this day. Crime is endemic.

4.16 Background to the station

Bush Radio, Africa's oldest community radio station, grew out of the Cassette Education Trust (CASET), which during times of apartheid distributed speeches and political messages to the public in South Africa recorded on cassettes. CASET's recordings included the 'Talking Newspaper', Vox Pop's from rallies and music from banned artists such as Bob Marley who was considered subversive by the state controlled media. The CASET had a very loose organizational structure. It was primarily white liberal college students who made what were essentially audio collages and distributed them amongst peers. In 1994 South African society and system of government was fundamentally changed when democratic elections were held and the African National Congress came to power. At this time the CASET activists began communications with the University of Western Cape, a blacks-only university during apartheid. Through these associations, further links were made with AMARC. The AMARC connection proved vital in obtaining financial, legal, technical and moral support for the organization that was evolving to become Bush Radio (Bosch, 2003:48). At around this time Zane Ibrahim became station manager. Mr. Ibrahim was a returnee to South Africa having spent thirty years in political exile in Canada. There he was involved at various levels with community media and his experience at the nascent Bush Radio proved crucial in establishing a vibrant organisation. The station was among 100 other community stations to be awarded a full license from the Independent Broadcast Authority (South Africa's regulator) in 1994. Bush Radio was established with the following mission statement, which it still carries today:

> Bush Radio's mission is to ensure that communities who have been denied access to resources, take part in producing ethical, creative and responsible radio that encourages them to communicate with each other, to take part in decisions that affect their lives, and to celebrate their own cultures. Through such radio, communities will affirm their own dignity and identity and promote social responsibility and critical thinking. (Bush Radio, 1996)

This mission statement could easily apply to the field of youth radio. It's emphasis on producing creative, ethical radio that encourages communication and involvement in decision making while promoting social responsibility and critical thinking gets to the heart of what youth radio attempts to do. Of course a fine mission statement is no guarantee of delivery but Bush Radio takes its community leadership role seriously. This was reflected in the programming and general station culture where there was a strong emphasis on progressive political issues.

Bush Radio has been a political organisation from its early stages. Much of the ideology of apartheid resistance came from the left given its opposition to the fascist National Party. This left wing, progressive stance remains part of the station's identity today. This stance informs the editorial selection of topics and shows, for example Bush has broadcast an LGBT show since 2001 and staff meetings are often places of heated political and social debate on local and global issues. Visiting academics, artists and activists from around the world are frequent visitors to the station and often held talks and discussion groups with staff and volunteers. This political atmosphere was actively encouraged by station management who felt a duty to pass this on to the younger generation of volunteers (Louw, 2015, personal interview).

4.17 Why Bush Radio?
My research plan included a period of participant observation at a youth radio project. The intention was to compare and contrast youth radio delivery in between my projects and the research site. Prior to selecting Bush Radio I conducted a review of active youth radio sites across the world. Bush Radio stood out for a number of reasons, the longevity of Bush Radio was one of these. Bush Radio's background in the apartheid struggle contributed to the formation of the station's identity. Today its' young staff (average age low to mid 20's) have an interest in political events and the environment at Bush is one that is deeply rooted in social justice. It's location in Cape Town was also a factor given the social problems that exist there and how the station as a whole choses to

embrace these problems and attempt to create a dialogue for the wider community to partake in. The unofficial motto of the station, 'don't curse the dark, light a candle' is an expression Zane Ibrahim used regularly. Bush Radio's target audience is a youthful one, though not exclusively. Its music output includes hip-hop, kwaito and deep house which are popular amongst local young people. This youth focus interested me as a researcher primarily because such a media outlet does not exist in Ireland.

Lastly, the level of organisation that Bush had brought to making radio with young people was truly impressive. Bush Radio was a pioneer in engaging young people in making radio. The CREW (Children's Radio Education Workshop) began in 2000 and comprised four components: The Bush Tots programme was aimed at 8-12 year olds and was broken into two groups, alternating each week for on-air time. The groups were run by volunteer producers who themselves came through the CREW system. They received no technical training but in keeping with the mission statement the Tots were encouraged to question, challenge and create radio that appeals to listeners. The Bush Kids project was for 10-14 year olds and again was run by alumni. The groups were encouraged to include one interview per week and topics covered include child abuse, drugs, suicide etc. The Bush Teens project built on this foundation but adds on radio diaries, vox-pops, career slots and includes items such as fashion and music. The radio diaries call to mind David Isay's *Ghetto Life 101* and make provocative listening as teens bring listeners into their personal worlds in a way that perhaps only audio can. Their thoughts are presented in an entertaining and engaging format, with sound effects recorded at home and elsewhere as well as music interspersed throughout, some of the diaries reflect on race and culture in South Africa and the teenagers present their daily dilemmas with thoughtful analysis and insight (Bosch, 2003:54). The Street Philosophers group comprised young people aged 20-24 and built on many of the themes and skills developed in Bush Teens where participants developed their radio diaries into audio documentaries. This commitment and pedigree of youth programming was the primary factor in deciding to conduct fieldwork here.

4.18 Study Period

I joined Bush Radio at the beginning of October 2015 and remained there for eight weeks. I was there to study Bush Radio's history of youth radio production and examine how it was faring on this front today with the aim of drawing lessons for youth radio in this research. I was offered the research position on the understanding that I would contribute to the station in whatever capacity I could. As part of this agreement I worked in the newsroom as a journalist on a part-time basis. I also conducted training in radio documentary making for staff and volunteers. The opportunity to work in the newsroom was a welcome one. I knew from my experience in Kilrush that having local knowledge was important when conducting social research. In September of 2015 I worked on a youth radio documentary project in Malawi and travelled to South Africa from there.

Working as a journalist in South Africa was at first a shocking experience as I began to witness the level and reality of violent crime in the communities I was researching. The demands of a busy newsroom however, meant I had little time to remain shocked. Covering local news meant I quickly got to grips not just with current events but also importantly with the geography of the city. This rather crude understanding of place I found to be a crucial factor in each fieldwork study. It is not enough to be able to refer to east or south Cape Town or indeed Limerick City. Specific local knowledge is needed particularly of the physical and social environments. This is especially helpful when working with young people as often their knowledge of the physical world extends only to the boundaries of their housing estates and school. This local knowledge is helpful not just in avoiding committing a potentially damaging faux pas but is also useful in being able to follow conversations and stories that the young people discuss during production meetings. However, I also recognise that my knowledge was limited and I did not attempt to portray myself as an insider.

Through covering news stories I got the opportunity to report on various items from the townships on the Cape Flats. In addition the majority of Bush Radio's young staff were from these townships and were keen to show me life in their

local communities. This was a valuable experience, not only personally but for this research. Being able to witness, first hand, the environment in which the young radio producers came from was important in being able to better understand their lives. Issues such as poor housing, violence, gang activity, proliferation of drugs, over crowding at schools, lack of access to transport and the consequences of these problems were more or less daily events for the majority of young learners and staff at Bush Radio. Having an appreciation of these realities helped me as a researcher, to better understand not just the content of their radio shows but also the environment in which they lived which formed the content of these shows.

4.19 CREW Today

While Bush Radio had been a trailblazer in a global sense with children's programming production, it soon became clear once I began my study that the CREW project had fallen away from its peak a decade or so ago when it had up to 100 participants (see Bosch 2003, 2007). The CREW project ran on Saturday mornings and of the four original strands only Bush Teens remained. Naturally this was disappointing to observe but the decline of CREW brought offered some insights for this research.

The Bush Teens project I worked on had seven participants, four girls and three boys aged 15-17. They were from a mixture of race and class backgrounds (two coloured girls, one coloured boy, two black girls, two black boys). This diversity was one of the strengths of Bush Radio and could be seen across the wider volunteer profile. It allowed for rich debate with differing perspectives and it encouraged dialogue between young people who would not ordinarily get a chance to meet. Three of the group had family connections with Bush Radio. My role was principally as observer. The participants for the project were recruited through word of mouth contacts, contacts with schools and social media advertising on Bush Radio's on-line channels.

Bush Teens broadcast a weekly show, which was pre-recorded on Saturday mornings. The project length was 6 weeks and I was present from the outset. The project had two tutors; Lazola Solani (21), from the township of Mfuleni. Lazola presented a daily two hour long show called "Building the Nation". This show featured interviews with activists, community leaders and included investigative work. As well as presenting this show, Lazola volunteered on Saturday mornings with the Bush Teens project. Lazola was clearly a role model for the young trainees and this "generational encounter" (Wenger, 1998) was a key part of the Bush approach. It helped the station build a strong identity where the staff were part of the community and stood in contrast to the disinterested trainee journalists in he Bush newsroom who from middle class backgrounds and were intimidated to travel to the townships.

 Natasha Abrahams (43) was the second tutor, she is a former regular volunteer who returns to Bush periodically to contribute to young peoples programming. In the weeks before I arrived, Natasha had been at Bush two to three days a week for a several weeks planning the programme. This involved making sure what studio would be free, checking resources and planning a rough outline of the project. Natasha was the driving force behind the project. She had been involved in previous incarnations of CREW and as a long standing volunteer was deeply committed to the democratization of the airwaves as espoused in the Bush Radio mission statement:

> What we are doing at Bush Radio is only small in the scheme of things in South Africa and even here in Cape Town. This is a city where much of the population faces immense adversity through poverty and access to opportunities that are as a result of the apartheid system. Personally I am determined that Bush Radio continues its engagement with young people in this area (Abrahams 2015, personal interview)

As mentioned, Bush Radio's involvement in young peoples programming has declined since 2010 amidst financial pressure and a loss of focus. Without the input of Natasha as a volunteer and driver of the program it is highly unlikely it would have taken place. Lazola Solani was similarly committed to the principles in Bush Radio's mission statement. Lazola is from a township community in the Cape Flats and took seriously the role of Bush Radio as a community

development organisation. Her two hour weekday program contained interviews primarily on human rights issues but also included elements of investigative work and 'on the ground' reporting. Lazola was fluent in xHosa, English and Afrikaans, the three official languages of Bush Radio and wider Cape Town, this ability was unusual as often racial differences extended to language with 'black' people typically speaking xHosa or Zulu and 'coloured' people using Afrikaans as a mother tongue, English is the common language of most. Lazola received a stipend for travel for her full time work at Bush, in this role she was classified as an 'intern'. For the Bush Teens project she worked as a volunteer on Saturday mornings. This involved a one hour commutes each way with no pay. Lazola's commitment to the project was similar to that of Natasha's:

> I see this as an essential part of what Bush Radio does. I am used to working with groups of people from my background in dance and I miss that so its nice to get away from the day to day work of journalism which although I love, can be quite isolating (Solani 2015, personal interview)

In addition to these two tutors there was also a technical operator working at the station on Saturday mornings. This changed week to week as per the roster of the technical staff at Bush Radio. The technical team comprised two permanent staff and one intern, all were male. In the weeks leading up to the start of the project station management and Natasha encouraged staff at the station to get involved in the project but no obligations were made on people. In the end only one, Lazola, volunteered her time. I would later learn that this was evidence of a divide between the young station staff and a long-standing older management team of two.

Adrian Louw is the program controller at Bush Radio for him the philosophy of the Bush Teens project is to it is to:

> enable young people to be active participants in the media and, in doing so; they will hopefully get involved in shaping their own stories. The project aims to give young people the tools to holistically understand media and be a part of it – to be the media (Louw, personal interview 2015)

This approach shaped the project. There was a clear emphasis on encouraging participants to be aware of power, for them to be conscious, active producers of content and to be aware of their position as broadcasters. For Natasha the role of facilitator in the projects is to:

> give our children and youth tools that they can use to find much needed answers to some of the complex questions they're facing daily. (Abrahams, personal interview 2015).

This emphasis on the lived experience of the young people and issues in broader society together with the explicit goal of having the participants fully aware of their position as active producers were the twin overarching principles of the Bush approach.

On the first session we sat around the large oval table that was the centerpiece of the Bush office and introduced ourselves to each other. After introductions were made, Natasha gave the group a brief history of the station. This speech made frequent references to the apartheid struggle and she made it clear to the young volunteers the sacrifices that were made including by people the same age as the group to enable a station like Bush to exist. From my position as an observer it seemed that this speech was motivating for Lazola and Natasha herself whereas the young people looked on impassively. In later interviews with the young participants I explored the role of the past and how this relates to young people in South Africa today. Natasha outlined the course for the young people, this included an emphasis on media literacy, lived experience and how this lived experience connected to wider society. To me this appeared a very formal structure. Natasha clearly occupied the role of 'leader' and carried authority. The young people sat quietly and listened to Natasha before been given the opportunity to say a little about themselves beyond their names.

Amongst the participants, only two of the coloured girls, Jasnine and Gabrelliah knew each other. The young people were asked to say where they were from, what they enjoyed doing and what they hoped to get from the project. The

responses regarding expectations included "I want to learn how to use the equipment" (Jacob, coloured boy), "My sister volunteered here before and I want to do the same when I leave school" (Jasnine), Gabrelliah was a friend of Jasnine and came out of curiosity, Melon and Rentse the two black girls both wished to study journalism at university and were interested in getting experience at Bush, Khusi one of the black boys was a disc jockey and hoped to build a career in the media while Chad was from a family of immigrants from Zambia who also wished to pursue a career in the media industry.

After the opening lecture from Natasha, the group were given a tour of the studios and introduced to the staff present. As this was a Saturday there was only a skeleton crew at the station. Before finishing the group were asked to note, "what issues your family, friends and neighbours talking about" and to bring a list for the following week's session, on this, session one ended. The young people left without having the opportunity to create, use equipment or really enter into any discussions with each other or the tutors. I found this unusual and the group left in a rather subdued mood. I spoke with Natasha after this and asked her how important she felt it was for the young people to know about the history of the station. Her reply was:

> It's vital that these young people understand the struggle that went before, for them to be aware that this radio station and country was fought for them to be able to come and be a part of the media (Abrahams, 2015, personal interview)

This keen awareness of history and the role of Bush radio as a successor project to the wider struggle against apartheid was mirrored by older station management who have been involved with the station for over twenty years. However the younger staff and participants on the Bush Teens project had their own struggles on a day-to-day basis, namely employment, education, housing, transport and crime. It was clear that there was a disconnect between the younger staff and management. In off the record conversations with the younger staff they reported to me that they felt management and Bush itself was out of touch with the realities they faced, while they respected the history of Bush they

were eager to make their mark on South Africa today but the obstacles just mentioned stood in their way.

Natasha explained to me that a typical production meeting involved brainstorming sessions and an open call for ideas from the participants plus lessons on media literacy,

> to give young people the tools to understand the messages that bombard them on a daily basis (Abrahams, personal interview, 2015).

Content for the show was drawn primarily from the participants, aided by the two tutors. Typically there was a rich seam of ideas coming forward from the young people and on occasions where there was not, the workers had a back up list of topics from the week's local, national and international news. These topics were then 'handed over' to the young people to discuss, keep or discard as they sought fit. Each show was thirty minutes and opened with a news bulletin. This news was written for young people and contained topics relevant to them or looked at national and international stories from a youth perspective. Each item that was selected for inclusion in the show was discussed with the project workers in an open manner. This dialogue drew on the experience of older producers and helped shape content into a professional sounding program. Unlike at the RCB case study, facilitators on the Bush project did not use the layers of audience as a production device. There was less of a focus on producing for an external or imagined audience. Instead the production meeting and shows were closer to discussion sessions. The diverse make up of the team provided for often conflicting viewpoints. The atmosphere at times was strained when the debate became heated. During these times the role of the project workers was to reminding the young people of their responsibility to engage in respectful debate as well as guiding discussions. The objective of having to produce a radio program became a useful reminder that we were there for a purpose and not to endlessly argue. The production format of Bush Radio was based on having a facilitated discussion for one hour followed by a thirty-minute program recorded.

The second session began on a more lively note with the young people sharing their research with each other. Familiar themes of housing, transport and crime were common for all. The groups were broken into two with Natasha leading one and Lazola and I working on another. The schedule was for one hour pre-production then thirty minutes to one hour studio recording time to produce a thirty minute program. This I felt to be a far too ambitious target given my experience at RCB where several weeks were spent pre-planning and in familiarisation with studio equipment. In our group were Chad, Jasnine, Khusi and Melon. The task for our group was to write a news bulletin and prepare one item for discussion. Melon volunteered to be the newsreader as she was keen to follow a career in journalism. The group were given training in this by Mbasa, a newsroom intern. The training included how to write up a news story which required an audio clip, the bulletin was to be in English one week, xHosa the following and Afrikaans the week after. The news training essentially involved scanning the newsroom inbox for stories from sources such as police and local government. This is standard practice in newsrooms but also it became clear that this route was chosen as it was an easy option. In South Africa political parties, trade unions and police email press releases often with attached audio files as mp3 for use in news bulletins. These scripts are re-written then for broadcast but the young people I observed barely re-wrote and essentially broadcast a press release. This was clearly at odds with a policy of teaching media literacy and a radical history. During a break Melon and Lazola were discussing how they travelled to the station that morning. Vandalism had meant Melon's train did not run and she had to take three buses and arrived late. I asked Melon about this experience,

> that's normal! It's hard to rely on trains here as this happens all the time (Melon, fieldnotes, 31/10/15)

I suggested to Lazola and Melon that this could make an interesting item for their show, perhaps recording a journey, editing the piece for broadcast followed by an interview with a spokesperson from the rail company or police. This idea was passed over in the pitching session that followed. At the pitching session the young people each had to submit an idea and then vote on the two that were to be included in that day's broadcast. The topics were poor housing (Jasnine),

transport (Melon), interview with local rappers (Khusi), a comedy sketch (Chad), interview with an older person (Jacob), education (Rentse) and crime (Gabrelliah). Before voting Natasha gave feedback to the group on the ideas suggested. The suggestions of Khusi and Chad were dismissed quite crudely. In the case of Chad and his idea for a comedy sketch, Natasha queried how a comedy sketch would educate the community? Here I feel Natasha was allowing her personal bias towards socially conscious, progressive content. She did not explore with Chad the possibility of developing a comedy sketch that could have used themes that were socially engaged. Chad was an upbeat young man who was confident and this did not put him down but I felt it was a missed opportunity. In responding to Khusi's suggestion she asked if the lyrics contained misogyny, Khusi did not know what misogyny was. Natasha explained this to him and the boys present, all hip-hop fans said in the local artists they liked there was no misogyny. However Natasha did not feel it suitable to include hip-hop as if it wasn't anti-women then it certainly promoted violence. Khusi countered

> but these guys express what we see everyday, this is real to us (Khusi, field notes 31/10/15

This had the beginning of what I felt was a good area for discussion. On the one hand you had young men who were devoted fans of a wildly popular musical genre that is at best misunderstood and on the other a group of young and older women to whom the music seemed threatening. The debate was cut short despite obvious strong feelings from Natasha and Khusi on the subject. In my view this was a clear mistake. I began to grow concerned at this point in the disconnect between the rhetoric of 'lived experienced' and 'personal expression' that the tutors espoused and the cultural taste of young participants. The final items chosen for discussion were education and poor housing. The issue of education was to feature strongly in later broadcasts but in this early show the discussion was limited to overcrowding in classrooms, how this varies across the Cape Town area and how it is often divided along class and race grounds. Like education, the subject of housing is a major issue in South African society. Like many issues contemporary difficulties over housing owe their roots to the apartheid system where communities were segregated. Cape Town has a large

'coloured' population many of whom were slaves brought from Malaysia and who later mixed with the indigenous Khoisan people. During apartheid they were treated marginally better than the 'black' population who are predominately xHosa speaking and from the Eastern Cape rural areas. Natasha as tutor was keen to bring in the historical context at every opportunity to explain how housing operates today. Personally this was interesting for me to learn of the difficult history and the young people also found this informative,

> it's crazy to think that we today have to continue to pay the price of the old system of government that belongs to a different South Africa (Jasnine, fieldnotes, 31/10/15)

The broadcast contained a description of Jasnine's home, how she lived with a large family in flat area that was cold and leaked in winter,

> I live with my mother, aunt and three brothers and my cousin in Athlone. Our house has three rooms and a garden at front and back. We live on a row that is a fifteen minute walk from the bus stop. I share a room with my cousin and the boys sleep in another. My auntie sleeps on a pull out bed in the living room. The summer is okay because we are all outside but in the winter when it rains water comes into the kitchen and my mothers room. The walls are black on the inside. We didn't always live here. My family had a house in Cape Town but we were moved out here and we all want to go back. We have applied to return to my grandmothers house but we have been waiting a long time for this. (Transcript, 31/10/15).

Jasnine was a bright girl and a clear favourite of Natasha. Her delivery of this personal story was effective and moving. However in the planning time of one hour there was very little opportunity for debate, research or selecting a guest to interview. Jasnine's story of current hardship based on a past wrong is typical for many Cape Tonians living in townships. Jasnine was proud of her work and markedly grew in confidence in the telling of her story. Others however, particularly Chad, Khusi and Melon appeared rather bored. Chad and Khusi both clearly wanted to experiment with media in a broad sense and though were interested did not want to talk about the past. Chad in particular was full of ideas and as a recent immigrant from another African country had experienced racism from black South Africans but his views were sidelined, partly I believe as a

result of his constant joking but also I feel that his story was more complicated than Jasnine's and revealed some unpalatable truths about the many sides of racism in South Africa today. During conversations with 'black' station staff they informed me that they felt Bush Radio favoured 'coloured' people. This attitude may have been informed by the fact that the current station management and the majority of volunteers were themselves 'coloured'. This I found rather shocking as Bush Radio was founded as an anti-racism movement and I saw no evidence of a divide in programming or in relations at work however these views were held by some and spoken about in private conversations. This further underlines the extraordinary complexity of race, language and history that shape South African identity.

The following weeks session involved a fieldtrip to the District Six museum in central Cape Town. This museum is near the site of an area that was a 'coloured' community, which was razed to make way for 'white' housing. The housing development never happened and the area is a now fallow field just outside Cape Town city centre. The former inhabitants of the area are now mostly living in the Cape Flats neighborhoods and have been involved in a long term struggle to return to the area, this is one of many contentious issues in Cape Town today. The museum itself contains oral histories of the old community which tells a rich story of Cape Town going back three hundred years. The visit to the museum was a mixed experience for the group. It was clear that Chad and Khusi were growing weary of the overly past focused emphasis that the course was taking while Gabrelliah and Jasnine were both absorbed in the experience. Melon was also interested in the museum and was as a serious student of journalism wanted to track down those who lived in the area and interview them.

During my study period South Africa as a whole but Cape Town in particular was the site of student protests. These were in response to the government announcing a 10% increase in third level fees. The protests began in late November and lasted approximately seven weeks and led to the shutdown of local universities and colleges. The movement became known as 'Feesmustfall',

after the Twitter hashtag, which was used to gather opposition. During our third session on the Bush Teens project all of the young people wished to cover this story. This unanimity saw the project take a new direction and was a watershed moment. Here was a live active issue that potentially affected all seven participants as future third level students. From the tutors perspective, Lazola began to assert herself more as was covering the story on a daily basis on her programme. The participants again split into teams of two and the focus on this occasion was sharper. With the assistance of Lazola and I the groups began contacting student leaders to arrange interviews. Khusi prepared a piece that looked at how difficult it was for him to try and attend university in three years time. The first show produced on this was rushed but after broadcast they agreed that they would follow this story. Melon and Jasnine both volunteered to borrow recorders from the station and attend student rallies to record vox-pops.

On the fourth session again the focus was on 'Feesmustfall'. In the intervening week violence had shutdown all the universities in the Cape Town area and riots were common. This provoked a split in the groups with Jasnine, Jacob, Melon and Rentse all against the use of violence by a section of students whereas Chad, Jacob and Khusi were slow to argue that violence was wrong in all circumstances;

> Jasnine: We all support what the students are fighting for but to burn down their own campus is not the answer.
> Khusi: Yes its wrong that the buildings are on fire but who is really to blame when the police and private security companies are beating the students?
> Melon: Yes, the universities say there is no money but they can hire private companies that are supposed to protect students but care more about property. (fieldnotes, 14/11/15)

This debate continued in a spirited fashion and was reflective of much of the debate happening in South Africa at the time. For Natasha it was a mixed experience. On the one hand she was happy to see young people on the streets and being politically active yet on the other it was an awkward position as this

was a movement against an ANC government policy and she herself was an active ANC member. In the period since the 'Feesmustfall' issue took over the shows content she was more withdrawn and clearly struggling with an environment in which she was no longer in control. The Feesmustfall is seen as the moment in which the 'born free' generation (those born after apartheid ended) asserted itself as a political generation. In conversations with the participants they explained to me what this meant;

> We are so sick and tired of hearing about how we are lazy and only interested in our phones and how those older than us fought for out freedom but look what where we are now with education and the cost of living in South Africa (Melon, interview, 14/11/15).

The focus on this issue clearly united the group and energised the participants. I feel this was an example of circumstances taking over from what until then a mixed experience. The emphasis on the past and overlooking of creativity and perspective of the participants became forgotten as the young people united and became deeply involved in an issue that was deeply important to them. Lazola and Natasha saw this and allowed the group to self manage content but in truth they had little choice.

4.20 Audience

Similar to the first fieldwork study, audience proved to be a missing piece for the Bush Radio project. Like their Irish counterparts, community radio stations in South Africa do not have access to expensive audience research data that the commercial sector relies upon. Despite the lack of resources to afford such measures, the benefit of which would be questionable in any case, community radio stations could still turn to more informal methods of measuring audience, and building interaction, principally with the aim of providing feedback to the volunteer broadcasters. In considering audience, the goal is not to build mass listenership but a rather more fundamental recognition for the young people involved that in fact, yes, 'we are broadcasters'. Similar to RCB, most of the young

people did not hear their own shows. This audience gap is a challenge for youth radio.

4.21 Decline

The CREW project ran from 1996 to 2013 and since then only operates intermittently. This decline of the CREW project was regrettable to witness. One of the strengths of the CREW project is its alumni system of mentoring. Several of the Bush Radio staff had come through the system and in turn worked with new young people coming into CREW. This cyclical process ensured the station was not only renewed with people, something essential in community radio, but also that these new volunteers received high quality training again an essential component of community radio.

The failure of Bush Radio to sustain the CREW project and other connected areas of the station like the workplace crèche is understandably difficult for management. In interviews with the current station manager, Brenda Leonard, finances were identified as being the principal reason with a major German philanthropy fund pulling out. Financial pressure is a common worry for community station managers in Ireland and the UK. Over three quarters of respondents to a 2013 survey of youth radio practitioners in the U.K. believed that their organisation was not financially secure beyond the next six months (Manchester, 2013:6). The picture in Ireland is similar, during my time at RCB, finances were a constant source of worry. Certainly a tentative financial environment hampers the ability of community radio stations to plan ahead and spend time focusing on deepening participation. Recruiting high quality staff is difficult when wages are low, if they exist at all. This then means stations rely on a deep level of commitment from staff, which is difficult to sustain. Another big impact of a precarious financial situation is in the use of time. Most if not all community stations have fundraising efforts involving all manner of events. These drives usually occur out of office hours and need high energy to be successful. This constant worry and use of energy in fundraising can have a draining effect on staff morale and motivation. Another factor at play in the decline of youth programming at Bush is the loss of the stations' inspirational

former manager Zane Ibrahim. Ibrahim had spent thirty years working in community media in Canada during this period of political exile. He returned to the new South Africa in 1994 and became involved with the fledging Bush Radio. Ibrahim was managing director from 1996 to 2010 and is credited as being the single biggest driving force in Bush Radio's history and in particular with children's programming. Ibrahim was a charismatic leader of the organisation and inspired staff to live up to the organisations mission statement. The loss of such a leader to a small organisation can lead to stagnation. Each new management régime brings a different set of qualities. The present management at Bush Radio is committed to the principals of community radio and on maintaining the legacy of Ibrahim but a combination of financial uncertainty and a lack of focus on youth programming have contributed to the decline of the CREW project. This is similar to what has happened at RCB where the youth projects ended once two key workers left their respective positions. A lack of organisational memory is an issue I will return to in my recommendations.

4.22 Summary

Bush Radio provided me with the opportunity of observing youth radio production in another culture and in an organisation with a long track record in the field. The structure at Bush Radio has lessons relevant for Irish community radio stations but the picture there is not ideal.

4.22.i Peer learning

Bush Radios use of young, local, committed interns is significant. These interns have often come through the system at Bush radio and are usually from the communities that Bush Radio serves. This forms a key connection between Bush and those communities, and for the young teens coming to learn about community radio they offer a bridge. This culture of peer learning is by and large absent from Irish community radio stations.

4.22.ii Diverse teams

The young teens on the Bush project were drawn from across Cape Town; this is also true of its on-air volunteers. This diversity adds greatly to the atmosphere and culture of the station. Debates bring a multitude of voices to issues. This inter-community dialogue at staff and volunteer level comes across in the programming, which is open, inclusive and respectful. In recognition of this, Bush Radio broadcasts in three languages. Management at Bush Radio actively sought to ensure that participation on the youth project included young people from across the city.

4.22.iii Visibility

Bush Radio maintained a strong presence across the communities it served. It held regular outside broadcasts in community centres and at community events. This visibility helped to keep the station connected with its listeners especially those in communities that are marginalised and cut off from central Cape Town.

4.2.iv Technical training

Bush Radio did not have a focus on technical training for the young participants in the Bush Teens program or indeed for staff. There was a technical team of three young men and they performed many of the technical tasks even down to mixing and editing prerecorded pieces. This contrasts with my emphasis on teaching participants technical skills with a view to them becoming independent in production. The focus at Bush Radio was on producing politically and historically aware content. Teaching technical skills is time consuming and the time spent on this could be devoted to refining material for broadcast. This is a key difference between the RCB and Bush Radio studies.

4.23 Conclusion

Bush Radio is an inspirational organisation with a history steeped in political activism. Today it carries this spirit in its programming and it remains deeply committed to community radio principles. However it is clear that the stations youth broadcasting has declined in recent years. Loss of funding and of a key leader has contributed to this. It was also apparent that despite a strong commitment from some interns others had little to no interest in community media. Failing to maintain the level of its children's programming is regrettable and speaks to the challenges that community media organisations face in developing organisational structures that ensure continuity of key programs even after change of staff or management. In addition the decline of CREW highlights the financial pressures that media in general and community media in particular face.

4.24 Third Fieldwork Study

Wired FM, Moyross. February 2016 – May 2016.

The third fieldwork study was conducted with young people from the Limerick suburb of Moyross. The project used the studios of Wired fm, the student community radio station on the Campus at Mary Immaculate College. It ran over a period of 12 weeks from February 2016 to April 2016.

4.25 Background to the area.

Limerick is the Republic of Ireland's third largest city. It is situated on the banks of the river Shannon approximately forty miles upriver from Kilrush. Through history, Limerick has maintained a relatively robust economy with an unusually large industrial working class mainly due to its geographical location on the river and surrounding fertile countryside. Alongside this industrial heritage, Limerick also has a history of depravation, social exclusion and in the late twentieth century it gained infamy in Ireland for its levels of violence.

The Irish Free State was established in 1922 and chose an isolationist path in terms of culture and economics following independence from the United Kingdom (Coogan: 1998). This new country was marked by conservative politics, a strong popular church and a weak middle class. Garvin (2004) describes it as "a country where the notion of a static and unchanging social order was regarded as ideal and was quietly accepted" (Garvin 2004:4). This acceptance of the *status quo* in part led Ireland through three decades of economic and social paralysis until reform began in the early 1960's. By this time the slums of Limerick were cleared with large housing estates created in the East (St. Mary's Park) and West (Ballinacurra Weston) of the city. The economic boom that accompanied industrialisation in the early 1960's led to a national housing shortage. In Limerick the response to this was the construction of two large housing developments, Southill in 1967 and Moyross on the city's north-side in the early 1970's. Both developments contained high numbers of housing units and were located at a distance from Limerick City centre. At the time these estates were being built the focus for Limerick Corporation was the provision of new housing units to the exclusion of other forms of community infrastructure (Hourrigan,

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2011:45). The estates were designed in such a way that there was only one entry and exit point into a network of avenues, this planning decision later the used by criminal gangs as a way of controlling territory.
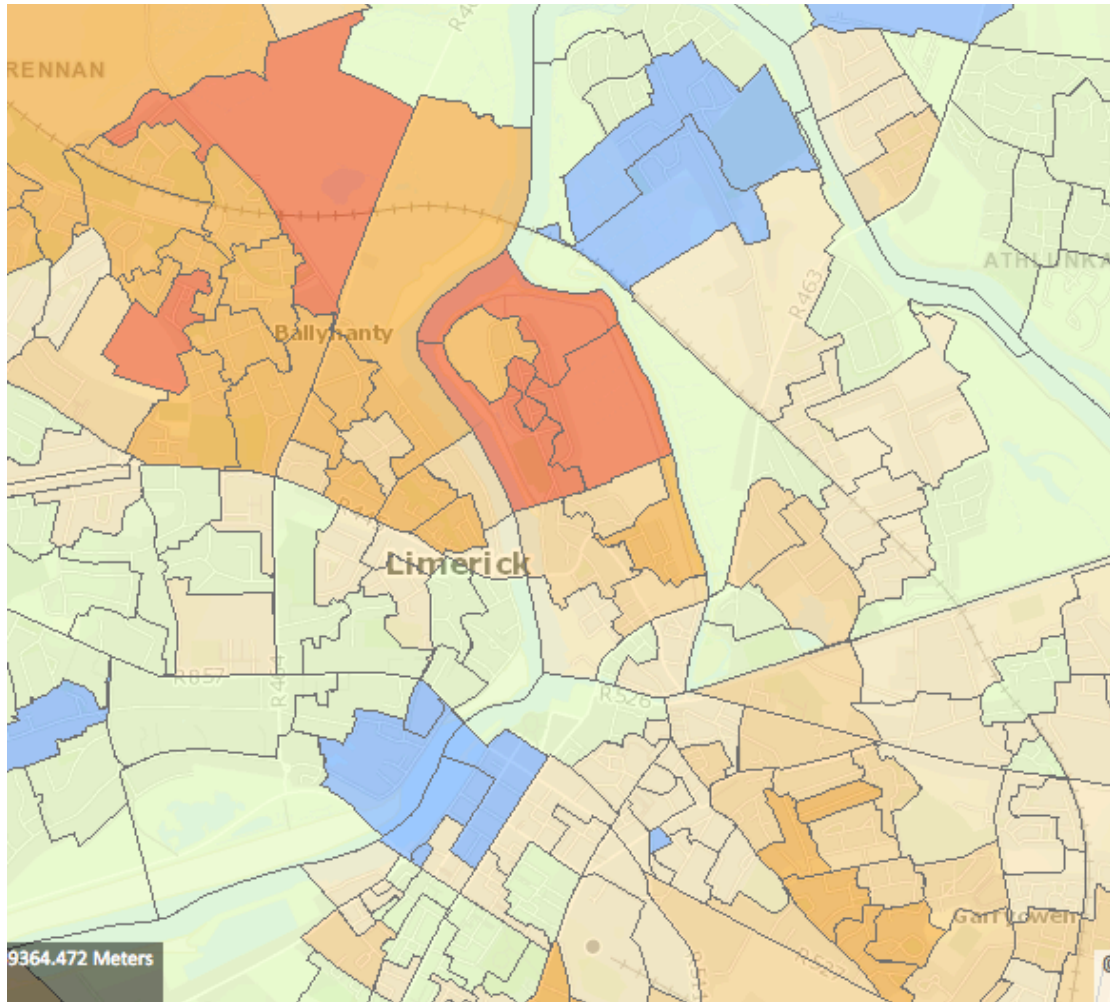
Fig 4.5 Map of Limerick showing 'disadvantaged indices'. Moyross in deep red. (Pobal, 2018)

The residents of these new estates were from drawn various parts of Limerick city and county who came to make a new life in areas that were not designed with community life in mind. The high concentration of housing, poor planning and distance from Limerick City meant that both areas began to suffer from high levels of social exclusion in what Norris and O'Connell (2002) label as the 'spatial concentration of the socially excluded', the parallel with Cape Town here is noteworthy. Poor planning decisions continued throughout the 1970s and 1980s and, as they did, the strands of community in Southill and Moyross became frayed and the areas suffered from high levels of unemployment, addiction and

violence with Limerick coming to be known nationally as 'Stab City'. It was not until the 1990's however and the explosion of recreational drugs in Ireland that Limerick experienced the emergence of a drug-gang culture.

The rising economy of Celtic Tiger Ireland created a new and large market for recreational drugs, in particular cocaine. Criminal gangs stepped in to supply this market. Outside of Dublin, gangs in Limerick were the most active in the country. Limericks' location on the Shannon and its proximity to an airport played a role in the city's development in this new and lucrative trade. The pre-existing teenage gangs and family orientated feuding culture with its proclivity for violence, meant that those in Limerick who had previously lived outside the law were well placed to take advantage of the drug industry. Moreover the estates of Southill, Moyross, St. Mary's and Weston provided power bases from where these gangs could control territory and populations through surveillance and coercion. Throughout the 2000's Limerick experienced a vicious gang war with multiple shootings and murders. In 2007 two young children were burned as they played in a car in Moyross during an act of intimidation that went awry. This case finally seemed to prick the national consciousness. In 2008 the government announced the launch of the Regeneration programmes for Limerick's disadvantaged estates, which was "an effective acknowledgement by the state that the day of reckoning, long predicated, had arrived" (Hourrigan 2011:41).

4.26 Project outline
The aim for this third case study was to gather further data on the workings of youth radio projects. I approached this final study having run a course in Kilrush and observed at Bush Radio. The task now was to recruit a group, design and deliver a course in audio production drawing on my observations from the first two projects.

4.27 Recruitment
The first task for the case study at Wired was to recruit a group of young people.

In approaching each stage of this final fieldwork I referred to my two sets of fieldnotes to attempt to navigate the best way forward. In contrasting the RCB and Bush Radio projects one of the standout features was the greater diversity of participants in South Africa. There are a number of reasons for this including the greater longevity of Bush Radio's projects and the willingness of staff and older volunteers to introduce their children to community radio. However Bush Radio also explicitly gears its recruitment of participants so that it is well represented in terms of class and race. Perhaps this is natural given the history and contemporary debates in South African society surrounding these interconnected issues. The determination to fill youth radio projects with a cross section of young people is beneficial to the participants. While it does sometimes lead to difficult and uncomfortable dialogues, it creates rich learning and offers young people an opportunity to mix with their peers who lead very different lives. In contrast, the young women on the RCB project all came from an area of approximately 500 meters squared and knew each other from early childhood.

My intention for the Wired study was to recruit young people from various parts of Limerick City. The aim was to have participants from a diverse range of socio-economic backgrounds. I first approached Limerick Youth Service. Limerick Youth Service is the state body charged with delivering youth development across the city and county. Youth work programs are principally geographically based with some limited intercommunity and international projects but for the most part youth clubs are location based and there is little crossover between young people from different suburbs or rural areas. My intention was to work with young people who were attending different projects.

My initial step was to arrange a meeting with Damian Landy, the youth work manager at Limerick Youth Service. Damian is the manager and gatekeeper to approximately 20 youth workers who are employed across County Limerick and who work primarily but not exclusively with disadvantaged youth in urban and rural settings. Damian and I met in September 2015 and discussed my research and past media projects with young people in Kilrush and in Limerick city. Damian was supportive of the idea of having young people from across the city

come together and was particularly keen on using media production in a youth development setting. Damian acted as a go-between between the youth workers and myself to gauge their levels of interest in having some of the young people they work with put forward to take part. There was little early feedback from youth workers to Damian's attempts to reach out. As frontline staff youth workers have direct contact with young people all over Limerick and without their support it is difficult to access young people. Because of the lack of interest from youth workers, Damian arranged that I could attend a staff meeting and pitch my project directly to the youth workers. During this session I presented my research outline and took the time to meet 18 youth workers face to face. Despite this effort none were willing to partake.

The reluctance from youth workers to get involved was frustrating to both their manager Damian and myself. The poor level of interest at this point led me to consider abandoning Limerick Youth Service and recruiting young people directly. There were a number of reasons preventing this. Firstly, Irish child protection legislation requires that all adults working with minors must have child protection clearance. This is obtained by writing to police authorities. Every organisation a person works with requires this clearance, for example if a person works with two organisations simultaneously, they must have clearance for both organisations separately. Clearance can take up to eight months to go through. Though I have clearance for this research and from four previous organisations I still would have had to get another if I was to approach schools. Limerick Youth Service did not require I obtain a fresh clearance with them as they have an agreement to transfer clearance between Mary Immaculate College and themselves. A second factor preventing direct recruitment is that Wired fm is a community of interest station. It is licensed to serve the student population of Limerick and not the broader community *per se*. Wired then has a low profile among people in Limerick and its location on a third level campus acted as a barrier to getting young people in studio, particularly young people from working class communities many of whom do not have family connections at third level institutions.

Finally, one youth worker, Frankie Daly, expressed an interest in participating. Damian arranged a meeting between three of us where I explained the project. A meeting was then arranged between Frankie, four young men aged 14-16 and myself. We met at head office of Limerick Youth Service in the city centre. At this meeting I had pictures of the radio studio and outlined the different skills that would be taught and what would be involved in terms of commitment. I asked them about their media habits and music tastes and we chatted for 20 minutes or so. The make up of the third group consisted of four young men aged 14-15, a girl, Kathleen later joined. Kathleen was 15 and a sister of one of the boys, Vincent. The group was aged from 14-15 and all knew each other through their community in Moyross, a working class suburb on the city's northside. The young people not a preformed or 'targeted' group.

The lack of diversity of the group was a setback as one of the key learning points to emerge from Bush Radio was the strength in diversity of youth radio teams. In Chapter 8 I make the case that a partnership approach between community radio stations and local youth services should be developed to smooth the way for potential youth radio projects and at a strategic level CRAOL (the Irish community radio network) and Foroige (the largest Irish youth work organisation) should look to ways of making such partnerships a part of their approach.

4.28 Choice of station
This project was being run from Wired FM, the student community radio station on campus at Mary Immaculate College. The station is located about two miles from Limerick city centre and so is convenient for most people in Limerick to access. Wired fm is a relatively well-equipped station and contains editing computers and two studios from which to work. The staff at Wired were supportive and made an encouraging atmosphere for the young people when they met. The experience of coming into a third level institution was a positive one, the young people got to familiarise themselves with a place of higher learning and demystify the University environment to some extent. During the

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project the group also had the opportunity to interact with students while producing content and in limited way with station staff. This exposure to a culture outside of their familiar environment was evidently challenging but ultimately the one that their youth worker reported as being positive though the young people did not express an opinion on this.

4.29 Project

The project ran weekly on Tuesday evenings from 4.30 to 6.30 from February to May 2016. The young people presented with varying levels of motivation. Some were keen to learn while others seemed to be there because their friends were, and found it difficult to remain focused, at least initially. I aimed to allow a flexible approach to planning sessions and not put pressure on the group to produce content every fortnight.

At the first production meeting only two out of the four participants turned up, Vincent and Peter. This immediately upset my preparation me as I had prepared a lesson plan including activities that was designed to have two groups with a minimum of four participants. The youth worker was accompanied by a student youth worker. They were content to wait in the reception area while I worked with the two young men in studio. From the first moments it was clear that the opportunity to work with microphones, mixing desks and editing suites held an attraction for them. In observing the boys they appeared to be familiar with the layout of a studio. They explained that they had seen similar set-ups in music videos and were comfortable 'playing' with equipment albeit not in a classic radio sense with people sitting down wearing headphones but rather as musicians and music producers, nevertheless it was encouraging to see them group become animated. I spent the first evening demonstrating how the equipment worked and had them essentially play with the various tools. They seemed to be clearly enjoying themselves. By the end of the hour the boys realised that the equipment took skill to operate and they were eager to return to learn how to do so. I spoke to Frankie at the end of the session and he assured me that there would be more participants the following week.

On week two we were joined by Kathleen and Dylan. Kathleen is a sister of Vincent and Dylan a friend of the boys also from Moyross. Having a group of four allowed me to use pre-planned material (Sample lesson plans attached as appendices). I began the session by welcoming the new members and having Vincent and Peter show them around the studio and explain the various functions. Kathleen explained she had come as it "sounded like a laugh" while Dylan said "the lads are here" (fieldnotes, 15/3/15).

I broke the group into pairs and asked them to list three things they like to do and three things that makes them angry. Vincent worked with Kathleen and the two boys together. While they worked I asked Peter to select some music for us to listen to in order to avoid a silent space. Dylan and Peter were having difficulty doing this task. I sat down with them and they would not answer my questions and through their body language it was obvious they were not enjoying this particular part of the evening with Dylan commenting to me "this is just stupid like, I don't know" (Dylan, 15/3/15). I asked them to forget about writing it then and tried to engage with them in a general chat about what they enjoy. Both boys responded that keeping horses was what they enjoyed most. Removing the necessity for them to write a list of things and instead have them recount to me what they enjoy doing in their spare time helped to open them up. Peter in particular told me how often he goes "down the field to look after the horses" (Peter, 15/3/15). The boys explained to me how the council comes and takes horses that are kept in open fields in the estate and how this is a source of anger for boys their age as they feel they are entitled to keep them there. Instead of pushing the boys to make a list of three I encouraged them to consider to turn it into a piece we could work further.

While I was working with this group Kathleen and Vincent were less than focused. When working under close supervision Vincent was an excellent contributor however if he felt like he had an audience or that he was behaving too well in front of the other boys he could become disruptive. When I came to speak with them about their list they had nothing written and were giggling.

Once I began working directly with them however Vincent and Kathleen were quick to come up with a variety of things they liked doing including writing lyrics, going to discos, hanging out with friends and family. For lists of things that made them angry Vincent and Kathleen only had school. I had both groups come and write on an A3 flipchart their lists and give a short presentation. For Dylan and Peter this again proved difficult as neither wanted to come up and present at first. Kathleen and Vincent though clearly uncomfortable and with a lot of nervous laughter wrote their lists on the board. When Vincent mentioned writing lyrics the two boys became full of chat with Peter telling me "you should hear his lyrics, he's unreal" (Peter 15/3/15). Although I had been aware from the outset that the boys were hip-hop fans, up until this point I did not realise how passionate they were or how highly they regarded Vincent's ability. While remaining at the flipchart I asked Vincent to tell us what he writes about, "everything really, whatever's going on around me", Peter was adamant that I should hear his stuff. I asked Vincent had he recorded anything and he said only on his phone, I then suggested that the following week we could record Vincent's lyrics if we got through our other work. When it came to Peter and Dylan presenting they both refused to come forward and felt clearly uncomfortable about standing before the group. In my fieldnotes I recorded this exchange:

> Me: Okay lads your turn? (silence, they both looked down at the hands)
> Me: Come on lads, Vincent and Kathleen did it....Peter?
> Peter: This is stupid....
> Me: We just agreed that next week we'll record some music but if we are going to make a show we need stuff to talk about (they both looked at each other and slowly made their way up)
> Peter to Dylan: You write it...
> Dylan: I'm not writing it
> Me: I'll write it you say it
> Peter: We both said we liked horses.
> Me: Yes thank you. Why? (they both shrugged their shoulders)
> Me: You just said to me that no one bothers you when you are down with them, is that right?

Peter: Ya.

Me: Any what do you do down with the horses?

Peter: Feed them, clean them and ride them down around Dallies (wasteland)

Me: And do you get any hassle from anyone?

Dylan: Ya the council come in and take the horses sometimes without paying anyone.

Me: Do you think that's fair?

Peter: No

Me: Do you think we could find out more about why they do? Maybe interview someone and record it using the desk?

Peter: Don't know….maybe (fieldnotes 15/3/15)

The purpose of pursuing this with the boys, even though they were clearly uncomfortable, was to engage them on a subject they cared about. If this had been a typical youth community radio project the boys would not have been asked to come before the group and present. Elsewhere in this research I show that youth radio groups in Ireland are frequently left to their own devices in studio to play music and create their own content with the resulting projects of little additional benefit outside of teambuilding. Putting the boys on the spot and challenging them to push outside their comfort zone was challenging for me as a project worker, to leave them to play music for an hour would have been far easier but this approach would not fulfill my plan for this type of youth radio model. These boundary encounters occurred frequently throughout the Wired Project and navigating them became a feature of it. At the end of this session I felt we had made good progress and my fieldnotes reflected this;

> Good session tonight. Dylan and Peter particularly came a long way from having little to no engagement to being able to identify a local issue they care about. They both are admirers of Vincent's lyrics, agreed to record some next week. Vincent and Kathleen are both well able and have no shortage of things to say but need close watching. Next week will look to build in music and work with Dylan and Peter to produce 'horse' story' (fieldnotes 15/3/15).

Week three

The plan for week three had been to build on the good work of the previous week. My lesson plan was to have the participants develop that which they started the previous week. As it turned out only Vincent, Peter and Kathleen attended. This was another setback as it prevented us building skills and momentum. In response I decided to introduce them to conducting vox pops.

A typical feature used in producing a story was to conduct 'vox-pops'. Voxpopuli or 'voice of the people' are used to give a flavour of public opinion on an issue or topic. The production of vox-pops are a good learning exercise as it brings in many of the key skills in radio production including scripting, recording, asking questions, editing and later use in appropriate context. During these learning exercises and in content production the young people came into contact with students and staff around the college. Performing this basic assignment proved to be a real challenge for each one of the group. Even Vincent, an extroverted young man, found this task problematic. I personally had to accompany him to give him confidence to approach random students. It became apparent that the Wired group had difficulty in communicating with those unaffiliated with Limerick Youth Service or this project. They each had little difficulty contacting people they knew from the studio phone but speaking with students on the campus was a real challenge. In debrief Frankie, their youth worker, offered that this interaction with staff and students as well as being in the university environment was a positive experience for these young people. From a pedagogical perspective it demonstrated the benefit of helping learners push through sometimes-difficult barriers. In this instance without the encouragement to gather these vox-pops, the task would have been left undone and the group would have remained in their comfort zone of each other and staff they knew, thereby missing out an a valuable opportunity to engage with others.

In the second half of this session I kept my promise to the group that we would spend time recording Vincent's lyrics. When I brought this up he took out a printed sheet with a poem he had written for his recently deceased Grandfather. He told me that he had only shared this with his family until now. I demonstrated to Peter and Kathleen how to operate the desk and recording software. I then

shut down the system and had them completely run the recording. They were both engaged, motivated and concentrating, gone was the awkwardness and reluctance of gathering vox pops. They both sat in the control room with headphones and communicated with Vincent through the studio microphones. The recording went smoothly and Vincent delivered the poem in rhythm. Whilst this was happening I sat at the back of the control room and quietly observed. At the end there Peter told Vincent "Okay bud, got it, you can come out". Vincent joined us in the control room and we all listened back to the recording. They were all clearly delighted with their efforts, this ended the third session. In my notes I recorded the following:

> Disappointing turnout this evening with only three present meaning we could not develop our stories from last week. Did vow pops outside which they were not enjoying and found it difficult to approach students. Ended by recording Vincent's poem which they loved. Next week will look to use these skills as it is clearly fun for them. (fieldnotes, 22/3/15).

During one to one chats with Kathleen I encouraged her to consider people she could interview. I did this as she sometimes was left out when the boys got together and I felt that having a project to work on could benefit her. I encouraged her to pick someone she admired. Kathleen suggested she interview her aunt, a young single mother of a large family. When asking Kathleen why she chose such a person to interview she initially was shy, shrugged her shoulders and evaded the question. In helping Kathleen develop her range of questions it became clear that she found her aunt an interesting person. Kathleen wanted to show her aunt's strength and independence while raising five children. Together we wrote up a list of questions, we did this by me asking questions of Kathleen such as "why are you interested?", "what would you or other people like to know". Kathleen working on her own then prepared a list of five questions including "What did you think when you first got pregnant? If you had your time back would you change anything? If you had no children for a day what would you do? What's the best bit about having kids around all the time? Do you ever get lonely her on your own with all the children?"

Week four

The following two weeks was the Easter break and as it was school holidays
there were no sessions. The next session was on April 12th. Here we had a new
member join, Craig. Dylan, Vincent and Peter were also present. By now I had
learned relying on a lesson plan was of little benefit. Instead I planned to wait to
see what group members would be present and work from there. Having the four
boys I asked them from outset if they'd like to work on preparing some rhymes
for recording. They were all eager for this. I then divided them into pairs and set
them a task to come up with two subjects each that they could then write lyrics
for. I offered suggestions that they should look for events that have happened in
their lives recently or locally. I sat down with each group and attempted to
facilitate a discussion around topics that could be suitable. Before we began to
work, Dylan offered that he had music by rap local group MYC on his phone.
Peter connected this to the mixing desk and we listened to two tracks by the
group. The lyrics portrayed a dark picture of life in Moyross;

> They've been living these moments since before they were born
> Living ghetto blues and you have to mourn
> When you heart is torn and she knows her son ain't coming back
> home
> You're born, you live and you die on the street
> But when push comes to shove no one speaks
> It's like an eye for an eye makes the whole world blind,
> When you look for what you don't got - its hard to find
> Ghetto blues
> Its' your life you got to chose (MYC, 2012)

Using these lyrics I asked the boys to consider what the author was trying to
convey and whether they were an accurate representation of life in Moyross. All
the boys felt that these lyrics were fair, "that's how it is in Moyross, you got to be
streetwise round here" (Peter, 12/4/16). When I pushed the boys and asked how
many they knew had been killed they were all able to tell me of people they knew
of or relations but these deaths had all been some ten years previously, none of
their age group or indeed those five years older had experienced serious
violence. However the image portrayed in the music was one of 'soldiers'.

Vincent had a more nuanced understanding of the use of hip-hop and explained to me, "we like listening to MYC cause they write about the places and things we know, we like American rappers and all but we like to make our own music and sometimes you have to use the style of gangsters and all that to make the track sound good but really we can write about anything" (Vincent, 12/4/16).

Akom's critical hip-hop pedagogy calls for participants to identify a problem or issue, analyse it, plan a response, implement it and finally evaluate this response, using this, I encouraged the boys to work on the previously identified topic of horses in Moyross. I wanted to use hip-hop as a lens through which they could engage in an exercise that required a critical engagement with a real world issue. The boys broke into pairs and I assigned tasks to the groups, Vincent and Dylan were to borrow a recorder and record vox-pops in Moyross while Vincent and Craig were to research and locate a spokesperson from Limerick City Council who could answer questions the boys prepared. Both groups were then to write a verse each on the topic and from this we would put together a show for broadcast.

Week 5
The following week Vincent, Peter and Kathleen were present. By now I had come to expect erratic attendance and so was prepared to proceed regardless of numbers. Peter returned the recorder with vox pops of a variety of local people giving their views on horses in Moyross. Vincent was unable to get someone from Limerick City Council for an interview. Both boys had prepared a short verse each on the subject. I demonstrated to the boys how to edit and they both set about to work on recording the vox pops Peter had collected. Both boys were content to work independently giving me the opportunity to firstly step back and observe them work consistently over a given task and secondly to allow me spend time with Kathleen.

In the material Kathleen returned with it was apparent instinctively knew how to record 'scenes' and was aware of how audio landscapes work, this despite the fact she had never heard a radio documentary. For her part, Kathleen's aunt Ciara provided poignant answers and spoke to the 15 year Kathleen about her regrets at getting pregnant at a young age and wanting something different for her niece.

<Background noise> Shouts, laughter

<Child one> What are ye doing?

<Kathleen> Recording an interview

<Child two> HELLO!

<Child one> What's happening!?

<Ciara> Will ye get down from me!

<laughter>

<Kathleen> I need ye to be quiet if I'm going to do this, I can't have ye shouting

<Ciara> Go on, go out!

<Kathleen> Can you tell me your name and age please?

<Ciara> Are you serious?

<Kathleen> Ya

<Ciara> I'm Ciara, I'm 42

<Kathleen> Brilliant, thanks. Can you tell me where we are and a little about yourself?

<Ciara> We're in (ADDRESS) in Moyross…what do you want to know?

<Kathleen> Tell me what it's like being a mother to these children.

<Ciara> It's hard work, I love my children but it's hard going

<Kathleen> What's hard about it?

<Ciara> Am…there's always something to do, always someone looking for something. I've five kids to get up and feed everyday, get to school, make sure they're doing ok with everything.

<Kathleen> What's the hardest part?

<Ciara> You have to rely on yourself, no-one looks out for me, it's all on me.

<Kathleen> What did you want to do before you had children?

<Ciara> When I was your age, what are you now, 14?

<Kathleen> 15

<Ciara> 15, When I was your age I wanted to move to Dublin or London just get out of here but things didn't go that way. I got pregnant when I was 18 and I got a house here and it all changed after that. I was in love then! (Transcript of interview recorded by Kathleen)

In developing this exchange Kathleen displayed her ability to control an interview and improvise questions beyond her initial list of five. I left Kathleen to continue to edit this material. At this point the three young participants were busy editing material and there was a positive atmosphere of engagement in the studio. This was arrived at because they were all using learned technical skills to work independently on material that they had recorded and were personally invested in.

The interview Kathleen did provided one of the highlights of the Wired group. I make the point elsewhere in this thesis that radio production offers a variety of skills that appeal to different people. Often it is not until a person tries out a role that they realize they enjoy it and demonstrate some flair in whatever capacity it may be. It is also unpredictable in that extroverts may make terrible interviewers or great sound engineers. In this case, Kathleen, a true joker and a sometimes-difficult character, made the most excellent interviewer displaying emotional intelligence and a gift for story. The intergenerational content provided an excellent platform on which to conduct conversations surrounding the young peoples lives. Comparing and contrasting how generations ahead of them lived at their age offered a mirror in which to examine their own present day lived experiences.

The emergence of Kathleen as a documentary maker came late in the program. This was regrettable; with more time and training I believe she could have produced an interesting piece of work. As it stood the project ended mid-story with Kathleen having to withdraw to complete junior certificate exams and no

regular youth clubs are run over the summer. Had this research project been located within a radio station based in their community with open access, it may have been possible to re-engage Kathleen in her recordings. This speaks to the advantage in having an open-ended approach to working with young people. A radio training course is beneficial but having an outreach officer at a community station to actively engage young people like Kathleen over time would bring benefits to the young person, the station and the wider community.

Towards the end of that evenings' session Peter and Vincent took turns to record their short pieces on horses in Moyross with Kathleen acting as sound engineer. Vincent's piece went as follows:

> There's nothing like it, the world flying by,
> No care in the world, it's in my minds eye
> Down in the field and it's all a hurry
> Don't have no cares, no trouble, no worry
>
> (Vincent, lyrics 19/4/16)

Peter was less assured in his delivery but Vincent and Kathleen were both supportive, at this stage I was quite removed and content to let the group control proceedings, it was obvious they were confident in the technical requirements and were enjoying themselves.

> Down in the field and there's nothing better,
> I go there everyday no matter the weather,
> Big sky overhead and there's nothing else going on
> I have pure freedom and my heart is a song.
> Being inside is like a bird in a cage
> Down here with the boys we're never gonna fade
> So just leave us alone and leave us be
> Don't wanna be on no CCTV
>
> (Peter, lyrics, 19/4/16)

This recorded material was then interspersed with commentary prepared by the boys on their subject. At the end of the session I used Akom's pedagogy to explain to them the process we used to arrive at the finished piece. I encouraged them to consider using this when writing future pieces as a way of combining their personal expression with a methodology that looks to make sense of social issues. Both boys grasped and understood the relevance of the theory. I feel that introducing the theory retrospectively prevented the boys from becoming bored at the outset; rather we did the work then reflected. Perhaps it was unnecessary to explain to them this theory but I did so as I wanted to be open wand share my own learning with them.

I had planned for a final session but Kathleen and Vincent both had to withdraw as they had state exams beginning in early June. Without these two participants the others were reluctant to attend. In conversations with Frankie, their youth worker, I proposed that we could meet over the summer to continue. However shortly afterwards Frankie was transferred to another area and a new youth worker took over. I made contact with her but shortly afterwards she went on sick leave. The next youth worker was not appointed until much later in the year by which time contact had been lost with the group. On the RCB project a similar sequence of events happened with Kate, who was a key factor in the success of that project moving on to a new position. This high turnover of staff is similar in the community radio sector. This turnover is a major barrier to deep engagement with young people in this type of setting. Moreover despite having study periods of three months it is clear that this is insufficient time to build connections with young people or for training of skills. Having projects that are open ended and based in the communities of the young people offers a better pathway for developing relationships that are deeper, more flexible and ultimately better serve the young people who are at the heart of these projects.

4.30 My role as researcher/ instructor

Throughout the Wired FM project I delivered the learning without assistance or involvement of youth workers or station staff. This was different from the previous two projects where there were always at least two key workers with the groups and other staff on hand to assist at times. This meant I had to devote full attention to teaching and managing the group while at the same time conduct research. Whereas at Bush Radio I was more of an observer participant, at Wired I was occupying more the role of participant observer. As the project evolved early behavioural issues settled down and the young people acquired enough skills to allow them to work independently, I was able to step back from active involvement and take on the preferred position of observer participant enabling richer data capture for my notes. It was clear from early on in the Wired project that having two workers involved makes for a better experience for all. When those two workers are from different fields the learning experience can be richer again.

4.31 Group dynamics

The make up of the group of five was four boys and one girl. The others in the group were all familiar to each other from their neighbourhood and also had attended Limerick Youth Service programs together but not as a defined group. As such we had to overcome many of the challenges that creating a new group brings. Setting boundaries on behaviour was an early challenge. As a researcher and instructor this was a difficult line to hold. I aimed to create a positive learning environment, one that allowed the young people to express themselves while at the same time be mindful of concerns for safety, upholding respect towards one another and the Wired studios. This involved me discussing with the group what was expected of each other.

Group dynamics played a big part in behaviour. Vincent was an excellent pupil, well-behaved, eager to learn and full of ideas. However once some of the others in the group began to lose interest and cause disruption Vincent did not wish to

be seen as 'teacher's pet', once Vincent started to joke, his sister Kathleen followed suit. As the project progressed these issues tended to resolve, as I was able to assign tasks to keep the participants busy with meaningful work, in particular editing proved a popular and rewarding job. However behaviour management remained a constant challenge throughout the duration of the study. This behavioural challenge was an element in all three studies but at RCB and Bush I had the support of other workers. In much of the literature this side of working with young people is often overlooked and the practice of youth media production is sometimes characterised romantically ignoring the 'messy realities of the classroom' (Buckingham, 1998).

While all members of the group were still in school three out of the five had issues with attendance there. One example of truancy was when I asked Peter why he didn't attend school on that Tuesday, he said he had "to feed my horses" (when I asked whether his mother took issue with this he laughed and said no), this response typified the relationship Dylan, Peter and Craig had towards school.

It is common when training anybody new to radio for people to feel uncomfortable hearing their own voice. This group proved no different and they refused point blank to listen to themselves being played back. At these times I had to choose between cajoling and being stern to get them around to recording and playing back content. The lack of success at formal education for these young people presented me with a challenge as an instructor. How was I to help them push themselves to create audio content while maintaining a positive atmosphere? This challenge was one that evolved as the project evolved and speaks to the core of youth radio: should adult staff occupy a central motivating/production role in youth radio? This question arose across all three-fieldwork studies. Choosing to be active, naturally carries a greater workload for adults as well as creating tensions amongst young people who at times would prefer the easy road of music and light chat content in their radio shows as in the case of the Spice of Life program. This reality perhaps goes some way towards explaining the scarcity of youth radio projects currently in Ireland. This is a

labour intensive pursuit fraught with conflict but one that ultimately yields positive outcomes.

4.32 Hip-hop as learning tool

A successful radio training course largely depends on getting young people interested and motivated to learn. While radio consumption and issue-based journalism are virtually non-existent amongst this age cohort, music is a near universal interest. Amongst Irish male teens from socially excluded backgrounds, hip-hop is far and away the most popular genre of music, for instance in the LYS room where I first met the participants there was a mural representing Limerick, it contained the local St. John's Castle, the popular Munster rugby team whose stadium is nearby to Moyross and a portrait of rapper Tupac Shakur.

The young men were principally motivated to join the radio production course as they wanted to be in a studio and associated this with music production. They wanted to be able to include their music in shows and if possible use the microphones to record their own rhymes and edit these using software available in Wired. Initially I was reluctant to make hip-hop production a central part of the workshops. I felt there were already hip-hop and music production youth work classes catering for young people in Limerick. These groups are popular but very heavily male dominated. I was however happy to offer them a compromise, I would teach them how to edit and record their own music if they would use these same skills in the production of stories. Certainly for these young men, the allure of music and technology was a strong one, headphones, mixing desks, speakers and other paraphernalia was enough to entice them along to at least see the radio studio. This attraction was also observed at Bush Radio and is one of major pull factors for young men. Aside from acting as a pull factor, hip-hop turned out to play a major role in the Wired project. Without exception, amongst the male participants at Wired, hip-hop was their preferred cultural item. Crucially, the young men all used hip-hop as means of personal

expression. Before discussing how they used hip-hop it may be necessary to clarify what we speak of.

Hip-hop has its origins in the socially conscious beat poetry music of artists such as Gil Scott Heron. It grew as a subculture throughout the 1980s amongst primarily African-American urban youth. Its lyrics were firmly rooted in the lived experience of this group and hip-hop was at its core a socially and politically conscious mode of expression with an emphasis on 'knowledge of self'. The 1990's saw hip-hop explode in popularity amongst urban youth throughout the world and by the end of the decade hip-hop had come to dominate pop charts. This dominance saw the evolution of 'hip-hop' to 'gangsta rap'. Although gangsta rap has now had its day, its popularity was so great for a time that many unfortunately confuse it with it's predecessor hip-hop, indeed hip-hop continues to survive and thrive while gangsta rap seems to be in severe decline. Gangsta rap is centered around celebration of wealth, misogyny, homophobia, male sexual dominance, violence and drug abuse. When looked at as subculture hip-hop offers us the counter-discursive agenda that gangsta rap completely fails to (Haupt, 2003). The appropriation and subsequent marketing of gangsta rap as a commodity to a largely middle class, white audience created an era of dominance for rap and did reputational damage to hip-hop amongst those who failed to truly investigate the area. The young men on the Wired project took as their inspiration the one artist who successfully crossed over from hip-hop to gangsta rap maintaining credibility in both fields, Tupac Shakur. Drawing inspiration from a figure like Shakur, meant that the approach of Vincent and the other boys to hip-hop was much closer to the 'truth' of hip-hop as expression rather than the record company manufactured gangsta identity of the late 1990's/early 2000's. This expression was rooted in observing their world and looking at systems of injustice and oppression they encountered.

A frequent criticism of hip-hop that is produced outside the USA, is that it represents cultural imperialism. It is true in urban communities from Scandanavia to South Africa, hip-hop has become the dominant form of cultural expression for young men in particular. Mitchell (2001:1) notes:

Hip-hop and rap cannot be viewed simply as an expression of African American Culture; it has become a vehicle for global youth affiliations and a tool for reworking local identity all over the world.

Mitchell is correct when he notes the power that hip-hop can have in reworking *local* identity. During production meetings in Wired, the topic often came back to hip-hop. What emerged in their lyrics was not a portrayal of a life of crime or the other trappings of 'gangsta' culture but something closer to a lived experience that was anything but glamorous as in these lyrics by Peter on the subject of the much talked about regeneration plan for Moyross:

Living in Moyross what you see is what you get,

You hear talk of buildings but you haven't seen them yet.

Regeneration tearing down my home nation,

Don't know what to do, it's all an embarrassment

I'd tell the regeneration go get bent.

Ya when you try to knock down my hometown,

The place I grew up/with the boys I'm down (Peter, written for

item on regeneration, April 2016).

What emerged from these considered lyrics was a level of thought and expression that was difficult to pull from the group in any other way. Initially I had hoped that by recording their rhymes I would entice them into the station and later use those skills to produce 'stories', I failed at the early stages to appreciate that in hip-hop they were already producing 'stories'. Essentially I had not treated hip-hop as a 'legitimate' cultural source (Bourdieu, 1984). I had a preformed idea that writing radio features and discussions similar to RCB and Bush was the optimum way to work with young people in this setting. I adjusted my teaching approach, which usually relied on group discussion and working in pairs to produce traditional radio content to instead issue the lads a freestyle challenge. I gave them five minutes to come up with lines on a range of subjects. We recorded these and placed a track underneath. We then played back these

songs and critically engaged with the lyrics to tease out their thoughts on a range of issues affecting their lives. This method of teaching was very far from where I had planned to be but we did succeed in discussing a range of topics that without the use of hip-hop, I feel we would not have accomplished. This insight into how this mode of expression can be used as a launch pad for a radio program was one of the key discoveries of the Moyross project. Not only does it provide a means of expression but its musicality means it can be used to complement other elements in a radio show.

4.33 Conclusion.

Initially the plan for the Moyross project was to run a six-week radio production course. Evaluation was to be conducted throughout by observations and semi-structured interviews and at the end by a questionnaire. In the end the project ran over 12 weeks, in part due to missed weeks through poor attendance but also because participants expressed a desire to remain in the project past our initial end date. In the initial research plan I had prepared six lesson plans that on paper would have covered the basic skills of radio production. However the actual classes did not always reflect the lesson plans. They were useful in giving me confidence that I had a plan, that the course had an overall shape and that the participants were getting exposed to the skills they needed to become producers. Typically we would began a class focusing on a skill and once they group grew confident in its use our discussions would lead us off in a direction I had not anticipated. These discussions allowed the group control over content and kept the atmosphere fresh and exciting. Towards the end of the project the participants had each displayed progression in the skills we were focusing on but perhaps more interestingly they individually showed a flair for various skills. Vincent showed a great capacity for forming questions and selecting interesting guests, Peter travelled a long way from complete disinterest to demanding more from his colleagues, Dylan grew in confidence editing and reached a relatively proficient level, Craig's involvement writing hip-hop gave him a platform that he enjoyed while Kathleen's unlikely emergence as a potential documentary maker was most encouraging. These diverse skills and roles speak to the strength of radio production in this setting. The short project length despite being double

what was originally intended was however a serious disadvantage. The project ended as the school year came to a close. This is traditionally a time when youth services find it difficult to engage young people. From a research and personal perspective it was disappointing to end the research at a point when I felt the group were beginning to make real progress. However I had the same feeling when the Kilrush project ended and the young people left without transferring to become 'regular' station volunteers.

Chapter 5 Broadening horizons: Skills and tools

5.1 Introduction

This initial chapter of findings focuses on the learning outcomes for participants that emerged during the fieldwork studies. Here I use a cross case analysis to identify common themes and evaluate how they manifested at each site. I also highlight site-specific learning that I observed at Bush Radio, RCB and Wired. The aim of this is to identify effective practices that researchers or workers in the field may be able to further develop and learn from. The learning outcomes are divided into hard skills, production and creative approaches such as music and narrative and other tools used during the case studies.

5.2 Hard skills

Technical and editorial skills are the 'how' of radio production. They are often grouped together in the literature but are in fact quite different. Technical skills are sometimes referred to as 'hard' skills and include editing, operating a recorder and mixing sound. A short-term aim in the Irish studies study was to get groups self sufficient in technical skills within a six-week period. In Kilrush it happened sooner while in Moyross it took longer. The practices at Bush Radio concentrate more on developing content rather than hard skills.

5.2.i Hard Skills RCB

The take up of hard skills was different in each case study. At RCB and Wired my plan was to provide training so that all participants had equal opportunity to learn the various hard skills. At RCB this involved me demonstrating a skill and having the girls then work at their own at computers allowing me the opportunity to engage with them. I had envisaged six sessions in total on editing, desk operation and using portable recorders. After two studio sessions the young women negotiated amongst themselves a division of labour with individuals attracted to various roles. From my perspective I was happy to see the project take a self-directed course. This division of labour meant that the spread of hard skills was uneven and against my original plan of exposing

everyone to the various skills and roles. All the participants had a taster of editing and desk operation but the group themselves were clear on who was assigned to the different roles. In discussion, the youth worker and I decided that this decision by the group reflected their ownership of the project. After two weeks these roles were decided and did not change throughout. It allowed the participants to become highly familiar in their various roles. Ciara the youngest of the group was particularly keen on being a sound engineer. In the case of some, I was surprised by the roles adopted, for instance Siobhan a quiet and shy young woman wanted to be a presenter. Siobhan grew into the role and could clearly be seen to gain confidence. Prior to the RCB project my only experience in delivering radio training was to adults at community radio level. The participants on this type of training are usually preparing to present a show alone, therefore the training covers all aspects. On the RCB project the training was to a group who were looking to work together to produce a show. I approached the training to the young women in the same manner I did a traditional training course. The decision of the participants to select roles meant I had to alter the training style. This had the effect of making producing a program easier but transmitting hard skills on an equal basis more difficult.

5.2.ii Hard skills Bush

At Bush Radio there was less of a focus on hard skills. Trainers devoted more time to facilitating debate between participants with the aim of generating lively, relevant content for the broadcast shows. The Bush project was under the pressure of having a weekly show to fill; as a result deadline pressures meant that station staff often took over editing or desk operation. The emphasis on producing content that fully explored challenging issues was inspiring, but a lack of independence for participants in the studio was in my view regrettable. This lack of hard skills for participants meant they were dependent on station staff to perform even the most basic studio tasks. This created resentment amongst the staff who were called upon to fill this skill gap.

5.2.iii Hard skills Wired

During the Wired study the uptake of skills was much slower than in Kilrush. The participants showed less cohesion as a group and presented more challenging behaviour. After considering the shortcomings of the approach at Bush Radio I decided to place an emphasis on teaching hard skills with the Wired group. Teaching hard skills provided me with an opportunity to work closely with the participants. The group was small enough that I could demonstrate a skill and then work with each person at their pace. For the young men on the study the chance to gain skills in editing meant they could record and put together their own music. Using equipment was a clear motivating factor for the young men on this study, an observation previously made by Hopkins (2011). This task helped build rapport and was clearly of interest to the group. Kathleen, the only girl on the Moyross study showed a flair for editing and it became a medium of self-expression previously closed to her. Once the group was confident with key skills, the participants were given the simple objective to record and edit content to one-minute packages. This task required the participants to focus and concentrate for extended periods, something their youth worker informed me as being a rare occurrence. Once they had finished putting together their mini-packages we sat as a group and critiqued each other's work. This proved to be a struggle to get the group to sit through this exercise with perhaps a lack of confidence in expression being a factor. The teaching of technical skills gave the participants independence to pursue their own interests. In the case of Kathleen she took these skills and applied them for feature production, Dylan and Craig were happy to be able to use a multitrack editing system to produce simple music tracks while Victor was eager to learn any skills that came his way. For all participants the experience of learning by doing was clearly enjoyable for them. Allowing enough flexibility was key to keep the atmosphere relaxed and some of the group showed a strong motivation to build on these skills.

5.2.iv Hard skills conclusion

The three case studies demonstrate three different approaches to hard skills in youth radio projects. At RCB the division of labour meant hard skills were not

widely acquired, at Bush Radio they were not taught at all whereas at Wired hard skills were used as an opportunity to engage in one to one training. The decision by Bush Radio trainers to focus on content over hard skills was in my view a key failing. The lack of studio independence was frustrating to the young people and technical staff, and put a drain on already scarce station resources. Hard skills offer participants the chance to learn what are sometimes referred to as 'marketable skills' (Goodman, 2003), which can potentially be used later in potential employment. Youth work practices today rely heavily on evaluation metrics to support projects as well as to attempt to ensure a positive experience for young people. For some, the drive to place an emphasis on marketable skills is evidence of an influence of neo-liberal economic values in youth work (Sefton-Green, 2006). While technical skills do add somewhat to young people's employability, the reality is that these skills are less and less valued in Irish commercial and public service radio as 'live' radio dominates. In my view it is important not to oversell audio training to young people or make promises regarding future employment. However, using hard skills as observable, measureable outcomes may be of use for community radio stations to gain the interest of youth work managers who operate in a culture of evidence. Hard skills offer the opportunity to independently produce media texts including reports, features and music. Young people who possess these skills can operate studios without supervision leading to a marked increase in confidence. Once this technical independence was acquired at group level at RCB and individually at Wired, the groups showed a clear growth in personal expression when they felt at ease in a radio environment.

The division of labour at RCB allowed the young women to become proficient in their various tasks and the group operated well as a team. They were a preformed group and had a good working relationship before this project, which undoubtedly helped the production process. Future projects should look to encourage this division of labour by allowing young people the freedom to assign these roles. However this should happen after basic skills have been demonstrated to all to allow people the opportunity to get to know the various tasks.

5.3 Performing roles

During the Irish case studies the participants were encouraged to consider themselves not as trainees but rather as media professionals. In the first sessions I introduced the various studio roles, outlining the responsibilities each held in the production process. I modeled the structure of the session less on my experience in commercial or public service radio but rather I created an idealised environment that was quality focused but inspired by the work of Freire (1972), hooks (1992) and others had a robust dialogical culture, something which professional radio lacks. Part of this approach is the professionalising of the participants themselves. This involves asking for a meeting with the 'producers' and using technical terms and devices such as running orders throughout. This approach is a subtle but important part of the pedagogy I developed and builds on the work of Thompson (2011) on the professional use of language in youth development settings.

The division of labour on the RCB project into clearly defined roles, which lasted throughout the project, became a key part of that case study. I would argue that participants came to adopt these as identity markers within the project wherein using Goffman's (1956) understanding of role, the participants were able to play with temporary identities as radio professionals. Towards the end of the RCB project a fieldtrip was arranged for the group to visit a local commercial radio station. This was done on the grounds that the station was one the girls sometimes listened to but also the senior staff at this station are women. I took the opportunity to introduce the participants to potential role models working in the industry. During the visit the girls appeared uncomfortable. They were conspicuous in their clothing and accent. They did not receive a particularly warm welcome from the junior station staff and the visit was a rather awkward affair. In my observation the group were 'read' by their 'sign signals' (Goffman, 1956) and characterised as 'Other' (Hall, 1977). At the end of the visit the group met with the programme director who asked them about their own show, they were slow to answer. However when they were asked about their roles within the show they became animated. They began using professional language, relaxed and opened up. Using the language of the discourse of radio production

transformed them in that moment, and for a limited time, from 'marginalised youth' to 'legitimate' participants' (Bourdieu 1977) in a professional environment. This shift occurred spontaneously and took the program director by surprise. The experience on the visit to the radio station demonstrated that the young women carried their professional role identities beyond the safe environment of the RCB studio and into an external professional media environment without prompting from the project workers.

At Bush Radio roles were not assigned to individuals. The ethic there was more focused on developing content. There was not the same emphasis on modeling a professional environment but rather on exploring issues and having in-depth discussions, in fact commercial and public service radio were openly criticised in the Bush Radio studios. These discussions allowed the young people to challenge one another and expose each other to contrasting views. The lack of attention to this element of radio production I believe is an oversight.

Frequently, youth and in particular youth from marginalised communities, have identities assigned to them by adults and other youth from outside their communities . Youth development projects provide adolescents with opportunities for personal and interpersonal development, particularly to engage in identity development. The opportunity to adopt a professional role with accompanying skill set and language provides a way of temporarily 'being someone else'. The professionalisation of participants on the case studies allowed them to try on 'ways of being' previously denied. This facet of the projects became an important embedded piece of my approach to these case studies. Looking beyond youth radio, this trying on of identities allows young people to challenge identities that are imposed on them, what Gee (2000) calls d iscource-identites. For youth from socially excluded communities there are often few opportunities to experiment with professional roles. Identity development is a complex process, it would be wrong in my view to assume that the temporary adopting of a professional role will transform a young persons view of themselves. However it provides a space for reflection and gives confidence to young people. The experience with the RCB fieldtrip I believe demonstrates that

being able to think about yourself in a professional context and having the language and skills to support this leads to an expanded view of the self, however small this expansion may be. It is my view that within youth radio projects, opportunities for a reflexive view of the self, should be created and encouraged.

On the Wired project the participants also adopted roles. However there was less of a clear division of labour. This project had more of an ad-hoc feel where each new session was less a carry over of the last. The learning on this project for the young people was done more on an individual basis rather than collectively. This lack of group cohesion reduced the adoption of roles within the project. Professional language was still used and adopted and the young people did develop unique skills for instance Peter was adept at using the desk and Kathleen at editing but these were at an individual level rather than functioning as a team.

5.4 Creative use of the medium

At the outset of this research project my intention was to focus strongly on current affairs production for the radio texts the young people would create. I did this in the belief that youth were being misrepresented in Irish broadcasting, where little to no attempt is made to present current affairs from a youth perspective. I also took this approach as I had extensive experience as a journalist and so I was comfortable working in this style. Over the course of the three studies however, I learned that attempting to treat audio production in a standardised style was an error. Moreover my bias towards current affairs production as the 'best way' was incorrect and I was guilty of holding this genre of radio as more 'legitimate' (Bourdieu, 1977) than others. Looking at contemporary radio production in Ireland, the 'as live' style dominates. Internationally the shift to podcasting has seen resurgence in prerecorded content allowing for a greater variety of audio texts available. In the three studies I encouraged the groups to use the medium of audio in a creative way, to free themselves from the confines of 'as live' broadcasting to create more original pieces that drew on a greater variety of skills.

5.4.i Storytelling

In my review of the literature I identified the growing body of literature that address digital storytelling in education and development contexts. Digital storytelling relies strongly on visual content to deliver its message. I adapted the principles of this story telling technique (page 47) to suit an audio mode of production. My aim in doing so was to use these principles to frame the content that the young people were working on in a clear way. In the hustle and bustle of running workshops, with a lot happening at any moment, the seven principles became a useful way of reminding the participants that they were in control of the content and that editorial choices they were making were deliberate i.e. they were authors in sound. This was important to remind the groups that attending these workshops was more than just an afterschool hobby, that they were in fact engaging in content production. It further served to highlight that producing audio content was an agent centred performance though without using such terminology. The act of producing content was a consciously 'agentive' project (Hull and Katz, 2006). This focus on creativity, expression, self-direction and decision-making became the true core of the work with these young people. The impact of these radio workshops could be seen in the short term through greater skill acquisition, increased independence and more confidence but youth development has longer-term goals; namely the transference of agency from a youth radio workshop into other spheres of the lives of the participants. In discussions with the youth workers after the projects had ended, they reported that several of the young people in both Irish case studies indicated they would like a career in media and that the experience gave them more confidence.

In all three-fieldwork studies an early exercise I conducted was to ask the participants how they felt mainstream media portrayed their communities. In Ireland the replies I recorded in my fieldwork notes are "They think we're all scumbags", "They won't give us jobs if they know we're from Moyross" (fieldnotes Wired, April 2016), "They just call us shams" (fieldnotes RCB, November 2015). In Cape Town, the young people reported a similar stigma as

being from 'bad neighborhoods'. This stigma of being from the 'wrong' place is compounded by the fact that the participants were all teenagers, a group frequently treated by the media as being deviant. Whether or not these perceptions reported by the participants are 'true' is beside the point, the fact they feel this way constitutes their lived experience. Writing on this Kamp (2004) notes,

> "Verisimilitude….is a more appropriate criterion for narrative knowing than verification or proof of truth, what the storyteller "tells" is what is significant for the researcher, who desires to understand the meaning of a particular phenomenon rather than to gather information about it" (Kamp 2004:109).

I used this opening dialogue as a provocation to the young participants to then challenge these damaging stereotypes, to tell a different story of themselves and their communities. Critical Race Theorists Solorzano and Yosso (2009) call this 'counter-storytelling', a "method of telling the stories of those people whose experiences are not often told including people of colour, women, gay and the poor" (Solorzano and Yosso, 2009:26). This counter-storytelling echoes the call from youth radio activists and scholars for more youth centred content and who argue that the points of view of young people are frequently absent from mainstream media content. Youth radio projects thus should offer counter hegemonic content, content that is rooted in lived experience and culturally sensitive. The structure of the fieldwork studies I conducted consciously made space for the young people to critically 'read' their world. They were given freedom to engage with topics. This included negative comments on authority figures especially those in the education system and the police. This freedom to engage with topics of their choosing is not an easy path for the young people or project workers to follow. There was no feeling of emancipation, or a door suddenly being opened, however romantic such an idea is. Rather it was a hard, gradual progression from reproducing commercially influenced radio texts to a more issue based commentary on local and international issues.

In the two Irish case studies storytelling was intertwined in all activities. At RCB in each show the group selected a different topic relevant to young people as an item to be included; for example bullying, and local provision of amenities. In

brainstorming sessions the young women were encouraged to speak about how these topics affected them personally. In the discussion on local amenities the girls described how the estate where they live is drab and quite depressing. One of the girls, Olivia, told of how she walks past boarded up houses and occasional burnt out cars on her way to school. The group then shared their similar stories on this subject and came up with suggestions on how the council could improve the appearance of the locality. This simple discussion became an item in one of the shows. It came about by asking a very direct question, "What do you dislike about where you live?". Answers to this question were noted on a flipchart but crucially getting the participants to tell their story of how this impacts them transformed this process into a personal account of their life. The girls told us that it would not have been possible to tell this counter-story of a depressing view on a walk to school to teachers at Kilrush Community School. They felt that the other students would 'judge them' and that the teachers were not interested as it was not relevant to whatever subject they were studying. Mirroring the terminology around how a youth radio project is structured Kamp (2004) describes narrative inquiry as "both a process, a narrator or participant telling or narrating, and a product, the story or narrative told" (Kamp, 2004:104). The act of personalising this story encouraged the group to 'own' this subject and the crafting of it into a radio piece demonstrated that the young women were not powerless actors in society but rather through media production, they could offer solutions and contribute to the discourse around their community. They were expressing clear agentive selves in the way they transformed a rather sad tale into an act of 'voice' that was publicly aired.

At Bush Radio storytelling was not used. In the past, they had used a greater variety of audio in the Bush Teens project. The process I observed however was largely based on discussion followed by recording a show. The production process in Bush Radio relied heavily on peer critique. Diverse viewpoints were encouraged and the ability to defend a view or change one's mind was particularly seen as a healthy act of public discourse. The tutors frequently told the young participants that their minds should always be open to change and challenge though at times this appeared to be in conflict with Natasha who

appeared to have a set view on certain topics to be covered. As in the Irish case studies, the public airing of personal stories from their locality was refreshing for the young people who told me that it was the first time that many of them had felt like they had been listened to by adults. This internal audience gave the participants confidence to then broadcast carefully crafted and deeply personal pieces over the FM airwaves.

On the Wired project Kathleen, the only girl, showed an aptitude for editing. Kathleen frequently found herself isolated from the boys in the group and my attention was often devoted to ensuring the boys were occupied and engaged. This meant I did not have as much time for Kathleen as I would have liked, as a response I gave her editing tasks that were time consuming yet constructive. In a short time she demonstrated not a little skill in putting clips together. She also enjoyed using the portable recorder. I spoke with Kathleen about perhaps making a portrait of someone she knows and we spent sometime discussing options. Over the next six weeks or so Kathleen brought back tape of varying quality. What came through was her grasp of how to collect material. Kathleen understood character, scene and sound naturally. Her motivation for her choice of subject, her aunt, a mother of five children, was interesting. Kathleen's aunt was a mother of five children who had her first child at 17. Her aunt was candid about how having a child at that age influenced her life.

I gave Kathleen listening material and we discussed how to represent for the listener her aunt's life. Kathleen returned with recordings of the household, children crying, shouting and general sounds. From a creative audio perspective this was strong material. We set about to edit together, I was showing Kathleen techniques and she was reducing down the material and selecting the highlights. The experience of working with Kathleen on this project was exciting and resulted in an interesting document. There were many opportunities for reflection, creativity, and skill acquisition during this process. This exercise provided an excellent basis from which to explore the choices that young women face. In working on such a complex and sensitive topic Kathleen was placing herself in her aunt's position, it was an opportunity to look in to the future and

for her aunt to look back to when she was Kathleen's age. This intergenerational project highlighted a strong area of possibility for future projects.

5.4.ii Conclusion storytelling

My early position towards genres of audio was strongly in favour of a current affairs approach, which favours interviews and 'news' topics. As the case studies progressed I began to appreciate how framing the stories the young people were telling in production meetings in a narrative format, could help them articulate these experiences and share them with their peers. The use of digital storytelling in education in other settings inspired me to adapt the seven principles of the Centre for Digital Storytelling for use in audio projects. This provided a method of helping the young people to examine their own stories in such a way that lifted those stories out of the personal and into a professional format. It further helped participants to be able to analyse their own work and to move our work from a skills based project to one that looked to build a critical dimension.

5.4.iii Music

In my initial meeting with the participants, discussions around music tastes and how these were reflected on commercial radio were icebreakers. Hip-hop was an important part of the overall culture of Bush Radio. There were frequent local guests brought into the studio and a devoted show on Friday nights, which was the most popular show on the station. Several volunteer presenters from this show were graduates of the CREW project, this transition from teenage participant to regular volunteer offered a good insight into how youth radio projects can create lasting bonds between participants and stations. At RCB music selections were featured in each episode and the girls also invited friends into studio to perform live. At Wired hip-hop became an important part of the production process and was central to much of our activities.

5.4.iv Music at Wired

The Wired fieldwork study comprised a group of four young men aged 14-15 and one young woman aged 15. Without exception the young men on this project were all avowed hip-hop fans. Amongst their peers in their community of Moyross this love of hip-hop was common. The trials and tribulations of young men, largely of colour, from urban communities in the United States speaks directly to young men in disadvantaged communities around the globe (Mitchell, 2001:2). As noted in my fieldwork study notes, my first meeting with this group took place under a mural of Limerick Castle, Munster rugby and hip-hop artist Tupac Shakur.

As discussed earlier in this work, radio production offers an allure to some young people as it gives an opportunity to work with music and broadcast technology. For the young men on the Wired project they associated the mixing desk in the studio with similar looking items they had seen in hip-hop music videos. On their first visit to the station they were quick to put on headphones, start rapping into microphones and sit behind a desk. This theatrical behaviour showed an enthusiasm to be in a studio. Unfortunately, the work of community radio production is less glamorous and much more mundane than the false lifestyle depicted in various popular hip-hop videos. During our second meeting, our first in studio, I encouraged this play. It was a way of breaking the ice but also a means of introducing the group to technical terms and skills. By the end of the first studio workshop they all had the opportunity to operate the desk, speak into a microphone and get a 'feel' for the radio studio environment. My plan for the second studio workshop was to build on these skills and transfer them to a more traditional radio production format, in keeping with my belief that interview and commentary were 'best practice' in this environment.

When we met again a week later three of the group were present (Kathleen joined three weeks in) and I began to conduct my lesson plan which focused on getting the group to work together to highlight things they liked and disliked about Ireland and Limerick. This exercise had been a tried and tested format at RCB and Bush Radio, which yielded plenty of debate in both those projects. It

became clear rather quickly that this was not going to work with this group. Vincent the one participant, who consistently turned up and offered constructive contributions, was distracted by Dylan and Peter who wanted essentially to 'play' in the studio. The second session ended with no real progress having been made, I was deflated. My field notes describe an atmosphere of 'disinterest', 'constant joking' with 'little accomplished'. This is a juncture that many workers in community radio and youth work reach. I found myself asking the question, if I was not doing research but was rather a volunteer or staff at a community or youth organisation would I commit to pursuing a 'youth radio' agenda or be content to take a 'diversionary' approach to youth engagement? In other words to be satisfied that the boys were 'out of harms way' for two hours and let them continue to play, essentially to adopt an unstructured community radio project one that focused on participation as a goal in itself.

This research project was born out of my frustration at a lack of material available for those engaging in youth work in the community radio sector in Ireland. My intention was to document projects with the aim of producing a guide for those who were following a similar path or those who were interested in doing so, in the belief that present community radio practice in Ireland is not serving young people. My experience in using prepared lesson plans showed me that rigidly sticking to them is an error. One must begin with the learners. By that I mean an instructor must listen and shape the learning environment around the interests of those present. At Wired hip-hop became the vehicle through which we co-created media products that addressed social and personal issues in a creative way that encouraged those taking part to research, analyse and express themselves. Those working in the field should keep the environment fluid, avail of every tool available to engage the learners and not allow personal 'taste' to overly influence the learning environment. This insight into how hip-hop could be harnessed as a pedagogical tool enabled the group and myself to look at a variety of issues to be analysed through the prism of hip-hop. It provided us with a means of getting to where we wanted to be though not as I had initially intended. When used constructively it can offer an excellent platform from which

to engage, young men in particular, in the somewhat 'dry' pursuit of producing media content.

On one workshop the young men spoke of a group of local rappers whom they admired. The group, MYC was two local young men from Moyross who had made an EP. MYC were invited and the group performed their song 'Ghetto Blues' in the studio, which featured the following lyrics:

> They've been living these moments since before they were born
> Living ghetto blues and you have to mourn
> When you heart is torn and she knows her son ain't coming back home
> You're born, you live and you die on the street
> But when push comes to shove no one speaks
> It's like an eye for an eye makes the whole world blind,
> When you look for what you don't got its hard to find
> Ghetto blues
> Its' your life you got to chose (MYC, 2012)

The material is dark conveying a street-wise bravado but does suggest that life choices are there to be made. The process of writing is obviously creative and when one looks at the process it is similar to how a radio commentary or commentary is created. A problem is identified, analysed, lyrics written, performed/recorded and feedback given. Using hip-hop in this way allowed the young men to engage in issues that might otherwise have been closed to us as a group. It is important however when using this methodology that a culture of critique is taken to the lyrics and connections made to wider issues. In the case of the MYC song, I asked the boys how accurate they felt the lyrics to be. To me, the lyrics portrayed a version of Moyross I did not recognise, the violence of the past twenty years has largely disappeared but there remains a community memory of the violence. This memory manifests in these young men as a kind of folk story of how life is 'on the streets.' When working with hip-hop I feel one must show care to keep the participants in a reflective position to the lyrics. It is also crucial to challenge the authors to defend their work and contextualise the content of the lyrics. This experience fed back into my original thesis by informing me of the necessity of locating learning within the cultural frame of reference for these

young people. In recognising that my approach was not working with the boys at Wired, I reconfigured my process to offer an 'alternative form of participation' to the learning process (Wenger, 1998).

5.4.v. Music at RCB

Hip-hop undoubtedly carries a sharp political and social critique. At RCB original music composition also played a role in the workshops but it took a very different form. In the first show, the girls invited in a classmate of theirs who was a singer-songwriter. Some of the girls had left primary education the previous June and their friend wrote the following verse, which she sang live in studio and we later included in a broadcast:

> On the first day of September 2005 we stepped into the school with a big surprise,
> And the first time I stepped in I knew I'd like it here. I moved along I kept on going and now I'm finally here.
> I love school I love play and I will come back here someday, because I know that I have reached the end, that I will move on to secondary and keep trying my best.
> Because I know it's the best time of our lives. (Chillax, November 2013)

The difference with the material produced in Moyross could not be more marked. Here instead of murder, heartbroken mothers and life choices we find a sweet, childlike celebration of school, friendship and hope. Though smaller, Kilrush is the equal to Moyross in terms of social deprivation and this group of young women came from difficult backgrounds. Perhaps in much the same way that hip-hop paints a darker version of reality, this song is a rose tinted view of school days for these young women. The song marks a key moment in the lives of these girls as they stood on the threshold of becoming young adults and the pressures associated with this, particularly for young women. While the lyrics and attitude of the musical styles are very different, it is clear that music offers an excellent way of integrating ideas and fun into a youth radio environment. Through encouraging the young people to look to their peers for musical content a larger network of young people were brought into the community radio environment. Their peers felt validated that their musical expression was recognised and put 'on the radio'. The content was directly relevant to the young

people. Future workers in this field would be well advised to encourage participants to look to their communities in finding content and especially musical talent amongst their peers.

5.4.vi Music at Bush Radio

Music at Bush Radio was an important part of engaging young people at the station but not in the Bush Teens project. As mentioned the Friday night hip-hop show was popular with listeners and staff. This show acted as a recruiting tool for young people. Listeners would text and interact with the show forming a bond between the station and its audience; this was one of the only shows to have an active audience. The presenters of this show would put out frequent 'call outs' for volunteers to contact the station.

5.4.vii Music Conclusion

Discussions around music proved to be an excellent way of getting young people interested in audio production. In the Irish case studies none of the young people showed any prior interest in radio before the studies began. In South Africa, some of the young participants had come into contact with Bush Radio through family members or had interacted with the station as listeners. As the case studies developed music was central to the young participants. They included recordings by the favourite artists and invited local young people in to perform. On the Wired case study the use of hip-hop as a means of expression proved a vital component in motivating the young men to produce content. Realising the role of hip-hop in this context demonstrated to me its value in this setting. This use of creative music in this way opens up audio production to multimodal (van Leeuwen, 2005) forms of expression.

5.5 Place and youth

The communities in which my fieldwork studies were located all experience various forms of social exclusion. Viewed from the inside, the community spirit in all three communities is strong. The young people spoke fondly of their

neighbours and friends. All participants acknowledged that problems were present but these problems were only a part of their communities. It is important not to diminish the problems present in Kilrush, Cape Town and Moyross yet at the same time it is equally important to listen to what the young people were saying about their communities. In Moyross, Vincent speaking of the community spirit said "everyone in Moyross is behind those sticking to their talent, when you have a community behind you, it's like having the whole world behind you" (Vincent, fieldnotes March 2016). This pride of community stands in contrast to how the young people feel they are viewed by those from 'outside'.

In all three sites the young people felt that their address carried a deep social stigma. This stigma they believed prevented them from getting employment, making friends in school and led to unfair treatment from some teachers and police. This feeling of being an 'other' within Irish and South African society was universal. This feeling was keenly felt even in the town of Kilrush with a population of only 3,000. This burden is carried by these young people and built into their worldview as being at once members of a tight knit community while at the same time being apart from the wider society.

The communities the two Irish groups came from were remarkably similar in appearance with a long single entry and exit point into a network of avenues and green spaces. The standard of housing conditions in Moyross has improved markedly since 2008 and the launch of the regeneration program. Kilrush has a poorer housing stock and the area contains a large number of boarded up houses and evidence of burned out cars (observed over numerous visits to area from 2012 to 2017). The housing conditions in Cape Town were much poorer in areas such as Athlone and the townships of Nyanga and Mfuleni where basic sanitation was frequently lacking. Boarded up houses, broken glass, graffiti and other visual symbols of poverty are a common feature of their respective housing estates. The participants showed maturity in the ability to at once talk of their communities with pride while criticising the appearance of the physical environment. In all three studies the participants felt that the appearance of their estates was at odds with how they felt about the people living in them. The poor

infrastructure and lack of upkeep reflected back on a society that was not interested in the lives of the people there. The visuals symbols of poverty and neglect for these young people became a metaphor. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) writing on metaphor in narrative inquiry commented: "if our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, then the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:117). Reflecting back on Olivia's walk to school her telling of this story clearly reflected her feeling of separateness from her classmates in Kilrush.

Creswell (2009) denotes the multiple meanings place occupies from the physical location to a sense of place. The attachment to place by all the young people initially took me by surprise. However, when one examines the location of the estates these young people call home, one sees they are set apart from the towns and cities in which they are nominally located. Their design means residents live facing one another across roads that, due to the high number of children more resemble playgrounds than highways. The distancing of these estates from town centres and the physical design helps build a strong local community identity and young people from these areas are often immensely proud and feel deep connection with their neighbours and friends. The estates and avenues are havens, places where these young people feel confident and secure and where they do not face judgment based on their accents or appearance as Dylan commented, 'Round here friends are like your family cause they been running around with you since you were born' (Dylan, Moyross interview 2016). Many of the young people expressed that they have experienced prejudiced based on where they are from, typically being labeled as 'scumbags' or 'shams' or being told by police to 'get back to where you came from' (Dylan, Moyross interview 2016). In all three case studies the young people expressed how they felt removed from the towns in which they lived, that they identified much more closely with their estates. Giving young people an opportunity to celebrate their own communities through telling its various stories, positive and negative, allows them to view themselves not as the outsiders or problems that they are often made to feel. Youth radio projects become a process of transforming lived and imagined experience into original expressive works for audiences and can

provide a resource for young people to 'rewrite the stories that are told about them, against them, or supposedly on their behalf' (Chavez and Soep, 2010:410). In all three projects the participants were encouraged to view their communities as sources of material for their radio work. The young people responded to this by including items in their shows that represented difficulties as well as celebrating the positive sides to their communities.

It is clear that young people have an astute awareness of the communities within which they live, despite their lack of voice at a political level (McGrath and NicGabhainn, 2007:17). In assigning tasks to the groups it was usual to start with getting them to reflect on people, trends, events etc. from their communities. The groups expressed that it was unusual for them to be asked questions about their home places in what they perceived to be an educational setting (the radio workshops). It became clear that this novelty created a sense of confidence where they could feel that their communities were places of value and were worthy of discussion. When selecting topics for content I encouraged them to look first to their family, friends and neighbours. By looking first to their immediate communities for stories the group were on the path to linking these stories to a wider political landscape. In both Wired and RCB the groups conducted vox-pop's to establish what residents liked most about where they lived and also what changes they would like to see. In both places a sense of community emerged as a strong point with 'loads of friends' being a typical response. In Wired the slow pace of the Regeneration development in Moyross and lack of basic services, such as a local shop was bemoaned while in Kilrush the absence of anything for youngsters to do and a poor provision of public space were the top complaints. Participants reported that being able to speak positively of their communities was a liberating experience. This provided ample material from which to generate discussion to create radio texts. In earlier youth media projects I observed how young people wished to bring outsiders on a tour of their estates, to show off the positive qualities to life there. Humour and an abundance of friends and family characterised these visits. Youth media projects provide a forum through which young people can speak candidly about their communities both positively and critically. This approach connects the

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community to the content of productions. It provides young people with an environment in which they reflect on their shared experiences and negotiate sometimes conflicting feelings towards where they live.

At Bush Radio the young people reported that to think and speak about their communities in a positive light to others was refreshing. The townships of the Cape Flats carry a heavy social stigma and mainstream news representations of these communities focuses heavily on violence and crime. Young participants were eager to celebrate the richness of life and culture in this part of Cape Town. The diversity of backgrounds of participants at Bush Radio meant that the focus was less centred on specific communities in contrast to the Irish projects. This diversity created a culture of dialogue between young people from different communities, which was lacking in the Irish case studies.

A related theme was the criticism the young people had of their physical environment. Boarded up houses, broken glass, graffiti and other visual symbols of poverty are a common feature of their respective housing estates. The participants showed maturity in the ability to at once talk of their communities with pride while criticising the appearance of the physical environment. In all three studies the participants felt that the appearance of their estates was at odds with how they felt about the people living in them. The poor infrastructure and lack of upkeep reflected back on a society that was not interested in the lives of the people there.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I examined some of the key learning that emerged for the participants during the three case studies. The teaching of hard skills allows young people to gain independence in a studio environment leading towards a marked increase in confidence. These skills can be applied to various genres of audio production and the novelty affect and hands on nature of this type of learning holds appeal for many young people. An element of my pedagogy was to encourage participants to view themselves as radio professionals. This included referring to themselves and each other by their roles and use of associated

technical language. In my view this is a key component of my approach as it enables those taking part to 'be someone else' for a while. The experience during the RCB fieldtrip demonstrated that this adopting of a temporary identity held significance for the young women. A key part of my own development was recognising the legitimate culture of hip-hop as a mode of expression within a youth radio environment. Applied in a critical manner, the writing and recording of lyrics offers an excellent way to engage a broader body of participant. Storytelling and its application in audio form was also another key take away. Helping young people to put a structure and analytical distance between themselves as 'tellers' of stories and producers of content provided a way of transforming their lived experience into audio texts. Finally, through focusing on 'place' and their communities the young people were in a position to view their communities as sources of strength or assets. For many it was the first opportunity to view their home areas as 'legitimate' places, worthy of having their respective stories told. This stands in contrast to the often negative image portrayed elsewhere. Their ability to hold nuanced views of their communities speaks to a level of maturity absent from mainstream media portrayals of 'disadvantaged youth'.

Chapter 6 Models of youth radio

6.1 Introduction

In my review of the literature I identified 'process versus product' as being a key area that separates approaches to youth radio. 'Process v product' refers to the different emphasis that is placed on the "quality of the process versus that which is place on the quality of the product" (Campbell et al, 2001:15). Over the course of this research and in previous work I had the opportunity to observe differing approaches to youth engagement in radio production. In this chapter I will outline three approaches I have observed. The first I call the 'laissez faire' model, which is typical of current Irish community youth radio projects. The second is the approach I observed at Bush Radio. In delivering the Irish case studies I designed and applied my own methodology for this work, which I term the 'learning' model. This model represents a summary of my main approach to delivering youth radio projects.

When radio by young people is produced at Irish community radio stations, by far the most common approach is that of a 'laissez faire' model. Typically this involves young people going through the standard radio training geared towards presenting a show. Once they a show is established, typically there is little to no involvement from station management or staff thereafter unless a problem is brought to their attention. They are treated like every other volunteer. This was the approach I encountered at RCB with the Spice of Life team and during my sector survey, this 'laissez faire' model, was reported as being the standard youth radio project in Ireland. The following table highlights the main qualities of each approach. The model at Bush Radio is closer to my own but with important differences. My own model emerged during the case studies and was in a state of constant refinement throughout this research. The following table is a summary of the three differing approaches:

Qualities	Laissez Faire	Bush Radio	Learning
Focus	Volunteer experience, Participation	Participant, Product, Politics, Intercultural dialogue	Participant, Product, Audience, Learning, Reflexive, Identity
Production values	Low	Medium	High
Worker relationship	Autonomous	Instructionist/ Constructionist	Constructionist
Pre-production	Straight to air	Medium pre-production	Heavy pre-production
Training	Initial	Low	Ongoing
Resource requirements	Low	High	High
Atmosphere	Fun	Mixed	Mixed
Content	Entertainment	Political/Lived Experience	Lived experience/ External sources
Genre	Commercial	Discussion	Mixed
Length	Open	Fixed/transitions	Fixed project length
			Role/Language
			Link to action/ Outside studio work

Table 6.1 Summary of youth radio models

6.2 Analysis

In the following section I compare and contrast the three models. In doing so I will place a greater emphasis on the 'laissez faire' and 'learning' models as these two are at the core of this research. Throughout I will refer to examples, which I observed during the course of the three studies. These examples will use the Spice of Life program for 'laissez faire' and RCB and Wired for the 'learning model'. My experience at Bush Radio helped me to refine my model by the time I came to deliver my second case study in Ireland.

6.3 Focus

In the 'laissez faire' model the focus is placed on the volunteer experience. This volunteer-led approach stresses that what is produced is not important so long as the young people turn up. The focus is on providing a safe environment where young people can meet to spend time. The approach is a rather paternalistic one

that takes the view as long as the young people are at the studio they are 'out of trouble' or to use the parlance of youth work, the projects are 'diversionary'. Participation in this model is the end goal.

At Bush Radio the focus is on providing an environment where young people can engage in debate and become active media producers. The direction of the process is very much centred on creating socially engaged, historically and politically conscious media products. The diverse participant body and discussion based format allows for an intercultural dialogue that is vital to South African society. The divisions of South Africa's past are evidenced today in lack of opportunity to those who have historically been denied opportunity. A key part of Bush Radio is the attempt at reconciling the past. The young participants are part of the 'born free' generation, those who were born after apartheid ended. Connecting the past to struggles today, is an important guiding principle at Bush Radio.

In contrast to a 'laissez faire' approach, the 'learning' model looks at participation as the beginning. Participation is central but it seeks to move beyond attendance as the metric of success. It looks to develop deeper skills and critical insight among young people. As the name suggests, learning is at the core of this approach. This learning focuses on skills, but also seeks to create an environment where normative expectations of identity can be disrupted. It encourages young people to 'read their world' (Freire, 1970), to challenge mainstream views of 'people like them' and from this allow space to reflect on future choices. Its method is to link a focus on product with an improved process, noting that the process and the product always imply each other (Wenger, 1998:60). The 'learning' model, through its use of an imagined audience, seeks to build a reflexive practice (Wenger, 1998), one where opinions and assumptions are constantly held up to critical inquiry.

6.4 Production values

Without an audience focus there is little motivation in the 'laissez faire' approach to take care of production vales. Production values at their most basic involve broadcasters using the equipment correctly. This does not translate to community radio volunteers adopting 'radio voices' or personas, but rather that they use the tools of the trade correctly. In the 'Laissez faire' youth radio I have observed, production values are virtually absent. Station staff and management at RCB were entirely unconcerned with the content or sound of the Spice of Life shows, that they were broadcast was sufficient.

The youth broadcasts at Bush Radio were given a medium level of attention to production values. Care was shown to produce relatively professional sounding pieces but they were not to the standard heard in commercial radio or in other broadcasts on Bush Radio. The technical staff at Bush Radio was responsible for final editing and mixing of audio projects meaning the young people did not get to full control over their pieces.

The 'learning' approach places a high emphasis on production values. This emphasis on production values translates to increased training and mentoring with a concurrent increase in skills for the participants. A part of this approach is having the young people edit and mix their products. This increase in skills extends beyond the hard skills of editing to engaging in a critical approach to programming and content. This focus on production values results in better programs that the participants of the fieldwork studies reported to be proud of.

6.5 Role of workers

'Laissez faire' radio models are often typified by a low involvement by station staff and this in part explains the prevalence of this approach. Once initial training is complete, there is little to no requirement for staff involvement outside of ensuring the studio is available. Free from the requirement of planning, the young people can turn up ten minutes before broadcast, enter the studio and operate their show autonomously. The autonomous nature of these

projects does allow independence and this helps the young people to feel at home in the station. However the developmental benefits that come with a more involved staff are limited here.

At Bush Radio, the tutors on the Bush Teens project were often graduates of the program or were station staff that were from townships. Their experience and ability to relate to the participants was important in facilitating an open atmosphere of debate. They worked with the young people to produce the radio products and were themselves highly invested in these broadcasts. I felt in their eagerness to produce items that addressed social issues, they sometimes strayed into instructionist modes of project delivery. This is compounded by the fact that the participants do not receive technical training, which means they lose control in the editing of pieces.

At the core of the 'learning' model is the relationship between the worker and young person. In this model, the product is co-created between the two. This is characterised by the adult workers helping to frame topics through providing a critical voice in the production process and encouraging a reflexive culture. Staff engaged in this work must be mindful that while the product is important, the priority is always with the development of the young person. The temptation to overrule and produce a piece to a higher standard than the young people acting alone, needs to be resisted. This is an inbuilt conflict to the 'learning' model. In the two case studies presented in this research, there was involvement of youth workers. In one, there was a deep involvement, in the other little. My experience of engaging with youth work services has been mixed. It presents a way of reaching some of the most marginalised young people however the support of youth workers is not guaranteed. Looking to future projects, community radio stations should look to establish working relationships with youth work organisations. They should do this by communicating what benefits engagement can bring for young people. Where this partnership approach is not possible, community radio stations should actively recruit participants independently.

6.6 Pre-production

The young people following the 'laissez faire' model at RCB had a 6.00 broadcast time on a Friday evening. It was usual that from 5.30 the program controller would start to nervously look at the clock. Often the group would arrive through the door in a hurry at 5.58 and rush into studio. Inside waiting for the preceding show to finish they would scramble to attach their phones to the mixing desk cable and begin to open YouTube videos to queue up their music selections. Once the group was in studio the program controller would leave for the weekend. This was a typical Friday evening with the Spice of Life crew. Because of a lack of focus on content, the group did not need intensive pre-production planning though this last minute approach tested this to the limit. The advantage of this straight to air style was that the young people were never burdened by preparation and were clearly enjoying themselves.

At Bush Radio, pre-production planning took about one hour per half hour show. This planning was in the form of a facilitated discussion. This discussion generated the content for the subsequent show.

The 'learning' approach to youth radio differs from the other three in its heavy pre-production planning. In this model sometimes several planning sessions are devoted to one show. In the RCB study, each thirty-minute broadcast was a product of approximately three hours pre-production work. This pre-production time allows ample opportunities for participants to engage in debate and research and to develop public speaking skills when pitching their ideas to their peers.

6.7 Training and skill acquirement

The standard approach at the majority of Irish community radio stations to training is to provide an initial grounding in technical and editorial skills. Though stations differ, this training usually runs to about 16 hours and is delivered by a dedicated trainer. Once this initial training is over volunteers rarely receive

further training or development. The picture varies in Ireland but it is rare that volunteers are given the opportunity to expand their broadcasting skill set.

At Bush Radio there was a low emphasis on training the participants in technical areas. The focus was on producing content, stimulating debate and raising awareness. Participants on the Bush Teens project had a low skill base.

'Learning' orientated approaches calls for continuous training for the young people. A skills module that included various aspects of technical radio production preceded each recording session. As well as group training, strengths, weaknesses and interests of the individuals were identified and one to one training was used. This focus on training led to individuals acquiring a high skill set. This is effective but time consuming.

6.8 Resource requirements

In 'laissez faire' models, the resource requirements are low. There is little to no involvement by station staff. Outside of having a studio space and initial training there is little else required.

At Bush Radio the Bush Teens project required a significant investment of station resources to operate. In years previously the CREW project was able to attract external funding and this allowed Bush Radio to provide transport costs to participants but they are no longer in a position to do so. The Bush Teens project required the involvement of two peer tutors and the support of the technical team to produce programming making it the most resource intensive model.

The resource requirements in a 'learning' approach are also high. At RCB there were two workers heavily involved in delivering the project. The pre-production stages to this model and deep involvement of workers in the process, requires a significant investment of time. Once key skills are learned however, trainers can scale back their direct involvement and act more in advisory roles.

6.9 Atmosphere

'Laissez faire' centred youth radio programs stress the fun part of broadcasting and volunteering. Volunteers are encouraged to come in, enjoy themselves and not feel burdened. The philosophy is that if the young people are having fun they will return. Outside of operating to a station programming schedule there is little by way of structure.

At Bush Radio the younger volunteers and participants were made aware from the outset of the history of the organisation and its roots in the apartheid struggle. This sense of history was used as a way of guiding the culture of the organisation. This could be evidenced in some of the programming at Bush Radio where global political issues were given attention.

In a 'learning' approach the culture attempts to build an idealised version of a professional radio environment. This means having a product focus but with time for reflection and skills development. However a realistic approach is taken to engaging young people, one that recognises that participation in a voluntary project must be pleasurable for those involved. The atmosphere is kept informal, topics are youth led, music is central part, friends are welcome and there is space for chats unrelated to the subject at hand. Opportunities to visit different locations or introduce music guests were used to create a varied experience that kept the young people engaged.

6.10 Content

In the review of the literature I point to several studies that show that if left to their own devices, young people will often generate content that is derivate of commercial radio in their shows. This is a pattern I observed at RCB and was reported to me in responses given to my survey. The 'Available Designs' of commercial radio leave young people with a narrow view of what radio is. Looking to the future, as radio listenership amongst young people dwindles, it

will be interesting to observe how young people will relate to creative audio projects without having the experience of listening to commercial radio.

At Bush Radio the content was generated by the young people and also by the tutors. Often the discussions were of topical events in the Cape Town area supplemented by issues around racism, crime, sexual violence, housing, jobs and transport. These were core issues for young people and wider society. The tutors were keen to link these issues to wider political and historical causations.

My approach to creating content in the 'learning' model is to have the content entirely youth generated. Planning sessions begin with a general chat about what the participants did during the week; from here we could often find several topics. I then put open questions to the groups to compile lists. Preferably working in pairs, they would then present these to the rest of the group. Once the topics were selected, I would help refine stories, suggest places to search for content and generally help to see the selected topics come to fruition. The material was directly related to their experiences or interests.

6.11 Genre

The genre of audio produced in 'laissez faire' programming is usually commercial. Participants often lack the skills or know how to bring in other genres such as live music, pre-recorded features or have telephone guests. As a result the standard show involves chat and music.

The broadcast genre at Bush Radio was discussion based.

At Wired, hip-hop was used as an additional genre in the project, as was pre-recorded features. At RCB interviews and guests featured in all shows. In general the 'learning' model seeks to move away from holding one genre of audio above another, rather it embraces any genre, which allows the young people to express themselves. This was a major learning point for me during the course of

this research. Having a flexible approach to audio genres, opens the possibilities to engage a wider body of participants.

6.12 Length

One the strengths of the 'laissez faire' model is its open ended engagement. The Spice of Life show ran for almost two years at RCB. In this time, the young people got involved in the life of the station in a variety of ways. They enjoyed their show and there were no expectations placed on them beyond turning up.

The Bush Teens project had a fixed length of eights weeks. Crucially though, Bush Radio worked hard to help the young people make the transition to becoming volunteers at the station.

In the 'learning' model the project length is flexible. I had initially planned to spend three months on each but both projects ran longer. I believe community radio stations or youth work organisations should look to establish ongoing projects. Perhaps to avoid burnout these could be fixed at three months and replicated twice a year or have an ongoing project that is renewed with new participants periodically and similar to Bush Radio, promote the graduates to positions of tutors to the new incomers. This would go some way to creating a self-sustaining project. This model of generational encounters between 'newcomers' and 'old-timers' could help offer a "field of possible pasts and of possible futures which are there for all participants, not only to witness, hear about, and contemplate, but to engage with" (Wenger, 1998:156).

6.13 Role/Language

In the 'learning' model I developed, assigning roles was an important part of the pedagogy. Initially the various roles within an audio production team are explained to participants, then they self-select roles. These roles help in constructing a temporary identity. The language of a professional environment accompanies the adoption of project specific roles. This use of specialised

language in a role, is a key part of bridging a 'fun' youth project, to the more nuanced act of identity development. For Lave and Wenger (1991) the "purpose is not to learn from talk as a substitute for legitimate peripheral participation; it is to learn to talk as a key to legitimate peripheral participation" (Lave and Wenger, 1991:109). The effectiveness of this tool was demonstrated during the RCB fieldtrip to Spin South West. These roles are developed overtime and participants are encouraged to find their niche within a team.

6.14 Link to action

In the 'learning' model attempts are made to link audio production with action outside the sphere of producing content for broadcast. This is done by encouraging participants to transfer their work into the community. This can be done with a simple task like gathering interviews on the street or can be more complex by inviting relevant stakeholders for interviews. The aim is to bridge the learning environment of the project to wider debates, on both local and global levels.

6.15 Conclusion

Here I presented three observed approaches to youth radio production. The Bush Radio model has key strengths in its use of peer tutors and the efforts it makes to convert participants into station volunteers. The 'laissez faire' model encourages participation and its open-ended structure and relaxed atmosphere often translates into young people staying involved. The 'learning' model has strengths such as deep engagement between young people and adults and a flexibility in regards to genre. However the fixed length nature of projects requires a major effort to then convert these young people into volunteers at stations or ideally to recruit them as tutors for new projects, in addition this model is predicated upon the availability of willing adults to engage in this work.

In the next chapter I examine the role of audience in this study.

Chapter 7 Layers of audience.

7.1 Introduction

A major finding that presented across all three studies was the role of audience. In one sense, the feeling that nobody was listening, was found to have a demoralising impact on participants and diminished the idea of communication itself. In another, audience, particularly the 'imagined audience' was found to be a highly effective tool for building a reflexive culture into youth audio projects.

7.2 The absent audience

The perceived lack of audience and feedback is a concern to broadcasters of all ages and levels of experience but for social media natives accustomed to interactive communication technologies, I suggest this is felt even more deeply. Across all three studies the participants reported frustration at various times regarding a lack of audience for their broadcasts.

Commercial and Public Service radio in Ireland and South Africa relies heavily on listenership figures. They are published every quarter and form the central basis of the business model. In Ireland audience data is provided by the JNLR (Joint National Listener Ratings) figures published every quarter and in South Africa it is provided by the SAARF (South African Advertising Research Foundation). These provide a highly comprehensive analysis of listenership habits. In Ireland the publication of these figures every quarter is a major calendar event for commercial and public service radio broadcasters. Theses numbers provide information for radio sales teams and have a direct impact on programming choices.

Community radio in contrast has no access to audience numbers, this profoundly alters the nature of broadcasting in ways which may not be at first obvious. In the first instance the lack of 'number pressure' offers programming freedom that is impossible in the commercial or public service sectors. This freedom allows community radio stations to offer programming that is aimed at niche audiences. It also means that a more creative and ambitious approach to programming can

be fostered and attempted, whether or not this happens is a different question. While this freedom from the tyranny of numbers is liberating, it also carries consequences.

The commercial and public service sectors in Irish radio broadcasting remain controlled by audience numbers and as a result there is an alarming degree of homogeneity in programming content. Ironically while the community radio sector is free to attempt niche programming it lacks the financial resources that audience data brings through advertising. Another consequence of a lack of audience is that the quality of many community radio programs is poor. Quality is of course largely subjective but there are base level criteria, which all broadcasters should meet, for example broadcasts should be intelligible by having presenters 'on-mic' i.e. speaking into the right microphone. This is an issue for community radio managers and programing staff to ensure that volunteers are adequately trained. Asking questions about audience and quality in the community radio sector opens a complex area of debate, and feeds directly into this research.

It would be fair to characterise community radio stations as participation based organisations committed to the democratisation of the airwaves. Culturally and structurally the volunteer is central to the identity and existence of the organisation. Participation by members of the served community is the *raison d'etre* for the majority of community radio stations, how this operates in practice can often differ from lofty mission statements. In the community radio sector audience can be a contentious issue, one associated with the public service and commercial sectors and by extension narrow programming. At RCB and other Irish community stations, little attention is paid to growing audience or producing for an audience. This stands in contrast to Irish public service radio and commercial stations that are run by a relatively small number of professional staff and exist purely for audience. Having experienced work in all three sectors and based on my observations during these fieldwork studies I would argue that the community radio sector can benefit from having a more audience focused approach to its programming. This focus I believe can run

complementary to wide participation and in the case of conflict between the two, participation should always be given priority. That said, the volunteer experience could be enhanced through better training and crucially, mentoring by experienced programming staff with those newer to the station. This audience focus serves to feed back into the production process in important ways. Focusing on an audience is not done to attract as large an audience as possible thereby generating a market for advertisers; rather it serves to help participants refine their product. By refining the product, the entire learning cycle improves as greater inner critique is practiced, skills are enhanced and greater pride is taken in the final output.

7.3 Notable by its absence, the role of audience in each study

In all three studies I encountered challenges as a researcher. At times these differed and included attendance and behavioural problems. These issues were expected and could be addressed usually through altering my teaching style or by changing content. Audience however proved to be a stubborn and persistent 'problem'.

7.3.i. RCB

In the first session after the initial broadcast one of my first questions to the group was to ask what was the experience of listening to themselves on the radio? To my surprise they responded that none of them has listened to the show whereas I had eagerly tuned in. This was an eye opener and made me realize that rather than researcher and participants operating as a team working towards a common goal of learning and producing high quality content for broadcast to an audience, we were in fact in very separate worlds. On reflection, I can say I was naive to have assumed that the group would automatically view the project like I had, that is one of producing content to be listened to. This was an important moment in my development as a researcher and reminded me of my role and of how the entire project was viewed by myself and by the young women in Kilrush. Overtime the group 'grew into' the roles of broadcasters but to them this was an afterschool project run by community media and youth services organisations. From that experience on, I resolved to try and look at the

project from the perspective of the participants and secondly to put a greater emphasis on audience, in part to encourage a greater focus on quality, which in turn meant attention to detail and required a higher degree of technical ability. I wanted the group to better understand that their voices and opinions were literally being put 'out there' to be heard, that this project had a life outside of the safe confines of the studio or youth café space.

As time progressed the group acquired greater competency in editorial and technical skills. In our sessions I invoked audience regularly and would ask the group to consider what they wanted to say, who they were saying it to and how would it be received. This 'imagined audience' (Thompson, 2011) became a crucial pedagogical tool and one I will explore in the next section. The imagined audience proved to be extremely useful to focus attention however we still were without an audience in the traditional sense. In the run up to the second broadcast I asked the group at RCB to invite their family members to listen to their program which was broadcast on a Thursday evening at 8pm. The following session we met and again no one had listened to the program. Responses given were that they couldn't find RCB on the dial, they didn't have a radio in the house or that it clashed with a television program, again I was frustrated and disappointed. The study came to an end in May when the youth project finished for the summer months, a time when the young women had the most time on their hands. My intention was to hold a public listening event and invite family and friends to listen to a selection of broadcasts. The young women were strongly against this idea; I respected their views and did not proceed. There were solid reasons behind the group's reluctance to organise such an event including disputes between local extended families but it meant that the progress the group had made was knowable only to their youth worker, themselves and to me.

7.3.ii Bush Radio
At Bush radio the absence of an audience was also an issue. Here, as at RCB, the young participants were entirely unaware if anybody was listening or interested. For the station as a whole, at Bush Radio, the audience was given a greater focus

in comparison to Irish community radio stations. There was a focus on producing quality content and the stations schedule contained a regular Rota of presenters who appeared daily. At RCB volunteers typically presented one show per week. In technical terms the quality of programming at Bush was such that a casual listener to the station would be unable to distinguish it from commercial radio, Bush Radio did this without sacrificing its focus on community development topics. Despite this quality focus, the young volunteers at Bush grew frustrated at the lack of feedback to their shows. This frustration at times demoralised the group and led to a feeling of 'What's the point if no one is listening?' The point of course is that the young participants were learning real skills, gaining media and digital literacy and were actively engaged in real issues situated in their communities. At times however those positives can be a hard sell to a sixteen year old.

Station management at Bush Radio, as at Irish community radio stations, were largely unconcerned with audience. This does not mean that Bush management was ignoring the content of the stations output but rather they did not view audience in the sense of numbers as a priority. Bush radio is very deliberate in its goal of conscientising its listeners as Adrian Louw, programme controller explains:

> Who is actually listening? It's not an easy question to answer because we don't have the resources to do proper audience research. The station is geared towards a younger audience but we try and service as many people in the broader community of Cape Town (A. Louw 2015 personal communication).

7.3.iii Wired

By the time of the third and final fieldwork study in Moyross I was clear that building an audience would be part of the plan for this study. Priority was of course given to creating a supportive, open, creative learning environment for the young people. As we progressed and began to create enough content for a 'best of' show I began to explore with the group the possibility of holding an evening where we invited family and friends to hear the group's work. As in

Kilrush, this was a non-runner with the young people. In part they were embarrassed to hear their voices but that was only a part of their reluctance. They were more concerned with how their parents and others would view them after hearing their broadcasts. In particular the boys were worried they'd be looked at as 'gowls' (Limerick word for fool) by their brothers or male relatives. The boys had no objection to people listening to a hip-hop show they put together but if it came to listening to their vox pop work they refused altogether.

The reluctance of the boys to legitimize their roles as journalists or producers was understandable. The culture they come from very much rewards cultural stereotype of masculinity. Media production is viewed almost singularly amongst these boys as hip-hop. There is a huge departure – in their minds – from making rhymes to producing opinion pieces, though both are the same thing in a different genre. Another factor holding back an embrace of audience for these young men was the fact that there were no older boys involved. The participants on this study were trailblazers but at 14 and 15 still too young to carry much kudos in their community. One may contrast the experience at Bush Radio where many of the staff were graduates of the CREW workshops. These older young people acted as role models who were at once 'of the street' yet comfortable expressing ideas and feelings in a group or broadcast setting. It's fair to say that there is some contradiction in the rejection of attempts to build an audience by the young people in the Irish studies while at the same time complaining of a lack of audience. To answer this I would say that one must listen to the young people in these settings and not force conventions on them. In debriefs with youth workers I learned there were disputes dividing the families of the participants in Kilrush and in Moyross there are similar tensions, in Kilrush these disputes at times ran into violence. Had I forced a listening evening on the group it is likely no one would have turned up or worse may have happened. This knowledge can only be acquired through listening to the young people and making an effort to understand the situations the participants leave to come to the radio studio. Blindly following a 'best practice' model, however well intentioned, could have a negative outcome.

7.4 The imagined audience

In the previous section I detailed how a failure to reach the external layers of audience created a sense of disappointment and futility among participants in each fieldwork study. In the next two sections I look at two other layers of audience, a tangible one and the more abstract imagined audience.

The aim of this research has always been to take participation as a starting point. Through intensive training, mentoring and support it was hoped that young learners on these training programs would engage with topics relevant to them in a critical way. This is in contrast to the more traditional community radio model of providing basic training to volunteers and subsequently taking a hands-off approach to their show. The approach favoured in this research requires time and an experienced producer to help pass on skills and help shape the content editorially. Part of this task is to get the participants thinking in terms of the quality of the broadcast.

In my experience teaching at third level I frequently encounter young undergraduates with a lack of experience in audio production. In a university setting there is a reasonable expectation that if I ask a class to sit and listen to a forty-minute audio piece they pay attention. There is no such expectation in youth radio projects. This is not as a result of the young people being intellectually incapable but rather this would too closely resemble a school classroom environment. To negotiate the similarity to a school environment the atmosphere was kept informal and people were encouraged to make themselves comfortable, play music, use their phones etc. The most effective tool I had however was to ask the participants how they will sound once the programs are broadcast. I invited them to imagine an audience listening to their work. This 'imagined audience' became a bedrock of my teaching style.

7.4.i RCB

At RCB the imagined audience began to become an entity when we were recording the second show. Up to this point I had not spoken about audience. The group was having difficulty in delivering their scripts and keeping serious in studio. During one of breaks in recording I asked the girls to consider how the listener will receive their broadcast. It was the first time that they or even myself had stopped to consider the external reaction to what we were doing in the studio. The reaction by the girls was to have a chat amongst them and two of the girls seemed to take control of the situation that evening. From that night forward I asked the group to imagine their audience at each stage of production. This focus became part of a 'quality creep' that went alongside the growth in skills and crucially confidence the group were displaying. In brainstorming ideas I began to ask the group what do people want to hear? What are your friends talking about? What makes them happy, sad, angry? This combination of an external focus for the show and skill growth elevated their work to a higher standard. By the young women shifting their perspective of the project to that of an audience they were creating what Wenger calls a 'reflective practice' which he characterises as a practice that "combines the ability to both engage and to distance – to identify with an enterprise as well as view it in context, with the eyes of an outsider" (Wenger, 1999:217). As the quality improved there was a clear change in attitude from the group towards production values. In recognition of their increased competence I began to use more industry language with the group and they in turn also. Once the imagined audience was established, I was able to generate reflective moments simply by asking, "What would your audience think?"

7.4.ii Wired

In the Wired project the imagined audience served a similar purpose i.e. a focus on quality but was employed differently. As detailed in the fieldwork description the Wired group required a greater investment of time to firstly build a team. At times keeping the boys attention was difficult. I was aware that older male relatives and friends occupied a place of great importance to the boys on the program, and losing 'face' to them by broadcasting poor material, was something

they wanted to avoid. On one occasion, I used the imagined audience to get the attention of the boys back on their work by asking "do you want your brothers to hear you sounding like you don't know what you're doing?" This proved a most effective way of sharpening their focus. In truth, I felt uneasy adopting a negative measure to get work done and now looking back I am not sure it was the right decision. At the time, I was under pressure to make the project work and was struggling to get the group to focus. This appeal to their place in their male dominated world worked. During one session in which I was training them to make calls from a mixing desk I recorded a telephone call Dylan made to his stepfather. As was usual we listened back to work we had done and he was embarrassed at what he felt was a poor recording. I explained to him it was a consequence of him not preparing adequate questions and asked him if it would be ok if we broadcast it. Dylan immediately wanted to redo the call, write new questions - it succeeded in motivating him to take seriously the preparation required for producing broadcast material. This use of the 'imagined audience' is essentially using potential embarrassment as a motivator. As a researcher working with young people, I prefer to appeal to the better instincts of hard work and quality for its own sake, however the reality of working with young people is that sometimes one simply has to mix it up and respond to the group at hand.

7.4.iii Bush Radio

At Bush radio quality was already ingrained into the fabric of the programming standards at the station. From a technical perspective, there was no discernible difference between the daily shows. This is in contrast to Irish community radio programming which often has great technical discrepancies from show to show. This inbuilt focus on quality meant that the imagined audience as motivating factor was not as present. However the 'imagined audience' still played a role in production meetings. Chiefly the imagined audience was invoked to get the young people to focus on topics that would interest their peers. In debates over one item on abortion the group split largely along gender lines. The young men were adamant that all young men felt the way they did and that abortion was wrong regardless. They used this 'imagined audience' as a tool to argue with the

young women who in turn used the imagined responses of their female friends in a heated debate at the station. This argument was healthy from a production perspective as passion and real stories were discussed leading to a highly engaged atmosphere. Similar to Moyross the young male participants were uncomfortable about losing face amongst their peers. Using the 'imagined audience' as proxy in a production meeting served to bring the community into the heart of programming.

7.4.iv Imagined audience conclusion

The 'imagined audience' can be a key tool for any youth or community radio worker in this field. Using the 'imagined audience' provides an effective way of creating a reflective practice. Ostensibly, the 'imagined audience' is invoked to help create a better product but in doing so it feeds into building a stronger developmental process. In the community sector, the lack of consideration given to audience means a product is created purely for the process of doing so and the process is the weaker for it.

7.5 First audience

Like the 'imagined audience', the 'first audience' became a central plank of the teaching approach during the three studies. It operated at a number of levels. At the most basic it involved the participants pitching ideas to the group for a show. The 'first audience' provided the feedback that the groups felt they were lacking. An example in the Irish case studies was in brainstorming sessions. Typically groups would be broken into pairs or groups of three and given fifteen minutes to prepare a list of topics for inclusion in a show. At the end of this time they had to present to their first audience their ideas. The rule for responding was that something positive had to be said about each idea before criticism was made. This encouraged respect for one another and helped build an environment of peer feedback. Once a topic was agreed to be explored further the groups were encouraged to give their views on how this could be done for example who to be interviewed, what the main themes were etc.

The main benefits to this group critique were manifold. Prior to partaking in the radio workshops none of the Irish participants had made a presentations. This I found surprising. This meant the early stages of this process was challenging for the participants but in the process they learned key public speaking skills and there was a clear rise in confidence. The 'first audience' practice also developed a culture of respectful critique. This culture was useful in disarming potential clashes over contentious issues and even when participants disagreed strongly, they were encouraged to imagine how they would make a program and adopt views they did not necessarily endorse. The debates these exercises sparked off became fertile grounds for harvesting ideas, views and information that would later be used in the production of an item for broadcast. Perhaps its greatest benefit was providing a platform for failure. The majority of ideas suggested did not make their way to broadcast, this was not the point. The 'first audience' provided a forum to put ideas to an audience without fear of ridicule or of 'getting it wrong'. This friendly failure encouraged the groups to try new ideas and explore their capacity to make arguments and debate.

Overtime the 'first audience' became embedded into the workshops. Similar to the evolution of the 'imagined audience' as a tool, the 'first audience' went from being a novelty clumsy method to becoming a central part of our collective approach. During sessions in which the groups would pitch and defend ideas it would have been easy to forget that we were working on a radio project. Radio production at this point took a backseat as the learning took a course of its own. This pitching process could easily have applied to just about any creative project for the groups. What was important here was the process of selecting topics not how the topics were ultimately to sound when broadcast. Ironically this creative flow of idea, debate and exchange came about by focusing on audience and final product.

7.6 Conclusion

Through the course of the two Irish fieldwork studies the pedagogy I used evolved. At the outset, audience was not a central part of my approach. Although I had come from a professional radio environment, I was unsure how a focus on

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product and audience would translate to a development context. I am now of the view, that audience, in its different layers, should be a key part of youth radio projects. The purpose of using audience is to help create a better product and build a reflective practice that benefits the young participants.

Chapter 8. Making connections.

8.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the implications this research holds for organisations that work with young people, particularly in an Irish context. It steps away from pedagogy and turns its gaze to the structural conditions, which manifest themselves in an underuse of existing resources and posits there are fewer barriers to fruitful partnerships than at first appear.

8.2 Community radio gap

The first fieldwork study carried out in this research began when I contacted local youth services in Kilrush with the aim of establishing a youth radio project at RCB. Prior to the startup of this study there was one pre-existing radio show hosted by young people at RCB. This show followed a 'laissez faire' approach to community broadcasting with limited interaction between the young volunteers and older staff or other volunteers, resulting in little in the way of developmental activity. At RCB, there was no outreach to local young people from the neighbhouring town of Kilrush, this despite the high levels of social depravation there. This lack of representation in the station's programming appeared to me as an opportunity. Despite a strong focus on participation in the stations literature, little was done to actively recruit volunteers and nothing was done to attract volunteers from the urban areas of Kilrush. Then, as now, the majority of music shows were hosted by men over the age of 50 and speech programming was a mixture of commissioned programming, staff produced content and a variety of shows including, poetry, arts, Irish language and current affairs. There were no younger volunteers involved in speech programming.

Looking across the community radio sector in Ireland a similar pattern is observable. As part of this research I conducted a survey to establish the spread of youth programming. Of the 17 stations surveyed, only 3 currently have shows produced by volunteers' aged 18 and under. This is an alarming finding. In some instances station staff offered reasons why there was no youth programming and

I will return to these in section 8.8 below. Of the three stations who are producing youth content , two; Community Radio Youghal and Claremorris Community Radio are following closely a 'laissez faire' approach. Community Radio Youghal has two youth programs on its schedule (as at January 2018). One, a music program and the other a magazine style show. The topics included in the magazine show are similar to commercial radio output. Similarly at Claremorris Community Radio the output on the youth program is mainly music with some fashion tips and entertainment news. In a follow up interview, a staff member at Claremorris Community Radio told me that the content was the "usual teen stuff, you know, nails and makeup and that kind of thing" (program controller, phone interview November 2017). This content is not surprising given the production model that Claremorris Community Radio use for their youth programming. This is the same pattern I observed in my own studies at RCB and echoes much of the literature.

At Athlone Community Radio there is a youth program called 'Teen Scene' which is produced by transition year pupils from local secondary schools. Engagement between community radio stations and transition year pupils happens around the country. Transition year is an optional school year given to secondary pupils aged between 15-16 between exam cycles. Typically students have the opportunity to gain work experience or volunteer locally. At RCB we held outreach workshops to local schools. Work between transition year pupils and community radio stations offer a good opportunity for both to get to know one another. The age bracket is suitable as is the fact that the ethos of transition year is about learning about ones' community and awareness of what are called 'life skills'. Community radio stations should be taking this opportunity to advertise themselves to potential volunteers. There are downsides to this however. Firstly, not all schools have a transition year program. Secondly, students from socially excluded backgrounds are more likely to have left school after the junior cycle and those that do stay often skip transition year. Thirdly, community radio stations should look to position themselves as alternative spaces to schools where education can happen, by being aligned closely to a school project they risk becoming associated with formal education. This link to formal education is

not always bad, however community radio stations and their staff should take care to clearly identify themselves as not being extensions of school. Fourthly, transition year is identified as being a gap year in between the serious business of exam cycles. A perception exists that is a year off for students when they can take a break. Community radio stations take their work seriously and engage in a meaningful way with communities around Ireland and the world. While exposing large numbers of young people to community radio is positive, the context must be questioned, does exposure in transition year lead students to view community radio as a mere novelty? During my time working in community radio supervising young people on work placement from local schools, it was clear that many young people viewed community radio as a stepping-stone to 'higher' positions in the broadcast industry in Ireland. Providing access to training and experience for young students is a positive function of community radio, in return students bring their qualities to stations for the duration of their stay but as observed at Bush radio, often these young ambitious students have a poor grasp of community development principles. This vertical view of the industry is damaging to the community radio movement. Community radio is separate and distinct from commercial radio and must articulate this.

The results of my research into youth broadcasting in Irish community radio demonstrate that there are presently no 'product' or 'learning' youth radio programs on Irish community radio stations. During the course of this phase of the research I explored with respondents some of the factors that prevent community radio stations from engaging in youth radio projects. In section 8.8 below I explore these more fully but a lack of resources was given as one of the major barriers to youth radio projects. It is true that community radio stations frequently operate in financially precarious situations and that there are major implications arising from this, especially if the medium to long term viability of a station is in question. That being said, there are eight community radio stations in Ireland well funded by the state and are rich in other resources including people, skills, equipment and having broadcast licenses. In the case of RCB, a community radio station in a historically de-populated region, the resource most lacking was a broad volunteer base. RCB suffered from what I call the

'community radio gap'; stations rich in the aforementioned resources but poor in volunteer numbers. When I worked on this fieldwork study there were 64 volunteers at RCB. Of these only four were under eighteen (not including the group under study in this research).

RCB struggled to increase volunteer numbers in a region, which has a dearth of facilities for young people. The town of Kilrush had two part time youth workers and no full time youth centre, to compound matters, Kilrush has deep-seated social problems. There is no cinema, no swimming pool or gym. There are a limited number of active sports clubs and their outreach for younger women is poor. Kilkee suffers from a similar lack of facilities with no youth club and little in public transport. Consequently, there are large numbers of young people with little to do. This is an opportunity for a community radio station through outreach efforts to increase its volunteer base and to become a genuine community development project, one that is aware of and answering the needs of its community. However as identified in the section on my fieldwork description, these realities did not fit with the vision of the community as held by station management and senior volunteers. Teenagers and those from the disadvantaged urban part of Kilrush brought with them issues that intruded into the romanticised vision of West Clare as rural and traditional. This was a community radio station divided from its community but this division reflected a wider denial in the civic life of West Clare.

This approach stands in contrast to Bush Radio where difficult issues were actively sought out. During my period of observation there was a dispute in Langa township, regarding the allocation of a new public housing project. Community members felt that those from outside the community were getting preference in obtaining housing because of political influence. Housing is a highly charged issue in South African society with strong echoes of the apartheid system. The response from Bush Radio was to broadcast a debate at the community centre in Langa. The broadcast was planned with telephone lines for outside broadcast equipment tested. I was part of the production team and when we arrived we were told that the community centre was unavailable, this was

only three hours before broadcast. Community members clearly felt this was obstruction by city hall officials. Station management were committed to the debate and considered whether we could broadcast from outside the building. In the end taxi's were hired to ferry participants to the station while others contributed via phone to the debate which was in English and xHosa languages. The producer of this programme was a 21-year-old woman who was a graduate of the Bush CREW project. This example serves to demonstrate that Bush carried its mission statement through to its programming. This was not a risk -free venture as Bush Radio was threatened by City Hall officials over unpaid rates as part of this dispute. However they were willing to challenge authority when station management felt that it was necessary. Bush Radio was not constantly engaged in such battles but this standout event energised the volunteer base acting to remind everyone why they were there. During the standoff outside the community centre we had the opportunity to meet local people and from these we gathered contacts for later items on various shows. Perhaps what this came down to was that Bush Radio identified those most excluded as being their listeners and for whom the station served to exist whereas RCB operated more as a hyper-local station, one that was all too often accepting of local authority figures.

8.3 Youth services perspective

The lack of 'product' orientated youth radio projects currently on Irish community radio stations is regrettable. The main responsibility for this short-coming must lie with the stations themselves, however they are not the only actors. In the two fieldwork studies conducted for this research I worked closely with youth work organisations with mixed results.

In setting up the RCB project I approached Clare Youth Services who put me in touch with local youth workers. Those I contacted did not see radio projects as a good fit for the young people they worked with. In the Wired study the youth services manager, Damian Landy, took an active role in the recruitment process. Damian was an enthusiastic supporter of this study. He sent group emails as well

as contacting youth workers directly letting them know that this project was being set up. A lot of effort was exerted over a period of eight months to recruit one or more groups for a radio project. This effort culminated in me delivering a presentation to eighteen youth workers (all youth workers in Limerick) at the Factory Youth Centre in Southill during their summer planning session. This presentation included audio clips of previous groups I had worked with. As a researcher I was offering this project without charge to youth groups. Despite this concerted effort over a long period of time only one youth worker later approached me with a view to involving the young people he worked with.

In my case study notes I offer possible explanations to this including a distrust of the media in Limerick. However another factor which cannot be ignored is that the youth workers were content to rely on tried and trusted youth activities for their youth groups, this view was shared by Kate, the youth worker in Kilrush. For boys these activities are usually fishing trips and for girls hip-hop dance classes and hair and make-up tutorials are frequent activities. These activities are almost universal amongst youth groups in Limerick and Clare. The RCB project was in part taken up enthusiastically as the young women had said to their youth worker they did not want another dance or music class and in Kate they had a youth worker who was actively looking to challenge the group in a positive way. Of the youth workers I spoke to in the 'Factory' during my presentation none were aware of youth radio as a field and few of community radio.

8.4 Value of partnerships
Product orientated approaches to youth radio rely heavily on youth/adult partnerships in production. Taken together, this diverse theory demonstrates that partnerships between adults and young people can lead to positive outcomes for the young people, adults and the wider community. An additional layer of potential partnership also exists at an organisational level between community radio stations and youth work organisations.

8.5 Youth/adult partnership

The first relationship to be looked at is between the young people and adults in each of the three studies. At RCB there were two adult facilitators engaged fully in the project. The youth worker had been with the group for 18 months previously and I worked on the project for nine months (six months directly with the group and three months planning). From the outset of this project we as facilitators took a hands on role in the delivery of the radio programs. The aim was to enable the group to become self sufficient in content production; this included technical and content creation. As detailed in the fieldwork notes, the challenge was to give the young people ownership of the project while guiding their learning in such a way as to not remove agency yet encourage the group to push boundaries in content and style.

For adult/youth partnerships to be successful it is crucial that adult participants recognise the preexisting power relationships that are carried into such a setting and understand that these power structures remain despite a partnership approach and their significance should not be overlooked (Camino, 2010). The young people at RCB were accustomed to a traditional educational environment at school. Through the engagement of their youth worker they had developed confidence in being able to express opinions and relate to adults on a more equal plane. Nevertheless the transition to an educational setting like a community radio project was a challenge for them. Acknowledging where the young people are coming from is crucial for those working in this area. The group viewed me a teacher/authority figure and were slow to speak openly. The atmosphere of the school classroom was evident in the early workshops until such time as a rapport was established. Breaking this atmosphere was crucial to the success of the project. Various methods for this were used such as first name terms, seating in a circle, a relaxed approach to behaviour and language but crucially, simply allowing the young participants to speak on topics that interested them and listening to them was the most effective way of opening up a creative environment, altogether moving the atmosphere closer to the dialogical model espoused by Freire (1970) and hooks (1994).

For the young women from Kilrush, encountering an adult like myself outside of school was a rare occurrence. Ostensibly my role was to train the group in the skills of radio. This training was done in a non-formal manner. I never stood before them to lecture or instruct, all learning was experiential. I used frequent one to one feedback and encouraged the young women to learn from each other. Additionally my role was to help influence the culture of this project but this I did in partnership with the young people.

Outside of the skills learned in the production of the radio texts, young people benefit from being exposed to adults from outside their normal cultural milieu where an open-ended, relationship characterised by joint discovery (de st Croix, 2017) was pursued. The young people from all three studies came from communities that were geographically and socially isolated (Norris and O'Connell, 2002). They identified less with the towns they were from than with the estates where they lived. Within these estates unemployment is high and opportunities to learn about careers or engage in critical studies are few. For the young men and women who took part in these studies, observing adults working in the media industry was an important part of creating an awareness of alternative careers, not only in media, they themselves could consider. As well as the adults involved in the delivery of the project the young participants came into contact with a variety of other professionals in the course of producing programming and were themselves encouraged to adopt professional roles based on those they had the opportunity to themselves observe. For young people used to answering questions from teachers and others, the act of asking questions was an experience they clearly enjoyed, despite being nervous at first.

In the Wired study the youth worker took a more hands off role in the project delivery. At the outset he attended the early meetings and facilitated introductions but stood back after two sessions and would drop by occasionally to check in. The presence of an extra worker absolutely benefits this work especially given the nature of the teaching style, which relies heavily on one to one coaching and small group work. Bush Radio had the advantage of having

young volunteers and interns assist and lead in project delivery. Given their age, in late teens and early twenties, these young people acted as a bridge between the youth and station what Wenger (1998) terms a 'generational encounter'. The fact that many volunteers had come through the Bush system was beneficial. The tutors were from the same communities as several of the participants. They were thus readily accepted and acted as role models for the young trainees. This model is one that Irish community radio stations should look to emulate. In the case of community radio, senior volunteers could be encouraged to become involved in youth radio projects at stations. There are a variety of ways this could be done from simple talks to more hands on project delivery. Finding willing participants of course may well be a challenge as volunteers typically have limited time available but this pathway should be explored. In an environment where staff time is limited, community radio stations should perhaps look to train willing volunteers to become involved in these type of projects converting experience and enthusiasm into new forms of community development.

Typically the experience of volunteering at a community radio station can be quite an isolating one. Volunteers who come to a station in the evening have little and sometimes no face-to-face interaction with station staff or other volunteers. In feedback to me during my time working at RCB, many volunteers reported that they accepted a low to non-existent audience but were content to keep volunteering as they enjoyed the experience, however not getting feedback or simple interaction was demotivating. Approaching long standing volunteers to ask them to become involved in training or mentoring newer members of the station could potentially offer a new meaningful way of contributing to the lifeblood of the station and by extension the wider community. This approach would seek to position community radio stations as volunteer hubs. In the case of RCB, a station in a remote region with little to no intergenerational interaction the opportunity would appear primed as indeed is the case in community radio stations not just in Ireland but abroad too. At Bush this interaction amongst senior and newer volunteers I observed to be key in transmitting the stations identity across generations.

8.6 Partnerships between organisations

Similar to the concept of participation, 'partnership' can suffer from overuse. The Broadcasting Authority of Ireland provides a funding stream called Sound and Vision. This scheme was introduced in the broadcasting act of 2008 and is a portion of the television license fee that is made available to independent producers and broadcasters to make original programming. One of the criteria when community broadcasters apply is a question asking for details of partnerships between community broadcasters and local organisations in programming funding requests. In my view the BAI are correct here in placing this emphasis on community programming. At a local level there are numerous organisations including charities, sporting and cultural bodies who can potentially form partnerships with community radio stations. These are groups with defined interests and members who often look for new ways of working and communicating.

Across the community radio sector in Ireland there already exist numerous partnerships between these groups. At RCB there was a particular focus on programming with charities that specialised in working with individuals with physical and metal disabilities. The fruits of these partnerships were a diverse volunteer base and original programming which lived up to the community radio ideal of representing communities on air. The two Irish studies conducted during this research were done in partnership with Youth Services in Clare and Limerick. In both cases the projects came about through direct engagement by myself with the organisations. I approached these organisations as a researcher rather than in an official capacity representing a radio station. There are presently no partnerships between Youth Work organisations and community radio stations. It is my view this is a missed opportunity but also an area of enormous possibility for both sectors.

Rather than individual stations adopting a piecemeal approach similar to the fieldwork carried out during this research, the representative bodies of both sectors should look to co-operate at a strategic level. This would help making connections between local organisations easier. The mission of youth work

organisations and community radio stations are complimentary. The same can be said from a resource perspective where stations and youth work bodies can share people, skills and facilities to achieve matching goals. A central goal of youth work organisations such as Foroige is increased participation of young people in civic society; equally important in their literature is the goal of promoting 'youth voice'. These two goals speak directly at the core competencies that community radio stations can offer. From the community radio perspective, a deeper engagement at strategic and local levels with youth work bodies can help bridge the 'community radio gap'.

Youth Services have budgets set aside for activities, which community radio stations can offer. During interviews with community radio station managers exploring the reasons why their stations were not engaged in youth radio projects, a lack of financial resources was given as a reason in a number of cases. While I understand the financial pressures community radio stations operate under, perhaps they are overlooking potential sources of income through grants or direct funding from youth work groups. At the conclusion of the RCB case study I was approached by Clare Youth Services and offered a donation to the cost of the project, which I turned down as this was a research project. Building deeper connections and partnerships between the community radio and youth work sector represents a potential area of growth for both sectors.

8.7 Managing the relationship between organisations
Partnerships between youth work and community radio organisation offer can bring positive results but also bring risks. Chief amongst these is potential for dispute over project delivery. Although the youth work and community radio sectors would appear to be complementary, on the ground there may be competition for volunteers. In addition, if a project is established there is the risk of conflict between key workers over the direction of the scheme. The experience at RCB leads me to argue that successful partnerships must be true partnerships. There can be half way offerings for instance a community radio station could invite a youth work group to use a studio without engaging in production or

training, similarly a youth worker could be sidelined while station staff deliver training to the young people. In my view both of these approaches would be mistaken. The Wired project suffered due to a lack of input from the youth worker. In order for this type of partnership to flourish the workers should spend careful time planning a project and agree a general plan but one that avoids dictating project outcomes. This is perhaps where the greatest difficulty lies given the evidence culture youth work operates in. A potential solution is to agree outcomes around 'hard skills' training or producing an audio product that is not overly determinist.

For truly successful projects, partnerships must operate in a dynamic multidirectional way. Facilitators rely on and learn from each other and this extends to the young people. The young participants similarly should look to one another for ideas, guidance, support and self-regulation. If the culture of the group is correct, when workers contribute to ideas and production processes, they do so as members of the group and not as authority figures directing the younger members. This calls for trust and mutual respect from all participants. It will not always operate smoothly as I experienced. At times behavioural problems may manifest and difficult turning points arrived at which may bring about resistance. These challenging times are opportunities for real growth where the culture of the project is enshrined depending on how facilitators chose to respond. One option is to retreat to the safe ground of disciple, using power and authority to bring the young people 'into line'. This I believe would damage the dynamic and undo the hard work of creating an atmosphere of trust. The other option, the one I chose, is to negotiate and offer choices to the participants.

8.8 Barriers

The results of my survey of youth radio in Ireland show that as a practice it is largely absent. There have been projects and partnerships in the past but there is no active project at any station today that takes a 'product' approach. When one looks at the global picture one sees a growing field. Bush Radio has retreated from its earlier leading position and its youth output is in decline but it is still an important part of the station's identity. In this section I examine some of the

reasons and barriers for the poor state of youth radio in Ireland. I begin with looking at the some of the barriers that were reported to me in my follow up interviews with station managers and program controllers before drawing out some findings of my own based on my observations during the course of this research.

8.8.i Garda Vetting

In a number of follow up calls with station managers and programme controllers I explored the reasons behind a lack of youth programming. In the case of two stations, Garda Vetting was given as a reason. The Garda Vetting system was streamlined in 2016 resulting in a faster and more efficient system. Youth work organisations like Foroige lobbied successfully to have a streamlined system the result of which has meant that waiting times have been reduced to approximately six months per approval. This delay remains high but the system is easier to navigate. In the case of the two stations who reported this as a barrier, Phoenix FM and Dublin City FM, neither have volunteers below 18 years of age. The station manager at Dublin City informed me that requiring all volunteers to register to be compliant would breach Data Protection laws however I could find no evidence of this and it appears he was misinformed. This to me suggests a lack of clarity within the community radio sector regarding legal positions with minors, something that could be resolved if partnerships between youth work organisation and community radio stations were more widespread.

Certainly the Garda Vetting system is onerous on volunteers and station administration, stations already have a heavy administration burden from the BAI and other funders. Child protection must form a priority of any organisation. It is my view that compulsory Garda Vetting should be required of all volunteers and staff at community radio stations. The system only highlights offences that may pertain to working with young people. Adopting a systematic approach to this would remove the ambiguity for the sector and bring the community radio sector into line with other youth work organisations. Furthermore when stations then do approach youth organisations with the view to forming partnerships

they can do so as organisations that are aware of the legal framework that regulates youth work in Ireland.

There is resistance to this system from many volunteers and staff who view it as an invasion of privacy and refuse to register. This reluctance to allow police authorities to investigate a persons past must however be balanced against the priority of providing a safe environment where young people are not placed in unnecessary risk.

8.7.ii Resources.

Resources are a perennial struggle at Irish community radio stations and similarly at Bush Radio. Community radio stations rely on a variety of resources including volunteers, equipment, skills and a license amongst others. Community radio stations frequently operate in financially precarious situations. In 2012 when I began this research at RCB, the station had a manager and two full time and two part staff paid for by Pobal funding. Pobal is the community development body of the Irish government. The Pobal fund is awarded on a three-year term with the aim to help local organisations establish themselves to become fully independent. There are presently eight community radio stations on such contracts. This is a significant level of funding, one that should allow stations to engage in community development projects. However this funding was time limited to a three-year contract though it can be extended, but in the austerity climate post 2008, there is uncertainty over its continuation. Nevertheless the eight stations that operate under the Pobal scheme can be considered to be well-funded community development organisations.

Too often resources are equated with funding. In the case of Dublin's Near fm, Ireland's largest community radio station, 'a lack of funding to produce certain programs' (Survey response, 2017) was given as the reason why there are no youth radio projects currently on air. From my perspective I find this response troubling. NEAR FM is a well-funded station. Although it has no Pobal contract it successfully draws funding from the BAI through commissioned programming

via the Sound and Vision scheme. Sound and Vision was also the primary source of income at RCB during my time there. When I joined RCB as a producer, my role was to produce this programming and I was not free for other tasks. When I made suggestions regarding a variety of outreach projects for the station I was refused on the grounds it was outside my brief. The Sound and Vision scheme is an excellent programme that enables community and independent producers to make original programming. It builds competencies and offers the public access to material that is sorely needed in an Irish radio market that is in need of such programming, especially given the retreat of RTE from public service programming over the past fifteen years, a retreat that is hastening. Despite the positives of the Sound and Vision scheme, in my view it has had an unintended effect at the community radio level of making stations somewhat prisoners of their own success. Sound and Vision projects are typically labour intensive leading to a situation where stations spend considerable efforts producing commissioned programming at the expense of their core remit to encourage participation amongst a cross section of the community which they are licensed to serve. RCB and other community stations are almost entirely dependent upon Sound and Vision projects for funding. Sound and Vision encourages a more professional approach to radio production. Projects are typically of high quality; in order to get funding industry experts assess them. It has led to community radio sector becoming stations where public service broadcasting is strongest in Ireland. One can hear more documentaries, dramas, features, sound art and a variety of other programming on community radio in contrast to even RTE, the public service broadcaster.

This presents a fundamental question for the community radio movement in Ireland, should stations embrace becoming producers of high quality content unavailable elsewhere in the state? Perhaps this shift could bring a larger audience, although there is considerable historical baggage surrounding the quality of community radio broadcasting. Through the Sound and Vision scheme, community radio stations are producing high-quality, locally relevant programming and promoting this could increase listenership. The problem with this approach however is that as stations become financially more secure whilst

also improving skills and potentially listenership, they are becoming poorer in that crucial resource of staff time. If staff are busy producing commissioned programming there is less room for labour intensive community development activities like youth radio projects. One possibility, suggested in the Near fm response, is to incorporate youth radio and other targeted projects in Sound and Vision applications. This is being done and is a potentially viable option but it also carries downsides. Chief amongst them is the time delay between making an application to the BAI and receiving a funding decision, which takes approximately five months. During this period potential participants and contributors may 'cool off' from a project or simply move on. Making an application for Sound and Vision funding requires that a complete programme treatment be supplied for assessment, down to the detail of a running order. It requires that a programme or series is planned in meticulous detail, a youth radio project similar to the one's detailed in this study would not be suitable for BAI funding as to predict the topics covered would contravene the essential nature of the content of projects evolving organically.

Community radio stations are successfully using Sound and Vision to fund their operations. This is a logical pathway as it produces high quality programming and increases staff skills. If volunteers are encouraged to produce these programmes it has the benefit of adding real skills to the volunteer base and the BAI are encouraging partnerships at a local level. The scheme, if correctly used, is an excellent way of financing and operating a community radio station. The caveat however must be that stations do not lose sight of their essential mission and license obligations of community development. At the same time, a greater flexibility by the BAI in how the scheme funds community radio projects should also be considered. Sound and Vision should free stations to engage in deep community development projects. Ideally stations should look at ways these outreach projects can operate in tandem within a reformed Sound and Vision funding scheme but it is my view that youth radio or other projects should not always have to be directly funded.

8.7.iii Lack of clear purpose

The tendency for community radio stations to 'go after the money' for programming is understandable. Keeping a community radio station on air is a difficult task, costs are high and revenue sources are few. This is true across the media landscape today with falling advertising revenues as consumers switch to on-line activity. The decline of the CREW project at Bush Radio from its height is at least partly down to a loss of key funding, the project continues but less young people are able to avail. Despite the loss of funding and reduction of scope Bush Radio keeps the CREW project going as station management and staff are keenly aware of the importance of youth programming for Bush Radio. Of course many, if not all, stations carry very fine statements but unless these are built into the everyday philosophy of the station they are rarely acted upon. Bush Radio carries its origins in the apartheid struggle through to its operations today as a political actor in the Cape Town public sphere and does so consciously.

Irish community radio stations carry equally empowering mission statements but do they live up to their promises? Certainly there are many fine examples of programming across community radio stations in Ireland. At RCB there was excellent engagement with disability groups for instance. I do not view the absence of product youth radio projects as an indication of a sectorial failure – far from it, however it appears as a glaring omission. In the case of RCB, prior to the Chillax project it had been several years since a previous outreach programme targeted Kilrush. Since I left the station there has been no effort to engage with youth services or continue the work. In a region as depopulated as West Clare this appears to me to suggest that there is perhaps a failure at Board level to correctly communicate a guiding philosophy. In contrast at Bush Radio, despite financial pressures there is a constant effort to carry the mission statement into practice.

8.7.iv Youth already catered for

In her study of participation in six Irish community radio stations, Day (2009), found that five of the six stations studied reported that they had a difficulty recruiting young people. The stations reported that they considered their priorities and concluded that there were others in their communities who were more marginalized than youth in general. These included the aged, the unemployed, women at home with small children, the disabled and the visually impaired (Day, 2009:151). Looking at the programming at community radio stations today it would appear that little has changed in the past decade. Are community stations correct in choosing to allocate scarce resources to those they consider to be more excluded in society? I would argue that in West Clare, and other communities, young people are not being served adequately. Even when youth clubs or 'targeted' programmes are present, they can offer perhaps one afternoon a week to young people who are facing tremendous difficulties in their lives at the key moment of transition from childhood to adulthood.

It is unreasonable and impossible to expect a community radio station, to be able to target and serve all vulnerable groups in a community. That being said, in overlooking young people as participants, community radio stations are depriving themselves of potential assets. Rather than viewing young people as a drain on its resources perhaps emphasising the benefits that young people can bring to a community radio station would be a better place to begin from? Young people can offer new energy, ideas and through their interaction with older volunteers help revitalize the *esprit de corps* of stations and communities that frequently feel stifled. The shift in communication technology to on-line sources presents older media organisations such as community radio stations with opportunities as well as challenges. Young digital natives are abandoning traditional media as they switch to on-line platforms. Of course the obituary of radio has been written several times by now leading Starkey (2013) to call it 'the resilient medium' but the move to podcasting in the past couple of years in particular has shown that while audio engagement remains strong, perhaps the days of the FM signal may not last much longer. The convergence of media again presents many opportunities for community broadcasters to embrace

technology and change, having young people involved can only serve to help smooth the path forward.

8.v Training

Attracting higher rates of participation of young people in community radio for the purpose of participation itself is not the objective of youth radio as understood in the context of the case studies presented here. Product orientated youth radio projects seek a more engaged level of participation with a focus on producing quality radio that challenges its markers and audience alike. Producing content in partnership with young people requires those who work in the field to be aware of approaches to youth work from a variety of disciples. This requirement does not necessarily equate to having professional training in youth work, social studies or education – the usual education pathways at degree level for professional youth workers in Ireland. However a grounding in all these areas should form part of the theoretical framework from which youth radio projects should emerge.

Building partnerships between community radio staff and youth workers can form a solid basis for youth radio projects. In order for this to happen, goals should be mutually agreed and relationships between the key workers are carefully managed. However community radio stations should be prepared to start projects where partnerships are not possible. Interested staff should be afforded research time, away from day to day tasks to identify potential participants and be afforded the space to plan projects. Most, if not all, community radio stations have a trainer. They should be encouraged to run dedicated training sessions at stations. These dedicated training sessions could act as tasters for groups to raise awareness of community radio stations, these training sessions can and should be extended to other groups in communities. Interested staff should be afforded the time to build knowledge in the particularities of youth radio projects. Involving other interested adults at stations could then be a next step to creating a skill set that translates into effective projects. In the case of stations that work with 'targeted' youth groups,

these should be used as a first introduction to community radio. Effort should be made to transition these groups into the wider community radio station. If that is not possible then as many encounters with station staff and volunteers should be encouraged to make these new volunteers feel part of the station and not segregated, to allow for legitimate peripheral participation (Wenger, 1999).

The experience of CREW graduates evolving into mentors and trainers at Bush Radio is an excellent example of how to build an organisation that stores memory. The role of these young trainers at Bush Radio was vital to the culture there; a similar practice is in place at Youth Radio in Oakland, California. The benefits to this system are numerous. New participants are presented with role models from their community while for the young trainers the opportunity to be placed in a position of trust further helps them in their own development. For the organisation it means less senior staff are required to train, freeing up time for other tasks such as writing funding grants, a task that the new trainers can also assist in. Assisting young participants to graduate to become trainers also serves to set down youth radio practice as a long-term function of an organisation while offering a pathway beyond a short-term project to building a career in the sector or developing a supportive community of diverse participants.

8.7.vi Loss of staff
Community radio stations are organisations typically with few staff. At RCB there were two full time and two part time staff and one manager. Bush Radio had four full time staff plus those on paid internships. This small number means that when a key individual leaves it can be difficult to replace them, particularly given the low salary that stations can offer potential replacements. Finding a good trainer is particularly difficult, keeping one even harder. This key role requires a variety of skills and these skills are better rewarded in private industry, education or elsewhere in the media or social services sectors. When a key worker in a small organisation leaves, they often take with them contacts, experience and local knowledge that are not easily replaced. To prevent the

impact of the loss of such a key member of staff, community radio stations should look to build in systems that can capture this knowledge. This could include such processes as producing a detailed handbook for each role, maintaining and updating contact lists and holding structured exit interviews.

The role of station manager at Irish community radio stations is a key role. The manager oversees the operational side of the station. Often station managers bring with them their own interests to the role and they seek to shape the station somewhat in their image. This is a natural function of leadership even in an organisation that is supposed to operate on democratic principles. At Bush Radio, Zane Ibrahim was a major champion of children's radio. He pioneered the CREW projects, aided by key staff. Without his determination it is unlikely that Bush would have developed into the station it is today.

At RCB and other community radio stations in Ireland there were many people who fought over many years to establish the sector. My own small footnote in the RCB story is that I established the youth project under study here. The Chillax project ended in May 2013 with the aim of restarting in September with a new intake and the promotion of some of the participants to trainers. Our trainer at RCB left for Dubai in April and I left the station in June of that year. A new manager came into the station and brought with her a new set of priorities resulting in the Chillax project not being continued. It takes considerable effort to establish a project. New skills, trust, connections, culture all take time to develop. These should not be lost because the faces change, community radio stations owe more to their communities. Appointing a dedicated youth officer at board level and on a programming committee would be one possibility for community radio stations to consider. This person, ideally a younger person, could articulate the need to protect youth programming at a station. There are programming sub committees at community radio stations but without representation from youth or other groups they often result in programming that is reflective of either the manager, the programme controller or members of the sub committee. A programming strategy should be made clear with goals and review opportunities timetabled to ensure these goals are met. Without a clear programming direction

community radio stations run the risk of becoming mere sites of hobby for a narrow selection of people. Unfortunately many in the community radio movement in Ireland do not view this as a problem. There is a view that if programming is bottom up, and the majority of volunteers want music shows, then the station's programming should reflect this. This passive approach to programming makes for an easier station to manage and work in, but in the long run leads the station into insignificance and does little to justify the license as community broadcasters. Agreement between the board of management, manager should see wider community participation as a strategic priority.

8.vii Awareness

In the earlier section on partnership I demonstrated how youth work organisations and community radio stations can potentially work together to share resources for a common goal. Often youth workers are looking for projects for young people and just as often community radio stations are looking for volunteers. In a time of reduced funding across social services in Ireland, such partnerships can demonstrate real impact to funders.

In the course of this research and in previous years I have engaged with different youth services in the South West of Ireland. In this time, I have found that, for the most part youth work managers are supportive of partnerships but many youth workers are resistant. Almost universally, those in youth work have reported that they were unaware of community radio or certainly unaware of youth radio and what it could offer for youth development. Youth radio, through community radio stations, has much to offer young people. Community radio stations have the resources to deliver these projects and in turn benefit themselves through creating new programming, potential financial support but more importantly, this engagement can rejuvenate the volunteer profile at stations. Community radio stations must however communicate what they can offer to youth work groups. Earlier I wrote of the need for this to happen at a strategic level, between perhaps CRAOL and youth organisations but individual community radio stations should also seek to build these connections at local level.

8.viii Willingness

The barriers mentioned above have either been reported to me or I have observed them myself in the course of this research. For each barrier I believe I have shown there are clear, simple ways of removing this obstacle. *The Garda vetting* system is cumbersome but improving, *resources* are perhaps not as scarce as we sometimes believe, *a lack of clear purpose* can be tackled by getting back to first principles, *youth are not already catered for* and in any case should be looked to for what they can bring not what they cost, the cost of *training* and *loss of s*taff can be ameliorated through developing institutional memory and *awareness* raised by simply making local contacts while encouraging representative groups to talk to one another. The issue of *willingness* however presents a different type of barrier.

Earlier I showed how the poor take up by young people of the Wired project was as a result of a lack of engagement by Limerick Youth Service front line workers. Here was a project offered, free of charge, fully supported by their manager, delivered by an experienced media professional and with clear youth development goals yet only one youth worker expressed an interest. The youth radio projects that are running 'laissez faire' radio shows offer little by way of contribution to the public sphere or more importantly, offer little by way of skills or mentoring to the young volunteers. Through the course of the research it has become clear that 'learning' youth radio projects can benefit young people and potentially enrich community radio stations. Looking at the field in Ireland, one sees a rather bleak picture yet around the globe critical media production by young people is a burgeoning area. The barriers outlined above go some way to explaining but an uncomfortable truth may lie hidden in plain view; is there the will to do this difficult work?

In the many communications I've had with youth workers, their managers, community radio staff past and present a persistent theme of disillusionment surfaces. This disillusionment returns to a similar refrain of people and by extension organisations, not wishing to try new ideas. There appears to be an innate conservatism to those working in community radio and youth work to

break moulds around what is understood as being 'the work we do'. This is not to say there are not creative projects happening in the community or youth work sectors but when one looks at present programming on community radio or youth work projects, one sees a quite stark uniformity. Financial pressure clearly plays a role in hampering the sector and the community radio movement in Ireland should do more to demonstrate its value as centres of community learning but those stations that are well funded should, in my view be doing more to engage with young people.

8.8 Conclusion

The finding that there is no adult/youth partnerships producing product-focused youth radio projects in Ireland is a dispiriting one. At the outset of this research I had anticipated a situation where I could compare the activity at various Irish community radio stations against my own projects in Ireland and, instead I found that the projects I began at Wired and RCB have been the only attempts at this in the past number of years. There have been previous youth radio projects at stations in years gone by, but none that sought to integrate the skill set of radio producers and youth workers as I have done. I had also anticipated that the pilot project I established in RCB would remain running but due to staff turnover and a change in priorities this also ceased, I bare the responsibility for the lack of institutional memory I neglected to impart at RCB.

Looking at the on-air content of community radio stations in Ireland, it is clear that good work is being done to produce programming that appeals to a local audience, but community radio stations should be more than hyper-local radio stations. There are excellent examples of diverse programming aimed at disability groups, minorities in Dublin, niche music and partnerships with local organisations however the voices of young people are sorely lacking. Young people I would argue should be looked at as resources and thought be given to what they can bring to the sector. Community radio in Ireland can position itself as producers of high quality, public service programming while at the same time offer media training to members of its community. In my view looking to do this

without the input of young people would be a real missed opportunity for the sector and wider community.

Chapter 9

Conclusions

9.1 Introduction

This research examines the suitability of audio production in a youth development setting. Within, I have examined three different approaches to youth development in community radio production. This research is a response to the lack of supporting literature on such projects in the community radio sector. It draws on three case studies as well as an earlier example of youth radio I observed. The lack of available supporting literature or observable practices in Ireland led me to travel to South Africa to observe youth radio at a community radio station there. In the Irish case studies, I developed my own pedagogy for this work. This pedagogy may be of use to future workers in the field in Ireland and beyond. In this final chapter I return to my research questions and look at the findings presented previously in relation to them.

9.2 RQ1: What are the learning outcomes for participants?

There are two broad groups of learning outcomes for participants on youth radio projects. The first are the 'hard skills' of audio production. These skills are easier to teach and measure. The second area relates to opportunities around agency and identity development. The first group can be said to be in the service of the second, where acquiring technical competence leads to greater independence, improved confidence and in doing so leads to more agentive actions.

The 'learning' model of youth radio places a high priority on the acquisition of 'hard skills' by participants. These are taught systematically and throughout. Teaching is done by a brief period of overt instruction followed by participants attempting the task. They are supported in this with one to one coaching. The teaching of 'hard skills' is not done as a stand-alone activity but rather its function is to create independence for the group and individual, to put them in a position whereby they can technically operate a studio. These 'hard skills' are transferable to other ways of working with audio for example in music production. In contrasting the Irish and South African case studies, I showed that

a deficit of these skills in the South African study creates tension when others are called on to fill the gap. The outcomes for these skills are measureable through observing young people perform tasks. In the 'evidence climate' that youth work in Ireland now operates in, 'hard skills' may be a useful 'selling point' for community radio stations in their approaches to youth services. However it is my view that promises should not be made to young people regarding future careers in the media. The emphasis must be on contemporary expression.

The second group of outcomes for participants centres on the interconnected categories of 'voice', agency and identity. Structuring youth radio projects through the 'learning' model seeks to create numerous opportunities for young people to challenge existing conceptions of their identity. One way it does this is by asking participants to consider their lifeworlds as sources of material from which radio texts are created. The process of making these artifacts involves critical examination of assumptions they may hold or society holds of them. This is done in an open environment where peer challenge and support is practiced. This practice seeks to disrupt ideas around a deficit view of their community and also looks to the future as a place of possibility. Within the process of creating these audio texts, a strategy of professionalising the participants is adopted. This strategy uses roles and language as a means of having young people 'be someone else' within the temporal confines of the project. The intention of this is to open channels of possibility for the young people, to shift their view away from being 'marginalised' young people towards young actors in society who can practice agency.

9.3 RQ2: What approaches to teaching create a conducive learning environment in this context?

In Chapter six I outlined my 'learning' model of using audio in a youth development setting. It is characterised by a constructionist relationship between workers and participants, has a product focus with a view to creating a richer process, is based on lived experience, affords sufficient time in pre-

production work, builds on the existing passions of young people and is flexible in the genres of audio produced. This approach is built on the existing work of scholars such as Akom (2009), Gunnell (2006), Soep and Chavez (2005, 2010), Thompson (2011) and can be placed within an emancipatory view of education Freire (1970), hooks (1994). It adds to the debate by clearly identifying how process and product approaches to youth radio shape the experience for participants. I have argued here that a product focus works best when it is in dialogue with the process, thereby creating a richer learning experience for the participants. I further argued that youth radio projects could benefit from using layers of audience in the structure of projects. I showed that through being open to audio genres and building on the existing passions of young people, youth audio projects can become sites of rich creativity that go beyond traditional models of community radio.

In preparation to each case study I made myself familiar with the communities in which the study took place. This included researching literature around history, politics, urban planning and human geography. On a basic level I spent time in the locations, walked around, spoke to people, made connections on the ground. This knowledge later proved useful in building rapport but also helped in the production of radio texts that were based on the lived experience of the participants. In the previous section I mentioned the importance of role and technical language and the use of both is an important part of the pedagogy I developed. A final element which I sets my work apart from an action orientated media pedagogy is the explicit link made between the radio project and action in the community. This involves getting the young participants out of the familiar space of the studio to conduct fieldtrips or research work in diverse settings. These opportunities provide a challenge for the young people and can be used to observe progress of the group and to transfer the confidence of the studio space to other spheres.

An element of the practice I observed at Bush Radio but did not implement is the use of peer tutors in their youth projects. For community radio stations or youth workers who wish to use audio production, building a self-sustaining project

could include tutors who are peers of the participants. This model offers a way for new participants to see the future and view people like them in positions of responsibility with knowledge. Should organisations implement the 'learning' model, I would recommend using graduate tutors to sustain and improve the practice.

9.4 RQ3: What genre of radio text is best suited to this work?

For many media professionals, community radio is the starting point. Often the path is community radio followed by a stint in the commercial sector ultimately arriving at a position with a public service broadcaster. I travelled a reverse path to community radio, beginning with producing features for RTE and the BBC then taking a position in Limerick as a producer on a commercial youth radio station before finally working in the community sector. My professional grounding in documentary and current affairs work predisposed me to believe that these genres were higher, more 'legitimate' than others. As a result of my learning during this research I have changed my position.

The Wired project was a personally challenging experience. In the RCB project I had the support of an engaged, motivated youth worker and in the Chillax team a group of young women eager for the experience. At Wired I worked alone and with a group of young men who at first were resistant to engage in learning. As the project developed they taught me to look beyond a narrow definition of radio genres. Their creative, critical application of hip-hop in the project allowed me to appreciate the benefits of using other genres of audio in this setting. In addition to hip-hop, using narrative devices to understand and organise stories being told by the young people in planning sessions enabled us to truly bring in the lived experience of the young people into the learning environment.

This realisation, that there is no best genre or template to follow is liberating. It frees up future workers and participants to follow their interests. By having an open approach future participants can take audio production in new directions

perhaps through audio collage, or by combining social media applications like Snapchat into the tool palette or any number of other possibilities.

9.5 RQ4: Does audience have a role?

Traditionally community radio research has not been concerned with audience. However audience became an important part of this research in two ways. The first is the more usual understanding of audience as being external listeners to a broadcast. In all three studies the young people reported feeling demotivated by a perceived absence of an audience. There was little by way of external feedback to shows. Even for radio professionals with large audiences, a lack of feedback can be demotivating but for young participants accustomed to a social media culture of instant feedback this lack of interaction can perhaps be even more keenly felt. Attempts to build an audience of family and friends in RCB and Wired were not successful. An oversight on my behalf was failing to engage the social media skills of the participants to build an on-line audience. This is a key failing on my behalf and one that should not be repeated in replicated studies. More generally, the lack of a wide audience and feedback for community media is a concern. In Ireland the sector produces some excellent programming but fails to make the public aware of such.

The second manifestation of audience was my use of it as a tool in the pedagogy I developed. The 'imagined audience' provided a portal for participants to critically engage with their own work from an outsider's perspective. The 'first audience' of each other was used a forum to test ideas, provide feedback and improve public speaking skills. The use of both of these audience layers has been a major finding in this research and form an important part of the pedagogy used.

9.6 RQ5: What role is there for the community radio sector in this work?

The community radio sector in Ireland is in my view an area with immense potential. There are 17 licensed non-'community of interest' stations nationwide. Within each of these organisations is the equipment and people with a collection

of skills that can be used to deliver real impact in their communities. However my sector-wide survey reveals that presently there is little by way of engagement with young people. Where this engagement does occur, it is characterised by a 'laissez faire' approach that offers little by way of development for the participants.

Community radio in Ireland operates in a financially unstable position. Advertising revenue faces competition from commercial and increasingly digital competitors. However eight stations receive direct government support through the Pobal scheme, which makes these organisations well placed financially to deliver on their community development obligations. For others, the Sound and Vision scheme offers a way to both fund the station and produce high quality programming though the scheme itself needs to show greater flexibility in how it funds the sector. Rather than view youth radio projects as a drain on resources, the community radio sector should show greater creativity in how it builds projects that can attract diverse funding streams. In the RCB case study I was offered financial support from Clare Youth Service towards the project without requesting it. Community radio stations should then look to a partnership model with youth services as a possible means of running projects and providing additional funding.

The volunteer profile at Irish community radio stations is typically older. Stations like RCB and others in rural locations struggle to attract volunteers. This makes the lack of outreach to young people all the more strange given the lack of facilities for young people in Ireland with a poorly funded 'mainstream' youth work sector. Younger volunteers could help energise a sector that faces challenges brought on by technology. Listenership to FM radio and television is steadily falling across all age groups but particularly amongst the under 18 (JNLR, April 2018). Community radio stations should look to harnessing the skills of existing volunteers together with a new generation of broadcasters to build centres of learning and creativity in some of the most marginalised communities in the country.

While traditional listenership is declining, the global growth of podcasting in the past five years demonstrates that audio is resilient to this change. In March 2018 all-time downloads of podcasts from the Apple iTunes store passed 50 Billion (Locker, 2018). Community radio stations and youth work organisations should look to the development qualities of audio production, as detailed in this research and embrace this technological shift. Through careful targeting of an on-line audience, projects could build connections with youth audio projects globally.

9.7 Limitations of this research

The initial plan for this research was to conduct my observation studies at an Irish community radio station. Due to a lack of observable practices in Ireland I looked further afield, eventually selecting Bush Radio in South Africa. Bush Radio provided an opportunity to study a long established community radio station that provided an excellent model of community engagement. However its youth outreach work has receded in the past number of years. This reduced my opportunities for studying how a community radio station engages not only 'youth' but children also. Further, the key strength of the Bush Radio model, namely its use of peer tutors was not replicable in my final case study, as RCB was no longer available to me as a research site due to a change in management focus. This meant that my initial plan of building from the first case study, to incorporate my learning from my observations at Bush Radio could only be partially completed.

A second learning from Bush Radio, its use of diverse teams could also not be replicated due to the inability to recruit such a group in the Wired case study. However the experience of attempting to do so did provide learning opportunities around how Irish youth services operate, where the role of youth worker as gatekeeper is problematic.

I acknowledge my position as both researcher and worker as a limitation. In evaluating case studies I designed and delivered, I recognise my dual and perhaps conflicting role as researcher and researched. Throughout I made an honest appraisal of the successes as well shortcomings that occurred during the studies. However, I remain open to challenge on my findings. Trite as this is, my motivation for conducting these radio projects was a desire to 'do good'. To use my privileged position as someone with skills, to help create a sense of possibility for young people who face incredible adversity in their lives. I am aware that if in my desire to 'do good' I may not have been sufficiently critical of myself in my role as worker. During the case studies I put a great emphasis on creating a reflective culture within the groups, I hope this research is similarly competent in this regard and is an accurate representation of the work undertaken.

9.8 Directions for future researchers.

Possible directions for future research may look to include the element of peer tutors from Bush Radio. Such a study may wish to consider how to build a generational structure and evaluate the benefits for new peer tutors and new participants at one community radio site.

For researchers within youth work, a long term study of 'targeted' projects and the opportunities for interaction with other young people may provide an interesting examination of this area.

Further research around the long term future for community radio in Ireland may also wish to consider the impact of Sound and Vision funding and its rigid system and perhaps look to a post fm, near future, for the sector.

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Appendix A
AMARC CHARTER

Recognising that community radio is an ideal means of fostering freedom of expression and information, the development of culture, the freedom of form and confront opinions and active participation in local life; noting that different cultures and traditions lead to diversity of forms of community radio; this Charter identifies objectives which community radio stations share and should strive to achieve.
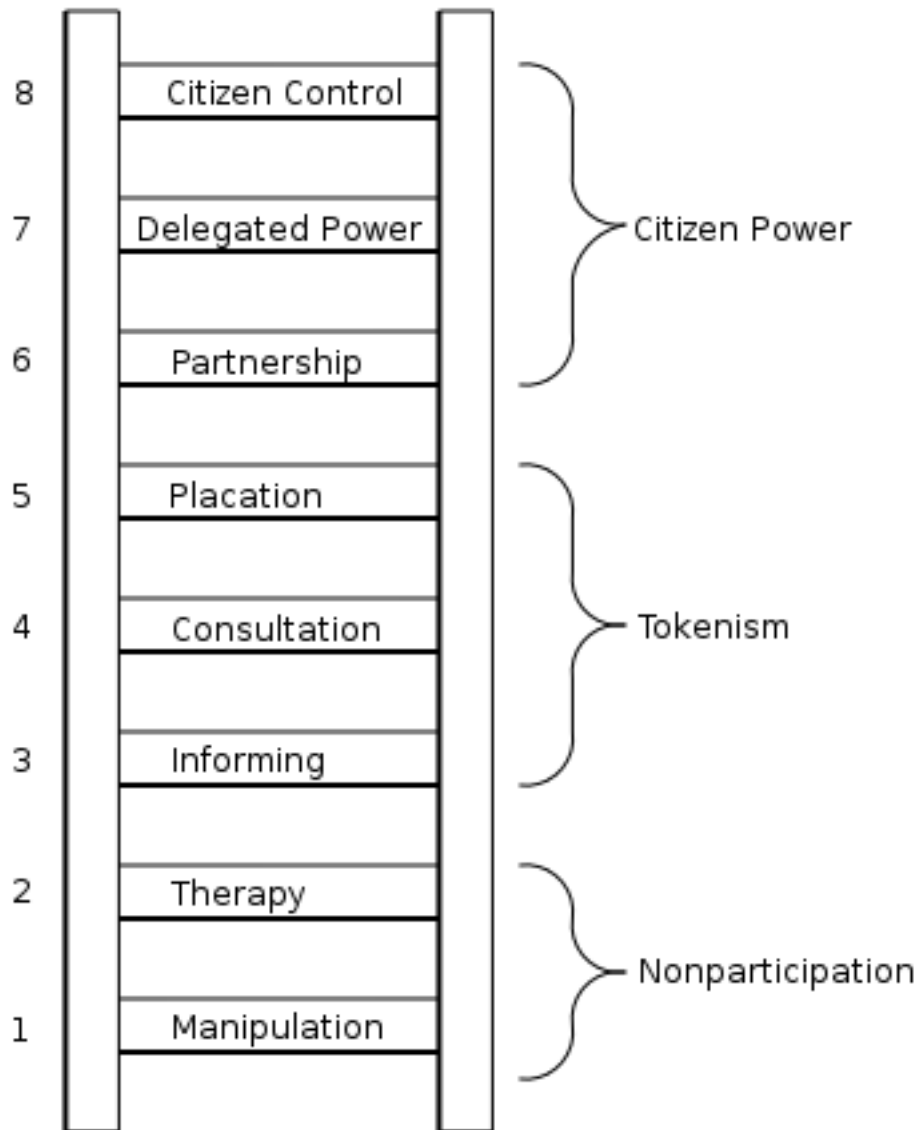
Community radio stations:

1. promote the right to communicate, assist the free flow of information and opinions, encourage creative expression and contribute to the democratic process and a pluralist society;

2. provide access to training, production and distribution facilities; encourage local creative talent and foster local traditions; and provide programmes for the benefit, entertainment, education and development of their listeners;

3. seek to have their ownership representative of local geographically recognisable communities or of communities of common interest;

4. are editorially independent of government, commercial and religious institutions and political parties in determining their programme policy;

5. provide a right of access to minority and marginalised groups and promote and protect cultural and linguistic diversity;

6. seek to honestly inform their listeners on the basis of information drawn from a diversity of sources and provide a right of reply to any person or organisation subject to serious misrepresentation;

7. are established as organisations which are not run with a view to profit and ensure their independence by being financed from a variety of sources;

8. recognise and respect the contribution of volunteers, recognise the right of paid workers to join trade unions and provide satisfactory working conditions for both;

9. operate management, programming and employment practices which oppose discriminations and which are open and accountable to all supporters, staff and volunteers;

10. foster exchange between community radio broadcasters using communications to develop greater understanding in support of peace, tolerance, democracy and development.

Adopted on 18 September 1994 in Ljubljana, Slovenia at the first AMARC Pan-European Conference of Community Radio Broadcasters

Appendix B Arnstein's Ladder

Appendix C
Hart's Ladder

The Ladder of Participation

8. Child-initiated, shared decisions with adults

7. Child-initiated and directed

6. Adult-initiated, shared decisions with children

5. Consulted and informed

4. Assigned but informed

Degrees of participation

3. Tokenism

2. Decoration

1. Manipulation

Non-participation

Eight levels of young people's participation in projects.
(The ladder metaphor is borrowed from the well-known
essay on adult participation by Sherry Arnstein (1969); the
categories are new).

Appendix D

Percy-Smith's model of social learning
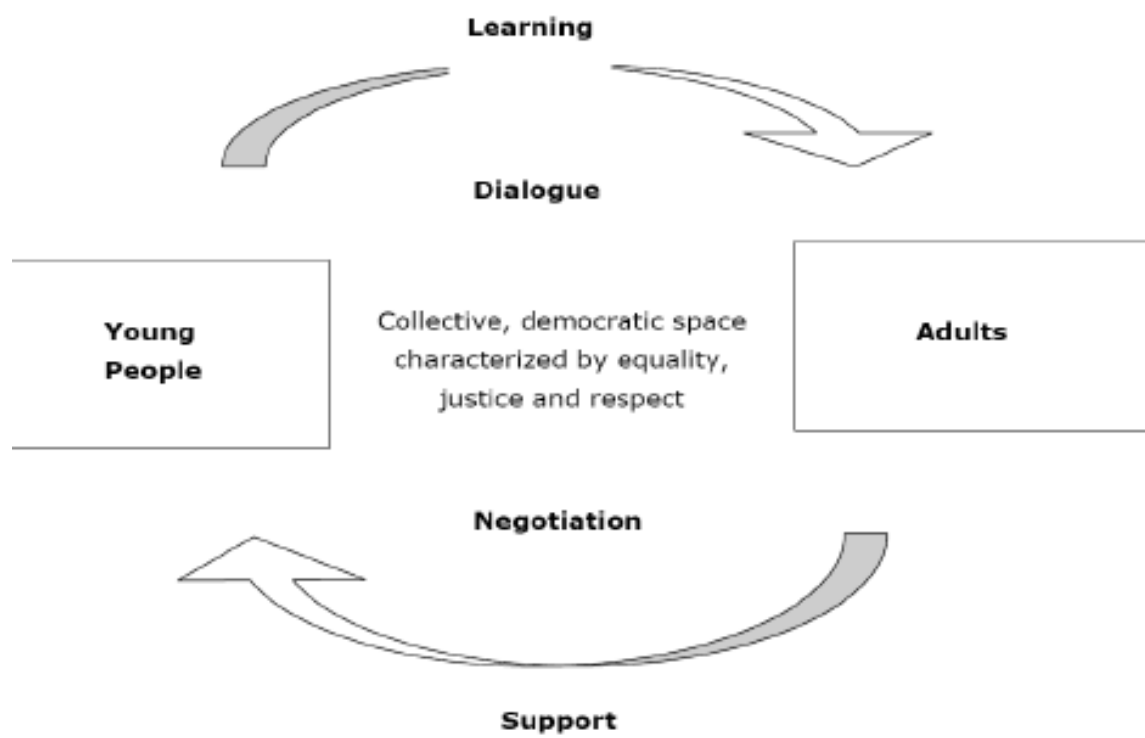
Appendix E
Guardian information sheet

COLÁISTE MHUIRE GAN SMÁL
OLLSCOIL LUIMNIGH
MARY IMMACULATE COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF LIMERICK

Dear Parent/Responsible Other.

My name is Jason Murphy. I am a PhD. researcher from the school of Media and Communications at Mary Immaculate College, Limerick. I am conducting research looking to discover if radio training is a good way of getting young people to learn about their community and the wider world. (NAME) _____has been selected along with a group of his/her friends to take part in this.

Over the eight weeks of the course we will be looking at various technical skills for example, audio editing, recording and microphone work. The group will produce four radio programs to be broadcast on _____(Station Name). The content of these shows will be driven by the group and will reflect whatever they decide to be important. These subjects may include some or none of the following: Access to services; marriage; sex; drugs, crime/policing; education; employment; attitudes to minorities and others. The subjects will not be chosen or by me.

Throughout this project I will be taking notes on the progress of the group and will be reporting my findings to the University. Please be aware that NAME's _____ real name will not be used in any written material.

Attached with this letter is a consent form. If you agree for NAME_____ to take part please sign and give to NAME_____ to return to me.

If you have concerns with any of this I would be happy to speak with you to clear up anything.

_____
Jason Murphy
089-4******

Appendix F
Guardian consent form

******Parent consent form ******

I _____the legal guardian of _____NAME agree to allow _____NAME to take part in the radio project Chill on Air at _____ (Station Name) to run for 8 weeks from _____.

I have read the attached letter and I am happy with the content of it.

Appendix G
Participant information form

Dear _____(NAME)

Thank you for expressing an interest in Making Waves (Sample course title).

This project is for young people aged 15-19 and will involve training in radio production to enable the group to go 'on-air' with their own show on _____(Station Name). The course will run once a week for 6 weeks and will involve a mixture of group work, studio work and practical outdoor research.

The project will be help to teach you how to question the world you live in. This may include religion, sex, minority rights, international issues, drugs, law and many other topics. These will be selected by you and your group.

This project is being run through Mary Immaculate College, Limerick, my university. Throughout the 6 week course I will be making notes and asking questions of you which I will include in my report to the college but all names will be removed.

If you have any questions you can contact me at:

Jason.murphy@mic.ul.ie
089-4366080

Appendix H
Chillax Project Report Survey
Chillax – End of Project Report

Hi. Please take 5 minutes to answer this (all answers are anonymous) Thank you!

On a scale of 1 to 5 (1 being **disagree** strongly, 5 **agree** strongly) please answer the following by circling a number:

I enjoyed this course
1   2   3   4   5

I am now more confident as a result of completing this radio course
1   2   3   4   5

My self-esteem has improved as a result of completing this radio course
1   2   3   4   5

Since completing this course, I am now more confident when speaking with people I do not know
1   2   3   4   5

My knowledge of my local community has improved since taking this course
1   2   3   4   5

My awareness of global issues has improved since taking this course
1   2   3   4   5

I have improved my technical skills
1   2   3   4   5

I was able to take a leadership role in some aspects of this course
1   2   3   4   5

My communication skills have improved
1   2   3   4   5

I am now aware of more options for further study or work after I finish school than before this course
1   2   3   4   5

I was able to take on new and challenging activities
1   2   3   4   5

As a result of completing this course, I now have more confidence in making decisions to solve problems
1   2   3   4   5

The skills I developed would be difficult to learn in a normal classroom setting
1   2   3   4   5

This gave me the opportunity to learn independently

1   2   3   4   5

Participating provided me with a meaningful experience
1   2   3   4   5

I would recommend it to my friends
1   2   3   4   5

I would be keen to participate again
1   2   3   4   5

Appendix I
RCB RESULTS of survey

Question	1	2	3	4	5
1			14%	43%	43%
2			29%	43%	29%
3				43%	57%
4					100%
5					100%
6			29%	29%	43%
7				43%	57%
8			57%	14%	29%
9			14%		86%
10				43%	57%
11		29%	71%		
12					7
13		14%	4	29%	
14			14%	3	3
15		29%	3	14%	14%
16			14%	71%	14%
17		29%	14%	29%	29%

Appendix J
Manager/Program controller Survey

Q.1 Does your station have a regular dedicated youth program? (If no please go to Q.5)   Yes _____   No _____

Q.2 Do station staff or senior volunteers play any role in content creation for this program? Yes _____   No _____

Q.3 To what extent are these young people trained and later mentored?

Q4. Is there monitoring of the content of this program?

Q.5 Does your station engage with local youth work or youth services?
Yes _____   No _____

Q. 6 What are the barriers preventing you from engaging with young people in your community?

Appendix K.

Data coding

Finding	Pedagogy	Experience of learner	Properties of audio	C.R. stations	Youth Work
1	x	x	x	x	x
2	x	x	x		x
3	x	x			x
4	x	x			
5	x			x	x
6				x	
7		x			
8	x		x		x
9	x			x	
10	x	x		x	
11					x
12	x	x	x	x	
13	x	x	x	x	x
14	x	x		x	x
15				x	
16	x	x		x	
17	x	x	x	x	

1. Audio works. How can I demonstrate this? (Surveys, interviews, anecdotes, excerpts from programmes) conscientization…
2. Radio works but convergence is the future
3. Preparation is key to teaching radio - confidence to throw away lesson plan even more (lesson plans attached as appendix)
4. Successful topics where learning occurred were situated in the 'lived experience'

5. Recruitment of young people in Ireland a real issue, how to break out of ghettoization of Irish youth work? Place central to Irish

youth (work) issues around working with youth services and ways to improve the relationship

6. The driver for youth projects is too often one (or more) person with a vision or a passion, CR stations should have a strategy for inclusion of young people to create environments where they feel welcome and valued (Hart's ladder) perhaps board level inclusion (and not as a sop). Whereby the loss of one key member does not 'kill' projects (no youth radio in RCB since I left)

7. Young people were excluded from the design of projects…how to change this? Bush had alumni of CREW delivering training to new youngsters. This can only be built overtime, connected to previous point

8. Young women in Ireland should be encouraged to express themselves through hip/hop – slam poetry. 'De-macho' Irish hip-hop or find an alternative medium of expression for young women beyond mere 'back-up singers OR FIND THEIR OWN '

9. Irish teens view of radio very limited, (music and gossip) contrast with SA where politics is more apart of everyday life e.g. fees must fall protests.

10. If community radio stations are suffering from a lack of participation at the ends of the age spectrum then intergenerational projects represent an excellent way of tacking this issue e.g. Moyross with Jacqueline, Kilrush, Bush

11. Irish child protection policy is strangling creativity and engagement by active volunteers who wish to contribute to society. Administrative delay and fear of law holding people back (second half anecdotal)

12. Lack of audience is common across three projects. Even deeper than a lack of audience is a lack of awareness that audience exists - that they are in fact broadcasters. This has a demoralizing effect (common complaint among older volunteers in community radio and indeed in professional radio too) Perhaps social media is a

way to build a community of audience? Moyross was better but
still to get active feedback was a real challenge.

13. Process v Product

14. Youth worker radio producer partnership key
'Buy in', support and participation of youth workers key

15. Other partnerships with local organisations are also important for
community radio stations.

16. Value in production training like the one ran in Moyross but real
benefit when project are ongoing

17. Time heavy involvement explains why lack of youth radio projects
in Ireland?

18. What are the pedagogical tools discovered (hip-hop and InterGen)

Glossary

AMARC Charter
Agreement between community media organisation to guide

BAI
Broadcasting Authority of Ireland. Ireland's independent broadcast regulator.

Born Free
Generation of South Africans born after 1994.

Cape Flats
Isolated densely populated region south and east of Cape Town containing townships.

CASET
Early, anti-apartheid media organisation.

CREW
Children's education workshops. Began in 2000 at Bush Radio working with children and young adults aged 5-24

CSP
Community service program, funding model that assist unemployed people in Ireland gain experience in the workforce.

DP
Direct provision. Ireland's system of housing asylum seekers.

Foroige
Irish youth work organisation

GAA
Gaelic athletic association. Ireland's largest sporting organisation.

Garda Diversion Project
'Youth justice' project that is a partnership between police and youth work.

Ghetto Life 101
Seminal 1993 radio documentary follows lives of two 14 year old African American boys in Chicago.

Hip-hop
Music genre originating in New York in 1970s, socially-conscious poetry.

Kwaito

POBAL
Irish community development organisation

Regeneration
Scheme of development to transform 'troubled' Limerick City suburbs.

Sound and Vision
Funding scheme of BAI that uses money from license fee to commission independent broadcast work.

'Scenes'
Pieces of natural recorded sound in which action happens

Traveller
Irish minority ethnic group.

Vox-pops
'Voice of the people' –street recordings to sample public opinion.

JNLR (Joint National Listener Ratings)
Figures published every quarter in Ireland of radio audiences.

SAARF
South African Advertising Research Foundation publishers of South African audience data