Making Local News

An organisational ethnography investigating news values within

Local Digital Television Programme Services (L-DTPS)

Kerry Traynor

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of

Liverpool John Moores University

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

June 2017

Abstract

This study of the production of British broadcast journalism, rather than its finished products, reveals the ways in which the organising and financing of journalism have traceable consequences on the ways in which news is selected and constructed, supporting the critical political economy perspective.

Using a comparative ethnographic approach including interviews and observation of professional practice in three local television newsrooms, studios and other production spaces, this study represents a rare opportunity to gain insights into the ways in which events, issues and sources are selected by journalists, editors, producers and others engaged in the production of British broadcast news and how material is shaped into news bulletins and other programming.

Drawing on news value theory (Galtung and Ruge 1965; Golding and Elliott 1979; Harcup and O'Neil 2001, 2016), the study offers a new model of news value analysis, the 'News Value Matrix', which takes account of the interplay between two key categories of news values, organisational pragmatics and perceptions of audience appeal.

The study will be of interest to local broadcast journalists, editors and producers, to policymakers concerned with media and cultural policy, and to those wishing to develop a greater critical understanding of the professional practice of journalism.

Keywords

Acknowledgements

Completing this PhD has been a truly life-changing experience for me and it would not have been possible without the support and guidance that I received from many people.

Firstly, thank you to my supervisors Nickianne Moody and Steve Spittle at Liverpool John Moores University and Peter Campbell at the University of Liverpool for their valuable advice and guidance.

I gratefully acknowledge the studentship and other support I have received from the Institute of Cultural Capital, a strategic partnership between Liverpool John Moores University and the University of Liverpool. In particular I would like to thank Prof. Phil Redmond, Dr. Kerry Wilson and Dr. Beatriz Garcia for the opportunity to undertake the study, and Prof. Simeon Yates and Sue Potts for their generous and unstinting support from beginning to end. I am also grateful to colleagues in the Department of Communication and Media at the University of Liverpool who have been incredibly supportive, particularly Prof. Kay Richardson, Prof. Julia Hallam and Dr. Rudi Palmieri.

I am of course extraordinarily thankful to all the anonymous participants of the study – the journalists, editors, producers, presenters, station managers, owners, volunteers, students, politicians and others involved in the production of L-DTPS who allowed me into their working lives and generously shared their time, thoughts and experiences. I am especially grateful to those who allowed me to observe their work while they themselves were under considerable pressure to manage live broadcasts, pull together daily news bulletins and launch whole new television channels. Without your honesty, openness and bravery, this study really would not have been possible.

I am indebted to all my friends and family who have kept me sane, kept me laughing and helped in so many other ways. And last but definitely not least I would also like to say an enormous heartfelt thank you to my amazing husband Tom and children Sam and Ruby for supporting me throughout, giving me time and space to study and for always believing in me.

Contents

Figures

1. Introduction

This study is centrally concerned with the impact of Conservative-led media policy on professional practice within contemporary British public service broadcast journalism, between 2010 and 2016. It analyses the professional practice of broadcast journalism within a new network of commercial local public service broadcasters which launched in the UK in November 2013, known as Local Digital Television Programme Services (L-DTPS). The key research questions addressed within this study are:

- *What business models are employed in L-DTPS? How is the network organised and financed?*
- *What news values are prioritised in the production of L-DTPS news and programming?*
- *What are the relationships between the ways that L-DTPS is organised and financed and the news values prioritised by L-DTPS practitioners?*

To address these research questions, the study design incorporated a comparative ethnographic approach to exploring the professional practice of journalists, editors, producers and others involved in the production of L-DTPS broadcast journalism. Ethnographies of journalism are nothing new (eg. Gans 1979; Tuchman 1974, 1978; Tunstall 1971), but remain, for numerous reasons which will be discussed later, incredibly rare. In securing access for ethnographic fieldwork to three L-DTPS companies operating local television licences across England, this study is able to offer a highly original contribution to the field, following fieldwork involving more than 200 hours of observation, 48 interviews and analysis of L-DTPS schedules and programming.

The study is situated within broader debates about the role and quality of public service broadcasting and journalism which have intensified since the 1990 Broadcasting Act, alongside digitalisation and in the wake of the 2008 global economic crisis. Despite massive shifts in the ways we access and engage with media, television journalism remains the main source of news for most citizens in most parts of the world. It plays an important role in shaping our understanding of the world, providing us with the images, symbols and vocabulary with which we interpret and respond to our environment (Murdock and Golding 2005: 80). Public service broadcasting is defined by three key characteristics – the provision of quality content that educates and informs as well as entertains and which meets the needs of minorities; universal access; and sufficient public funding to allow freedom from commercial and government interference (Scannell 1990; Barendt 1995: 52; Mendel 2000), but there is little consensus about its quality and influence.

Contemporary debates about broadcast journalism

On the one hand, there are persuasive arguments that the quality of contemporary broadcast journalism is declining. Since 1990 journalism output has been described as newzak and tabloidisation (Franklin 1997), churnalism (Davies 2009; Zakir cited in Harcup 2004: 3-4) and concerns have increased about the mediatization of politics (Cushion and Thomas 2013; Cushion et al 2014). Critics see these processes as having deleterious effects on social capital (Bourdieu 1998; Putnam 2000) and political participation (Lewis et al 2005; Gentzkow 2006). On the other hand, liberals argue that market forces create incentives to invest in quality journalism and have helped develop new styles and formats of political journalism (McNair 2000: 202, 208) which helps journalism fulfil its democratic function (Brants 1998; Blumler 1999). Here, tabloidization is not the sensationalisation but the popularisation of politics (Connell 1992; Sparks 2000; McNair 2000). Some highlight the positive impact of news consumption, such as increasing understanding of public affairs (Neuman, Just and Crigler 1992; Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996; Nie Junn and Stehlik-Barry 1996) and in some cases encouraging political participation (Norris 2000).

Critics from both left and right are concerned about the power of the mass media. On the right, conservatives argue that television is a liberal medium that subverts traditional values such as family, religion, hard work and delayed gratification (Efron 1972; Lefever 1974). On the left, critics see the growing corporatisation and conglomeration of the media industries as favouring capitalist elites and mythologizing ideologies of corporatism, materialism and consumerism (Glasgow University Media Group 1976, 1980; Herman and Chomsky 1988; Kellner 1990; Golding and Murdock 1991; Holtz-Bacha & Norris 2001; Hooghe 2002). Even in the centre, liberals acknowledge that media can be distorted and misused in certain instances (Rosenberg and White 1957; Skornia 1965; Gans 1974; Bagdikian 1987). There is a particularly helpful elucidation of these positions within Kellner (1990).

As a critical political economist, I am particularly concerned about the extent to which commercial structuring of L-DTPS limits public discourse to a range of 'authorised' issues and themes which do not threaten corporate interests or broader capitalist structures. I am concerned that this undermines the strategic goals outlined in policy documents, that a new tier of public service broadcasters will hold power to account and support democracy. The positioning of L-DTPS by policymakers as a driver of political participation at the local level, where democratic participation is much lower than in national debates, makes these rather polarised debates a key concern.

Critical factors in post-1990 broadcast journalism

Debates such as those set out above have intensified since 1990 as a result of three important events. Firstly, the 1990 Broadcasting Act enabled, through deregulation, a massive and rapid

expansion of channels through cable and satellite, and, through commercialisation of public service broadcasting, massive growth in independent (private sector) production. Crucially, the 1990 Act removed restrictions on ownership of commercial terrestrial, cable and satellite broadcasting. This allowed Rupert Murdoch's *Sky* to quickly dominate the British satellite market and the commercialisation and consolidation of cable networks. In the UK this quickly eroded audience share of terrestrial channels, as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Audience share per channel (1983-2009)
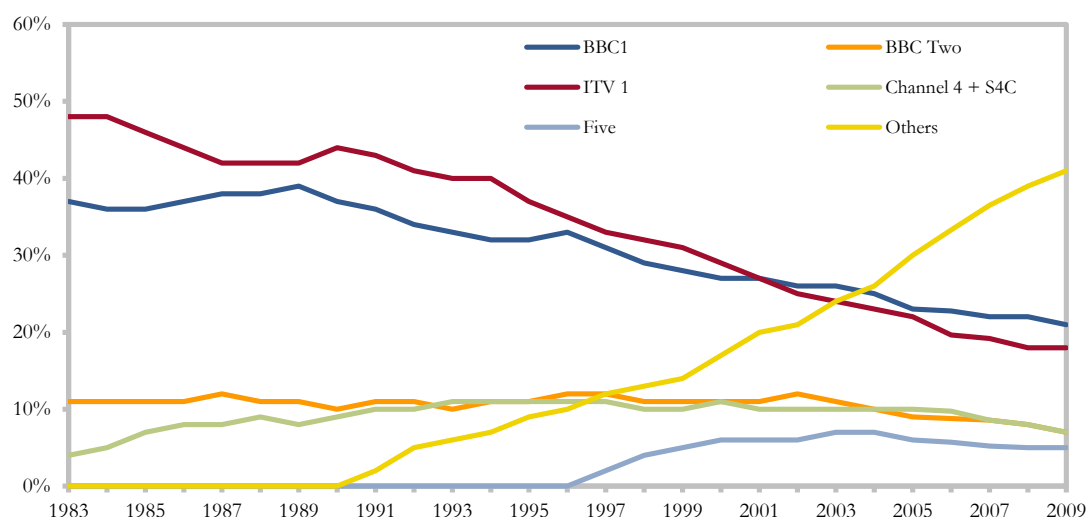
(Ofcom in Shott 2010)

The deregulation initiated by the 1990 Act also paved the way for a wave of mergers and acquisitions between the regional ITV franchisees. This would eventually enable the complete consolidation of the network when in 2004 the two remaining companies *Carlton* and *Granada* merged, creating *ITV plc*. This consolidation of the regional franchises into one monolithic structure would subsequently enable ITV's chairman, Michael Grade, to negotiate significant reductions in regional news and programming within its public service obligations. Grade complained that ITV's public service commitments in relation to regional news and programming would become unsustainable after digital switchover, with the costs of public service broadcasting outweighing the benefits, damaging ITV's commercial success.

In its second regulatory review of public service broadcasting, Ofcom (2009b) agreed that the public service obligations of commercial networks, particularly regarding regional news and programming, should be scaled back to 'modest' levels. In a move seen as the first step in a process that could allow ITV and Five to be freed from public service commitments and become purely commercial broadcasters (McNally 2009) on 21 January 2009 ITV was permitted to merge its existing 17 news regions across England, Wales and the Scottish borders into nine larger regions, and to reduce regional output across the four nations (Ofcom 2009b: 1). Despite these rollbacks in public service

obligations, ITV was allowed to retain its prominent position on the EPG and universal reach (Rushton 2015), essentially preserving its reputation as mainstream terrestrial broadcaster.

Second, globalisation and digitalisation have created massive shifts in the way journalism and media content is produced, distributed, consumed and monetized. Increased globalisation of media markets creates structural changes in the quality and quantity of media products available to consumers. Primarily, increases in market size raise the number and quality of products (Obeholzer-Gee & Waldfogel 2006: 1). This generates an illusion of greater consumer choice, even though media markets are increasingly concentrated with around 90% of media content produced by major media super-conglomerates such as Time Warner, News Corp, Disney and Viacom (Flew 2013). Enormous investments in film, quality drama and entertainment content result in media products of fantastic technical, creative and artistic quality, generating enormous profits for media conglomerates through box office, advertising, exports and merchandising[1].

High levels of horizontal and vertical integration enable conglomerates to achieve corporate synergies across different media channels which reduce costs and increase profits. To mitigate risk of 'misses', conglomerates focus their vast resources on stars, formats and serials which have proven 'hits' in the past, thereby narrowing the range and diversity of media content (Hesmondhalgh 2013). Conservatives see conglomeration and concentration as a means of achieving a more efficient market, because they can adapt media content for use on different media channels, such as television, radio, newspapers and online publishing; and because they can use each channel to cross-promote media products broadcast, published or exhibited elsewhere. Radicals argue that conglomeration and concentration increase homogenisation of media content, emphasizing the narratives and discourses pre-approved by media conglomerates, and excluding the subjects or themes that might challenge the authority of the capitalist system, thus reducing media plurality.

Digitalisation of terrestrial networks creates huge 'digital dividends'. In the UK digitalisation freed up enough spectrum to achieve a twenty-fold increase in terrestrial television and radio channels as well as superfast broadband and mobile networks. Digital technologies, including the internet, also diversified the range of devices and platforms which can be used to access television-like content, with services such as YouTube, Netflix and Amazon Prime extending the marketplace yet further. Prior to 1990 British viewers could access four terrestrial television channels. In 2016 we have access to more than 350 channels across terrestrial, cable, satellite and IPTV channels, as well as innumerable websites with the capacity to host and stream video content. Convergence of

---

[1] Investments in the production and marketing of films such as *Pirates of the Caribbean: On Stranger Tides* (Disney, 2011) and *Batman v Superman: Dawn of Justice* (Warner Bros, 2016) for example are estimated to be more than $400 million, with worldwide box office returns of more than £870 million for the latter and $1 billion for the former.

traditionally distinct media industries onto the digital platform means that news and media providers are competing for audiences in a highly crowded marketplace. These factors have massively fragmented the audience, both temporally and spatially, undermining collectivist rationales for public funding. Commercial broadcasters, as well as newspapers, have been radically affected by the dilution of advertising revenues across a greater number of distribution channels and the migration of both audiences and advertisers to online platforms.

The third critical factor for post-1990 broadcast journalism has been the global economic crisis of 2008. This paved the way, as economic crises often do, for transnational ideological shifts towards populist conservatism, with strong undercurrents of nationalism, racism and misogyny. In Britain this has comprised the election of a Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government in 2010 and a Conservative majority government in 2015. Connected with this rise of the right is the UK referendum vote to leave the EU in June 2016. In the US, right-wing Republican candidate Donald Trump secured victory in the November 2016 presidential elections, although fears that European states such as France and Germany might also lurch to the right do not appear to be materialising. Nevertheless, these shifts may well serve to significantly accelerate the advance of the neoliberal project of accumulation by dispossession (Harvey 2009). In Britain, this has involved widespread state-imposed austerity and massive privatization of public assets and services across health, education, justice and other sectors, as well as widespread commercialisation and outsourcing[2].

British media policy 2010-2016

Within this context, the L-DTPS network provides a fascinating field of study. From one perspective it might appear as one of the few 'positive' policies of the Conservative-led coalition government of 2010-2015, whose cultural legacy was otherwise dominated by savage cuts to arts, culture and media. The budgets of the Department for Media, Culture and Sport, Arts Council England, English Heritage and local authorities (which supported a great deal of local work in arts, culture and media) suffered significant cuts; the UK Film Council was abolished and the Regional Development Agencies, which did much to provide a spatial characteristic to arts and culture, disbanded (Hesmondhalgh et al 2015); and access to cultural education was marginalised. However, what the L-DTPS policy actually represented was a step towards the privatisation of public service broadcasting which would pave the way for much deeper reforms during the Conservative's majority second term.

---

[2] Of course, the current government is not the first to privatise major public services and assets. It was Margaret Thatcher's Conservative governments of the 1980s that began the devastating project of privatising vast swathes of public assets and services, and these changes were not reversed by New Labour when it took power in 1997. Instead, they were extended through the Private Finance Initiative (PFI) which enabled the Blair/Brown governments to increase investment in public services without raising taxes. But it is the recent Conservative-led wave of privatisation that is the focus of this study.

This study is situated within intense debates leading up to renewal of the BBC's charter. While the BBC and its advocates set out a compelling case for the collectivist perspective, in the wake of digitalisation and global economic crisis, and with uncertainty over Brexit ahead, modern Conservative media policy wholeheartedly embraces the liberal, and it is this perspective which is gaining greater ground. For example, the *Future of the BBC* (Public Select Committee 2015) emphasizes numerous failings in BBC professional practice and provides numerous justifications for limiting the scope and scale of the corporation. Its recommendations massively favour commercial media, such as requiring the BBC to work more collaboratively with commercial news organisations and develop distinctive programming which does not impinge on the genre preferences of commercial broadcasters.

By contrast, the *Future of TV* inquiry, led by Professor Des Freedman at Goldsmith's, University of London, and chaired by Lord David Puttnam, film producer and former deputy chair of Channel 4, argues strongly for maintaining a strong, independent and well-funded BBC (Goldsmiths 2016: 5). *Future of TV* argues for a new fund to support the production of innovative public service content by a wide range of independent producers including small, non-profit and minority groups. The fund should, they propose, be financed through a 1% levy on the revenues of the largest digital intermediaries, broadband internet service providers and smart TV manufacturers which derive value from the distribution of public service content (Goldsmiths 2016: 99-101).

The first of these inquiries, the Select Committee's *Future of the BBC*, has been highly influential within charter renewal, with many of its recommendations adopted. The most important new requirement for BBC journalism is the charter's explicit requirement that the BBC work collaboratively with commercial news providers such as local newspapers. This is likely to involve greater referencing of local newspaper web content within BBC content and greater sharing of BBC video content with local news providers. This will massively benefit commercial news publishers by driving traffic from the globally renowned and highly-trusted BBC website towards those of commercial providers which are less known and trusted by consumers, and by enabling commercial providers to benefit from trusted BBC video content on their own sites.

Beyond journalism, the most important change set out by the charter, based on the recommendation by the *Future of the BBC* inquiry, introduces and emphasizes the principle of *distinctiveness* as a key value or characteristic for BBC content. This change is intended primarily to reduce the diversity of BBC programming, reducing the scope and scale of BBC involvement in more profitable genres that commercial broadcasters are keen to dominate.

The government defines distinctiveness as ensuring the BBC's content is 'discernibly different in approach, quality and content to commercial providers' (DCMS 2016a: 27). The government's White Paper is alarmingly frank in identifying distinctiveness as a 'central objective' of Charter Review, and uses the term 'distinctive' or 'distinctiveness' no fewer than 95 times (Goddard 2017). The same terms do not appear at all in the 2007 BBC Charter and only once in the accompanying Agreement (ibid.) but the 2016 Charter could not emphasize the concept more strongly. The term not only appears in the BBC's mission and purposes but its realization is now central to the entire regulatory framework.

The BBC's fundamental purpose was from 1st January 2017 'to act in the public interest, serving all audiences through the provision of impartial, high-quality *and distinctive* output and services which inform, educate and entertain' (Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport 2016: 6, my emphasis). The Royal Charter and licence fee funding put the BBC, claim the government, in a unique position, able to do things that other media providers cannot (DCMS 2016b). This must be balanced, the liberal rationale continues, by constraining the BBC to programming which does not impinge on the audiences or profits of commercial broadcasters. The BBC's efficacy in enacting the new principle is to be measured through 'refresh rates' - the proportion of new programmes and formats in relation to existing series and formats (Goddard 2017). In this way, the BBC's reliance on audiences (or in liberal parlance, market shares) loyal to preferred soaps and series will be tempered with the challenges of attracting new audiences to unfamiliar programmes and formats. To further enforce compliance with this new principle, the charter will bring the BBC under the regulatory oversight of Ofcom, which will conduct regular assessments of the BBC's market impact. These reviews are likely to give much greater consideration to commercial broadcasters, which Ofcom also regulates, than the BBC Trust's market impact reviews.

The *Future of TV* inquiry has been less directly influential (its key recommendation for a new public service content fund has not been taken up) but has served as a much-needed critical voice and counterweight to the government's more radical proposals. For example, the charter sets out how the legacy governing body, the BBC Trust, widely criticised for its dual roles of both 'cheerleader and regulator', is to be replaced by a single unitary board. The original proposal was for this board to comprise 'two or three' BBC executives and up to eleven government appointees. This proposal was highly contentious because it failed to adhere to the Nolan principles on public sector appointments, and would give the government an extremely high level of control over BBC editorial strategy. The *Future of TV* inquiry, comprising a wide range of industry and academic voices, was highly critical of this proposal, which may have influenced the government's later climb-down to 'just' five government appointees, including the chair of the board and representatives from the four nations. However it is quite probable that the government was simply employing scare tactics here. As

leaders of Goldsmiths inquiry wryly remark 'It is a well-established trick of the policy trade that if you want to implement unpopular changes, you should threaten the worst and then compromise so that both sides can then claim success' (Puttnam and Freedman 2016). If so, the influence of the *Future of TV* inquiry may very sadly be negligible in relation to short-term media policy.

It is unsurprising, as well as illustrative of the concerns regarding quality (and therefore a somewhat serendipitous point to make within the introduction of this study), to observe that much of the national commercial news coverage of charter renewal focused overwhelmingly on the sensational and perhaps entertaining story of the new requirement that the BBC disclose the salaries of executives and 'talent' above £150,000 (BBC 2016; Bond 2016; Foster 2016; ITV 2016; Mann 2016; Martinson 2016; Sculthorpe and Slack 2016). As the government is well aware, this aspect of the charter is likely to get voted down by the Lords. It is hard not to conclude that this aspect of the charter was constructed by the government for the purpose of distracting citizens from the much more serious structural changes outlined above. What is somewhat surprising is that the BBC's own coverage also emphasized – to its own significant detriment - this aspect of charter renewal, to the near exclusion of analysis of the more consequential requirements outlined above. Furthermore the BBC failed to highlight the pressure such a move would place on it to further its own privatisation, by shifting expenses out of the public service corporation and into its commercial arm, BBC Studios, which would be exempt from the requirement. This one example provides, circuitously, illustrative evidence for concerns about the quality of journalism, suggesting a sector-wide shift away from serious stories, even when such a story has major ramifications for public service broadcasting and journalism itself, towards a populist, sensational and superficial celebrity focus which falls far short of the journalistic ideals of holding power to account. Journalism's normative role as fourth estate watchdog is discussed more fully in the next chapter, but before that, I would like to articulate this study's original contribution to knowledge.

Original contribution to knowledge

This study offers an original contribution to knowledge through its subject of study, its methodological approach, its findings and conclusions. Most importantly the study adds to the rich body of journalism studies by offering a rare ethnographic insight into the production of British broadcast journalism. In doing so, the study refines understanding of news values, the factors influencing the flow of news (Galtung and Ruge 1965). News values are a key concept in journalism studies, engaging scholars since concerns about the globalisation of news emerged (eg. Galtung and Ruge 1965; Warner 1970; Ruehlmann 1979; Golding and Elliott 1979; O'Sullivan et al. 1983; Hetherington 1985; Staab 1990; Bell 1991; Shoemaker and Reese 1996; Herbert 2000; McQuail 2000; Harcup and O'Neill 2001, 2016; Guo 2012; Vine 2012; Holton, Coddington and de Zuniga 2013;

Waheed et al 2013; Bednarek and Caple 2014; Lee and Chyi 2014; Armstrong et al 2015; Leung and Lee 2015; Caple and Bednarek 2016).

A 2001 study on news values by British journalist-academics Tony Harcup and Deirdre O'Neil now constitutes the most widely-cited work in the leading journal *Journalism Studies*. The ongoing interest in news value theory suggests strong consensus regarding the utility of the theory and universal acceptance of some central values within journalistic professional practice, such as the drive to create content that is meaningful or relevant to its audience; to bring to public attention events concerning major conflicts, disasters and extreme or unexpected events; and to address the actions of power elites. This rich body of work has proven immensely valuable in developing understanding of the characteristics of news content and discourse across different publications, sectors, territories and timeframes. However, until now news values have been explored almost exclusively through content and discourse analysis, precluding analysis of one of the most important areas of journalism, the professional practice of journalists and others involved in the production of broadcast news, current affairs and factual programming.

This study combines ethnographic methods including interviews and extensive observation (Domingo and Paterson 2009; Eberle & Maeder 2011; Hammersley & Atkinson 1983) within local television newsrooms, studios, production offices and on location, and schedule analysis, conducted within three L-DTPS companies between 2014 and 2016, to develop understanding of professional practice of broadcast journalism. These methods have enabled the study, rather than simply add to the growing list of news value typologies, to develop a new model for understanding how different factors influence the news values prioritised by journalism practitioners.

This model accounts for two key factors influencing the prioritisation of news values - practitioner perceptions of audience appeal and organisational pragmatics. These two factors are organised along two axes, dividing news values into four groups. Firstly, stories which are perceived by practitioners to have strong audience appeal and are easy to produce with very limited resources are the most strongly prioritised. This would suggest that, within future quantitative content analyses, we would expect to see a large volume of news which meets these criteria. The least prioritised are stories which are perceived by practitioners to have low audience appeal and which are difficult to produce. Within future content analyses we would expect to see little of this kind of story. Between these two extremes are two groups – those stories which are perceived to have strong audience appeal but are difficult to produce, and those which have low audience appeal but which are easy to produce. Within future content analyses we would expect to see a medium level of this type of content.

Chapter 4 sets out in detail the methodological approach employed within the study, presenting the rationale for the social constructivist approach and the selection of ethnographic methods, research instruments and sampling strategy. The chapter also discusses some of the ethical issues which arose during the study, in particular how risks of harm to participants were minimised.

The title of this thesis, *Making Local News*, alludes to three significant earlier works which used ethnographic approaches to achieve important insights into the production of news and the professional practice of journalists. One of the first and seminal newsroom ethnographies, Gaye Tuchman's (1978) *Making News,* investigated journalistic practice in four New York city newsrooms. In her analysis of the social construction of reality, Tuchman shows how classic journalism theories are applied in practice such as agenda setting and framing, identifying highly routinized practices which become so familiar to those practising them that consideration of alternative methods is rare. These 'strategic rituals' enable practitioners to deal with professional tensions arising from the contradictions between day-to-day practices and the normative values of the profession. This study demonstrates that these tensions remain central to the contemporary practice of journalism. The second earlier work to which the title refers Golding and Elliott's (1979) *Making the News*, a comprehensive analysis of news production in Nigeria, Sweden and Ireland, acknowledged extensively within Chapters 3 and 6.

In other ways though, the relevance of newsroom ethnographies conducted in the 1970s and 1980s is becoming marginal, since contemporary journalism bears an ever-decreasing similarity to the deadline-focused print and broadcast newsrooms of earlier times. An insightful collection of contemporary newsroom ethnographies, assembled by David Domingo and Chris Paterson (2009), explores the growing phenomenon of online news production. Entitled *Making Online News*, they allude to Tuchman's earlier work, acknowledging and celebrating the ethnographic approach and arguing persuasively that 'only ethnographic methodologies derived from anthropological and sociological traditions can come close to providing an adequate description of the culture and practice of media production, and the mindset of media producers' (Paterson 2009: 2).

I agree with Paterson's reflections that the shift away from ethnographic studies of news production was premature. Analyses of journalism content and discourse can illuminate our understanding of the range and nature of journalistic content published and how this varies across publications, platforms and over time, but they do little to progress our understanding of *why* particular events are selected for inclusion and why others are not, *how* decisions are reached and *what* are the factors influencing these decisions. Research approaches such as surveys and interviews are useful

but still limited because, as Paterson concludes, the gaps between what journalists *say* they do, and what they *actually* do, are very different.

What is most striking is the study's finding that, alongside the characteristics of events themselves and perceptions of audience appeal, the most important determinant in the selection or exclusion of specific issues and events, and in the ways in which such events are constructed as journalism content, is the pragmatics of the organisation. The resources available to L-DTPS are extraordinarily limited. The cases explored within this study operate on budgets equivalent to less than 0.01% of the annual BBC or ITV budget. This remarkable disparity is responsible not only for superficial differences in the creative and technical standards between these channels, but for important decisions about selection and construction of news and other journalism content.

Overall this study shows that the emergent L-DTPS network has much to offer as a public service broadcaster. The study finds little evidence that L-DTPS journalism is contributing to a decline in standards in British journalism. Rather, early incarnations of L-DTPS give considerable time to exploring local events and issues in great depth, acting as a positive influence on national broadcasters and democratic representatives to pay more attention to local audiences.

In their news values, like incumbent media, L-DTPS journalism considers elite people and institutions particularly newsworthy, but L-DTPS' definition of 'elite' is much more inclusive, encompassing a broad range of people and organisations, extending opportunities for involvement both on and off-screen to a much broader range of people and organisations. The limited resources of L-DTPS mean that local services place less emphasis on unexpected or bad news stories which create negative portrayals of towns and cities. Instead they are more focused on planned good news stories which portray the locality and its people and organisations in a positive light. This can have the effect of representing citizens as active, deliberate and informed citizens rather than the passive, apolitical, consumerist, 'almost childlike', portrayals of individuals dominant in national broadcast news (Lewis et al 2005), meeting the public service broadcasting objective of addressing audiences as citizens rather than consumers.

Also, due to their limited resources L-DTPS are less focused on celebrity news and are in a position which makes it difficult to prioritise stories that promote their own agenda. Rather, they offer significant airtime to civic and political actors, facilitating communicative relationships between the citizenry and democratic representatives. This contrasts with the highly mediatised forms of news reporting increasingly observed in national news media (Cushion and Thomas 2013; Cushion et al 2014), wherein journalists, editors and special correspondents increasingly engage in 'live two-ways'

with news presenters, thereby usurping the role of 'primary definer' (Hall 1978) of news. Furthermore, by offering significant airtime to organisations and communities often excluded from mainstream broadcast news, such as local community, faith or arts groups, or environmental campaigners, L-DTPS broadens the range of primary definers of news which fulfils public service broadcasting objective of providing news and programming which caters to diverse interests and minorities.

In conclusion, the study proposes a new model of news value theory which takes account of the interplay between organisational pragmatics and perceptions of audience appeal or impact, thus refining some key concepts in journalism studies. The study thereby connects news value theory with critical political economy of the media by demonstrating the ways in which the organisation and financing of local broadcast journalism has traceable consequences for the range of discourses and representations in the public domain and for audiences access to them (Golding and Murdock 1991: 15). On the one hand, L-DTPS *can* challenge dominant narratives established by mainstream media, broadening access to the airwaves from traditional elites to a wide range of people and organisations; representing citizens as more active, deliberate and informed citizens than in incumbent broadcast journalism; and enabling local people and organisations, rather than the media, to become the primary definers of news. In doing so, it can be argued that L-DTPS more closely align with the normative functions of journalism than incumbent broadcasters.

However, the commercial imperatives which constrain incumbent broadcasters are likely, quite quickly, to equally constrain L-DTPS. As commercial operations, rather than publicly-funded services, the energies of management are most often occupied with securing enough funding through advertising, sponsorship, grants or any other form, simply to survive. The vast empty spaces of a daily or weekly broadcast schedule present almost overwhelming production challenges for L-DTPS journalists, editors and producers, continually increasing pressures to prioritise the easiest, cheapest and most accessible stories over those of greatest public interest or democratic significance. During the early phase of the network's development, these pressures have been countered by a strong sense of loyalty and accountability amongst local journalists and other practitioners towards 'their' localities and local audiences.

But inherent limitations in audience size and advertising revenues continually test the economic survival of L-DTPS companies. As the network launched in 2013/14 there were acquisitions by one of the largest licensees of two channels that could not finance their launch, and during 2016 there was further consolidation through the takeover of three local channels in Liverpool, North Wales and Birmingham by another of the largest licensees. Further consolidation of the network seems likely.

The next chapter explores theoretical perspectives to the normative function and professional values of broadcast journalism, and highlights a divergence between these normative ideals and the everyday professional practice of journalists and others working in the field.

2. Theoretical framework

This chapter explores theoretical perspectives on the normative function, professional values and professional practice of broadcast journalism. What I want to demonstrate here is that alongside a strong consensus on the normative functions of journalism there is an increasing emphasis on professional values within broadcast journalism – and simultaneously – increasing commercial pressures which limit the ability of practitioners to uphold those professional values.

Professional values of accuracy and impartiality are enshrined within professional codes such as the National Union of Journalists Code of Conduct and the Ofcom Broadcasting Code. Journalists agree that 'the role of the journalist is to tell the truth, be accurate'; 'to report the facts, explain them and give people insights' and to 'lay before our listeners and viewers… the kind of information they need in a democratic society… not tell them our views but give them a range of views and… information which allows them to draw their own conclusions and form their own opinions' (Ursell 2009).

However studies of professional practice show that there is an increasing discord between the normative function and the professional values of journalism. This discord is the result of commercial pressures upon and the pragmatic concerns of journalists and others involved in production. This divergence of practice from normative function supports the critical political economist perspective that the organising and financing of media production – that is, its increasing commercialisation - has traceable consequences for the range of discourses and representations in the public domain (Golding and Murdock 1991: 15).

Most importantly I want to dispute the notion that a commercially-structured local television network can be capable of fulfilling the liberal mythology of journalism, wherein journalism functions as the marketplace of ideas, enabling an informed citizenry which can effectively debate public issues and enact democracy. Rather, this study takes the critical political economist position which sees news as a form of social knowledge organised in accordance with certain rules and conventions and which reflects the interests and concerns of those whom finance and organise its production.

Normative functions and professional values of broadcast journalism

Journalism and the public sphere

There is strong consensus that the normative functions of journalism are its social purposes which underpin liberal democracy (McQuail 1992). Its role is to function as 'an instrument or a forum for the enlightened, rational, critical and unbiased public discussion' (Gripsund 1992: 89) by providing a

'public sphere' (Habermas 1989[1962]) in which matters of public interest are debated and discourse formed.

For Habermas, writing about the dramatic transformation of society from the representational culture of feudalism to the beginnings of capitalist democracy, the public sphere represented a new public space where citizens, newly independent of the courts, the monarchy and the church, could debate the crucial social, civic and political matters of the day. Beginning in Britain around 1700, and spreading to other European states during the eighteenth century, Habermas' public sphere constituted the free spaces between state and everyday life. Rightly feared by the new parliamentarians, the public sphere was rooted in physical spaces such as the coffee houses, salons and literary and political clubs that sprang up during this time. Facilitating these debates, the printing presses now became a crucial mediator in the public sphere. New printing presses increased circulations of newspapers and political pamphlets, and improved literacy amongst the growing bourgeoisie. In twentieth century Britain, television's capacity to serve as a public sphere has been central to the case for public service broadcasting, for subsidising the national public service broadcaster through a compulsory licence fee. Parliamentarians' continuing apprehension towards the public sphere remains evident in the extraordinarily tight regulation of the sector since broadcasting technologies emerged.

Journalism, in an inclusive conceptualization which incorporates not only traditional news but a vast realm of media forms including documentary, factual programming and entertainment information (Niblock 1996), sits at the heart of the public sphere. It provides a shared space through which all manner of social and political actors are able to channel their communications and perspectives, enabling citizens both access to these ideas and the capacity to contribute their own perspectives. McNair's (2011) illustration of the public sphere demonstrates the range of actors and media forms involved, and depicts the central role played by journalism in mediating the relationship between citizens and the state (as shown in Figure 2). The direct access of political parties to the media (indicated by the continuous line of the arrow in Figure 2) is enshrined in law through requirements on public service broadcasters to air party political content at important times in the democratic process, such as prior to elections.

According to McNair (2011: 18-20) the public sphere role of journalism in 'ideal-type' democratic societies can be distinguished through five specific functions. First, the surveillance and monitoring of events; second, the objective reporting and interpretation of 'the facts'; third, the facilitation of public debate including the expression of dissent (without which democracy cannot function); fourth, the watchdog role, holding governmental and political institutions to account; and fifth, as a

channel for the advocacy of political perspectives. If these functions are realized then journalism can be seen as fulfilling the role of the public sphere. In order to achieve these functions, certain provisos must be satisfied.

The State/Government/Political Establishment

Trade unions   Public opinion

Blogs, websites, etc.

Editorials   Features

Political parties

Pressure groups   News   Media

Business

TV debates   Current affairs

Public organisations   Terrorist organisations
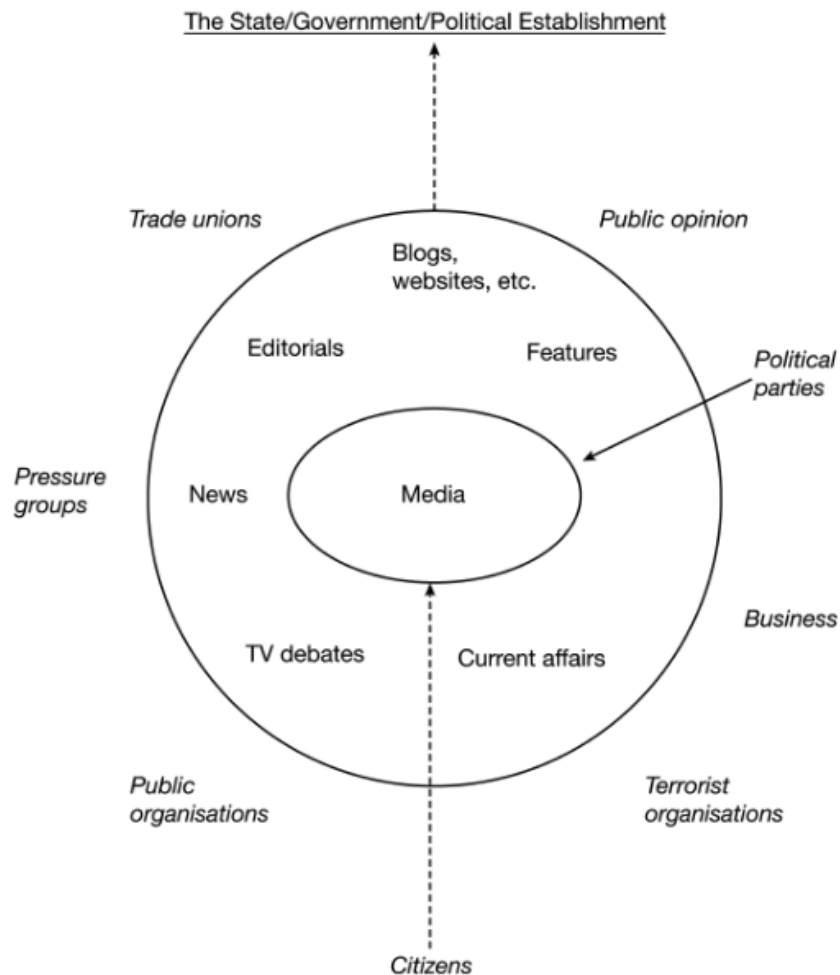
Citizens

(McNair 2011: 19)

First, the public sphere must be accessible to all citizens, and there must be institutional guarantees of its continuing existence. Importantly, the political discourse must be truthful, and comprehensible to citizens (Hauser in Cooper 1991). As we have seen, audiences do not feel that incumbent broadcasters are achieving these goals in relation to their particular nation or region (Ofcom 2009a, 2015).

Accuracy

The journalistic value of accuracy is seen as central to its 'truth quotient' and legitimacy (McNair 2009: 36), and therefore to its role in the public sphere. The concept is broadly understood but difficult to define; journalism studies refers to the problem as a 'vexing question' (Wilson and Howard 1978: 73). Early studies saw accuracy as 'a situation in which the respondent news source

makes no statement to the effect that the story is in some part inaccurate' (Charnley 1936). This rather simplistic conceptualisation was accompanied by equally simplistic methods which asked news sources or people mentioned in news content to judge the accuracy of the resultant stories. This enabled the authors to isolate occurrences of different sorts of errors but did little to address the wider problems of authenticity, bias and ideology. An alternative approach, credibility studies, is more cognisant of the 'highly complex and somewhat undifferentiated system of factors' (Singletary 1976) involved in assessing accuracy. Rather than identifying errors it seeks to understand public perceptions of accuracy, albeit acknowledging the limitations of the approach.

Contemporary journalism sees accuracy as fundamental to its conduct but still fails to address the complexities of its definition. The BBC for example seeks 'to establish the truth of what has happened'. It acknowledges that accuracy is 'not simply a matter of getting facts right' and acknowledges that it involves a process of 'weigh[ing] relevant facts and information to get at the truth'. Its editorial guidelines emphasize the importance of presenting stories 'in clear, precise language' and of avoiding 'unfounded speculation' (BBC 2016 Editorial Guidelines 1.2.2). Despite the difficulty of defining accuracy, this is the one professional value around which there is relative consensus. All of the three most important professional codes relating to journalism highlight accuracy as one of their defining professional values, including the Code of Conduct of the National Union of Journalists, whose members work across a range of print, online and broadcast news providers; the Editor's Code, the voluntary code of practice for newspaper editors, and the Ofcom Broadcasting Code, the compulsory regulatory guidance for all public service broadcasters.

Journalism scholars claim there is strong consensus around the professional value of objectivity (McQuail 1992; McNair 2009) yet neither the Code of Conduct of the National Union of Journalists, nor the Editor's Code, nor the Ofcom Broadcasting Code refer to objectivity at all. Beyond accuracy, the NUJ emphasizes media freedom and honesty, whereas the Editor's Code emphasizes respect for privacy and the avoidance of the kinds of malpractice highlighted through the Leveson Inquiry, such as harassment and intrusion into grief or shock. The closest either of these codes come to objectivity is in their requirements for members to 'distinguish clearly between comment, conjecture and fact' (IPSO 2014) and to differentiate 'between fact and opinion' (NUJ 2016). Broadcast regulators also avoid the term 'objective' preferring instead to emphasize 'impartiality' (a concept to which we will return shortly), yet the concept persists in theoretical analyses of journalism and thus warrants some discussion.

Objectivity

An important reason for the absence of objectivity within these codes may be the astute observation among their authors that objectivity itself is a contested and 'slippery' concept (Bromley and

O'Malley 1997: 6). Theorists dispute that its achievement is theoretically possible, while empiricists identify myriad factors which render it impracticable in the workplace (Schudson 1978: 157). According to Golding and Elliott (1979) there are three approaches to these problems. The first, favoured by journalists and other practitioners, is that objectivity and impartiality are both desirable and achievable features of journalism which are attainable through the acquisition of relevant skills and values.

The work of Gaye Tuchman (1972, 1976) is important here, because she shows how practitioners reconcile the tensions arising from the contradictions between the normative value of objectivity, and day-to-day practice within the profession. She describes highly routinized practices which become so familiar to those practising them that consideration of alternative methods is rare. She calls these devices 'strategic rituals' (Tuchman 1972: 661). Strategic rituals offer procedures which are used by journalists to avoid unnecessary trouble and safeguard their work through claims to objectivity. Examples include the attribution of quotes to unnamed sources to avoid libel, presenting counter-arguments to achieve 'balance' without investigating the weight or strength of each perspective; and failing to fact-check in order to meet deadlines.

Sociologists agree with Tuchman that objectivity is problematic and unattainable, but that impartiality is desirable and to some extent possible. A third perspective argues that neither is possible; that the concepts are simply labels employed within journalism to describe working practices. Critics find objectivity problematic because it suggests that news somehow exists 'out there' (Glasser 1992) independently of the journalist, rather than acknowledging its status as a social construct. Objectivity labels facts as truths open to independent validation, existing 'beyond the distorting influences of any individuals personal preferences' (Schudson 1978: 6). It masks bias and ideological mythologies (Barthes 1973) which advance a particular narrative over others, such as those who finance the news (Shoemakers and Mayfield 1987) or established power (McQuail 1992).

Tuchman's reference to objectivity as 'strategic ritual' (1972: 661) summons the authority and authenticity to which journalism aspires. Schudson agrees that objectivity is problematic because of its basis in the assumption that 'a person's statements about the world can be trusted if they are submitted to established rules deemed legitimate by a professional community' (Schudson 1978: 7), thereby extending Tuchman's analysis of the problem of attribution. Schiller agrees that the concept is habitually employed by journalists to fend off allegations of bias and other criticisms (Schiller 1981: 3). Glasser frames objectivity as an ideology which infers that news exists independently of the journalist, relieving the journalist of responsibility for its perspective and its impact (Glasser 1992).

These problems mean that even to aspire to objectivity is 'as misleading as it is impossible' (Harrison 2000).

Objectivity is also a problematic concept because it conflicts with reception theory which emphasizes the role of the audience in interpreting or decoding meaning depending on their own social and cultural frameworks. Hall (1973) describes three types of audience response – dominant, negotiated and oppositional. A dominant reading is where an individual interprets a text entirely in line with the reference code intended by the author of the text. A negotiated reading indicates an acceptance of the general meaning of the intended code but a desire for modifications of adjustments in line with the decoders' own social situation, and an oppositional reading indicates a rejection of the programme's intended values (Hall 1973: 16-18). Objectivity as a concept then rejects the capacity of the audience to interpret news content and play an active role in meaning-making, which is important for the public sphere.

In this sense the influence of objectivity as a professional value has been short-lived. In the nineteenth century the press was openly partisan, directly representing the interests of 'political parties and men of commerce' (Schudson 1978: 4-5). The moment of transition from a partisanal press to one which emphasized objectivity as a professional value is contentious. One factor was the introduction of telegraphy communications and the rise of press associations. The purpose of newswire services was to make newsgathering cost-effective for news publishers of a range of political persuasions. A neutral tone and an emphasis on 'facts' over opinion or interpretation made news more commercially valuable since the content itself was flexible and adaptable; it could then be shaped according to the values and political perspectives of the individual publication as desired.

Another factor was the growing popularity of the penny press, established in the 1830s in the north of England. As L-DTPS would attempt nearly two hundred years later, nineteenth century penny presses offered an alternative means of access to the public sphere, which posed a significant threat to the established and expensive political presses which emphasized metropolitan interests and perspectives. Enabled through both technological advances and increasing literacy of the masses, the penny presses emphasized crime and human interest news rather than political or business news; what we would today recognise as the popular or tabloid press (Schudson 1978: 6). A third and major factor in the rise of objectivity as a professional value arose from the industrial, cultural and philosophical context of the late nineteenth century. This period saw the rise of the positivist epistemology, realism, rationalism and empiricism. These perspectives claimed to reflect the world without reference to human subjectivity and selectivity (Schiller 1981: 11). There was a growing belief in an observable and knowable universe, the rules of which could be discovered, measured

and recorded through scientific exploration and experimentation. Schiller describes how the assumption was 'not that the media are objective, but that there is a world out there to be objective about' (Schiller 1981: 2). This encouraged cultural acceptance that the social and political world consisted of reportable, knowable 'facts' which could be dispassionately and accurately recorded and reported.

At the same time, the questionable ethical conduct of journalists in the early twentieth century prompted debates about whether objectivity was in practice achievable. These debates were exacerbated by the rise of propaganda by and in response to fascist dictatorships and two world wars during the first half of the twentieth century. These events further challenged the concept of journalistic objectivity and made journalists 'suspicious of the facts and ready to doubt the naïve empiricism of the 1890s' (Schudson 1978: 141). The post-war boom brought with it growing corporatism and the rise of the public relations industry, whose manipulative techniques further fuelled concerns over neutrality and objectivity.

But changing attitudes and professional practices offer new perspectives on objectivity. At the turn of the twenty-first century journalists do not claim value-free reporting of factual news, but that journalistic endeavour is informed by evidence, honesty and an objective working method. British journalist Oliver Burkeman writing in the Guardian argued that 'objectivity doesn't mean that you don't have opinions, that you are without personal bias, and it doesn't mean neutrality. It means that the journalist's working method is objective – that you're independent, disinterested, and you're not going to let your interests determine the outcome of your journalism' (Burkeman 2002). His honesty extended that of his editor, who had written earlier that year, 'the newspaper that drops on your doorstep is a partial, hasty, incomplete, inevitably somewhat flawed and inaccurate rendering of some of the things we have heard about in the past 24 hours' (Rusbridger 2002). Such perspectives reflect changing professional practice in the highly commercialised newspaper industry.

Since that time, rapid advances in internet technologies challenge not simply the business model but the fundamental practice of journalism. They enable citizens for example through social networking sites like Twitter and Facebook to 'break' news of terror attacks almost instantaneously, or provide thousands of perspectives on major events like the Olympics or a Royal Wedding. The challenge here for journalism is in sifting and sorting through the enormous volumes of citizen media to locate content of value and collate it, re-shape and re-purpose it to tell the bigger story, contextualizing, fact-checking, analysing and evaluating.

Another emergent practice I have noticed which negates the professional value of objectivity is the capacity to automate the reporting of certain news reports. For example a journalist at the LA Times worked with the US Geological Survey Earthquake Notification Service to create Quakebot, an algorithm that automatically produces news reports based on data from the service. In 2014 its first report, confirming the time, location and strength of a quake in Westwood, Los Angeles, was published on the Times' website, just three minutes after the quake had occurred. This simple automated task meant that the Times' experienced journalists were able to devote their time to visiting the scene, speaking to people affected, and producing more in-depth qualitative reports which provide context, analysis and the human angle in support of the bare facts of the story. A technology blogger later described how, following the 6.25am quake, by noon that day the original post had been updated 71 times by human writers and editors, turning it from a mechanical byline into an in-depth, front-page story (Oremus 2014). Examples such as these suggest that, notwithstanding the challenges in defining and achieving objectivity, the value attached to such a notion is in any case fading. Journalism is shifting towards a new form of practice in which journalists are less seen as dispassionate robots reporting the 'objective facts' of a story. Journalists are increasingly valued for their specialist knowledge and a more qualitative, investigative, analytical and reflective approach than their nineteenth century newswire counterparts.

With this comes an increasing need for openness about motivations and perspectives, since these media discourses are the main source of many people's knowledge, attitudes and ideologies (van Dijk 2000: 36); they furnish us with the signs and vocabulary which we employ in our own communications with the world. In its simplest form, a discourse is a coherent or rational body of speech or writing. It does not consist of just one statement, but several statements working together with reference to the same object or because they share the same style, strategy, common institutional or political drift or pattern (Cousins and Hussain 1984: 84-5), forming what Foucault would have called a 'discursive formation'. Through discourse, topics, issues, events and groups are discussed in a certain way which limits the other ways in which the topic can be constructed (Hall 1994), creating myth (Barthes 1973). A Foucauldian analysis would suggest that knowledge of a locality is produced by competing discourses, such as stakeholders who might seek to promote a positive perception of a locality in order to attract investment or tourism, and those who might seek to exploit negative perceptions of the same locality for economic, political, entertainment, dramatic or comedic purposes.

In contrast to the highly partisan newspaper industry which vigorously defends the 'freedom of the press', the licensing and regulation of broadcasting attracts much more stringent regulation. These systems are shaped by concerns about the potentially damaging effects of broadcasting on citizens,

democracy and the public sphere. Such concerns have been voiced since inception (see for example Crawford 1925; Selsdon 1935; Ullswater 1935) and have continued throughout the twentieth century as the reach and ubiquity of television increased (see for example Adorno and Horkheimer 1944; Lazarsfeld and Merton 1948; Shannon and Weaver 1949; Hoggart 1957; Boorstin 1962; Habermas 1962; Pilkington 1962; Bandura et al 1963; Hall 1978; the Glasgow Media Group 1976, 1980; Robinson 1981). In Britain and many other liberal democracies these concerns justified the early collectivist approach which sought to limit the number and quality of organisations gaining access to the airwaves through tight control of the licensing process and through regulation of broadcast content.

Public service broadcasting

Normative functions of public service broadcasting, long established along the lines of the British model, can be characterised by three important features. Firstly, there is an emphasis on good quality programming. Public service programming should emphasize the creation of a communicative relationship with the viewer; be of good quality and reflect diverse interests, communities and minorities; be popular and challenging; and provide an impartial space for free expression and open debate, rather than the more commercially oriented channels which strive towards mass audiences to generate advertising revenues (Scannell 1990; Starks 2013).

Secondly, public service broadcasting should provide universal access, enabling all members of society to share in the experience of its programming, thus building a sense of national identity and community, where diverse interests, communities and minorities are reflected back to the national audience (Scannell 1990; Starks 2013; Goldsmiths 2016). Finally, public service broadcasting should be free from government and commercial interference, have adequate and stable funding provided by the state through a general charge on user, and be unconcerned with economic measures of 'profit and loss' (Garnham 1994: 18; Barendt 1995: 52; Mendel 2000). Overall, public service broadcasting should serve as a 'public good' that enhances trust in and diversity of news and opinion; increases the plurality of voices in the media landscape; provides a means through which citizens can enter into dialogue; and it must stimulate the wider creative industries of which it is a key part (Public Select Committee 2015: 18-19).

Collectivists see public service broadcasting as a public good which should be publicly funded and accessible to all. They are concerned with the public interest and about the power and influence of broadcasting. They recognise the importance of establishing mechanisms to control broadcasting and accept that supporting the significant costs involved in the production of quality programming and in ensuring universal access to the general population achieves this goal. Mendel argues that public service broadcasting should be securely funded to the extent that its freedom from

commercial and government interference is assured (2000). Barendt stipulates that this is generally facilitated by a general charge on users (1995: 52) such as a household licence or levy or a personal tax. This approach provides substantial economic stability which enables public service broadcasters to invest in technological experimentation and innovation in the national, public interest, while also creating opportunities for future commercial exploitation. The collectivist model was initially adopted in most western democracies, particularly European states, which tend to follow the British model of a key publicly-funded public service broadcaster with competition from a small number of commercial providers. The commitment of public service broadcasters to provide both universal access and quality programming has traditionally provided the key justification for the public funding of public service broadcasting, but differing perspectives and social, cultural, political and economic changes mean that the extent to which public funding is justified is continually contested.

In contrast, liberals prefer to see television operating on a commercial basis, with networks and content funded primarily through advertising. Liberals prefer a market-led approach which provides the individual consumer with the autonomy to make decisions about which media content they consume and whether and how they are prepared to pay for this. Libertarians see public funding as unfair by obligating citizens to pay for services and content which they may not use and by disadvantaging commercial firms which do not benefit from public funding. Employed primarily in the US, the liberal model expects commercial media companies to bear the risks and costs of network development. In the US this approach led to the sporadic and chaotic development of broadcasting in its early years but crucially, it enabled the emergence of a broadcasting industry that is almost entirely free from regulation and unconcerned with the public or national interest. This approach has caused great concern about the influence of media on society (see for example Adorno and Horkheimer 1944; Lazarsfeld and Merton 1948; Shannon and Weaver 1949; Boorstin 1962; Bandura et al 1963; Robinson 1981), whereas early concerns about broadcasting under the British public service model were much more nuanced (see for example Crawford 1925; Selsdon 1932; Ullswater 1935; Hoggart 1957; Habermas 1989[1962]; Pilkington 1962).

Observing the influence of television in the UK, British cultural theorists appreciate that media influence is more complex than observers of the American system feared, and are more nuanced in their critiques. Richard Hoggart acknowledges the powerful position of cultural gatekeepers and advertising copywriters' 'invitations to a candy-floss world' (1957: 157), but celebrates the resilience of working class audiences and their ability to take what they want from the new offerings and ignore the rest. Stuart Hall sees audiences as actively engaged in the construction of meaning rather than passively absorbing media messages (Hall 1973), a theory demonstrated empirically through David Morley's (1980) study of *Nationwide* (BBC 1968-1982) audiences.

This is because in the UK public service broadcasters are required to provide for minorities and to emphasize good programming over large audiences (Barendt 1995: 52; Raboy 1995; Scannell 1990). In Britain, the BBC is the main public service broadcaster, and is funded through a compulsory licence fee. Other terrestrial channels have public service duties, primarily ITV, Channel 4, Channel 5 and services for the devolved nations, but these channels have much greater degrees of freedom for much of their programming. The public service arguments in this study relate mainly to the BBC and consider the remaining terrestrial channels as commercial. PSB principles mostly manifest in the requirement to produce certain types of programmes that are seen as in the public interest, such as news, current affairs, regional, children's, faith and public information programming. In exchange for these commitments, public service broadcasters are provided free-to-air. For many years they were the only available channels. Today they are provided with priority channel positions and can be found at the top of the electronic programme guide (EPG).

The privileged position of public funding enables the government to allocate other public service duties to the BBC. Since inception, the corporation has been tasked with innovating and experimenting with broadcasting technologies. Once established these technologies can be exploited by commercial media. During the twentieth century the BBC pioneered the development first of radio and then television broadcasting, development of the analogue transmission network and the introduction of colour television. At the beginning of the twenty-first century it was tasked with coordinating the switchover from analogue to digital, following the failed ONDigital attempt led by ITV companies. It has also pioneered Internet Protocol Television (IPTV) technologies with the launch of i-player in 2008, as well as inclusive technologies such as subtitles, signing and audio description.

The BBC's public funding also provides citizens with significant leverage to demand high quality journalism that provides accurate and truthful information which fulfils the five functions of public sphere journalism identified by McNair (2009: 237-40). Such journalism should enable the population to exercise their democratic rights with an understanding of the complexity and context of the decisions made by government in their name (Starks 2013). Professional values are set out in detail in the regulator's Broadcasting Code, last updated in March 2016. Regulators are able to sanction and in extreme circumstances revoke the licences of broadcasters which breach these codes. To this end the BBC produces exhaustive volumes of Editorial Guidelines (formerly the Producers' Guidelines) setting out its own professional values and how its staff should deal with a broad range of professional issues. Within broadcast journalism, the most important professional value aside from accuracy is not objectivity, but impartiality.

Impartiality

While impartiality can be seen as 'a byword for objectivity' by regulators (Harrison 2000: 142), there are some important distinctions between the two concepts (Schudson 1978: 157). Whereas objectivity implies the exclusion of bias, judgement and prejudice, impartiality can be defined as fairness or even-handedness in dealing with different views and perspectives.

The BBC describes impartiality as lying 'at the core' of its commitment to its audiences, and underpin its reach of 360 million households in 200 countries (BBC 2016 Editorial Guidelines 1.2.3). The significance of impartiality as a public service value can be traced to the BBC's inception. When in 1927 it was incorporated as a public service it was tasked with establishing a common culture amongst a national audience. The diversity of the national audience politically, socially and culturally meant that the BBC would need to avoid news and programming which might offend or alienate large segments of the national audience, but would rather unite the national audience and promote social unity (Crawford 1925). For the BBC, accuracy and impartiality form the basis of trust between the broadcaster and its audience. Trust is the very 'foundation of the BBC: we are independent, impartial and honest' (BBC 2016 Editorial Guidelines 1.2.1).

It is significant that the Broadcasting Code sets out the requirement for 'due' impartiality (Ofcom Broadcasting Code 2016 section 5). In the prefix 'due' the Code acknowledges that impartiality is not absolute, but relative, connected to a sense of morality that involves the public interest and the national interest. The Code is explicit that 'due impartiality' does *not* mean 'an equal division of time has to be given to every view, or that every argument and every facet of every argument has to be represented'. Instead by suggesting that impartiality is 'adequate or appropriate to the subject and nature of the programme' (Ofcom Broadcasting Code 2016) the qualification allows space for judgement regarding the strength or validity of that perspective.

The qualification means that inclusion and representation of differing perspectives or ideas may vary 'according to the nature of the subject, the type of programme and channel, the likely expectation of the audience as to content, and the extent to which the content and approach is signalled to the audience' (Ofcom Broadcasting Code 2016). Context then is important. Different perspectives may be incorporated within an individual feature, over the course of a programme, series or time period. The BBC Guide (1990) was explicit that impartiality 'does not imply absolute neutrality, nor detachment from basic moral and constitutional beliefs. For example, the BBC does not feel obliged to be neutral between truth and untruth, justice and injustice, compassion and cruelty, tolerance and intolerance'. Contemporary guidance is not quite so outspoken. It demands due impartiality in relation to all subject matter, reflecting a breadth and diversity of opinion across 'output as a whole,

over an appropriate period, so that no significant strand of thought is knowingly un-reflected or under-represented' (BBC 2016 Editorial Guidelines 1.2.3).

Like accuracy and objectivity however, defining and applying impartiality in practice can be problematic. Critics claim that broadcasters find judgements about impartiality difficult, particularly since Ofcom is a post-broadcast regulator which, unlike its predecessor, offers little informal guidance prior to broadcast. This discourages broadcasters from taking risks, fearful of antagonising viewers and regulators. These risks are recognised by critics right, left and centre. Some conservatives argue in favour of 'prejudiced television news' which engages and enlivens audiences bored and disillusioned with 'the impartiality of the comfortable duopoly' and who are in any case becoming used to passionate opinionated journalism online and on cable and satellite television (Sullivan 2002).

Others argue that impartiality is important because it has led to television news discourses which overwhelmingly portray publics as apolitical and apathetic, more interested in consumer, lifestyle and celebrity matters than in social, cultural, political or economic issues, compared to newspaper portrayals which are more likely to present politicised and pro-active citizens (Lewis et al 2005). The emphasis within broadcast news on 'consensus politics' produces a model of journalism that fails to articulate differences, gravitating towards a perceived 'centre ground' rather than promoting a multitude of voices and formats and taking risks (Freedman 2016). These fears are also recognised by the regulator. In 2007 it argued that requirements around impartiality might 'actually impede the expansion of genuine diversity of views… they affect the way stories are told, and may have some influence on the selection of stories. This may have fostered a middle-of-the-road culture in mainstream news. Views that do not fit easily within a conventional, two-sided debate can struggle to be heard, resulting in a discussion around a narrow perceived fulcrum' (Ofcom 2007: 10).

What this section has demonstrated is that the core professional values of journalism – accuracy, objectivity and impartiality – are inherently problematic, and present numerous challenges for those involved in the practice of journalism. The next section explores professional practice, seeking to understand how journalism is practiced on a day-to-day basis within the real world.

Professional practice of broadcast journalism

Having explored the normative function and professional values of broadcast journalism, this section considers its professional practice – what actually happens in day-to-day practice. What I want to particularly draw attention to here is a significant divergence between professional values and the professional practice of contemporary journalism. This divergence is due to the increasing pressures faced by journalists which limit their ability to implement those professional values. This is

particularly the case within commercial settings but also applies to public service broadcasters which face increasing pressures to compete on a commercial basis.

The professional values of journalism play a powerful role in journalists' perceptions of professional identity. Some journalists draw on normative functions and codified professional values to justify the integrity of the whole profession when in reality such values may be practiced only by a very small minority (Harcup 2001). Sometimes these conflicting practices are tacit, unspoken; sometimes they are taught to trainee journalists explicitly as part of their professional development. Journalists might argue that they merely report facts (Gieber 1956, 1964; Tuchman 1972, 1978), rejecting the notion that organisational pragmatics or commercial forces influence what they write or produce, but it is widely accepted amongst journalism scholars that this is not the case. There is broad consensus that journalism does not simply consist of impartial and objective reflections of 'real-life' events. Rather, it provides a selective account of events, placing journalists in the role of gatekeeper (Hodkinson 2011) and enabling them, through the way events are framed (Entman 1993; Goffman 1974) to set the agenda (McCombs and Shaw 1972) and shape media discourse.

Constructing the news

It is widely accepted that the products of journalism are not objective 'reflections' of events that have taken place. Rather, they are carefully constructed texts which communicate a specific set of 'stories' which have been carefully researched, selected, crafted and edited prior to the act of publication or broadcast. Some refer to this as the act of 'constructing' the news (McNair 2009). Of course, journalists and others are able to select from an almost infinite range of events that are happening within the social world, placing them in the important role of gatekeeper (Hodkinson 2010: 128). Through the process of gatekeeping, journalism defines the parameters that influence which issues and events get discussed within the media, a process through which the media, by focusing on some issues rather than others, direct people to think only about these issues, known as agenda-setting (McCombs and Shaw 1972). Conservatives defend the media's role in agenda-setting as an inadvertent by-product of the necessity to focus (McCombs 2004), whereas critical political economists claim these processes distort the public sphere by shaping society according to the ideologies of powerful elites who finance and organize the media industries (Herman and Chomsky 1988; Golding and Murdock 1991; McChesney 2004). This ability to act as gatekeeper makes journalism perhaps the most powerful arbiter of public opinion in the modern world.

Once an event is selected as news, the story is framed in a particular way, through use of particular keywords, images, metaphors and vocabulary (Entman 1993; Goffman 1974). Frames influence the ways in which audiences interpret meaning or perceive a particular issue, event or group. The process involves the selection of some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient

in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (Entman 1993: 52). Goffman argues that we employ primary frameworks to interpret the world around us, comprising both natural elements (such as the weather outside), and social elements (such as a weather forecast), to adjust our perception of an issue (what we think the weather will be like today) and behaviour (what we wear today).

Within local journalism for example, a story involving a patient waiting for hours in an ambulance because there are no beds available in the local A&E department might be presented within the frame of 'migrant crisis'. This would encourage viewers to draw the conclusion that it is the fault of economic migrants that there are not enough beds in the local hospital, rather than government policymakers who make decisions about how to fund and organise the NHS. The migrant crisis frame highlights certain events as problems (say, the overburdening of public services), identifies the source of the problem (migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, for example, perhaps without even disentangling these discrete groups), offers moral judgements (migrant theft from British taxpayers) and commends particular solutions (Brexit and deportation will resolve crises in public services).

The framing choices made by journalists, editors, producers and other practitioners can create bias within media texts. Bias is defined as the systematic advantaging or disadvantaging of one position such as a political party, a value system, culture or group of people differentiated by gender, age group, (dis)ability, race/ethnicity or geography (McQuail 2010). Bias may be intentional or unintentional; overt, clearly visible and understood by audiences, or hidden and much more difficult to detect (McQuail 2010). McQuail identifies four types of bias - partisan, propaganda, unwitting and ideological bias. He describes how these biases might be manifested implicitly or explicitly, with or without intention, as distortion, propaganda, subjectivity or one-sidedness. Within local journalism this might manifest through, for example, the favouring of the views and actions of one group over those of another. A story which presents a powerful local personality or institution in a bad light, such as the local authority, the police or a local advertiser, may be dropped, or stories which show them favourably prioritised. Similarly, a good news story pertaining to a specific community may be sidelined due to personal prejudices of an editor, or a local charity may be favoured for a fundraising appeal because of the personal connections with a journalist or other practitioner.

The work of Glasgow University Media Group was invaluable in demonstrating the extent of institutional bias within broadcasting, previously regarded as largely achieving the professional value of impartiality, but it also went a considerable way towards souring relations between journalists and those that studied them, to the extent that many subsequent studies found access to

broadcasting and journalism professionals denied. Studies in the US, such as Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky's *Propaganda Model,* presented similarly persuasive analyses of the ways in which the US news media privilege US military and political perspectives in their treatment of 'worthy' and 'unworthy' victims.

Critics argue that the propaganda model is not generalizable to European news media which have developed within a more critical and bound environment; and that it dismisses the determined efforts of individual journalists or institutions to challenge dominant narratives (see for example, Corner 2003). I am inclined however to agree with Sparks (2007), who eloquently argues that, through refinement and extension of its key arguments, 'it becomes possible to account for the real, if limited, variety of news and opinion that are observable features of mass media' and to understand 'the majority of ordinary journalists, far from being the more or less willing collaborators in propaganda, are potentially allies of those who wish to build a different and better world' (ibid.). Far from demonising journalists and their colleagues, critical political economists understand that media owners, corporate leaders and political actors are themselves bound 'within structures that constrain as well as facilitate, imposing limits as well as offering opportunities' (Murdock and Golding 2005: 62), and encourage researchers to identify such constraints.

One research approach which, perhaps more effectively, analyses the constraints on and contributions of individual journalists is ethnography, which seeks to describe people and their cultures (Schwartz and Jacobs 1979 in Altheide 1987: 66). In an article in a special edition of the journal *Ethnography*, which focuses on journalism ethnography, Amahl Bishara argues that ethnography can shine a light on journalists 'rarely recognised in publication or in discussions of journalism' (2006: 19). Her ethnographic production study of Palestinian journalism, for example, illustrates the rarely-acknowledged contributions of Palestinian journalists towards international news, including their work not only as photojournalists and reporters on the scene covering both everyday political news and dangerous crises, but as cultural and social guides for foreign correspondents and embodying skills acquired under occupation (Bishara 2006: 19).

In the same edition, Jennifer Hasty argues that ethnography can show how the 'seemingly universal practices' (2006: 70) of journalism at a state newspaper in Ghana are shaped by aesthetically 'Africanized' discursive styles and techniques which help to construct the authoritative social imaginary of the nation-state (ibid.). Other studies have identified constraints such as 'largely immovable deadlines' (Rudin and Ibbotson 2002: 7), a 'relatively fixed level of human and technical resources' (Hirst 2001: 59) and 'pre-ordained and usually inflexible' work routines (Rudin and Ibbotson 2002: 7). Harcup warns how consolidation can lead to the audience becoming far removed

from the day-to-day interactions and concerns of the journalist (Harcup 2004: 18), and Burns analyses how increasing diversity amongst audiences, which are more 'complex and diverse than previous homogenous imaginings' (Burns 2002: 6) makes it difficult for the journalist to visualize and cater for the needs of their audience.

However on the whole increasing criticisms of broadcasting forced a turn away from ethnographic studies of media production as scholars were denied access to the sites of journalism production and instead became restricted to the analysis of broadcast and journalism content available in the public domain. Since that point there has been a growing emphasis on the narrative of decline within journalism from both left and right of the political spectrum. This narrative has been variously conceptualised as newzak and tabloidisation (Franklin 1997), churnalism (Davies 2008; Zakir cited in Harcup 2004: 3-4) and mediatization (Cushion and Thomas 2013; Cushion et al 2014). The next section discusses these concerns in more detail.

Concerns about the quality of journalism

Debates about the quality of journalism have been described as a 'central plank of journalism orthodoxy' (McNair 2009: 70), situated within wider debates about increasing commodification of cultural production (Hesmondhalgh 2013). Franklin (1997) coined the term 'newzak' blending the terms 'prozac', a pharmaceutical drug used as an antidepressant by inducing a sense of calm serenity, and 'muzak', a form of bland and inoffensive music often played in shopping centres and other private/public spaces. In 'newzak' Franklin articulates news as a commodity designed and processed for a particular market and delivered in increasingly homogenous snippets which make only modest demands on the audience. Through this process, news or information is 'converted into entertainment' (Franklin 1997: 5) – infotainment.

Frost argues that journalists are facing increasing pressure to become entertainers by 'finding stories and features that will delight the audience rather than inform, titillate rather than educate' (Frost 2002: 5). The consequences of such pressures include a greater number of shorter news stories, fewer foreign or international stories and a greater emphasis on 'soft' stories (de Burghe 2002: 72) such as consumer issues, celebrities, randy royals, sporting heroes and reality television 'personalities' (Greenslade 2004; Thussu 2003). Franklin describes a 'seismic shift' of British local newspapers towards the tabloid form in 1995, in both style (layout) and substance (editorial content). This involved a greater emphasis on entertainment, consumer and human interest stories; a higher story count of shorter, frothier stories; bigger headlines; bigger pictures and greater use of colour (Franklin 2005: 137).

In broadcasting, the post-1990 period saw the decline of current affairs programming such as *World in Action* (Granada 1963-1998) and *This Week* (Associated Rediffusion 1956-1978, Thames TV 1986-1992), prompting John Corner to describe the period as post-documentary. Alongside the decline in serious programming, post-1990 viewers saw a rise in reality television, game shows, soap and documentary formats that are both cheap to make and appealing to large audiences. Paget describes such forms as the 'apparently shameless exploitation of both documentary presence and dramatic license' (Paget 2011: 3).

Mayes (2000) argues that there has been a broad 'giving way' of facts and information to feelings and subjectivity, with increasing human interest perspectives and sensational stories. The dumbing down thesis sees human interest stories as creating political vacuums which depoliticise what goes on in the world to the level of anecdote or scandal (Bourdieu 1998). George Monbiot, writing in the Guardian, describes British local journalism as one of the 'most potent threats to British democracy, championing the overdog, misrepresenting democratic choices, defending business, the police and local elites from those who seek to challenge them' (Monbiot 2009). Journalists are increasingly terrified of being seen as boring, to the extent that they favour conflict over deliberation, diatribes or oppositional views over reasoned debate, and dissection of character rather than strategy and analysis of tactics rather than policy (Bourdieu 1998: 3-7). Bourdieu's comments resonate strongly at the time of writing, with anti-intellectual, anti-expert and emotionally-charged, near-fascist rhetoric dominating political and media discourse during the UK referendum on EU membership and during the US Presidential elections. Postgate's (1985) prediction that entertainment serves as the new 'supra-ideology' in that it becomes the natural representation for all experience, becomes ever more true.

Franklin sees this shift as part of a wider socio-political process of rationalization and bureaucratisation identified initially by Weber (1974) and developed by George Ritzer (1993, 1998, 2002). Ritzer compared the increasingly standardised and routinized practices of journalism to fast food production, creating the neologism 'McDonaldization', or as Franklin prefers 'McJournalism' (2005: 138). McJournalism cites Braverman's analysis of the labour process which unites scientific management (Taylorism) with assembly lines (Fordism) to establish highly routinized practices in which the need for criticality and creativity is reduced or excluded. This creates a situation in which both producers and consumers are increasingly disempowered and leads to greater numbers of 'McJobs' (Franklin 2005 137-141), defined as those in which workers can be quickly and easily replaced, thus substantially increasing the precarity of journalism jobs. Franklin (2005) sees the local press as particularly vulnerable to claims of declining standards, given the widespread consolidation and accompanying rational efficiencies and standardisation across the industry. Harrison echoes these findings, arguing that over-reliance of local newspapers on sources in local government

reduces their capacity to fulfil their democratic function and serve as one of the principal institutions of the public sphere (Harrison 1998).

Bourdieu describes this increasing precarity as 'the growth of a vast journalistic subproletariat, forced into a kind of self-censorship by an increasingly precarious job situation' (1998). Hesmondhalgh agrees that while creative workers may appear to be allowed a high degree of autonomy in the development of media products, they face increasing scarcity and precarity of job security within media industries (Hesmondhalgh 2013). Increasing precarity reduces the inclination of broadcasters to take risks. Lewis et al (2005) see the professional value of impartiality as causing British broadcast journalism to increasingly portray the public as middle-of-the-road, passive and apolitical, almost childlike, as consumers rather than citizens (Lewis et al 2005). In a major content analysis study comparing British and American newspaper and broadcast journalism, Lewis et al found British broadcast journalism highly likely to portray citizens as apolitical and passive, whereas British newspapers and US broadcast and newspapers, due to their partisan positions, were all more likely to provide positive role models of citizens whom appeared politically-aware, informed and deliberative.

Precarity, coupled with shifts towards managerial strategies and the rapid growth in the public relations industry, means that journalists find it increasingly difficult to engage in original investigative journalism and become more dependent on a narrow range of sources (Harcup 2004). Franklin cites a decline in the use of parliament as source of stories (Franklin 2004: 188-93). BBC journalist Waseem Zakir describes growing pressures on journalists to regurgitate material from press releases, a practice he refers to as 'churnalism' (cited in Harcup 2004: 3-4). A major content analysis of British newspaper journalism, funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, showed that 60% of stories within four quality newspapers emanated wholly from press agencies or public relations material, 20% partially so, with just 12% of stories originated by reporters (Lewis et al 2008). The study also showed that journalists are required to 'do more with less time', producing three times as much copy as they did twenty years ago, while the workforce that has remained almost static (ibid.).There are strong counter-arguments to these concerns which draw on the legitimacy provided to popular culture by British Cultural Studies. This perspective sees concerns about quality as elitist snobbery; nostalgia for a largely mythical golden age of journalism (Harcup 2015: 114).

Mosely's complaints about the 'dumbing down' of journalism, and other fields, are particularly undermined by an elitist, moralistic tone which has its foundations in Christian evangelism. Hartley argues that the dumbing down thesis serves as 'an intellectual KEEP OUT sign' (2002: 78), a way of cultural elites maintaining their position through the use of complex and exclusive language. He cites

the popular comedy/drama *Forrest Gump* (Zemeckis 1994) as a popular target for critics who argue the film offers a 'dumbed down' populist, mainstream rendition of American history. Hartley counters that *Gump* offers an accessible and entertaining vehicle which reaches audiences whom might never otherwise engage in historical documentary.

Paget acknowledges that while the docu-soap may be exploitative, it is also a movement of populist democratisation (Paget 2011: 3). He rightly highlights the contradictory and paternalistic snobbery of academic critics whom he warns must, at the same time as shining a light on television's sensational tendencies, be mindful of the 'TV priggery' identified by Jib Fowles (cited in Paget 1992). Such priggery consists, Paget reminds us, of the potential contrast between critics' holier-than-thou criticisms of tabloid fodder by day, and their personal experiences consuming (and even enjoying) a good deal of it by night (Paget 2011: 290-1).

Temple goes so far as to suggest that tabloidisation is 'good for you' (2006: 257), constituting a necessary element of the process of engaging citizens in democratic debate. Similarly, Sky News journalist Adam Boulton (2000) defends the soundbite as symbolising a pledge to which politicians can be held accountable. Others point out that criticisms of abbreviated journalism are not new. The telegraph's role in communicating news of faraway events was viewed in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with heightened suspicion, amid fears it would bring about the death of letter writing and reduce the attention span of the receiver (Murthy 2013: 15, 22).

Some scholars voice a rigorous defence of news and political journalism, arguing that it fulfils its democratic function even if the forms it takes are more varied and market-oriented (eg. Brants 1998; Blumler 1999; McNair 2000). For some audiences, news improves understanding of public affairs (eg. Neuman, Just and Crigler 1992; Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996; Nie Junn and Stehlik-Barry 1996). Pippa Norris, American political communications researcher, demonstrates how watching news programming can have a positive effect on viewers, spurring them into political participation through volunteering, campaigning or protesting, thereby creating a virtuous circle of news consumption and civic engagement (Norris 2000).

Others persuasively demonstrate that journalism is becoming more sophisticated and more adept at articulating complex ideas and issues. A comprehensive longitudinal study examining British news over thirty years found no evidence of a significant shift towards a more tabloid news agenda (Barnett et al 2012). Guardian journalist Roy Greenslade argues that British newspapers are devoting more space to foreign news, politics and economics than twenty years ago, and broadcaster John Humphrys sees British newspapers as in better shape than ever (both cited in McNair 2009: 70). Hargreaves and Thomas (2002: 89) find some evidence of declining standards in commercial news, but defend the continuing high standards of news at the BBC and Channel 4,

which they commend for its focus on international, political and social issues with little slippage towards softer subjects.

One of the few analyses of professional practice within contemporary British broadcast journalism is Gill Ursell's (2009) study of BBC and ITV news and current affairs production. Ursell defends the motivations and aspirations of individual journalists, setting out the ways in which they are constrained by broader economic and hierarchical structures. She draws attention to the ways in which emphases on labour-saving strategies and 'growth in the job' have 'dumbed down' the working environment and employment terms. She considers that pressures on time, team working and training mean that broadcast journalists are now less able to meet their own professional standards than previously, with serious implications for the democratic function of news and current affairs programming. Her research suggests this is particularly problematic within commercial broadcasting where emphasis on audience share and advertiser revenues is greater. Ursell concludes that while the impacts of dumbed down working conditions might apply equally to other television production workers, the implications for the quality of non-journalism content such as drama and entertainment programming are more difficult to identify.

Heightened commercial pressures and growing influence of market principles into the previously protected spheres of public information pose a serious challenge to the integrity of the public sphere, depriving citizens of the information they need to make rational choices about politics and social issues (McNair 2009: 70). Former broadcast war reporter and independent politician Martin Bell (2002) criticises his former employer, the BBC, for succumbing to such pressures. In an interview with the Independent he argues that, after resisting pressures for many years the BBC found 'itself alone on the high ground, felt lonely up there and chose to abandon it… In both style and substance, [BBC news has] transformed itself from what it had been - the standard of good practice in broadcast journalism, and the measure by which others judged themselves - into something strange and new and unsure of itself' (Bell 2002). Bell highlights the growing emphasis on analysis and interpretation of events by studio-based 'expert' correspondents, which pushes out space for news footage from the scene and interviews with political actors and others involved in the events. Bell draws attention to the instrumentality of specific individuals at the BBC whom he sees as responsible for the shifts, in particular the head of news Richard Sambrook and its head of newsgathering, Vin Ray. Bell describes *The Reporter's Friend,* a manual produced by Ray, as providing guidelines on the transformation of the BBC's traditional presentation style from one heavily dependent on news footage to one where the correspondent takes centre stage.

This shift, labelled by Bell as the 'phenomenon of journalism as a performing art' (Bell 2002), has been studied by academics at Cardiff University. Communications scholar Stephen Cushion and his colleagues demonstrate persuasively that broadcasters are increasingly using their own reporters, editors and correspondents through televisual devices or journalistic interventions such as live reports and two-ways rather than allowing political actors themselves to define the issue and communicate their perspective. This process emphasizes the interpretation of political developments by correspondents such as Laura Kuenssberg and Nick Robinson, rather than the developments themselves, a process Cushion and his colleagues refer to as the mediatization of politics (Cushion and Thomas 2013; Cushion et al 2014). In one study, Cushion and Richard Thomas, through a content analysis of 902 news items on the BBC, ITV and Channel Five evening news bulletins, demonstrate how all broadcasters – and especially commercial channels - exhibit a degree of immediacy and interpretation in their editorial practices, with greater levels of live news and two-ways on commercial bulletins (Cushion and Thomas 2013).

They found that, on average, edited packages contained four sources per item, while on two-ways they identified a ratio of less than one source per story, leaving the role of defining and interpreting, or framing, the story, to political journalists, reporters, editors, correspondents and so on. Cushion and Thomas point out that, 'while political editors might be well briefed by political elites, their significant air time allows them the space and agency to reinterpret the day's political action and pass judgment' (2013: 375). This practice, they argue, elevates the media (the political editors and correspondents) from the role of mediator into the role of primary definer, a concept coined by Stuart Hall et al (1978) to identify the person or organisation that defines and shapes a news story – a powerful role previously held by political elites.

This shift in the power balance reduces politics to a performance, in which press conferences are scheduled to coincide with broadcast news schedules and the media begin to drive, rather than reflect, political activity. Contemporary media gain 'a sizeable part of their power by mediatizing – subordinating – the previously-powerful authorities of government, education, the church, the family etc.' (Livingstone 2009: 5). In Gramscian terms contemporary media is playing an increasingly important role as state ideological apparatus, increasingly establishing their position as key mediator between the citizen and politics, and supplanting other ideological state apparatus such as the church, education and family. Miliband described mass media as 'the new opium of the people' (1969) implying it's usurping of the ideological role of faith, endowing capitalism with a mythic status which presents inequality as inevitable, quelling dissent and revolt.

Online journalism, and the increasing ubiquity of sharing and comment features, is providing news organisations with the metrics necessary to understand audience interests far more than ever

before, in terms of both story content and presentation. Social network sites are reaching unprecedented scales of users, providing extensive opportunities for media users to actively participate in the creation and dissemination of their news (Holton et al 2013: 720). Technologies which enable users to like, share and comment on news content, and communicate with journalists and fellow users are increasingly ubiquitous (Singer et al. 2011). Sites such as Facebook are making rapid technological advances which make sharing news more frictionless (Sonderman 2011) and embed it into the activity of everyday life.

Facebook is undoubtedly biggest driver of web traffic (Anderson and Caumont 2014; Newman 2011; Olmstead, Mitchell, and Rosenstiel 2011; Phillips 2012 cited in Harcup and O'Neill 2016) (although hard news is more often shared on *Twitter* (Phillips 2015), prompting Emily Bell, British academic and journalist and Director of the *Tow Center for Digital Journalism* in New York, to ask 'what works best on *Facebook*?' (cited in Harcup and O'Neill 2016: 6). *The Mail Online*, one of the most visited English-language newspaper websites in the world, uses social media metrics such as shares and likes to assess which stories are most popular. Most of the stories that attract large numbers of hits are 'jokey stories' – *The Mail* responds by publishing greater numbers of these most popular types of story, fuelling audience demand (Phillips 2012: 675). This suggests the instant feedback provided by social media metrics available through online publishing has the potential to significantly contribute to concerns regarding the quality of journalism.

McNair takes a more positive view of online journalism, pointing out that as audiences become more fragmented and media consumption more personalised, our preferences for news become more closely connected to our region, our gender, our class, our age, our political outlook and so on. In contemporary journalism there is not just one general public to cater for, but multiple and overlapping fragmented publics which highly specific and individual news preferences. In this sense he argues that the commodification of news can be a positive development (McNair 2009: 74). That is, the consumer is better able to select the news that appeals to his or her personal tastes and interests, which creates markets for a much broader range of news products of varying forms and scope than was formerly the case. In this sense, news is not becoming simplified or sensationalised, but more personalised. The rapid growth in online journalism, and the breadth and depth of content that it affords, provides significant potential to raise the bar regarding quality journalism.

Perhaps paradoxically, greater quantities of journalism can have a detrimental rather than a beneficial effect on the public sphere (McNair 2009: 70). Greater quantities of news can desensitize and disenfranchise audiences rather than deepening engagement in public affairs. This was one of the key pillars of the postmodernist thesis. Postmodernists see society as saturated with media to the extent that the line between image and reality becomes blurred and media presents multiple

realities (or hyperreality) which are open to multiple interpretations (Baudrillard 1981). In this case truth becomes relative and people become increasingly sceptical about politicians, their promises and ideologies. Postmodernism therefore sees the media as central to apathy and disengagement from politics as a way of improving society.

Bourdieu drew attention to journalism's representation of 'the world in terms of a philosophy that sees history as an absurd series of disasters which can be neither understood nor influenced' (Bourdieu 1998: 8). The constant stream of seemingly isolated and scattered wars, conflicts, famines and crimes, excessively simplified for television news, induce what political documentarist Adam Curtis (2009) calls 'Oh dearism'. This communicates a sense of nihilistic fatalism that the world is so awful and the individual so powerless that there is little one can do except turn away from news and politics towards drama, entertainment and escapism, deflecting attention from the actions of ruling elites. Connected with this nihilism is the notion that politics is for professionals. Journalism and in particular broadcasting becomes a barrier which separates and divides citizens from politicians and distances citizens from the democratic process. Bourdieu agrees that 'especially among those who are basically apolitical, this worldview fosters fatalism and disengagement, which obviously favours the status quo' (Bourdieu 1998: 8). Dahlgren agrees that post-1990 journalism has produced a growing 'cynicism towards the political system and its representatives' (Dahlgren 2003: 151).

Conclusions

These are the not inconsiderable challenges with which local television is tasked with addressing. Ofcom sees strong local journalism as crucially important because it underpins democratic participation by informing citizens about local issues and events, representing local actors within the public sphere, campaigning about issues of local significance and interrogating local political, civic, business and community leaders (Ofcom 2009c). To function meaningfully in the public sphere journalism needs to be enacted at a level consistent with local cultural identities and political boundaries as well as the national. The notion of strong local journalism is appealing to both collectivists and liberals, which is perhaps the reason why governments continue to persist with the project, despite repeated failures.

Collectivists want to see greater recognition and representation of the disparate regions and cultures of the UK, thereby contributing to a collective identity. Liberals on the other hand see a media emphasis on the activities of political and economic elites in the capital as unhelpful pressure on those actors, and as undermining the neoliberal discourse of localism which claims that power and authority are being devolved to locally-elected mayors and councillors. The idea is that L-DTPS will develop a distinct approach to local news and programming, a distinct set of news values, which

will provide audiences with a sense that news and politics matters, and is responsive to their needs, preferences and actions.

What this chapter has demonstrated is that the normative functions and professional values of broadcast journalism – accuracy, objectivity and impartiality – are contested and problematic. Professional practice diverges significantly from normative function and professional values, to the extent that debates around a narrative of decline are now central planks of journalism orthodoxy (McNair 2009: 70).

Commercial journalism comes under particular fire, with commercial pressures frequently cited as barriers to fulfilment of normative functions and adherence to professional values, supporting the critical political economist perspective that the organising and financing of media production have traceable consequences for the range of discourses and representations in the public domain (Golding and Murdock 1991: 15)

The next chapter explores the key concepts identified within this chapter in greater detail. The first section explores the concept of 'local' journalism and defines the way in which this term is employed within this study. The second section explores how news values have been conceptualised within journalism studies, and assesses the utility of the theory as an analytic framework in exploring professional practice within L-DTPS.

3. Conceptual framework

In this chapter I outline the key issues for local journalism in contemporary Britain. The chapter begins by exploring the concept of 'local' journalism and defines the way in which this term is employed within this study. The second section explores how news values have been conceptualised within journalism studies, and demonstrates how the theory can be employed as an analytic framework to explore professional practice within broadcast journalism.

Local broadcast journalism in digital Britain

The chapter begins by outlining audience perceptions of local journalism, including dissatisfaction with incumbent broadcast offerings. It goes on to explore the ways in which citizens and states have responded to these problems, both in the UK and elsewhere in Europe and North America, and the key economic challenges for local media. In the final section it explores how L-DTPS was formed as a response to these demands and highlights key points from the L-DTPS policy framework.

Audience perceptions of local journalism

Audiences see local journalism, defined as their immediate village, town or city (Ofcom 2009a), as important. Local media forms a seminal component of community identity (Hutchins 2004: 582), serving as social glue for the community and helping to create a shared understanding of a community's values (Lowrey et al 2008: 284). According to one study, 66% of adults in the UK are interested in news and information about the immediate area in which they live (NESTA 2013: 6). Of all UK adults, 45% have accessed some form of online hyperlocal media, defined as 'any local area news or information that is viewed online, either via a computer or laptop, mobile phone or tablet' (NESTA 2013: 6). One-third use them every day (34%) and a further one-third on a weekly basis (33%). Eight per cent use hyperlocal media for the area where they work, and a further eight per cent use it to access information about an area where they previously lived. Eighteen per cent use it to access local information on a place they are visiting (NESTA 2013: 6).

Audiences are dissatisfied with regional broadcast news and programming, and prior to L-DTPS, local broadcast news and programming was virtually non-existent. In its second review of public service broadcasting Ofcom found that in relation to local/regional media including television, radio, newspapers, magazines and websites, the greatest discrepancy between audience perception of importance and audience satisfaction, related to regional/local television (Ofcom 2009a: 55) (see Figure 3 below). In its later, third review of public service broadcasting, the regulator found that audiences attach a high degree of importance to the need for high quality television news about their nation or region, more than local newspaper and radio news, and more so than in 2009 (Ofcom 2015a: 13). Also, audiences attach a high degree of importance to a fair portrayal of their nation or region. Both BBC and ITV provide regional news bulletins, but spend on regional news is declining

and audiences continue to feel dissatisfied with broadcast representations of their locality and region (Ofcom 2015a: 13). News at the local level remains almost entirely absent from incumbent broadcast journalism.

Figure 3. Importance of vs. satisfaction with local/regional media
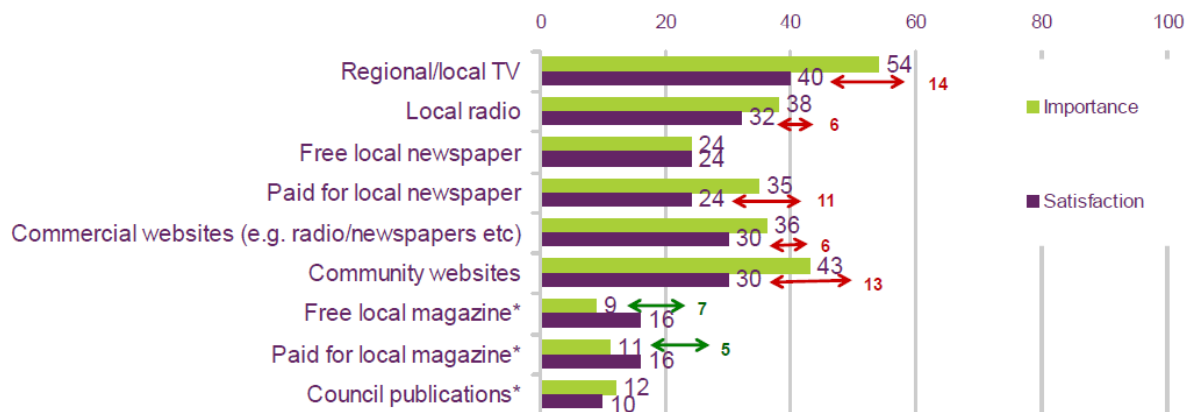
Source: Ofcom local media research, April-May 2009
Base: All adults use each medium at least weekly
* based on monthly users due to less frequent publication schedules for these media

(Scoring 9 out of 10) (Ofcom 2009a: 55)

The BBC has been structured since inception to serve the national audience. The Crawford Committee (Crawford and Balcarres 1925) and government of the time, adopted the Reithian notion of public service broadcasting as 'a cultural, moral and educative force for the improvement of knowledge, taste and manners… a powerful means of promoting social unity' (ibid.). When regional services were developed almost thirty years later, first by the new ITV companies in 1955 and then, in response, by the BBC, their boundaries were established not according to cultural identities or political boundaries but rather, as a consequence of physical and topographical features such as the location of transmitter sites, the natural landscape of mountains and valleys and the resultant signal quality from the various sites. National broadcast journalism focuses overwhelmingly on London, as the capital city in which central government, financial institutions and cultural elites are based. Many of the nation's major conurbations are frequently referred to only through a short segment of a news bulletin or as the setting for a reality, lifestyle or documentary package. Small towns, villages and rural areas receive even less attention, rarely if ever seeing their own lives reflected in media discourse.

There is variation across the UK, and a clear North/South divide. More viewers from the North of England for example consider that people from that region are negatively portrayed than any other nation or region, whereas audiences in London and the South East are more likely than those from

any other nation or region to feel that people from their area are portrayed positively (Ofcom 2015a: 13). Views are most divergent, and dissatisfaction the highest, in the nations furthest from London, where constitutional ties with the current political system are most intensely contested. Following the 2014 referendum on Scottish independence, one in five viewers in Scotland (21%) felt they were portrayed negatively in public service broadcast programming. In Northern Ireland, audiences rank highest among the UK nations in considering a fair portrayal of their nation to be important, but one in four (26%) viewers, more than any other nation, felt they were portrayed negatively and that there are too few people from Northern Ireland on the main PSB channels (42%) (Ofcom 2015a: 13-15).

Ofcom's research demonstrates a significant gap between audience demand for local journalism and the local journalism which is offered by national public service broadcasters. During the last 20 years, and particularly the last ten, internet technologies have offered discontented citizens with enormous opportunities to address this gap by publishing their own local news and information. Facilitated by recent advances in the accessibility and costs of production technologies, the previously distinct boundaries between media producer and consumer have become blurred, creating participatory cultures (Jenkins 2006) populated by *prosumers* (Toffler 1980) and *produsers* (Bruns 2008) who both *produce* and *consume* or *use* media products and services. There is significant diversity in the terms employed to describe such work, such as 'participatory', 'community', 'alternative', 'citizen', 'public' and 'public access', but these approaches share the common goal of increasing access for marginalized groups to tell their own stories, in their own voices, and using their own distinctive idioms (Rodriguez 2001).

Community media can be defined as 'a range of community-based activities intended to supplement, challenge, or change the operating principles, structures, financing, and cultural forms and practices associated with dominant media' (Howley 2009). Bowman and Willis see community media as an increasingly important means of democratising broadcasting because they enable participants to play an 'active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analysing and disseminating news and information' (2003). Community and participatory media approaches therefore represent a significant intervention into the structural inequalities and power imbalances of contemporary media systems. They provide local populations not only with access to the means of communication, access to training, use and loans of equipment, but safe spaces and supportive, nurturing environments in which participants can explore and develop understanding of mainstream media practices and questions their own perceptions and behaviours in relation to dominant media narratives and the discourses which they develop and perpetuate.

The reason why the nations and regions furthest from London, where constitutional ties with Westminster are increasingly contested, are most dissatisfied with PSB regional news and

programming, is because PSB systems themselves are central to the legitimation and naturalization of structural inequalities and the hierarchies of power and prestige. Gitlin analyses the ways in which mainstream media 'do the important ideological work of supporting the status quo, glossing over the contradictions of the prevailing socioeconomic order, and otherwise taming or neutralizing dissent' (Gitlin 1982). Community news operations have arisen partly in response to the habitual misrepresentation and underrepresentation of individuals and groups based on distinctions of race, class, gender, ethnicity and lifestyle (Howley 2009: 4), such as those perceived by audiences in Northern Ireland, Scotland and the North of England.

By contrast, like the penny presses two hundred years ago, community media engage the most marginalised and excluded members of society, giving voice to the voiceless, and place to the placeless (Ali 2012). They empower community residents through media production, demystifying the media production process and fostering digital literacy skills (Ali 2013; Higgins 1999; Howley 2005; King and Mele 1999). Community media produce and disseminate media texts that assert and affirm cultural identities and challenge the ghettoization of marginalized groups (Downing and Husband 2005). Through access to media production, communities come to recognise and know themselves (Ewart 2000: 1) and become equipped with the essential ideas and means of expression with which to define themselves (Cowling 2005: 354).

Citizen engagement in local journalism

Citizen journalism is journalism in which citizens play 'an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analyzing, and disseminating news and information' (Bowman and Willis 2003). Recent growth in this kind of collaboration has been facilitated by the capability of every citizen with a mobile phone or computer with an internet connection to become a citizen journalist, create advocacy groups, organize and connect with people (Mandarano et al 2010). Community news operations have a role to play in sustaining democracy (Downie and Schudson 2009), serving as 'a form of 'bridge' media, linking traditional forms of journalism with classic civic participation' (Schaffer 2007: 7). Citizen journalists often deliberately challenge the professional values of traditional journalism, for example, 'eschew[ing] objective journalism's uncritical reliance on official sources… [Rather, they feature] the voices, opinions, and perspectives of ordinary people, not just those in positions of power and authority' (Howley 2009: 5).

There is a disregard for many of Tuchman's (1972, 1978) strategic rituals, such as the need for balance or the right to reply. Community media disrupt the codes and conventions associated with contemporary journalistic practice (Harcup 2003; Huesca 1996), particularly in relation to impartiality. For example, when asked whether he balances his critical coverage of Tower Hamlets Council with quotes from relevant officers, Mark Baynes, of campaigning London blog, *Love Wapping*, told researchers:

'I don't see why I should... ring the town hall up or anybody else [...] Because I know all they're going to give me is the usual bullshit. So what's the point? And they've got a huge media machine. [...] I don't see, to be quite honest, why any hyperlocal should. Because if you look at it in the broader context of media and communications in our society: if Tower Hamlets wants to get on TV, they can get on TV. They can send a press release to the East London Advertiser... and they literally print the press release.' (Baynes cited in Williams et al 2015: 13)

This shows how community journalists see themselves as rebalancing what Monbiot (2009) refers to as the championing of the overdog present in much mainstream local journalism. Porter suggests that community-based journalism builds diverse participatory foundations which add 'broad, multi-perspectival analysis and commentary on news events to the narrow range of perspectives expressed in mainstream news reporting' (2011). Community journalism, by providing local communities with useful, relevant information of the sort that enhances and expands community communications (Forde Foxwell and Meadows 2003), fills the gaps left by commercial news media, which normalise corporate and capitalist values and which in any case are retreating from local beats and abandoning investigatory journalism. Despite these valuable contributions, or more likely, *because* of these challenges to commercial journalistic values, community media and citizen journalists are massively marginalised in contemporary Britain, to a much greater extent than in many parts of Europe and North America, where citizens often enjoy a statutory right to access the airwaves and facilities funded by national or regional government (Jankowski 1991: 85).

Citizen media has been criticized as the 1990s "cool-hunting" of new media analysts and marketeers (Gibson 2003; Gladwell 1997) and as new media populism due to institutional vested interests (Burns 2008). Others claim that utopian predictions about participatory cultures improving democracy have not materialised (Beckett 2008; Gillmoor 2004; Rusbridger 2012 in Harcup and O'Neill 2016: 5). Jonsson and Ornebring (2011) for example argue that 'participatory journalism' is more prominent in tabloids which publish larger volumes of soft celebrity-driven news and which seek to visibly engage audiences in order to build brand loyalty. It is clear that vast swathes of the internet are becoming privatised spaces, owned by global corporations such as *Facebook* and *Google* as well as old media players such as broadcast and newspaper brands. I nevertheless agree with the numerous scholars who articulate the important role played by community, citizen and participatory media in challenging mainstream media discourses.

Citizen journalism sites are now operating globally, such as *Wikinews* and *Newsvine*, although it is acknowledged that many others have not survived, notably *Blottr*, *Now Public* and *Demotix*. Mainstream press attempts to engage with citizen journalists through proprietary systems such as

iCNN and *Guardian Witness*, and innovative revenue-sharing sites are being developed, such as *Blasting News*, *Digital Journal* and *Ground Report*, in which citizen journalists are paid a share of advertising revenues generated by their content. Sites such as these further blur the distinction between professional and citizen journalism and begin to find ways to make citizen journalism economically viable.

Funding local journalism

The funding of local journalism has been a perennial problem (Lowe and Brown 2016: 16). The production costs of television in general are much higher than for other media due to the rather obvious need for high quality moving images, as well as the audio required in radio, and the written copy and photography required in newspapers. Online journalism increasingly integrates video but the duration, compliance and technical quality standards of online video are significantly lower than those required for any broadcast programme.

The visual aspects of television place numerous additional demands on production resources. For example, producers must source locations, gain permission to use them, and arrange transportation for crew and talent. For studio productions sets need to be built and dressed. In journalism, interviews must be arranged, studios booked or locations organised. Consideration must be given to wardrobe, make-up, lighting and composition as well as sound and content. Editing and other post-production is much more complex than in audio, with the quality of editing highly visible and the need for motion graphics.

The economic model of television production therefore aspires towards consolidation of resources and creation of audiences large enough to sustain either advertising revenues or public funding. In this respect the 1960s to the 1980s represents a 'golden age' for television broadcasting, with few channels, large audiences and little competition. Post-1990, audiences and advertising have massively fragmented. Globalisation has introduced new opportunities for broadcasters able to take advantage of them, in the form of increased exports of programming and formats, and merchandising, but few independent local channels are able to exploit these opportunities.

The costs and returns on television production vary significantly according to genre. Entertainment, sports and films produce significant returns. Quality drama, films, comedy and entertainment programming have a long shelf-life able to sustain repeats for many years on primary and secondary channels. Entertainment programming in particular spawns formats which are licenced worldwide (Stark 2013: 223). By contrast, news and current affairs are among the least profitable genres, alongside leisure, factual and music programming (see Figure 4). The costs of producing quality journalism, in particular the costs of news*gathering*, are very high. News and current affairs, by

necessity, have very short shelf-life, with little export or back-catalogue value. As plenty of journalists commented during fieldwork, "the first three letters of news are 'new'".

The economic challenges for local journalism have long proved particularly problematic. Local and regional journalism has particularly limited appeal, of interest only to the specific audience for whom it is originally produced, and generally only for a very short time period. L-DTPS is not the UK's first attempt to provide local television. There have been numerous attempts to establish local television over cable, broadband and terrestrial networks, and none have been unable to develop a sustainable economic model (Rushton 1993; Wilson 1994; Kanter 2012). This demonstrates the inherent challenges of generating enough revenue to sustain a television production schedule on revenues generated from advertising to small, local audiences.

Figure 4. Revenue generated by multichannel broadcasters by genre (2013-14)
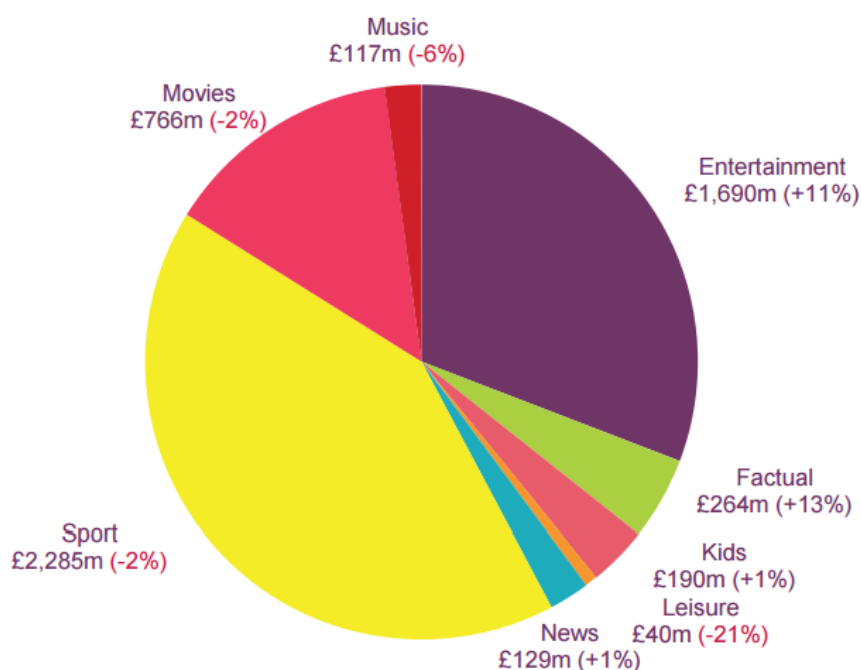
Source: Ofcom/broadcasters. Note: Percentage figures in brackets represent year-on-year change for total revenue compared to 2013. The figures in this chart include all sources of revenue accruing to multichannels and are expressed in nominal terms. This includes those set out in Figure 2.22 plus wholesale subscriber payments from platform operators.

(Ofcom 2015b: 171)

New Labour recognised the need for public funding of local journalism, but failed to make arrangements to enact such a scheme during their 13 years in government. In their final year in government, they proposed to establish a network of publicly-funded independent regional news consortia. Three pilot projects were planned in Scotland, Wales and the Tyne Tees/Borders area. This new intervention, comprising both structural and content elements, would be initially funded through 'a small element of the digital switchover underspend' (Timms in Hansard 2010). If

successful, a national roll-out in 2012-13 would be funded through the existing television licence fee (Bradshaw in Hansard 2010).

These proposals were set out as part of the Digital Economy Bill 2009. The bill addressed many wider issues related to digital media, copyright infringement, Internet domain names, Channel 4 media content, local radio and video games. Provisions for local news services played a very minor role and were able to be negotiated out of the bill by the Conservatives in return for assuring passage of the wider bill through the final weeks of parliament. This period, known as 'wash-up', is generally used to fast-track uncontroversial and unopposed pieces of legislation prior to the dissolution of parliament prior to a general election (Robertson 2010). Neither of these terms were much employed in relation to the Digital Economy Bill, and the outgoing Labour government faced significant criticism for allowing such an important piece of legislation to be fast-tracked through the house.

In May 2010, following the establishment of a Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government, plans to establish independent news consortia were dropped. They were quickly replaced by proposals to create a network of independently-owned, privately-financed 'city TV' companies. Then Culture Secretary Jeremy Hunt MP claimed that a market-led, commercially-funded model would be more sustainable and cost-effective, wholeheartedly embracing the liberal perspective which sees broadcast content as a commodity whose production should be informed by market demand, funded through advertising, sales and other commercial revenues. Hunt had argued as Shadow Culture Secretary that public funding would simply encourage media groups to 'put all their energy into lobbying Ministers for more subsidy, rather than finding models that attract viewers and listeners in the marketplace' (Hunt in Hansard 2010: col. 847). Once in government, Hunt's insistence that local services should and could be commercially viable was greeted with renewed criticism.

Media consultants Oliver and Ohlbaum (2009) pointed out numerous important differences between US and UK demographics, advertising markets and media cultures. Guardian media columnist and Professor of Journalism at City University Roy Greenslade repeatedly questioned the commercial viability of local television (eg. Greenslade 2010, 2011, 2012). Even Hunt's own advisor, media investment banker Nicolas Shott, pointed out that digital terrestrial broadcasting, Hunt's preferred technological solution, should only be deployed as a transitional solution, until internet protocol television could offer a more efficient and cost-effective form of transmission (2010a, 2010b).

Shott recommended that digital terrestrial technologies (DTT) only be deployed as a transitional solution until the more economical method of Internet Protocol Television (IPTV) became more widely diffused (Shott 2010a, 2010b). His review highlighted Hunt's stipulation, that local news and

content be delivered in the traditional form of a terrestrial television service or channel, rather than a more contemporary and 'future-proof' form of an Internet Protocol Television service, as a particular challenge for the sustainability of the network. Internet Protocol Television (IPTV) consists of 'narrowcasting' small packets of data as they are requested to individual receivers. This contrasts with terrestrial transmission systems which broadcast continuous streams of data to large swathes of receiving devices, irrespective of the size of the audience actually engaging with that data.

When audiences are large and highly concentrated in a specific geographic area around the transmitter, digital terrestrial transmission (DTT) is the most efficient and cost-effective technology. When audiences are small, as is generally the case for local news and programming, or widely geographically dispersed, as in the case of global services such as Netflix and Amazon Video, IPTV is more efficient and cost-effective. Furthermore, IPTV offers the capacity to provide content in a range of forms including text, video and audio, and to offer interactivity - which DTT does not.

> '[W]e believe that the facility of IPTV to combine text, video, web links and consumer interactivity holds out the prospect of a different and healthier business model. To seize the opportunity, we believe that existing operators will need to think of themselves no longer as newspaper or radio or television businesses, but rather as providers of news, entertainment and other content, delivered to customers when they want it and in whatever form they want it.' (Shott 2010a: 2)

Shott highlights the challenges of funding local television services from advertising alone, emphasizing that the pressures to fill entire broadcast schedules with local content are unlikely achieve the outcomes set out by the government. His review recommends that local services produce an average of two hours per day original local content and that they share local content and the costs of running the network. He also emphasizes the importance of ensuring a strong position of local television services on the Electronic Programme Guide (ie. low channel positions which appear high up the EPG), as well as start-up funding from the BBC and access to national advertising streams. Shott saw the interactivity and efficiencies offered by IPTV as central not only to the economic viability of local television but to its role as mediator of the local public sphere:

> 'IPTV will facilitate the delivery of far more localised television than could ever be envisaged over DTT and, because of its 'non-linear' nature… it is likely to encourage real involvement at local community level – we regard this as wholly consistent with the perceived social benefits of local TV, about which there is widespread agreement.' (Shott 2010b: 1)

Despite this advice Hunt persisted in the claim that L-DTPS could become commercially viable over DTT through sales of advertising, sponsorship and other commercial revenue streams. Hunt often cited the success of local television in the US as evidence of potential success in the UK. In an oft-quoted soundbite he proclaimed that 'Birmingham Alabama has eight local TV stations, but Birmingham UK has none' (Hunt cited in Clarke 2008), implying that US local television was commercially successful. Years later he reiterated, 'Birmingham Alabama has eight local TV stations, despite being a quarter of the size of our Birmingham. New York has six… It's crazy that a city like Sheffield doesn't have local TV' (cited in Porter 2010). The new privately-run sector would, he claimed, be populated by 'a new generation of hungry, ambitious and profitable local media companies' (ibid.) which would, unlike incumbent commercial broadcasters, generously place local public service at their heart. It is true that in the US, commercial local television is very well established, supplemented by much smaller non-profit public access stations, but there are key differences between the UK and US markets which undermine Hunt's argument.

Local television in Europe and America

Most notably, the US television market is almost entirely commercial, and has been built around networks of local commercial channels from inception. This heritage of network-affiliation is well established, with networks generally citing a 0.5m population conurbation as the minimum for a full service affiliate station, assuming a 7-8% audience share. Networks also demand that full service affiliates are eligible for 'must carry' obligations by cable operators, allowing the channels to be carried free of charge. Second, the composition of the US adverting market is very different to the UK. In the US, the local television advertising market is well established and effectively twelve times larger per capita than in the UK, with a much higher total advertising spend per head than the UK (about 30%) (Oliver and Ohlbaum 2009).

Television advertising takes a larger share of all advertising in the US than the UK (about 10%), and a much larger proportion of all advertising is from local advertisers, especially in television, where local advertisers account for 30% of all spending in the US, versus 5% in the UK (Oliver & Olbaum 2009). Further, the technical infrastructure of the US is very different to the UK, with widespread availability of low-cost high-bandwidth cable distribution. With these key advantages, US local cable television has enjoyed considerable commercial success, but even then the industry has not been immune to the disruption to traditional business models faced by media organisations globally. Globalisation and deregulation have accelerated the economic challenges for local news producers in the US, and the industry is currently experiencing significant consolidation, including redundancies and closures of local newsrooms across print and broadcast.

A recent study by the Pew Research Centre shows how US local television is actually kept afloat by two sources of funding that are both entirely absent from the British market. One is retransmission fees paid by cable and satellite systems to carry local channels. In the UK commercial carriers such as Sky and Virgin are obliged to carry L-DTPS channels and to give them due prominence in the Electronic Programme Guide but they are not required to provide carriage free of charge, as they are in the US. Indeed, in the US carriers are required to pay the local channel for the content they provide. The second source of funding that keeps US local channels afloat is 'huge influxes of campaign cash' (Matsa 2016) for political advertising during election and midterm years. The study shows local television revenues rising to $696 million in 2014 due to midterm election campaigning, compared with $124 million in 2015.

The Pew study illustrates that local television in the US is not, as Hunt claimed, a highly commercial successful model to be aspired to, but is suffering from many of the setbacks experienced by local journalism in Britain and elsewhere. In fact, it is *online* local journalism that is the fastest growing news sector in the US. Small non-profit news sites form the biggest component of a growing digital news sector (Jurkowitz 2014 in ibid.). The Pew Research Centre identified 438 digital organisations that produce news regularly, mostly small and local. As can be seen, though the US was cited by Hunt as a model of success to which British local television should aspire, it represents a very different media-sphere to the UK and one in which, in any case, local television is struggling. Closer comparables can be found in Canada and Europe, but it is notable that none of these markets have been able to provide local television networks without some kind of subsidy.

In Germany for example most cities have a local channel broadcast through cable, satellite and IPTV. These are subsidised by the Lander regional governments. Regional programming is particularly strong, with a network of seven regional channels produced by *Das Erste*, Germany's main PSB, known collectively as *Die Dritten* (The Third Networks). Online, the *MyHeimat* news network consists of a national network of 37,000 citizen journalists who publish directly to hyperlocal audiences (Bruns 2011) as well as collaborating with regional news operations (Frohlich et al 2012). In France, regional programming and opt-out services are subsidised by the main PSB, *France 3*. Following the digital switchover there has been an increase in the licensing of new channels including more than one hundred local channels providing local programming for a few hours each day, many subsidised by regional governments.

In Spain, since the digital switchover around 800 local television services have been licensed, with around half funded by local governments and the rest supported by larger media groups. Further, the national PSB *Television Espanola* broadcasts regional content, and ten regional governments operate regional channels, working as a network to acquire programming and sell advertising (Shott

2010). In the Netherlands 350 hyperlocal news sites operate across 199 districts (Kerkhoven and Bakker 2014). In Canada, most towns have at least one community television service, many of which are affiliated with a national network, and which benefit from legislation that requires commercial cable broadcasters to support community channels. Cable companies with more than 6,000 subscribers must provide facilities and funding to local television services at the rate of 6% of their basic revenues (Shott 2010). In addition commercial local television operates in many large cities, often on a network basis.

L-DTPS policy framework

In the UK, Hunt was untroubled by these inconsistencies, since the L-DTPS policy fulfilled three key political goals. Firstly, superficially, the policy represented an attempt to address the increasing gap between audience demand for local news and mainstream broadcast offerings. The policy framework sets out that the key purpose of the network is to provide local news and programming. L-DTPS broadcasters have specific public service duties which were set out during the licencing process and which form a part of broadcasters' agreements with the regulator.

Most importantly, they are required to meet the needs of the local area; broaden the range of television programmes available for viewing in the local area; and increase the number and range of programmes made in or about the local area. Through this local emphasis, the policy argues, L-DTPS will play an important role in 'the wider localism agenda, holding institutions to account and increasing civic engagement at a local level' (DCMS 2011: 11). That is, policymakers emphasize the role of L-DTPS in relation to what John Corner refers to as the public knowledge and citizenship role of media rather than the popular culture media-as-entertainment role (Corner 1991, 2009). Most notably, local services are required to facilitate civic debate by broadening the range of television programmes available within localities and increasing the number and range of programmes made in and about the local area (DCMS 2012a: 13).

However, the policy also fulfilled more covert political objectives, aligning with the Conservative-led neoliberal agenda in two important ways. Firstly, L-DTPS aligns with the narrative of localism which was to be legislated through the forthcoming Localism Act 2011. This piece of legislation purported to extend the power of local authorities across the UK but because it was enacted during a period characterised overwhelmingly by centrally-imposed austerity, there has been little power for local authorities to wield, other than make decisions about where the inevitable cuts should fall. In this instance, localism becomes 'a cost-shunting exercise rather than a true devolution of power and fiscal autonomy' (Pipe 2013). Secondly L-DTPS reduces the role and scope of public services in favour of commercial delivery – a model which has been implemented by the government across sectors as diverse as health, education, justice and environment. This privatisation of public service broadcasting was permitted by an electorate distracted by the narrative of crisis and austerity set

out by the Conservatives following the global economic crisis of 2008; a narrative which went largely unchallenged within mainstream media (Kushner and Kushner 2013).

To support L-DTPS financially, the British government put in place two measures to help with revenue generation. Firstly, it relaxed national regulation regarding advertising restrictions as far as it was able to under European law. The EC Audiovisual Media Services (AVMS) Directive states that no longer than twelve minutes of broadcasting per hour should consist of adverts (European Commission 2016). British regulation generally reduces this to seven minutes per hour for PSBs and nine minutes per hour for all other broadcasters (Ofcom 2011). A special allowance was made by the British government which allows L-DTPS to broadcast advertising at the upper limit of the EU allowance (DCMS 2011a: 16)[3]. Secondly, the government ring-fenced £40 million of BBC funding from its 2010 funding settlement. In a move widely criticised for its lack of transparency, the BBC, fearful of further budgetary reductions, failed to consult with licence fee payers and quietly agreed to the proposals (Public Select Committee 2015: para 246), which also included new responsibilities for Welsh broadcaster S4C, BBC Monitoring, the BBC World Service and the roll-out of rural broadband (Hunt 2010).

Of the £40 million ringfenced by the BBC, £15 million would be paid by the corporation to L-DTPS companies in return for the provision of local news stories. In this way, L-DTPS companies have served as local newsgatherers for the BBC regional services, providing footage for up to 85 stories per month in exchange for £150,000 per year in the first year of operation, £80,000 in the second year and £60,000 in the third. A further £25 million of BBC funding was set aside to pay for adjustments to the DTT transmitter network and for a new playout centre in Birmingham (Hunt 2010: 1; BBC Trust 2012). In this, the BBC was returned to its original task of coordinating development of the physical infrastructure of terrestrial broadcasting, which would see a coordinated network of local terrestrial public service broadcasting for the first time since the 1925 Frequency Plan had demanded that thirteen local BBC services be consolidated into nine regional services.

News values as analytical model

This chapter sets out key theories and perspectives on news values to define the conceptual framework and analytical model for the study. The section begins by defining news values, tracing the conceptual and theoretical roots and evaluating the significance of news value theory within the field. The section continues by exploring a number of news value models, in particular, three highly

---

[3] It is notable that, should the UK leave the EU, these regulations would not apply and the British parliament would be able to further relax media advertising rules, should it wish to.

influential news value studies exploring print and broadcast journalism, as well as several more recent studies which have sought to assess the continuing relevance of the theory within modern journalism.

The first typology to be discussed was tentatively proposed by Norwegian media scholars Johan Galtung and Marie Holmboe Ruge (1965) who were concerned about the increasing Americanisation of news. Their study, which drew upon a content analysis of foreign news within Norwegian newspapers, is commonly regarded as the first attempt to define a specific set of news 'features'. The second typology, proposed by British media sociologists Peter Golding and Philip Elliott (1979), constitutes the first major exploration of news values within broadcast news. Their study involved content and archival analysis as well as interviews with, and observation of, journalists and editors in Nigeria, Sweden and Ireland. The third typology, devised by journalist-academics Tony Harcup and Deirdre O'Neill following a content analysis of four British newspapers, is the subject of an article that is today the most widely-cited article in the popular journal *Journalism Studies*. More recently, the same authors have revisited their 2001 typology, exploring the ways in which the newspaper industry is adapting to a multimedia online environment (2016).

These landmark studies form a key pillar within a rich body of work on news value theory, supported by a wealth of smaller and less influential studies. There are very few studies of news values in relation to local television news which are relevant to this study, since the few that do exist are concerned with local television news in America, where local television and local television news are well-established, as discussed elsewhere in this thesis (see section *Local television in Europe and America*). Nevertheless a small number are discussed later in this section. The section concludes with a short discussion outlining the ways in which news value theory is understood and will be investigated within the current study.

Defining news values

Today, there is strong consensus that news values are highly influential factors on professional practice, shaping journalists' decisions about which events to include or exclude. News values can be broadly defined as factors influencing the flow of news (Galtung and Ruge 1965: 64). Caple and Bednarek define news value as a judgement of the worthiness of a happening or issue that lead to its reporting as news (2016: 436). Harcup and O'Neill argue that news values are 'one of the most important areas of journalism [since they go] to the heart of what is included, what is excluded, and why' (2001: 162) and because they 'inform the mediated world that is presented to news audiences, providing a shared shorthand operational understanding of what working journalists are required to produce to deadlines' (2016: 1). Westerhaal and Johansson agree that news values are 'probably as important and sometimes more important that what 'really happens' regarding whether or not something becomes news' (1994: 71). This is why news value theory is taught on journalism courses,

used by PR professionals who want to secure the best coverage of their events and pseudo-events (Harcup and O'Neill 2016: 1) and studied by those interested in the role of news media in society and democracy. Walter Lippman (1965/[1922]: 233) was one of the first to argue that journalists employ certain attributes or conventions in the process of selecting specific issues and events taking place within the world as the basis for news stories. In the 1960s concerns grew regarding the effects of the internationalisation of news. Of particular concern was the growing penetration of international, often American-led, news agencies which sold their products to an increasingly global market of news producers. Galtung and Ruge's (1965) study of international news in Norwegian newspapers, in which they theorised 'news features', is widely cited as a seminal study (see for example Tunstall 1970: 20; Cohen and Young 1973 and Tumber 1999). It has been described variously as the 'landmark' study of news and news selection (Watson 1998: 117), the 'foundation study of news values' (Bell 1991: 155); the earliest attempt to provide a systematic definition of newsworthiness (Palmer 1998: 378) and 'a classic social science answer to the question "what is news?"' (Tunstall 1970: 20).

In their short paper, Galtung and Ruge (1965) tentatively suggest that news values can relate to characteristics relating to the event itself and/or to the pragmatics of journalism production. They saw news values as influencing the selection and distortion of world events by the media, which affects the ways in which such events are constructed into media images. That is, they acknowledge the active role played by the audience in the reception and interpretation of media images, in line with Hall's (1973) reception theory, but argue that news values play an important role in shaping the media images which are constructed by the media and supplied to audiences, as shown in Figure 5, the chain of news communication. Galtung and Ruge saw the news media as 'first-rate competitors for the number-one position as international image-former' (1965: 64) in light of their 'regularity, ubiquity and perseverance' (ibid.).

Figure 5. Chain of news communication (Galtung and Ruge 1965: 65)

world events → media   → media → personal   → personal
perception ↑ image   perception ↑ image
selection   selection
distortion   distortion
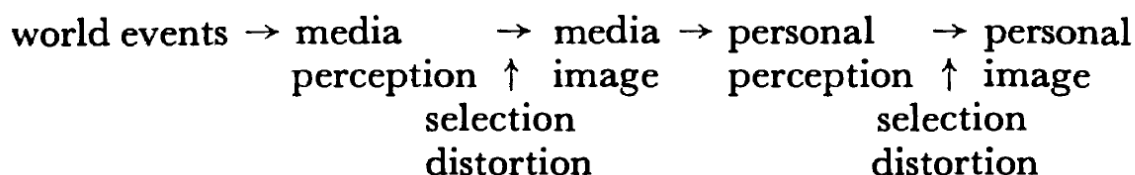
The chain of news communication shows how news values act as a form of interference, distorting audience perception of events through the very act of selection or exclusion and through the ways in which events are framed and presented to audiences. That is, particular aspects of events not only

make them more likely to be selected as news stories, but that these aspects of an event are likely to be accentuated and emphasized within a news story.

The challenge in identifying news values is that many of the codes and conventions of journalism remain unarticulated. Many journalists asked by enthusiastic researchers to define what makes news news merely shrug, "it swings", "it works" (Becker 1982: 200) or "it just is!" (Brighton and Foy 2007: 194). Dwyer suggests that media workers are rarely able to articulate what knowledge or skills they are applying in making judgments; they simply 'know' after the fact when they have made the right or wrong decision (cited in Lowe and Brown 2016: 352). Some describe them as some form of 'intangible' news sense (Chibnall 1977: 13). Kung notes that media expertise 'tends to rest on tacit rather than codified knowledge' stemming not from qualifications but from 'a combination of experience derived from exposure to the field and individual judgment and intuition' (2008: 150).

Critical political economists see news values as a component in an ideologically constructed way of perceiving the world that favours and naturalises the perspectives of powerful elites (Herman and Chomsky 1988; Golding and Murdock 1991; Hall 1994; McChesney 2004). Such scholars see news values and other journalistic practices as the result of structural social, cultural, political and economic forces acting on the media, which support the interests of capitalist media owners rather than publics or indeed political elites as their elected representatives. Hall et al agree that '[a]lthough they are nowhere written down, formally transmitted, or codified, news values seem to be widely shared as between the different news media' (1978: 54). Some find it problematic that news values are said to affect journalists' decision-making on a subconscious, or unconscious level (Bell 1991; Warner 1970: 163) with journalists often unable to articulate them (Braun 2009). Hall admits that journalists tend to speak of 'the news' as if events select themselves, suggesting a 'deep structure' whose function as a selective device is opaque even to those practising it (Hall 1973: 181).

However, journalists are not completely unable to articulate why they select one story over another (Brighton and Foy 2007: 194). Some researchers see news values as well-defined and readily available to journalists on a daily basis, peppering the daily exchanges between journalists in collaborative production procedures, describing them as 'terse shorthand references to shared understandings about the nature and purpose of news which can be used to ease the rapid and difficult manufacture of bulletins and news programmes' (Golding and Elliott 1979: 144). The same authors argue that news values are often employed to explain or justify decisions after the event, as well as within the decision-making process.

News values 'are thus working rules, comprising a corpus of occupational lore which implicitly and often expressly explains and guides newsroom practice' (Golding and Elliott 1979: 119).

Hetherington sees journalists as resisting formalised news values, lest they 'cramp their freedom of decision… obviously journalists working at speed against edition times or programme 'on-air' times do not go through any mental checklist of factors such as Galtung and Ruge have listed' (1985: 7), but he acknowledges that news values can describe in broad terms the trends in journalists' output. Today, the literature concludes that there is 'no mystique' (Niblock 1996: 4) to the selection of stories, rather a sense of professional judgement and an awareness of public demand (Burns 2001: 30), what are now generally termed 'news values'.

News value typologies

In their 1965 study, Galtung and Ruge (66-68) identified twelve news values comprising *Frequency, Threshold, Clarity, Meaningfulness, Consonance, Unexpectedness, Continuity, Composition, Reference to elite nations, Reference to elite people, Reference to persons, Reference to something negative*. These are well-documented so I will not elaborate to too great an extent here. Since then an abundance of alternative typologies of news values have been debated by journalism scholars (see for example Warner 1970; Ruehlmann 1979; O'Sullivan et al. 1983; Hetherington 1985; Bell 1991; Shoemaker and Reese 1996; Herbert 2000; McQuail 2000; Harcup & O'Neill 2001, 2016). Many of these lists share commonalities with Galtung and Ruge's early attempt, leading to multiple, partially overlapping criteria (Tukachinsky 2013: 147).

For example Shoemaker and Reese's (1996: 106) value of *prominence* is similar to Galtung and Ruge's (1965) *elite people* and *nations*; the former's *human interest* is similar to the latter's *reference to persons*; *conflict* is similar to *reference to something negative*; *oddity/unusual* is similar to *unexpectedness*; *timeliness* is similar to *frequency*; and *proximity* is similar to *meaningfulness* in that it emphasizes the ways in which physical nearness to an event is perceived to engender a greater sense of meaningfulness. Mencher added *controversy* (2000) and Gans, *objectivity* (1979). Former Guardian editor Alastair Hetherington proposed *significance; drama; surprise; personalities; sex, scandal and crime; numbers; and proximity* (Hetherington 1985: 8-9) and Herbert suggested *prominence; proximity; timeliness; action; novelty; human interest; sex* and *humour* (Herbert 2000: 318).

However, many of these studies focus primarily on newspaper journalism. Few seek to understand the particular news values at play within broadcast news. One of the most highly-cited is Golding and Elliott's (1979) comprehensive analysis of the context and production of broadcast news in the 1970s in Nigeria, Sweden and Ireland. A short section in their book 'Making the News' identifies ten news values which relate very closely to those proposed by Galtung and Ruge, but extend the former in two important areas. Golding and Elliott's values comprise *Brevity, Recency, Negativity, Elites,*

Personalities and *Drama* (ibid. 114-123)*,* which map closely onto the Galtung and Ruge values of*Unambiguity, Frequency, Reference to something negative, Reference to elite people/nations, Reference to persons* and *Unexpectedness*, respectively. Similarly, Golding and Elliott's values of *Size, Importance* and *Proximity* relate closely to Galtung and Ruge's values of *Threshold* and *Meaningfulness*. Where Golding and Elliott diverge more significantly from Galtung and Ruge is in their omission of the former's *Continuity, Consonance* and *Composition*, and in their introduction of the values of *Visual Attractiveness* and *Entertainment*.

As might be expected for a typology focusing on television as an audio-visual medium, Golding and Elliott emphasize the heightened value of news 'stories' which embody features 'akin to human drama… joy, sorrow, shock, fear' (ibid. 115). They cite a prominent story from their sample about a bank hold-up in Sweden in which 'an escaped hostage took hostage four bank employees into the vaults and settled in for a siege for several days… the story was rich in human drama; the pretty girl hostage, 'the bandit who couldn't kill', the dilemmas facing the police' (ibid. 115). Golding and Elliott also emphasize the importance of good pictures, or 'visual attractiveness', citing the 'sometimes irresistible' temptation amongst journalists to screen 'visually arresting material' in place of important stories 'unadorned with good film' (ibid. 115-116). Also cited as highly influential by Golding and Elliott is the need for television news to offer news which is entertaining, by providing 'captivating, titillating, amusing or generally diverting material' on the grounds that 'there's no point preparing serious, well-intentioned, high-minded journalism if the audience registers its boredom by switching off' (ibid. 117).

Golding and Elliott's work is also very valuable not only because it is one of the few to explore news values in a broadcast context, but because the authors employed a methodological approach which included observation of, and interviews with, journalists and editors, which allowed for analysis of the motivations and constraints on journalistic practice. Through this approach, Golding and Elliott were able to develop show how national news broadcasting is inherently limited in its ability to fulfil its democratic function as a result of the overwhelming practical and pragmatic concerns of television production. As Philip Schlesinger put it in a review of the book, 'the very structure of news broadcasting results in a product which cannot intelligibly represent historical processes and abstract relations between corporate agents' (1980: 496).

 A further key strength to Golding and Elliott's work is its international comparative design, which enabled the authors to reveal aspects of journalistic practice which transcend social and cultural barriers to offer a more generalizable model. More recently, Brighton and Foy (2007) have also explored the news values at play within broadcast, rolling news and digital journalism, proposing

news values of *Relevance; Topicality; Composition; Expectation; Unusualness; Worth;* and *External influences*.

Studies of localised broadcast news are understandably rare in the British context, given the historical sporadic nature of local broadcast news. In the US, studies of local television news have demonstrated that small local TV stations are less able than larger stations to cover spontaneous, unexpected news events, and are more likely to cover ongoing 'situational' stories (Carroll 1989: 55). Davie and Lee found that US local television news shows a greater preference for seasonal stories that feature acts of *sex* and *violence* and are *easy to explain* (Davie and Lee 1995: 1). Although these are not explicitly discussed as such, these features might be classified in news value terms as *entertainment* or *drama, conflict* and *unambiguous*, respectively. As stated above, studies of local broadcast news are understandably rare in the British context, particularly when compared with studies of local print journalism. Recently, there have been some notable studies of web-based hyperlocal news services, although none of these explicitly explore news values. The NESTA survey (2013) cited in the introductory chapter found that, from the audience perspective, two thirds of British adults are interested in local information; in news value terms this would be termed *proximity* or *relevance*.

In a study exploring the value of UK hyperlocal community news, researchers from Cardiff and Birmingham universities found that online hyperlocals produce 'a good deal of news about community activities, local politics, civic life and local business' (Williams, Harte and Turner 2015: 1). While this study focuses on online local news services, the policy intentions for L-DTPS to move from digital terrestrial broadcasting technologies towards online IPTV technologies mean that there is some relevance to the current study. The Cardiff/Birmingham study represents the largest content analysis to date of UK hyperlocal news content (1941 posts on 313 sites), supported by interviews and the largest ever survey of UK community news practitioners (183 responses) (ibid: 1). The researchers acknowledge that, while official news sources get a strong platform in hyperlocal news, a key difference within online hyperlocal sites is the expanded role afforded to members of the general public and to representatives of local civil society groups who 'get more of a say' than they do in much mainstream local news (ibid: 11). Interestingly, they argue that community journalists 'have developed alternative strategies to foster and inform plural debate around contentious local issues… critical public-interest investigations are carried out by a (surprisingly) large number of community news producers' (ibid: 1). For example, the study cites investigations and campaigns on subjects such as planning issues, protection of public services and green spaces, council transparency and retail issues such as the granting of alcohol or takeaway licences (ibid: 14-18). Although these are not explicitly discussed as such, these features might be classified in news value terms as

relevance, meaningfulness and *proximity* (strong localness); *threshold* and *personalities* (greater source diversity), *elites, conflict, controversy, scandal and follow up* (campaigns and investigations).

In what has become one of the most read and widely cited articles in the journal Journalism Studies, British journalists and academics Tony Harcup and Deirdre O'Neill (2001) undertook an empirical study of British newspapers to assess the extent to which Galtung and Ruge's (1965) values were consonant with contemporary British newspaper journalism. They analysed 1,276 lead news stories across The Sun (344), The Daily Mail (537) and The Daily Telegraph (395). Through this study, they found that many of Galtung and Ruge's original values were relevant in contemporary British news. In particular, *unambiguity* was the most prevalent news value, identified in almost half of the stories in their sample (589); followed by *references to elite people* (588), *frequency* (472) and *reference to negative news* (454). The middle ranked values included *reference to persons* (417), *continuity* (354), *unexpectedness* (276) and *meaningfulness* (220). They found that the least prevalent news values were *composition* (106), *consonance* (109), *threshold* (173) and *reference to elite nations* (213).

Harcup and O'Neill propose a new set of news values typology which they suggest are more relevant in analysing contemporary news through content analysis, as shown in Figure 6.

Figure 6. News values (Harcup and O'Neill 2001)

1. The power elite
2. Celebrity
3. Entertainment
4. Surprise
5. Bad news
6. Good news
7. Magnitude
8. Relevance
9. Follow-up
10. Media agenda (Harcup and O'Neill 2001: 262-4)

Overall, Harcup and O'Neill support Galtung and Ruge's typology. While they recommend a wholly new set of ten news values, at least five of these changes are fairly superficial, aimed more at bringing the terminology up-to-date than any substantial change in meaning. For example, *meaningfulness* became *relevance; reference to something negative* became *bad news* (stories containing conflict or tragedy); *threshold* became *magnitude*; *unexpected* became *surprise*; and *continuity* became *follow up*.   Figure 7 illustrates the similarities and overlap between the work of Galtung and Ruge (1965) and Harcup and O'Neill (2001, 2016) as well as Golding and Elliott (1979) which will be discussed shortly.

Galtung and Ruge interpreted meaningfulness in two ways. Firstly, it may lie 'within the cultural framework of the listener or reader' (1965: 67). They saw cultural proximity, defined as similar to the audience in terms of language, history or culture, as drawing audiences in, whereas 'the culturally distant will be passed by more easily and not be noticed' (1965: 67). Secondly, it may be meaningful in terms of relevance: an event may happen in a culturally distant place but still be loaded with meaning in terms of what it may imply for the reader or listener (Galtung and Ruge, 1965: 67). Harcup and O'Neill's reconceptualization as relevance was intended to extend the concept to specifically allow for news from non-elite nations such as perhaps popular holiday destinations, Commonwealth countries or the countries of significant immigrant groups in Britain, and of interest to particular audience segments such as parents, motorists, people with mortgages and so on (Harcup and O'Neill, 2010: 278). By the time of their 2016 follow up study, Harcup and O'Neill did not have a great deal to say about relevance, suggesting that the value is now widely accepted (Harcup and O'Neill, 2016: 13).

Indeed, consensus for the value of relevance can be found in a great deal of literature, with cultural and geographic proximity a highly significant indicator of relevance in numerous studies. In the US, for example, where local broadcasting is well-established, research by the Pew Centre (Robinson 2007) showed that proximity significantly increases the news value of an event, and Schaudt and Carpenter (2009) identified proximity as the most popular news value. In their study, 76% of stories in their sample identified as having strong relevance to the target audience, with the next most popular news value as conflict, a significant distance behind with 31% of stories.

By contrast, Harcup and O'Neil found Galtung and Ruge's value of *unambiguous* highly problematic. Although *unambiguity* is the most commonly identified news value in the more recent analysis, Harcup and O'Neill suggest that this is due to the way that journalists are trained to present news stories, rather than a property of the events themselves. Journalistic training requires journalists to write news stories, particularly their 'intros' in a particular manner, as unambiguously as possible, even when the story they are covering might be very complex, such as NATO's bombing of Serbia (2001: 270). For this reason, Harcup and O'Neill find Galtung and Ruge's *unambiguous* value problematic. If all journalists are trained to write stories, even quite complex ones, in an unambiguous way, then a large proportion of stories are likely to be able to be described as *unambiguous*, thereby rendering the category meaningless.

Figure 7. Comparison of News Values Typologies

Galtung and Ruge (1965)	Golding and Elliott (1979)	Harcup and O'Neill (2001)	Harcup and O'Neill (2016)
Unambiguity		-	-
Frequency	Recency	-	-
Threshold	Size	Magnitude	Magnitude/extremes
Reference to something negative	Negativity	Bad news	Bad news
			Conflict
Unexpectedness	Drama	Surprise	Surprise
			Drama
Reference to elite people	Elites		
Reference to elite nations		The power elite	Power elite
			incl. corporations
Reference to persons	Personalities		
Meaningfulness	Importance	Relevance	Relevance
	Proximity		
-		-	
Continuity		Follow up	Follow up

Consonance		-	-
Composition		-	-
	Visual Attractiveness		Strong visuals/audio
	Entertainment	Entertainment Celebrity	Celebrity
-		Good news	Good news
		Media agenda	Media agenda
			Exclusivity
			Shareability

Similarly problematic were Galtung and Ruge's values of *reference to elite people* and *reference to elite nations*. Harcup and O'Neill agreed that stories concerning *elite people* are much more probable to be selected as news, the second most common news value in their sample, but *reference to elite nations* was much less common, ranked ninth out of the twelve values. They suggest that it is difficult to distinguish between elite *people* and elite *nations*. For example, should a news story concerning a speech made by the President of the US be categorised as a reference to an *elite person* or an *elite nation*? The story itself concerns a specific person, but that person represents a nation. Politicians and monarchs across the world possess similar connotations of the nation-state. For this reason, Harcup and O'Neill propose combining these two categories into one new *power elite* value, encompassing stories concerning powerful individuals, organisations or institutions such as, in Britain, political figures (in diminishing order of influence), institutions such as the Bank of England, Oxbridge universities, organised religion, and international organisations such as the UN, EU and NATO.

Alongside this, they propose three new values of *celebrity*, referring to stories concerning people who are famous, perhaps through sports, music or acting; *entertainment*, referring to stories concerning sex, showbusiness, human interest, animals, an unfolding drama, or offering opportunities for humorous treatment, witty headlines or entertaining photographs; and good news. Galtung and Ruge highlighted the importance of photography only insofar as, since photographs are more engaging when a news story relates to a person rather than a more abstract idea or remote institution, discussing this as part of the rationale for the news value *reference to persons*.

By contrast, Harcup and O'Neill emphasize the appeal of events which offer chances to include photographs. For a newspaper, the possibility of a colourful photograph or humorous cartoon to reduce the need for copy and enhance the page's visual appeal, means less work and engages readers, a win-win solution. Harcup and O'Neill (2001) refer to this as *picture opportunities*, seeing it as part of the rationale for their wider news value of *entertainment*.

Numerous scholars have highlighted how the availability of interesting visual footage is even more significant in television (Fleming et al 2006: 17; Niblock 1996: 5-7; Smith and Higgins 2013: 18), and it has long been acknowledged that the quality of images is important. Hall (1973b) discusses how the 'visual quality, news and presentational values, televisual quality, professionalism' of media images affects the audience's reading of a text, with professional image quality contributing to a 'professional reading' which operates in tandem with the dominant code. Visual footage then, of high quality, not only supports the telling of the story and provides viewers with colour and variety which maintains their attention, but reassures audiences of the credibility and authority of the broadcaster. The recent digitisation of the production and dissemination of news has led to news discourse becoming a visually enriched product, with photography and design used to emphasise

news values such as superlativeness, negativity, personalisation and aesthetic appeal (Caple and Bednarek 2015: 8-11). Another recent study of news values highlights how interactive infographics 'can work to challenge conventional news values' by reinvigorating data that might otherwise be considered 'old news' (Dick 2014: 499).

Harcup and O'Neill also suggest a new value of *good news*, to describe stories with positive overtones such as rescues or cures. There has been little research into good news, although some have argued that positive news plays a part in cultural narratives, in the media's role in soothing the public in times of crises, and in the increasing prominence of soft news due to commercialization (eg. Carey 2011; Lule 2001; Thussu 2007 in Leung and Lee 2015: 289). One study found that the majority of good news stories on websites dedicated to positive news were entertaining and emotional, whereas the majority of stories in a popular US broadsheet involved authority figures and conflict (McIntyre 2016: 223). *Good news* stories were, she found, 'less committed to journalism's core functions, such as holding power accountable and providing the public with information necessary for creating an informed electorate' (ibid.). Another study found that journalists see good news stories that tell touching stories and promote social values and norms as important, but see good news stories that promote national development and achievement as less important (Leung and Lee 2015: 289).

Finally, Harcup and O'Neill proposed a new value of *media agenda* to describe stories that set or fit the news organisations own agenda (Harcup and O'Neill 2001: 262-4). This value is particularly interesting because it addresses the element of bias which has long been acknowledged as an integral part of the news media, particularly newspapers, but which has been strangely absent from news values typologies. Despite fierce rhetoric regarding the protection of the 'free press' Petley (2012) argues that the press are not really free, they are merely free to report what their owners wish or the newspaper market demands. The press can be partisanal - they can downplay or ignore stories that they disapprove of; can whip up alarm when it suits them; and can endorse political parties in elections. These are known as 'media agenda' stories.

Numerous infamous examples of media agenda stories can be found in British tabloid *The Sun*, such as its self-interested backing of the Conservative Party in many (although notably not all) general elections, in the interests of proprietor Rupert Murdoch. The general election of 1992, for example, was widely expected to be won by the Labour Party, but which the Tories eventually won with a very slim majority. Not only did the *The Sun* refuse to deny it's heavy political bias; it famously claimed the Tories' victory as their own, highlighting that their front page spread ridiculing Labour leader Neil Kinnock resulted in an unexpected fourth term for the Tories' with the splash: "It's the Sun wot won it"). More recent examples can be found in much of the tabloid and mid-market press' backlash

against the recommendations of the Leveson Inquiry, for an independently-monitored press regulator, and more recently, in the vociferous support of the Murdoch press for the Vote Leave campaign in the British EU Referendum of June 2016.

Media agenda stories are much less overt in broadcast media, due to their obligation to due impartiality and due balance, set out in the Ofcom Broadcasting Code. Public service broadcast news is particularly highly regulated and faces significant public and political criticism if it strays too far towards 'celebrity' or 'entertainment' stories, although it is quite common for news bulletins across all the main PSBs to end with a 'surprise' 'good' news story to lighten the mood following the majority of 'bad' news earlier in the programme, of the impartiality requirement, broadcast news tends to emphasize 'bad news' stories about the 'power elite' which can be clearly corroborated.

Importantly, Harcup and O'Neill acknowledge that the reason that both *consonance* and *composition* are not ranked highly within their analysis is largely because they relate to the *process* of news production. Their methodological approach, content analysis, does not allow for the analysis of production, and the reasons why an event may have been included as news, nor indeed for those relating to why an event may have been excluded, leaving them only 'to speculate on the reasons behind the decisions of news selectors' (2001: 273). For this reason, Harcup and O'Neill felt unable to recommend the continuing inclusion of these values within their new typology.

As noted above, Harcup and O'Neill's (2001) paper has become one of the most read and widely cited articles in *Journalism Studies*. In 2016, the authors revisited the subject, exploring the changes brought about by the shift to online journalism and considering the influence of social media on news values. They broadened the reach of their study with a sample taking in a range of tabloids, broadsheets, mid-markets as well as news websites. There was continuing support for their 2001 typology, particularly the strong continuing presence of *bad news*, but also significant levels of good news stories, and occasions where stories demonstrated characteristics of both *good* and *bad news*, refuting Braun's (2009) claims that news values are simple lists of binary oppositions which account for all news. They provide an example story wherein a man giving misogynist and sexist talks (*bad news*) was banned from coming to UK (*good news*).

Taking into consideration new research published since their earlier study, Harcup and O'Neil propose that *strong visuals* is established as a news value in its own right, compared to the more *dramatic* elements of *entertainment* stories (Caple and Bednarek 2016; Dick 2014) and that *conflict* is categorised separately from *bad news* (Philips 2015: 18). In light of their own findings, they find 'a lot of stories concerning corporations' which contrasts with previous power elite stories which have focused mainly on political elites. They also highlight that the news value of magnitude is 'more than

just big numbers', it might be extremes of behaviour or occurrences such as a very unpleasant crime (Harcup and O'Neill, 2016: 10).

They also propose two entirely new news values – *exclusivity,* which relates to the ability to 'break' a story (be the first to publish or broadcast) and *shareability,* which relates to the propensity for a story to be shared and discussed by audiences through social media. This latter value is particularly interesting, and is expected to demonstrate a strong interplay with the news value of *strong visuals*, which significantly increase the likelihood of a particular story being liked, shared, retweeted or discussed on social media platforms (Caple and Bednarek 2016; Dick 2014).

Guardian online editor Janine Gibson (cited in Newman 2011: 24) suggests that 'things that make us laugh or angry' work well online. In news value terms these would be events which fit the entertainment or human interest value as well as possessing strong visuals. However hard news can also be highly shareable, particularly in terms of disasters and major political events. Dick highlights how amusing or surprising infographics have the capacity to revitalize historical events and longitudinal data by presenting them as informative contemporary events (Dick 2014) (Harcup and O'Neill 2016: 10). This author agrees with Harcup and O'Neill (2016: 10) in their suggestion that any study of contemporary media must consider the impact of social media on traditional divisions between the journalist as producer, selector and gatekeeper of the news and the audience as passive recipient or consumer.

In conclusion, Harcup and O'Neil call for more research investigating various combinations of news values (2016: 7-9), and there is a clear need for this. However there is broad consensus that news value studies employing content analysis alone face limitations (Braun 2009; Caple and Bednarek 2016; Harcup and O'Neill 2016; Hetherington 1985; McQuail 1992; Tunstall 1970). Caple and Bednarek propose a new approach employing critical discourse analysis to understand how news values are constructed through various semiotic resources and practices. But this approach too is incapable of revealing journalists decision-making processes (Hetherington 1985: 7) or of finding out 'what journalists and editors really think about relevance' (McQuail 1992: 216).

Neither content nor discourse analysis alone can provide a complete explanation of the journalistic process, although Harcup and O'Neil rightly point out that this 'does not mean such study is without value' (2016: 1). It 'remains valuable to unpick the criteria involved in selection of news', because the results of such studies can be used as a basis for further discussion and explanation about what does - and does not - become news (Harcup and O'Neill, 2016: 3).

The question of what does *not* become news can surely only be addressed through the study of the production of journalism, rather than simply the published outcome of it. Two ethnographies exploring journalistic input on foreign news and international news selection by Sophia Peterson

(1979, 1981) found much to support the hypotheses put forward by Galtung and Ruge (1965). Peterson carried out interviews with journalists at *The Times*, concluding 'the results suggest strongly that news criteria shape a picture of the world's events characterised by erratic, dramatic and uncomplicated surprise, by negative or conflictual events involving elite nations and persons' (Peterson 1979 and 1981, cited in McQuail 1992: 217). To develop this further, a functional model that takes into account the intentions of journalists (Staab 1990) would require careful observation and questioning of journalists in situ, but the corpus of ethnographic studies regarding news values is relatively small because newsroom ethnographies are difficult to organise for the reasons outlined earlier and due to the highly competitive nature of the industry (Tunstall 1971: 263).

Conclusions

This chapter has defined what is meant here by 'local' journalism. It has explored audience perceptions of local journalism and shown how audiences are dissatisfied with the regional broadcast news and programming offered by incumbent national broadcasters. It has also shown how citizens and states elsewhere in Europe and North America have attempted to address similar problems. Further, it has set out the particular economic challenges for local journalism, illustrating how these are addressed in other territories in Europe and North America, and shown how the UK policy response contrasts with European and Canadian models where local journalism is subsidised by the state, and aligns more closely with the commercial model which is well-established in the US but nonetheless facing considerable challenges.

The second part of this chapter has explored the extensive literature on news value theory, defining what is understood by news values within the context of this study and evaluating some of the most influential and some of the more recent news value studies of relevance to the current study. Figure 7 set out in tabular form a comparison of some of the most influential news value typologies, enabling a visualisation of the ways in which different news values have entered (and left) the analytical field, or evolved with time and in respect of different objects or platforms of study. The chapter has also shown how the majority of news value studies have employed textual analysis such as content analysis of newspapers, news bulletins and hyperlocal websites to inform their studies. A small number, including the important work of Golding and Elliott, have supplemented content analysis with interviews with, and observation of journalists and other practitioners.

As this study moves towards setting out a methodological approach to fieldwork, the final task of this chapter is to outline how news values are understood and tested within this study. Considering the rich body of literature and the multiple, partially overlapping criteria (Tukachinsky 2013: 147), limiting the study to any particular typology over another would seem a nonsensical approach. Rather, this study is approached with an inclusive conceptualisation of news values informed by the wealth of existing literature on the subject. The goal of fieldwork and analysis will be to draw on the

diversity of multiple, partially overlapping (ibid.) values as a population of 'ingredients' from which to develop a 'recipe' of news values which can describe professional practice within the emergent sector of L-DTPS broadcast journalism.

The next chapter sets out the methodological approach developed in response to the research questions, including the epistemological approach, research methods and ethical issues, as well as some of the practical issues around sampling, negotiating access, entering and leaving the field, and the challenges of analysing and writing up the study.

4. Research design and methodology

This chapter sets out the research design and methodological approach employed in the study. The study seeks to understand the impact of Conservative-led media policy on professional practice within contemporary British public service broadcast journalism, between 2010 and 2016. It analyses the professional practice of broadcast journalism within a new network of commercial local public service broadcasters which launched in the UK in November 2013, known as Local Digital Television Programme Services (L-DTPS).

Critical political economists such as Golding and Murdock (1991) argue that cultural production, distribution and consumption constitute an integrated circuit, and that 'you have to go the whole way round before your study is complete' (Du Gay et al 2013: xxx). The most important decision in the design of the study was to select which particular part of the circuit to explore. Many scholarly studies analyse those aspects of the circuit which are in the public domain, such as distribution networks (media business analysis), media texts themselves (textual, content and discourse analysis) and audience reception of such texts (cultural and audience studies). Yet analysis of these elements offers only a partial understanding of the media industries.

Before it can be consumed, interpreted or decoded, a media text must be produced, since production is 'processually and temporally prior to consumption' (Born 2000: 406). The primary task of critical political economics is to explore how the organisation and financing of media production shapes the options for consumption and the parameters of interpretation, essentially, the production and circulation of meaning (Murdock & Golding 2000: 61). Yet production studies, in Media and Cultural Studies, are very rare.

One important reason for this is the significant challenge involved in negotiating access to the sites of journalism, cultural and media production. Many companies perceive little benefit, and indeed significant risk, in exposing professional practice to critical analysis, and increasing conglomeration within the industries means increasingly centralised control and fewer, more powerful gatekeepers. A production study of L-DTPS therefore presents a rare opportunity to contribute to the field original knowledge regarding professional practice of broadcast journalism. The only production studies of local broadcast journalism in the UK analysed professional practice around twenty years ago (see Wilson 1994; Rushton 1997). Since this time, much has changed. This study builds on knowledge of technical and policy change which has been experienced by practitioners and consumers over the past forty years, and particularly since 1990.

The conceptual framework, established in the preceding chapter, employs news values as an analytical model to understand the factors influencing professional practice of broadcast journalists

and others involved in the production of local news and programming. The key research questions for the study are:

- ***What business models are employed in L-DTPS? How is the network organised and financed?***
- ***What news values are prioritised in the production of L-DTPS news and programming?***
- ***What are the relationships between the ways that L-DTPS is organised and financed and the news values prioritised by L-DTPS practitioners?***

Within this chapter the first section considers social constructivism as the appropriate epistemological approach to respond to these questions. Next, key research methods are set out, comprising document analysis and ethnographic case studies including interviews, observation and ethnographic media content analysis. Document analysis was a crucial method to employ in the early stages of the study, because it enabled the conceptualisation of three models of organising and financing L-DTPS companies - commercial, community and hybrid. These conceptualisations played a key role in informing the selection of cases within the subsequent ethnographic stage of work, with the goal that one case be drawn from each type of approach, thus enabling a comparative analysis of the different approaches. Given the challenges of negotiating access to media industries, I discuss how I overcame some of the challenges encountered during this phase of the study as well as some of the key practical and ethical issues encountered. The chapter concludes by outlining the approach to data reduction and analysis adopted within the study, and the final phases of theorisation drawing on the empirical findings.

Social constructivism

This study sits squarely within the social constructivism epistemology because professional practice is an inherently social construct. The codes and conventions of journalism are created, institutionalised, known and made into tradition by human beings (Leeds-Hurwitz 2009). Social constructivism posits that reality is constructed through human activity – the members of a society together invent the properties of the world (Kukla 2000). In broadcast journalism for example, professional practice is embodied within and constructed through the perceptions, behaviours, actions and emotions of journalists and others involved in its production. Knowledge is a human product, the values and customs of journalism professional practice do not exist without social invention; they are socially and culturally constructed (Ernest 1999; Gredler 1997; Prawat & Floden 1994). Individuals create meaning through their interactions with each other and with the environment they live in. In exploring professional practice, this study addresses one of the fundamental challenges for social sciences. It explains how human activity produces a world of knowable things, that is, the socially constructed nature of reality (Denzin and Lincoln 2005).

Social constructivists aim to understand a phenomenon within its cultural, social and historical context - what Crotty termed those aspects of the social world that are 'unique, individual and qualitative' (Crotty 1998: 68). The analysis of 'qualitative' aspects of the social world is valuable in developing an understanding L-DTPS production. Maykut and Morehouse (1994: 2-3) and Creswell (2009: 8) emphasize the need to explore individuals' subjective perceptions of their experiences in order to understand the world in which we live and work. I argue here that the only way to explore the subjective perceptions of the experiences of journalists and other producers of journalism is to talk to them and to observe them as they go about their daily practice and the business of production.

Inductive research

This study is primarily inductive in that it involves 'the search for pattern from observation and the development of explanations – theories – for those patterns' (Bernard 2011: 7). The aim was to begin with detailed observations of the world and move towards more abstract generalisations and ideas (Neuman 2003: 51). Ethnographic fieldwork provided opportunities to analyse the reasons why particular issues, events or groups are considered, explored, discarded or ignored, and how they are researched, developed and crafted into journalism content. Through empirical analysis of these factors and processes, the study attempted to formulate theory. In inductive research, the nature of the findings is unknown until the study is completed, but I aimed to develop theory such as a new news value typology. More specifically I hoped to address a significant gap and key concern for journalism theory - the interplay between different news values or types of news values (Harcup and O'Neill 2016).

This study was deductive only in that I identified the connections between the critical political economy and, through news values, the professional practice of journalism as a key focus for the study. The study was not concerned with developing a hypothesis or hypotheses based on existing theory, and then designing a research strategy to test the hypothesis (Wilson 2010: 7). Nor did it begin with an expected pattern that was tested against observations. Rather, it began with observations and sought to find a pattern within them (Babbie 2010: 52). Beyond the broad schema of connecting critical political economy with professional practice and news values, I had little in the way of a specific theory or hypothesis which could be explored and tested. As a social constructivist, I preferred to grapple with social-reality-in-the-making through detailed analysis of specific cases. It was only through completing each stage of empirical research that I might identify specific connections and begin to develop theory.

Research approaches and methods

This section describes the two key stages of empirical work, which employed different research approaches. The first stage comprised document analysis of policy documents, licence applications and award decisions regarding the emergent L-DTPS network. Within this stage of the research my main objective was to understand the range of business models employed in L-DTPS and the key approaches to organising and financing L-DTPS.

The first stage of empirical work informed the design of the second stage which comprised ethnographic case studies of three L-DTPS companies. The main objectives of this stage were to (a) develop understanding of the business models identified in the first stage of research; (b) understand how news values are prioritised in the production of L-DTPS news and programming and (c) understand what factors shape professional practice within L-DTPS. The ethnographic stage included participant observation, interviews and ethnographic media content analysis.

The chapter concludes with discussion of entering and leaving the field and of the processes of data analysis and writing up. In particular, the ethnographic approach produced large volumes of highly complex data which required high level critical reflective thinking to synthesize, analyse and theorise.

Stage 1. Document analysis

This section describes the first stage of empirical research, document analysis. American sociologist Kenneth Bailey (1994) describes the method as 'the analysis of documents that contain information about the phenomenon we wish to study'. Bowen emphasizes its systematic nature as a procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents (Bowen 2009: 27). Documents are defined as containing 'text (words) and images that have been recorded without a researcher's intervention' (Bowen 2009: 27). Documents can be printed or electronic (Bowen 2009: 27), public or private (Payne and Payne 2004).

This study analysed a range of documents which are available electronically in the public domain including policy documents published by DCMS, application guidance and supporting information published by Ofcom, licence applications and provisional schedules published by Ofcom but written by people wishing to secure an L-DTPS licence during the first wave of licensing in 2012/13. The study also analyses documents outlining the award decisions of the Broadcast Licence Committee, also published by Ofcom. In analysing these documents I categorised, investigated and interpreted a range of physical sources (Payne and Payne 2004), mainly written documents in the public domain.

The method has some drawbacks. Importantly, studies of cable local television have shown that licence applicants set out the values that the company purports to hold in order to win the franchise,

but that these values are not audited following licence award and are frequently disregarded by practitioners (Wilson 1994; Rushton 1997). However at the start of the study there were no L-DTPS channels up and running - the documents analysed during this stage of the study were the ONLY source of data available.

Document analysis has often been 'incorrectly considered a monopoly of professional historians, librarians and information science specialists' (Mogalakwe 2006: 221), but Botswanan sociologist Mogalakwe argues that it can be 'just as good and sometimes more cost effective than social surveys, in-depth interviews or participant observation' (ibid.). Indeed the method is a useful and under-utilised scientific approach that requires 'rigorous adherence to research protocol' (ibid.). Corbin and Strauss (2008) agree that, similarly to other social science research methods, data drawn from document analysis must be interrogated and interpreted to confer meaning, develop understanding, and contribute to empirical knowledge.

The analytic procedure entails finding, selecting, appraising (making sense of) and synthesising data contained in documents. Analysis of documents yielded a wealth of data including tables, graphs, quotations and entire passages organised into major themes, categories and case examples (Labuschagne 2003). Within this study, document analysis facilitated an understanding of the range of approaches to the organisation and financing of L-DTPS production, as well as the proposed scope and nature of programming within the emergent network.

It was important to undertake this work prior to ethnographic fieldwork in order to develop understanding of the emergent network. The total population of 57 licence applications submitted in August 2012 were downloaded from the *Local TV Licensing* section of the Ofcom website (http://licensing.ofcom.org.uk/tv-broadcast-licences/local/) during January 2013 [4] . Using the company registration numbers provided within licence applications, other company documents such as annual reports and accounts were purchased from the *Get information about a company* section of the Companies House website (https://www.gov.uk/get-information-about-a-company). Both websites are now a part of the British government's website, www.gov.uk, which makes government content available under the Open Government Licence v3.0 and describes itself as 'the place to find government services and information' (gov.uk 2016). This data is therefore highly credible, in that the source of the data has been verified by civil servants prior to publication.

From these documents, a range of data were harvested. Basic quantitative data collected included the name of the service (question 1); the licence broadcast area and the editorial area (question 2); planned launch date (question 3); programming commitments including hours of original and repeat

---

[4] The Ofcom website has been restructured since data collection. The majority of documents employed within this element of the study can now be found at https://www.ofcom.org.uk/manage-your-licence/tv-broadcast-licences/current-licensees/local-tv

news, current affairs and local programming to be broadcast (question 5); company details including company name, date and number of company registration, and type of company (question 6); and contact details (question 16). From these data, licences were categorised according to their independence (whether it is an independent application or part of a group of linked applications). Applicants were not specifically required to set out the number of jobs the service would create, most applicants included their projections in this regard, and this information was extracted where available. Data was collated using an Excel spreadsheet which enabled records to be sorted and filtered with relative ease. As the study progressed, new data were added including indications of the winning applicant in each broadcast area and the date the service was launched as a terrestrial broadcaster. This analysis provided a broad understanding of the type and scale of companies to which licences were being awarded, the type and scale of programming proposed, and suggested some initial avenues to explore regarding relationships between company type and scale and programming type and volume.

Next, more complex, qualitative elements of the licence applications were harvested into Word documents. This was important because analysis of complex qualitative data requires that the data be in a format which is easily searched and annotated. Analysis focused on section four of the application form, in which applicants described their proposed programme services. This section asked applicants how their proposed service would fulfil public service objectives and satisfy audience demands for local news and programming, such as how they would increase local and locally-produced programmes, how it would inform, educate and entertain, and how it would facilitate civic understanding and well-informed debate. Furthermore, the study analysed qualitative responses to questions about ownership structure and shareholdings; management structure; compliance processes regarding broadcasting and terms of licence; company director details; staffing structure; applicant experience; risk management and character of service. Applicants were restricted in the word limit they could employ in response to these questions, with question-specific limits of between 200 and 1000 words. A list of the application form question/responses analysed for the present study and the relevant word limits is shown in Figure 8. The table shows that the study analysed up to 8,000 words of each application. With a total population of 57 applications, this means that an upper limit of 456,000 words of applicant response was analysed for this element.

Figure 8. L-DTPS Application Form – Phrasing and word limits of selected questions

Question	Word limit
4A. Please tell us about your programme service.	1000 words
4B. How will your programming will meet the needs of the area where it is received?	500 words
4C. How will proposed programming broaden the number and range of TV programmes available for viewing in the area?	500 words
4D: How will your programming increase the range of programmes made in or about the area?	500 words

4E: How will your programming bring social or economic benefits to the area, or to different categories of persons living or working in the area?	500 words
4F: How will your programming cater for the tastes, interests and needs of people in the area?	500 words
4G: How will your programming facilitate civic understanding and fair and well-informed debate through coverage of local news and current affairs?	500 words
4H: How will your programming reflect the lives and concerns of communities and cultural interest and traditions in the area?	500 words
4I: How will your programming include content that informs, educates and entertains and is not otherwise available through a digital programme service which is available across the UK?	500 words
4J: What will you broadcast outside of your planned hours of local programme and locally-produced material? Do you intend to share programming with other L-DTPS licensees? From whom do you propose to acquire any third-party programming and what will the nature of this programming be?	500 words
4K. How do you see the service developing after the first three years?	500 words
7. Please provide details of who controls and who owns the body corporate (e.g. company) applying for this licence, and on what basis this control and ownership is achieved.	No limit
8. Management Structure. Please provide a list of directors… indication of management structure… and/or information about who would be responsible for the day-to-day management and running of the service.	No limit
11. What is the staffing structure of your proposed service?	400 words
12A. Please provide a brief history of your group.	300 words
12B. Please summarise the group's broadcasting experience.	300 words
12C. Please summarise the relevant experience of the group or its members, in relevant non-broadcast areas (such as print journalism, third sector, local business, sales and marketing, fundraising, training or education).	250 words
12D. Please summarise the broadcasting experience of key individuals in the applicant group (only if not already described above).	250 words
12E. Details of third party involvement in the group (eg. consultants)	250 words
12F. Details of significant agreements with third parties.	250 words
WORD LIMIT OF SAMPLE DATA PER APPLICATION	**8,000 WORDS**

Deciding to focus on these elements of the application forms meant excluding other sections considered less relevant to the research questions, such as those around launch dates, compliance with the Broadcasting Code, individual directors, risk management and maintenance of the character of the service. Questions excluded from analysis are shown in Figure 9.

Figure 9. L-DTPS Application Form – Phrasing and word limits of excluded questions

Question	Word limit
3. What is your state of readiness for launching your proposed service?	100 words
9. Please explain how you will put in place appropriate procedures to ensure and maintain compliance with the Broadcasting Code and other licence requirements.	200 words
10. Please provide information regarding each director.	No word limit
13. Please detail what you consider to be the main risks to your business plan, both operational and financial risks, and how you propose to address these risks.	500 words
14. Please provide an explanation of how the character of the service (as set out in the Programming Commitments) is to be maintained for the period for which the licence would be in force.	250 words

Communications and qualitative research methods scholar Norman Denzin describes document analysis as often used together with other qualitative methods relating to the phenomenon in question in order to triangulate research findings (Denzin 1970: 291). This can improve the validity of a study by demonstrating that findings are not based upon a single method or source, or investigator bias (Patton 1990 in Bowen 2009: 28). For these reasons, Bowen also recommends triangulation between different data sources to seek convergence and corroboration of findings (2009: 28). The method is often therefore often used in conjunction with for example interviews and observation, which can shed further light on the research subject. In accordance with these recommendations, the present study combined document analysis with other methods in order to triangulate findings and establish the extent to which proposals outlined in licence applications were borne out once licences were awarded and services established.

Stage 2. Ethnographic case studies

The second, main stage of empirical research comprised comparative ethnographic case studies, incorporating observation, interviews and ethnographic media content analysis. Ethnography refers to the description of people and their culture (Schwartz and Jacobs 1979 in Altheide 1987: 66). Strategies drawing on ethnography can help the researcher understand the meanings that give form and content to the social processes (Hammersley & Atkinson 1983: 2), in this case, the social processes involved in L-DTPS journalism. Anthropologists Dominic Boyer and Ulf Hannerz, in their introduction to a special issue of *Ethnography* entitled *World of Journalism,* argue that ethnographies of journalism are nothing new (eg. Gans 1979; Tuchman 1974, 1978; Tunstall 1971). However, they argue, the saturation of journalism into 'so many other theatres of social experience' (2006: 6) and the 'intense marketization, communicational innovation and enhanced translocal social relations' (2006: 6) produce a need for much greater ethnographic inquiry into the contemporary settings, values, and practices of journalism across the world, with particular emphasis upon how journalism is changing and why .

Within this study, I was keen to demonstrate methodologically sound links between data gathering and data presentation, which not only show *how* social life takes the shapes that it does, but make convincing arguments about *why* social life acts as it does (Katz 2001: 447). To this end, ethnographers employ 'thick description' (Geertz 1973: 215), a characteristic of the approach that explains not only behaviour, but context. Thick description is an essential attribute of ethnographic study, used to define 'accounts of behaviour that provide rich context… contextual embedding' that enables the meaningful interpretation of what is observed (Boellstorff et al 2012: 16). Ethnographic case studies therefore offer the opportunity to facilitate a much deeper understanding of the ways

in which the somewhat idealistic proposals set out in licence applications were played out in 'real life'. The concept of ethnography grew out of disillusionment with Enlightenment ideals of standardization, positivism and objectivity around the turn of the twentieth century (Boellstorff et al 2012; Kuklick 2011; Neyland 2008). Since then, ethnography has been utilized in cultural studies, sociology, management theory and organization studies.

Organisational ethnography

In a broad sense, organizational ethnography is the description of the culture and the everyday life that people in organizations share. Organizational ethnography involves the ethnographic observation of, and participation in, particular organizations and their organizing processes (Ybema et al 2009: 4). The approach has a long history, with early organizational ethnographers such as Whyte (1948, 1955), Selznick (1949) and Blau (1955) demonstrating the limitations of organizational studies. These presented 'formal bureaucratic organizational forms as efficiently functioning machines' (Ybema et al 2009: 3), highlighting the 'irrationalities' of behind-the-scenes politics and other practices taking place in organizational 'back-regions' (Goffman 1983/1959 in ibid), rather than exploring how organizations actually functioned.

By the late twentieth century, proponents were arguing that 'social scientists who use ethnographic approaches to study work… cannot be accused of being armchair academics who examine the world at arm's length. On the contrary, they are an impressively polyvalent and engaged lot, having labored in a spectrum of work sites that encompasses factories, offices, hospitals, restaurants and homes' (Smith 2001: 220). Organisational ethnography is increasingly celebrated for its ability to provide in-depth insights into what people and organizations do on a day-to-day basis. It is interested in how work gets done rather than the purely social relationships that may happen to occur in the workplace (Edwards and Belanger 2008: 291). Recent examples include studies of the manufacturing industry (eg. Delbridge 1998), restaurants (eg. Paules 1991) and stock market traders (eg. Abolafia 1996).

Ethnographies of journalism are quite rare, but tremendously valuable. In a special issue of the journal *Ethnography* Boyer and Hannerz (2006) entitled *Worlds of Journalism*, the editors argue that some journalism ethnographies might confirm the 'worst suspicions of how clientelism and hegemony organize and afflict the international news industry' (Boyer and Hannerz 2006: 11) but others 'complicate narratives of journalistic crisis and redemption that pit an abstract system of 'capitalism' or a set of pernicious political interests against heroic media reformers' (Boyer and Hannerz 2006: 11). That is, the realities of professional practice facing journalists are often more complex and less straightforward than more moralistic portraits suggest. Whereas Amahl Bishara's (2006) ethnography of Palestinian journalism, for example, highlights the kind of hierarchies and

inequalities between native and foreign journalists that one might expect in a critical analysis, the challenges encountered by journalists in transnational organisations such as *Euronews* are attributed more strongly to the institutional spaces, rituals and professional practices of media organizations than to external forces (Baisnee and Marchetti 2006).

In his Pew Centre-funded comparative ethnographic study of public journalism in American local television stations, Kurpius argues that the best way to gain an understanding of journalism is to observe newsrooms and interview those who practice it. He found that the method firstly 'provided a sense of the larger organizational structure of the newsroom, specifically on where power lies within the newsroom. Second, it allowed a view into the daily inner workings of the newsroom, a view of processes of completing work on deadline. Third, it provided the opportunity to watch the inter-relationship of employees as they conducted their work' (Kurpius 2000: 345). This approach then can help to illuminate the ways in which power is enacted within local broadcast journalism – through the organisation and financing of production – and how it influences professional practice and the selection and construction of local news and programming.

Comparative analysis

Within this study I wanted to avoid the dangers of focusing on a single case and presenting that experience as universal. Wacquant suggests that confining a study to a single case presents a risk that the researcher's 'common sense assumptions' about their own social world might overly influence the study (2007). I agree with Blumler and Gurevitch's (1975) assertion that because it denaturalises us, comparative analysis forces us to conceptualize more clearly what aspects of that system actually require explanation – it has the 'capacity to render the invisible visible' (1975: 76 in Hallin and Mancini 2004: 2). So although it made the study significantly more challenging in terms of access, data collection and analysis, I was keen to compare two or more cases.

I see the value in sociologist Jeffrey Sallaz's conceptualisation of comparative ethnography as 'counter-posing fieldwork data collected at two sites in order to highlight and explain differences and/or similarities' (2008: 7), but this is extremely challenging within broadcast journalism. Television Journalism professor David D. Kurpius draws attention to the rarity of comparative ethnography within communication research, arguing that it has much to offer the field and is much more widely employed in other branches of the social sciences. Within comparative ethnography, the number of cases may be small, but, he argues, the explanatory value of each is high, enabling the scholar to emphasize the logic of the case, rather than the ability to generalize from large data sets (2000: 341). Comparative ethnography therefore provides a powerful 'warrant' for ethnographic research, by deflecting positivist claims that ethnographic data, no matter how thickly described, has minimal relevance beyond the local context from which they are extracted (Katz 1997). This

suggested that the present study could, by focusing on two or three L-DTPS drawn from the different types identified through the document analysis, safeguard against the risk that my own 'common sense assumptions' about my own social world might overly influence the study. Even with such safeguards as triangulation and comparative analysis in place, it remains difficult to make broad generalizations from ethnographic research.

Hallin and Mancini (2004: 5) highlight how difficult it is to undertake comparative ethnographies, especially when the field is relatively primitive, particularly because it is risky to generalise across media systems whose histories and political cultures we cannot know in equal depth. Lijphart (1971) highlights the problem of 'many variables, few cases' and suggests researchers should focus on a set of relatively comparable cases in which the number of relevant variables will be reduced. L-DTPS companies therefore offer a fantastic opportunity to undertake comparative analysis because they all operate under a common legislative and regulatory system. For L-DTPS the key variables are the model of organising and financing production and the social and cultural composition and expectations of local audiences. The latter variable is controlled to some extent because all the cases are drawn from cities and towns in one particular part of the UK, and which share certain common characteristics, although for reasons of anonymity these are unable to be identified here. This presents one limitation of the study since findings of this study, based on this sample, may not apply to L-DTPS companies in other areas of the UK.

Generalization

Inductive reasoning consists of arguing 'that because all instances of *a* so far observed have the property *b*, all further observations of *a* will also have the property *b*' (Hart 1998: 82), but ethnographic research does not necessarily claim to develop predictive theory. Ethnographers tend not to make broad claims about generalisation; findings are very much tied to the specific case or setting in which the study is situated. Tom Boellstorff and his colleagues, in their book *Ethnography and Virtual Worlds: A Handbook of Method*, explain that when ethnographers make claims they are not arguing that all those they study believe or act in the same way; rather, they try to show that a cultural logic or norm is widely shared and teaches us something of value beyond the specific individuals studied (2012: 179). Indeed, the notion that individual ethnographies might be required to generate theory is a perennial problem. Whereas some argue that ethnographies can offer only detailed description: 'one can never be sure if case study results can be generalized' (Ichniowski et al. 1996: 304), I see ethnography as offering some ability to draw conclusions about how phenomena are connected in a 'situated' manner, even if these conclusions are not 'statistical' in nature (Mitchell 1983).

The L-DTPS network is a fledgling and highly diverse industry, consisting of different forms of organising and financing production. Although there are some 'groups' of channels operating under

a shared brand and sharing a range of formats and central resources, any cursory glance at the schedules and programmes broadcast by the twenty or so channels launched to date will illustrate that the nature of programming is also relatively diverse. I am therefore cautious in making any claims to representation of the wider industry. One way of attempting theory building is through 'moderatum generalizations' which are moderate claims rather than 'attempts to produce sweeping sociological statements that hold good over long periods of time, or across a range of cultures… they are moderately held, in the sense of a political or aesthetic view that is open to change' (Payne and Williams, 2005; 297). The findings of this study are not intended to produce a rigid theory which enables the prediction of journalistic practice according to the structures and strategies they adopt, but, as Boellstorff et al suggest, while we should be wary of over-generalizing, 'at the same time we should not be afraid to point to phenomena that are likely to have broader implications' (2012: 177). With this goal in mind, documenting and analysing local television journalism and production in a small number of cases might tell us something useful about the wider situation of broadcast journalism in Digital Britain.

Ethical issues

The depth of immersion of ethnographic researchers presents significant ethical issues. The Economic and Social Research Council sets out how all social science studies should meet a set of minimum standards regarding ethical concerns which rightly prioritise the rights and protection of the participant (see Figure 10). Most importantly, prior to a study beginning all participants should be fully informed about what is involved in the study and be fully equipped to make a decision about whether or not they participate. All of these principles were adopted fully within the present study.

Figure 10. Economic and Social Research Council Ethical Criteria

Economic and Social Research Council Ethical Criteria
1) Research participants should take part voluntarily, free from any coercion or undue influence, and their rights, dignity and (when possible) autonomy should be respected and appropriately protected.
2) Research should be worthwhile and provide value that outweighs any risk or harm. Researchers should aim to maximise the benefit of the research and minimise potential risk of harm to participants and researchers. All potential risk and harm should be mitigated by robust precautions.
3) Research staff and participants should be given appropriate information about the purpose, methods and intended uses of the research, what their participation in the research entails and what risks and benefits, if any, are involved.
4) Individual research participant and group preferences regarding anonymity should be respected and participant requirements concerning the confidential nature of

	information and personal data should be respected.
5)	Research should be designed, reviewed and undertaken to ensure recognised standards of integrity are met, and quality and transparency are assured.
6)	The independence of research should be clear, and any conflicts of interest or partiality should be explicit (ESRC 2015: 4)

These principles are reflected in the research code of practice for Liverpool John Moores University (LJMU 2010: 4-5). The university operates a system whereby postgraduate research projects are reviewed in terms of ethical compliance. Ethical approval is required prior to commencement of any fieldwork. In this case, fieldwork proposals were submitted to the university's ethics committee on 1st July 2013. There were no queries or suggestions and permission to proceed with fieldwork was granted on 23rd July 2013, prior to commencement of fieldwork. This section discusses some of the ways in which the study ensured compliance with the key ethical principles of voluntary participation and informed consent; minimal risk of harm; integrity and quality assurance and independence from conflicts of interest.

The researcher received a studentship from the Institute of Cultural Capital which contributed to living costs for the duration of the study. The funds received from the institute, nor from any other body, in no way influenced the design, implementation or findings of the study. All participation in the study was voluntary. Organisational gatekeepers authorised broad access to the relevant companies but all participants were asked for individual permission in respect of observation and interviews. All were made aware of the nature of the study, what would be required in order to participate, and that they were able to withdraw at any point without prejudice. This was communicated both verbally and in writing using a participant information sheet (Appendix A), and participants provided consent using a participant consent form (Appendix B). Both documents were authorised in advance as part of the university ethics process.

Ethnography almost never carries the kinds of bodily harm or psychological risks associated with some other forms of research, such as biomedical experimentation. A more likely risk for participants of ethnographic studies is what is known as 'informational risk', the risk that private information could be made public (Boellstorff et al 2012: 133). On a number of occasions I was party to information, conversations and actions that might well have caused harm to careers and companies. Phenomenologists Thomas Eberle and Christoph Maeder see social science participants as vulnerable because they are unlikely to be familiar with the research process, nor to fully appreciate the consequences of their participation, particularly when the study aims to 'reconstruct informal habits, tacit knowledge, routine methods of working around official rules' (2011: 67) or any

other aspect of an organization which belongs backstage and is generally hidden. While some might consider those working in the media to hold privileged positions of power, many are as powerless as the factory worker (eg. Hesmondhalgh 2013). I believe this is particularly the case within the emergent L-DTPS network, since many companies are relatively young with few organisational policies and procedures. The sector as a whole has faced sustained criticism from incumbent media. It has little economic capital and does not enjoy significant social, cultural or political support. There is a sense that the sector is already vulnerable, under fire. Furthermore individual workers and others involved in production can be young and inexperienced, and often labour under precarious conditions which make them vulnerable to exploitation and enforced participation.

Given these issues, I was particularly mindful of the moral obligation on my part to avoid the 'colonial' attitude of some traditional anthropologists which 'exploits the informant like a mine (of information) and the participants as fruit trees' (Gobo 2008: 307). Such an approach could not only cause emotional harm and distress to participants but it could also be damaging to their careers and future employment prospects, and to the organisations involved. In addition, such an approach could be harmful because it may 'strongly affect the efforts of future investigators in the same or similar settings' (Gallmeier 1983: 227), that is, participant perceptions of researchers and the research process may be damaged, thereby reducing the potential for future research into the field. Throughout the study I have been extremely concerned that there is a fine line between giving 'voice to the voiceless' (Ali 2012: 1134) and putting participants at risk of harm by publishing information that could damage their career, family, community or organisation. Publishing 'data gold' may satisfy abstract research goals but may mean 'career suicide' for participants. Within this study I made every effort to take the advice of Boellstorff et al, who recommend that each bit of data is carefully examined and handled appropriately according to circumstances. They contend that ethnographers 'strive to avoid negative outcomes by paying special attention to the potential consequences and risks of what we see and hear, and remembering that not everything is grist for the data mill, no matter how interesting it may be' (2012: 136).

One way in which I sought to minimise harm was to anonymise contributions, as suggested by Boellstorff et all (2012: 137). For this reason pseudonyms are used throughout the study, not only for individuals but for collective identities, since group identification could reveal individual identities cases as a whole (Boellstorff et al 2012: 137). Participants were warned prior to providing consent that, due to the small size of the industry, even with anonymity, there was a risk that they might be identifiable to those within the field. This caution may have limited the extent of participant contributions to some degree, but this was a risk I was willing to take in order to ensure participants were fully informed. Ensuring anonymity on a group and individual basis presented considerable challenges in the writing up of the study, since the distinctive character of the localities

cannot be communicated to the reader and must be actively prohibited. This excludes valuable contextualisation of the cases which would be valuable in contributing to the rich, thick description necessary for 'good ethnography', yet details that enable identification of the cases will compromise the anonymity of participants. I have had to accept this as a limitation of the study which is necessary for the protection of participants.

Methods

Methods employed within ethnographic case study may be diverse. As British sociologist John D. Brewer points out, ethnography encompasses 'not one particular method of data collection but a style of research that is distinguished by its objectives, which are to understand the social meanings and activities of people in a given 'field' or setting' (2000: 11). Denzin and Lincoln agree that the field study and methods characteristic of ethnography are increasingly varied, although most involve interpersonal engagement in natural settings (2005). Several methods of data collection tend to be used such as in-depth interviewing, participant observation, personal documents and discourse analyses of natural language (Brewer 2000: 11). Within the present study, three ethnographic methods used to gather data; (1) observations of working practice within local television company studios, newsrooms and other workspaces; (2) interviews with practitioners and other stakeholders; and (3) ethnographic media content analysis. These research strategies are described by Wolcott (2008) as experiencing (participant observation), enquiring (interviewing) and examining (studying documents).

Ethnographic case study sampling

Sampling for qualitative ethnographic analysis does not need to adhere to 'the statistically valid formulae of quantitative analysis' (Macnamara 2005: 17), but it should have some systematic properties. Macnamara suggests that random or even representative methods of sampling may not be adequate for qualitative analysis since it may not enable the researcher to capture the issues or themes. He cites qualitative researchers Matthew Miles and A. Michael Huberman who argue that sampling strategies for qualitative research should be driven by a conceptual question, rather than by concern for 'representativeness' (1994: 29). Instead, Miles and Huberman suggest three techniques which can be combined to yield rich results: (1) Selecting apparently typical/representative examples; (2) Selecting negative/disconfirming examples; and (3) Selecting exceptional or discrepant examples (1994: 34 in Macnamara 2005: 17). Through this approach to sampling, qualitative researchers can identify the range of views from the typical to the discordants and the extremes (Macnamara 2005: 16-18). Within this study, I aimed to select a sample that appeared to represent the wider population with which they were linked – one from each of the three types of L-DTPS model identified through the document analysis phase of research.

Timescales

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) argue that there is no set timescale for conducting a 'good' ethnography; rather, it is down to the researcher to make a judgement as to the point at which saturation is reached and they feel they are learning little of value. Organisational ethnography is no different. The founding editors of the *Journal of Organisational Ethnography* argue that organisational ethnography requires 'more than just a brief excursion into a given social domain or organisational setting' (Brannan et al 2012) but deny that 'good ethnography' is always dependent upon lengthy periods of fieldwork (ibid.). Given the time and resource constraints of my own study, the expectation placed upon traditional anthropologists, of fieldwork lasting a year or more in order to capture a complete annual cycle of events among the population under study (Padgett 1998: 69), was unrealistic. Within the present study, ethnographic fieldwork took place largely between October 2014 and June 2015 but with some interviews taking place before and after this period. This is discussed further within the *Leaving the field* section, below.

Participant observation

One of the most important methods employed during fieldwork was participant observation. Participant observation is a qualitative method, relied upon by many ethnographers, which can help identify the perspectives held by study populations (Boellstorff 2012: 31). The method involves observation of the study community's daily activities through which the researcher, often an "outsider", attempts to learn what life is like for an "insider" (Mack et al 2005: 13). The method differs from direct observation, which is primarily a quantitative method that attempts to record behaviours and actions in a statistical manner. Participant observation is inherently a qualitative, interactive and unstructured experience aimed at explanatory and exploratory research objectives (Greg et al 2013: 79). The extent to which the researcher is, prior to and during the study, an "insider" or an "outsider" can vary across a spectrum. A direct observation approach would entail very little human interaction between researcher and participant, with low visibility and awareness of the researcher, whereas participant observation approaches entail a high degree of awareness, visibility, interaction and participation of the researcher within the study population (Adler and Adler 1987).

Within this study, I was able to act as participant observer because I had prior professional experience of digital video and web local television production, and because I fitted in with social and cultural expectations of a worker in the field. For example, I chose to dress casually in jeans and jumpers; I maintained a schedule which was consistent with those of participants, arriving and departing at times consistent with those working particular shifts and rotas; helping out with whatever physical work was needed, such as giving lifts to journalists travelling to interviews, helping to lug equipment in and out of cars, even acting as cameraperson on location. Added to

which I was able to converse on professional matters such as programme subject matter, suggest local contacts and offer opinions on programme development when asked by participants. The goal was, as DeWalt and DeWalt (2010: 137) advise, for the researcher to participate in naturally unfolding events and to observe as carefully and objectively as possible, with the aim of achieving new insights into the point of view of participants. While always mindful of the need to avoid interfering, the skills and knowledge gained during my professional experiences in community development and in digital content development provided me with significant assets which proved helpful in the role.

In conducting participant observation, I tried to achieve what distinguished ethnographer Barbara Tedlock describes as the ethnographic encounter. She notes how, within the ethnographic encounter, ethnographers both experience and observe their own and others' co-participation. She describes participant observation ethnographers as attempting to be both emotionally engaged participants and coolly dispassionate observers of the lives of others, but sees 'both the Self and Other' bound together within 'a single narrative ethnography' which emphasizes the character and process of the ethnographic dialogue (Tedlock 1991: 70). I was keen for these experiences to allow opportunities for insights into contexts, relationships and behaviour to emerge (Mack et al 2005: 15), which would help me to identify relationships between the organising and financing of production and the practice of local broadcast journalism, and respond to the research questions.

Participant observation within the study was conducted at L-DTPS premises, because the purpose of using the method was to observe participants in as natural a setting as possible. Mack et al note that a key characteristic of participant observation is the researcher's willingness to engage with participants in their own environment rather than travel to the researcher's place of study. They claim that this is so much the case that participant observation always takes place in community settings, in locations believed to have some relevance to the research questions (2005: 13). Mack et al argue that participant observation requires a 'conscious effort' at objectivity since it is 'inherently subjective' (Mack et al 2005: 15). A conscious effort is particularly necessary because it is highly reliant on the memory, personal discipline, and diligence of the researcher. I was constantly mindful of the words of organisational ethnographers Fine and Shulman, who describe how 'the pace of watching multiple activities, and the limitations of physical endurance, concentration and experience, make missing information inevitable... much is excluded because it passed right under our nose and through our ears, and because our hands were too tired' (2009: 185). My own professional experience of local media production provided me with some knowledge of the kind of environment, participants and working practices I might encounter. To prepare to observe, rather than engage in, professional practice however required additional preparation.

The document analysis conducted in the early stages of the study, as well as reviewing internet content and social media activity of the specific cases was enormously helpful in preparing for observation. In some cases I was able to visit the site beforehand and meet some gatekeepers and participants to explain my goals, what participation would involve and secure written consent from a number of participants. In addition to my professional experience and reading, this helped me to get an initial sense of the environment and participants so that I could prepare for the specific setting. In other cases preparatory visits were not possible due to distance and resource constraints, so all arrangements were made through telephone and email. I used these opportunities to develop an initial understanding of the specific cultures, dress codes and communication practices in each case in order to blend in as best I could.

Mack et al (2005) advise recording a wide range of data including appearance, verbal behaviour and interactions, physical behaviour and gestures, personal space, human traffic and people who stand out (see Figure 11). Spradley suggests recording as much as possible about the space, actors, activity, objects, acts, events, time, goal and feelings (Spradley 1980). I developed a recording form which might help to structure note-taking and purchased a number of simple notebooks, but once in situ it quickly became evident that attempting to structure note-taking during observation using the form I had developed was not a realistic proposition. Much of the time, there was so much activity that it was impossible to differentiate between what might be useful or relevant and what not. I simply recorded, as Lofland and Lofland (1995) suggest, as much of what I could see, hear and otherwise sense as possible, collecting the richest possible data.

Figure 11. What to observe during participant observation (Mack et al 2005: 20)

Category	Includes	Researchers should note
Appearance	Clothing, age, gender, physical appearance	Anything that might indicate membership in groups or in sub-populations of interest to the study, such as profession, social status, socioeconomic class, religion, or ethnicity
Verbal behavior and interactions	Who speaks to whom and for how long; who initiates interaction; languages or dialects spoken; tone of voice	Gender, age, ethnicity, and profession of speakers; dynamics of interaction
Physical behavior and gestures	What people do, who does what, who interacts with whom, who is not interacting	How people use their bodies and voices to communicate different emotions; what individuals' behaviors indicate about their feelings toward one another, their social rank, or their profession
Personal space	How close people stand to one another	What individuals' preferences concerning personal space suggest about their relationships
Human traffic	People who enter, leave, and spend time at the observation site	Where people enter and exit; how long they stay; who they are (ethnicity, age, gender); whether they are alone or accompanied; number of people
People who stand out	Identification of people who receive a lot of attention from others	The characteristics of these individuals; what differentiates them from others; whether people consult them or they approach other people; whether they seem to be strangers or well known by others present

Fine and Shulman call for ethnographers to 'transcend this chill assertion of scholarly competence and recognize that we lack the ability to be totally aware. We mishear, we do not recognize what we see, and we may be poorly positioned to recognize happenings around us. Everything is capable of multiple interpretations and misunderstandings. Some things we do not see because we are not trained or knowledgeable… sometimes we simply do not type all of the things we have noted or, worse, cannot read our own handwriting' (2009: 185). This was certainly occasionally the case within this study.

In addition, I drew on my reading of contemporary ethnographic journalism studies such as Baisnee and Marchetti (2006) and Bishara (2006) as well as seminal works such as Gans (1979) and Tuchman (1978). This reading suggested that participant observation would be crucial for this study because it would enable a mapping of people, practice and place that would not be possible within a study design that used interviews or content analysis alone. In all cases participants were spread across multiple rooms, studios and buildings. Core staff teams were supplemented by a broader workforce of rarely seen partner agencies, freelancers, volunteers, board members. Some worked away from the main premises or were out on location for a large part of their working day. Some meetings took place away from the prying eyes of the lowly researcher, who was sometimes given access only to practised routines and uncontroversial meetings. Through this mapping, observation enabled analysis of moments, behaviours and practices that converge with or diverge from professional values and codes of conduct and the factors that influence such practice.

Throughout the study I was aware of the limitations of participant observation as a method of understanding social systems. As well as the practical challenges of recording lived experience effectively, the researcher experiences what Snow referred to as 'interpersonal factors' (Snow 1980: 107). For example, there may be conflicts between the researcher's professional goals and their dual roles of spouse or parent. In my case, family commitments prevented me from being omni-present, particularly when many participants were working 60 or 70 hour weeks. No matter how much I immersed myself in the daily life of the organisation, as a participant observer I was able to walk away at the end of the day without the pressures of a 120 hour weekly television schedule to fill. As ethnographers, this fundamental freedom from the role and responsibilities of the people and companies we study distances us from the ability to see the world through their eyes. But despite these limitations, observation played a crucial role in the study, providing invaluable opportunities to understand the factors and pressures on professional practitioners, informing decisions about which participants to interview and which media content to select for analysis.

Participant observation sampling

Observations took place over more than 200 hours across three sites, between October 2014 and May 2015. Whilst undertaking participant observation, I took 'careful, objective notes' about what I saw and heard, recording all accounts and observations as field notes in a field notebook (Mack et al, 2005: 13). Fieldnotes played a crucial role in enabling me to record and later, analyse, workplace practice. I recorded both apparently significant, and apparently mundane, trivial aspects of workplace practice, and notes about the environment. I constructed diagrams and maps of important sites, scribbled passages of dialogue, noted people entering and leaving spaces, recorded key decisions and actions that were taken and by whom. When there was time, I was able to record initial reflections on what I observed, such as the pace of communications; perceptions of social hierarchies; the atmosphere in the room. I speculated on the possible motives for the behaviour or practise I was observing. I developed a coding system which enabled me to write more quickly and surreptitiously, for example, using particular letters or symbols as codes for particular people, locations or behaviours.

Interviews

Interviewing is a technique designed 'to elicit a vivid picture of the participant's perspective' (Mack et al 2005: 29) on the research subject. They allow the researcher to develop understanding of participant perceptions of particular incidents, events, people, roles, choices, decisions, strategies and outcomes. They can encourage participants to reveal elements hidden to the observer, such as their motivations or attitudes towards a particular event or issue and can offer a different perspective which can broaden the researcher's understanding.

Some interviews were operated on an informal basis, akin to 'casual conversations among acquaintances' (DeWalt and DeWalt 2010: 137). In informal interviews I adopted a highly unstructured form, exerting minimal impact on topic or flow of conversation, allowing the participant to lead the conversation (DeWalt and DeWalt 2010: 137). As Bernard (1995) put it, I got out of the way and let them talk. Informal interviews took place in studios, offices, in the kitchen, perched on a table in a corridor, wherever was convenient for the participant. Sometimes interviews took place in cars on the way to and from news jobs or location shoots. Informal interviews were not formally recorded; rather, as Bernard (2012: 211) explains, the researcher 'just tries to remember conversations heard during the course of the day', adding scraps of dialogue to their daily fieldnotes.

In addition, in-depth interviews were conducted. The goal of the in-depth interview method is for the researcher to uncover everything the participant can share about the subject. Questions are asked in a neutral manner, with the researcher 'listening attentively to participants' responses, and asking follow-up questions and probes based on those responses' (Mack et al 2005: 29). These interviews generally took place in the premises of the L-DTPS company, preferably in a quiet room where participants could talk freely and uninterrupted for a period of time, but sometimes in other settings such as on-set before a broadcast, at a local community radio station, the researcher's university office or over a leisurely brunch in a local café. Such interviews tended to last between one and two hours. In-depth interviews were semi-structured, and adapted significantly to explore the feelings, beliefs and values of individual participants.

At the beginning of fieldwork I adopted what Spradley refers to as a systematic approach to creating interview questions in which the nature of the response required is prioritised, for example, whether the desired response will be descriptive; experience; structural/explanation; or contrasting. I designed a series of questions which were what Michael Patton (1990) might have termed 'background/demographic'; 'behaviour or experience'; 'opinion or value', 'knowledge' and 'feelings'. 'Background/demographic' questions 'address concrete and practical information concerning the distribution, location, and size of populations'; 'behaviour or experience' questions 'address concrete human action, conduct or ways of doing' and 'opinion or value' questions 'address conviction, judgment, belief or particular persuasion towards a phenomenon'.

I also asked 'knowledge' questions which 'address the range of information and learning a participant holds about a phenomenon, as well as where this knowledge comes from and how it is attained'. Across all methods, care was taken to avoid leading participants according to any preconceived notions, and to avoid encouraging participants to provide particular answers by expressing approval or disapproval of what they say (Mack et al 2005: 29). I also took on board the advice of Katz, who suggests that *why* questions are likely to produce disappointing comfortable, conventional explanations formatted in the atemporal and impersonal categories of moral

reasoning. *How* questions, meanwhile, invite personally historicized, temporally formatted responses which turns the discussion towards 'the long story' that traces detailed processes of social interaction (2001: 445). A sample of interview questions used towards the beginning of fieldwork is provided in Figure 12.

Figure 12. Interview questions

Background/demographic questions: *What is your role here and what brought you to your current role? What did you do before this in terms of education, qualifications, professional experience? What role have family, friends, acquaintances and your personal interests played in your career choices?*

Behaviour questions: *How do you come up with ideas for programmes and news stories? How do you decide what constitutes news? How does what you offer differ from what's already available? How do you decide who to approach for interviews and other contributions?*

Knowledge questions: *What kind of news and programmes are important here? What kind of stories or subjects do you look for and how? What kind of news and programming do you think local audiences are looking for and why?*

Opinion/value questions: *What messages do you want to communicate through your journalism/programming? What do you see as the company's strengths? What are the biggest priorities for developing the service? What are the biggest challenges in achieving those goals?*

Feeling questions: *How do you personally feel about local journalism and local television? How do you want audiences to feel about the locality?*

As the study progressed I found that, as Madison suggests, interview questions evolved naturally the more time I spent in the field, and the more experience and familiarity with the participants' context and culture was accumulated (Madison 2005: 26). I attempted to construct questions according to what Corine Glesne describes as the 'nuggets' of what was seen, heard and experienced in the field (Glesne 1999). Spending time closely listening, observing, and interacting in the field while compiling extensive field notes provided a foundation of knowledge and experience upon which questions were crafted (ibid.).

Interviews sampling

At the beginning of the study I estimated that interviews with approximately thirty participants across the cases would be sufficient in achieving a detailed understanding of the setting, but knew that this number would fluctuate depending on the scale of the case and on the depth and volume of interviews with each participant. Inclusion criteria required an individual's engagement with L-DTPS journalism or production within one of the cases, rather than demographic criteria such as age or gender. Most interviews were conducted with journalists, producers, editors, managers and others involved directly in the production of local news and programming. Others interviewed included presenters, students and volunteers, and in one case a local MP and the programme leader

of a BA degree programme which worked in partnership with the case company. Across the study, participant interviews were conducted with 48 participants during the course of the study, with participants aged from their early twenties to one in his eighties. In-depth interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed into Microsoft Word documents.

Schedule analysis

Firstly, it is important to emphasize that the ability to demonstrate a working knowledge of the breadth and depth of programming broadcast on each of the three channels was crucial in establishing trust and rapport with participants in order to secure or maintain access to sites of production and facilitate observation and interviews. However, developing a 'familiarity' with broadcast programming would not be enough to fulfil the research questions outlined earlier in the study.

To respond to the second research question, what news values are prioritised in the production of L-DTPS news and programming? it was useful to ascertain whether and to what extent the news values apparently prioritised by participants during the processes of production aligned with what was actually broadcast. Drawing on a model developed by cultural studies theorist Raymond Williams (1974), this element aimed to establish a 'broad brush picture' of the various genres produced and broadcast across the three cases, and to identify specific programmes and productions with particular news values which could serve as useful foci for future observations and interviews.

Analysis of listing schedules and programming produced and broadcast by the three cases draws on a mixed methods research approach described by John Creswell (2009) as Triangulation Design. Triangulation Design enables the synthesis of both quantitative data (schedules) and qualitative data (programming) in order to gain a more complete understanding of the research questions.

 In quantitative terms, this aspect of the study considered the broad pattern of programming across the channel, including the genre composition of the weekly schedule, the ratio of original to repeated programming, and acquired programming bought in from third party producers (who were not available for observation and interview). In qualitative terms, this aspect of the study sought to compare the news values prioritised within the 'final cuts' of specific programmes and packages which were actually broadcast, with the news values prioritised within the production process, to ascertain if there were any key shifts occurring within the post-production stage.

Listings data covering one week's schedule during January 2015 was collected from www.localtv.org.uk, the local television website maintained by the network operator Comux, and extrapolated into a series of Excel spreadsheets. Published listings data was checked, verified and refined through observation of recordings of each of the three cases' programming, during which extensive notes were taken in order to identify genre, whether and which specific news values could be identified, the production company (whether the programme was produced in-house or acquired from a third party producer), the nature and extent of 'localness' (whether the subject of the programme was local or whether it was simply locally-produced but focused on a non-local subject), and whether the programme was new or a repeat. Analysis was undertaken to convert raw figures into percentages or proportions and data was presented in tabular or graphic form where appropriate.

The qualitative element involved analysis of more than 100 hours of programming and other content produced and broadcast by the three cases between December 2014 and September 2015. It is important to highlight again here that the study draws on Niblock's (1996) inclusive conceptualisation of journalism as incorporating not only 'hard' news and current/civic affairs but a a vast realm of media forms including documentary, factual programming and entertainment information features. To this end, this study incorporated not only news bulletins and current affairs interview and debate shows but documentaries and factual magazine shows concerning arts and culture, history, heritage, sports and leisure. Analysis focused on the narrative and technical codes employed by journalists and others involved in production in order to emphasize particular news values.

Fieldwork

Negotiating access and entering the field

The document analysis described above enabled the conceptualisation of three models of organising and financing L-DTPS – the community, the commercial and the hybrid. This typology informed the selection of a shortlist of case study sites. It has already been discussed how critical journalism studies in the 1970s and 1980s forced a turn away from production studies and towards content and discourse analysis of publicly available content has presented challenges for researchers in gaining access to the sites of journalism production.

Often the only way in which access can be gained for ethnographic production studies is through historical personal and professional connections between researcher and gatekeeper. In this case, my own professional experience as a local media producer/researcher and project manager of a

web-based local television service, and connections with others in both academia and media industries, provided a crucial connection which eased the process of securing access with a first case.

Through this work, and through speaking at a number of events about my studies, I was able to forge a relationship with one of the owners of an L-DTPS company that subsequently won the local license - therefore a crucial gatekeeper. Securing Colin's permission to study his company helped, to some degree, with gaining permission to future cases, although building links with other L-DTPS companies was to prove much more challenging. In one case, I was continually referred to a manager who was almost impossible to make contact with. In another, I was largely ignored. After numerous attempts, I was able to secure interviews with leaders, and in one case secured permission to undertake interviews and observations on numerous occasions during the coming months.

Once fieldwork began, on meeting with participants within all cases I would explain the background to my study and the conditions of confidentiality and anonymity that would be applied to all data. I would also provide the information sheets which had been approved by the university's ethics committee. Informed consent was sought from gatekeepers and from individual research participants, and obtained prior to any data collection, preferably in written form. All participants were able to withhold consent and decline to participate, both prior to engaging in the study and to withdraw at any time once data collection had begun. Data was stored securely using password-protected devices and will be destroyed securely once the study is completed. Participants were also aware that they could withdraw from the study after data collection had ended. Nobody sought to be removed from the study in this way.

On these occasions I was able to observe practice within the newsroom, production facilities, studios and gallery. Once I was granted this access, everybody I encountered including journalists, production staff, students, management and partners were helpful, interested and keen to talk about their role and views on local television journalism and production. In one case, the timing of my entering the field aligned with a significant expansion in staff numbers, so my arrival was met with relatively little attention. I was granted open access to the company's premises which meant I could come and go as I pleased, arriving on some occasions at 4am to see how the early news shift reviewed overnight events and planned out the day's jobs; or staying late until 10pm or 11pm to watch a last minute re-record of a studio interview. I spent time in the newsroom, production office, studios and gallery and often accompanied journalists attending press conferences, and crews and producers attending other kinds of events, across the locality. I was able to request formal interviews with staff and volunteers across the organisation and engage in a wide range of

observation and informal conversation on an ongoing basis. During the course of my studies I was also able to interview a number of other local television practitioners including two leaders from now defunct local television channels; the leader and social media manager of a local television channel in Montreal, Canada; and leader of a local cable television company serving a native American reservation in Arizona, US.

Leaving the field

Despite growing interest in ethnographic publications and methodological sophistication, leaving the field remains 'one of the most neglected problems in the literature on ethnography' (Gobo, 2008: 306). Given that for most ethnographers, gaining access remains a key issue, it is hardly surprising that, as Lofland and Lofland argue, the process of disengagement 'probably deserves more careful thought and pre-planning than fieldworkers have traditionally given to it' (1995: 62). To this end, I attempted to clarify at an early stage what my own exit strategy might be, or even if I would have one at all. Some researchers, such as sociologist Kai Erikson (1976: 248), 'manage to leave a piece of unfinished business behind in order to have a reason for return', leaving the door open to future contact and further study. Given my professional background and ongoing practitioner/research interests within the field, I was fairly sure even at an early stage that I wanted to 'stay in', as urban sociologist Elijah Anderson puts it (1990, 1999). My interest in audience research provided me with a specific future research agenda, making this 'a live issue indeed' (Lofland and Lofland 1995: 63). However for this particular investigation my studentship and university systems provided me with a limited timeframe in which to complete the study, between 2012 and 2015/16. This timeframe was crucial in enabling an ethnographic approach to the study of the emergence of L-DTPS, since the first service launched in November 2013 with eighteen following in 2014/15. This extraordinarily short window of opportunity was then perfectly aligned with the period in which I would be undertaking fieldwork.

Within this overarching timeframe, it became clear that practical issues would play some part in determining the exit strategy for each case. Even if the distances involved in travelling to some sites were not in the realm of traditional anthropologists who travelled thousands of miles to reach their remote natives, they were enough to necessitate train and hotel reservations and associated costs, and careful planning and negotiations to ensure participants would be present during the visits. These distances also brought into play what Snow refers to as 'interpersonal factors', that is, conflicts between the role of researcher and the role of spouse or parent' (Snow 1980: 107). Where travel to other cities and successive overnight stays were necessary, for example, that meant time away from my family, in particular my two young children. In one case, geographic proximity meant that these conflicts were much reduced, meaning that I could spend significant amounts of time 'in the field' on a fairly flexible basis with little cost, either financial or personal. In light of this, I planned

to spend several months at this field-site, hoping that a natural end would present itself when, as Snow suggests, 'enough data have been collected to sufficiently answer pre-existing or emergent questions' (Snow 1980: 101). In fact, after only two months I became increasingly deluged with data. I would not go so far as to say I experienced 'sheer mental and physical exhaustion' (Snow 1980: 107), but the depth and complexity of data I was collecting became increasingly entangled in my mind and I began to contemplate a gradual withdrawal from the field. This was achieved several weeks later, although, like Erikson (1976: 248), there remained a few areas of 'unfinished business' which would facilitate a return, should either party be inclined.

Data analysis and writing up

Unlike quantitative research, the analysis of ethnographic data is not simply a one-off activity, but takes place throughout fieldwork and beyond, throughout the apparently distinct stages of analysis and writing up. Boelstorff et al argue that data analysis is, too often, 'treated as a black box, as if it is simply the brilliant minds of individual researchers that make connections and draw conclusions' (2012: 159). Bernard agrees that, like ethnography itself, ethnographic data analysis is highly emergent and contextual (1995). Boelstorff remind us that there is no one way to come up with the broad insights and claims that give ethnographic analyses their unique stamp and which ensure that the texts produced will be cited and discussed by others (2012: 159).

This shifting between one perspective and another is part of the sociological imagination described by American sociologist Charles Wright Mills, necessary in order to build up an adequate view of a total society and of its components – a factor he saw as distinguishing the social scientist from 'the mere technician' (1978 [1959]: 232). Within this section I am mindful of the words of American ethnographers Fine and Shulman, who in their 2009 book chapter, *Lies from the field: Ethical issues in organizational ethnography,* argue that:

> 'the production of good things is not pretty. Workers are caught in a web of demands that compel them to deviate from formal and idealistic rules. Yet for public consumption, practitioners must present glossy versions of how they work. These illusions are essential for occupational survival. When the work is messy, workers have to clean up well' (2009: 177)

It is pertinent to point out that this description applies as much as the social scientist as to the organisations and social systems they seek to understand. Fine and Shulman argue that such 'cleaning up' deceives readers, offering incomplete accounts of the challenges and dilemmas involved in the research process and leading to varnished depictions of the ways in which organizational ethnographies are conducted. They describe these as 'antiseptic accounts' which cost both readers and practitioners (ibid.). With this in mind, I highlight the reality that, while the research methods, data collection and analytical processes are set out here in an apparently discrete

and linear fashion, in reality these activities happened in a much more non-linear fashion, with apparently distinct elements taking place concurrently and overlapping with one another.

Early attempts at analysing the vast wealth of ethnographic data collected during fieldwork were not terribly successful. Simply sifting through the archive of notebooks, audio files, scribbled notes, photos, videos and various scruffy mementoes, not to mention analyses of many hours of television programming and other media content, took considerable time. I attempted to reduce the data, as suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994), to a manageable state by coding it using nvivo software. This was unsuccessful, perhaps because I 'over-coded' the data, so that every conceivable tag, or node, was assigned to every conceivable unit of data. This resulted in an enormous number of tags, or nodes, that added to, rather than reduced, the complexity of the data. As Durkin (1997) argues, QDA's (Qualitative Data Analysis Programmes) neither promise nor threaten to think, they cannot theorise, nor do they create complex data codes. Boelstorff et al emphasize that analysis is not about 'tuning coding schemes or tweaking data analysis software packages'; rather, 'it is about finding, creating, and bringing thoughtful, provocative, productive ideas to acts of writing' (2012: 159).

After some experimentation I used manual procedures to assign codes to the field notes using a highlighter pen and post it notes. I made comments about the data on post-it notes and indicated initial analytical categories using a coloured pen. Next, I sorted and sifted data to identify similarities, relationships, patterns, emerging themes and common sequences, and then link these patterns and themes with the existing literature and theory. This was a laborious and time-consuming process, and one which ultimately had to be completed manually.

The shift from what Boellstorff et al describe as the first stage of analysis, which focuses on 'the rich specificity of fieldwork: persons, events, memorable statements, arresting images' to analysis 'whose value goes beyond the particular incidents we encountered' (2012: 176) was challenging to say the least. I drew upon Jenny Moon's work, in which she describes reflective thinking as the 'processes of relating, experimenting, exploring, reinterpreting from different points of view, or within different contextual factors, theorizing, linking theory and practice; 'cognitive housekeeping' (2004: 3). What I found particularly useful about Moon's work is her visualisation of reflective thinking as a messy, non-linear, loop-the-loop, backtracking and potentially circular activity, which is just as likely to require further reflection than to achieve any sort of resolution (see Figure 13).

Figure 13. Critical reflective thinking (Moon 2004: 3)

Start reflection process

Perhaps review of new purpose against original

A purpose for reflecting guides selection of an event / issue and other aspects of the processes

The description of event or issue focuses the considerations: - e.g:
a) a statement of observations
b) comment on personal behaviour;
c) comment on reaction / feelings;
d) comment on context.

Additional ideas are fed in – eg:
a) further observations;
b) relevant other knowledge, experience, feelings, intuitions
c) suggestions from others;
d) new information;
e) formal theory;
f) other factors such as ethical, moral, socio-political context.

Reflective thinking occurs– processes of relating, experimenting, exploring, reinterpreting from different points of view, or within different contextual factors, theorizing, linking theory and practice; 'cognitive housekeeping', etc.

Other processing may occur such as testing of new ideas in practice and / or representation: eg in a first draft, or graphic form / in discussion etc.

A product results - something is learned or there is a sense of moving on – eg identification of an area for further reflection or a new question is framed.

There is more reflection   There is resolution / completion

(Moon 2004: 3)

Eventually, after longer than I might have liked, I began to become familiar with the key findings and to begin to understand what original contribution might be extracted. Now came the challenge of reconstructing 'reality' into academically-acceptable prose that illuminates a path from research question to research finding. Through a series of vignettes of what I hoped comprised Geertz's 'thick description' (1973), I tried to 'fit the world into a genre' (Atkinson 1992: 29-37 in Fine & Shulman 2009: 185) and make the account seem 'a competent version of the kind of thing that this genre should entail' (Fine & Shulman 2009: 185). For reasons of space most of these vignettes are excluded from this thesis, but because organisational ethnography is 'a methodology that depends on the presentation of the lives-in-full of an organization and its workers' (Fine & Shulman 2009: 191), I attempt to share some of the messiness of observations without tidying them up too excessively.

Finally, I highlight Fine and Kleinman's (1986) remarks on the dangers of inscription for all writers. I could only do my best to steer clear of banal observations (Morley 1991: 264) and poor writing that 'can confuse or bore readers... [and be] incomprehensible to a wider audience' (Richardson 1990). In

sum, I have been mindful not to write 'so well that the reader is more entranced by the writing than by the substance' (Fine and Kleinman 1986).

5. Organising and financing L-DTPS

This is the first of two chapters presenting and discussing the study's findings. It presents the findings from the first stage of empirical research, document analysis, and a subsequent stage, schedule analysis, which both inform the third, ethnographic stage. This chapter analyses the ways in which the network organised and financed and identifies the business models employed in L-DTPS. The chapter begins by analysing the application and assessment process through which the first wave of L-DTPS licences were awarded between 2012 and 2013. The analysis considers the total population of 57 applications and of those, the nineteen which were successful. Through this analysis, three distinct models or ways of organising and financing L-DTPS are conceptualised – the commercial model, the community model and the hybrid model. In the concluding section, the chapter provides an outline of the three cases to be explored through the subsequent ethnographic stage of empirical research which took place in 2014/15, with one case drawn from each of the three conceptual models.

Analysis of the ways in which L-DTPS companies are organised and financed was a critical first step in the study because critical political economy places these structural concerns at the heart of professional practice and decisions about production and construction of media texts. Golding and Murdock argue that the organising and financing of production has traceable consequences for the range of discourses and representations in the public domain and for audiences' access to them (Golding and Murdock 1991: 15). The parameters of the ways in which L-DTPS companies could be organised and financed were shaped by policymakers through the process of licensing.

Organising L-DTPS

In theory, the legislative and licensing frameworks established by policymakers allowed any corporate body to apply for an L-DTPS broadcast license. But in practice, the structuring of the network as commercially, rather than publicly-funded, played a key role in discouraging applicants from adopting non-profit approaches.

The licensing process was designed and implemented by British communications regulator Ofcom under Section 18(1) of the Broadcasting Act 1996, as amended and modified by the Local Digital Television Programme Services Order 2012. Ofcom invited applications for the first phase of licences in 21 cities and towns on 10th May 2012. A range of supporting information was published at the same time, including guidance on completing and submitting an application, assessment procedures and technical information. Applications were to be submitted by 13 August 2012 with an accompanying non-refundable fee of £2,500.

What was striking about the application process were the substantial demands to be placed on L-DTPS licensees in terms of public service broadcasting duties, coupled with a very limited range of support provided for the emergent network. L-DTPS licensees were to fulfil a particular subset of broader public service broadcast objectives, in particular (a) reflect the lives and concerns of local communities and cultural interests and traditions; (b) include content that informs, educates and entertains and is not otherwise available; (c) provide social and economic benefits to the locality; (d) increase the range and proportion of programmes made locally, and (e) facilitate civic understanding and fair and well-informed debate through local news and current affairs programming. Policy documents made clear that local news was a priority with a minimum requirement of 7 hours per week, even for the smallest licensee (Ofcom 2012a). This requirement constituted a substantial increase on existing levels of news provision amongst mainstream public service broadcasters. At the time no mainstream broadcaster was required to provide local news. BBC1 was required to provide 4 hours 25 minutes of regional news, and ITV, 5 hours 30 minutes (Barnett 2011: 187). As a collectivist I would argue that such objectives are entirely reasonable for a public service broadcaster with a stable and secure funding arrangement, guaranteed through legislation or royal charter.

However what makes these requirements striking is the absence of public funding to support such activity. Some £40 million of BBC funds were ring-fenced by government to support development of the broadcast infrastructure and to provide L-DTPS companies with a commercial revenue stream, via the BBC, during their early years, but government expressly stipulated that no public funding would be made available on an ongoing basis to support the production costs of L-DTPS licensees. This meant that, from the beginning, licensees had to develop a business model that would, at the very least, sustain production, and at best, realize a profit, through commercial revenue streams. This emphasis on commercial revenues shaped L-DTPS as a commercial, more than a public service, broadcast network, from the beginning.

The application process required a range of information on basic details about the service such as its proposed name, broadcast area and launch date. More complex information was required in the form of detailed narrative responses to questions such as how will the proposed service meet the needs of the area where it is received? How will the proposed service broaden the number and range of TV programmes available in the area? How will the proposed service increase the range of programmes made in or about the area? How will the proposed service bring social or economic benefits to the area? Applicants were also asked to describe how their service would facilitate civic understanding and fair and well-informed debate through coverage of local news and current affairs; how the service would reflect the lives and concerns of communities and cultural interest and traditions in the area.

Interestingly, the application process asked applicants to demonstrate how they would develop a service that not only informs, educates and entertains but is *not otherwise available* through a digital programme service across the UK. This is interesting because it gives an indication of policymakers' intentions for media policy at a relatively early stage in the coalition government, and foreshadows the much higher profile debate around the introduction of *distinctiveness* as a key public service broadcast principle during BBC charter renewal in 2015/16.

Applicants were also required to submit a sample weekly broadcast schedule, and to describe plans for non-local programming such as content acquisition from third parties or content-sharing arrangements with other local services. In addition, applicants were to provide company registration details; governance documents; management and staffing structures; director profiles and experience in broadcasting and non-broadcasting areas; details of third party involvement; risk analysis and management strategies. Applicants were provided with word limits for each section of the application; the total maximum limit was 9,050 words. All of these parts of each application were published on the Ofcom website following submission.

The one element which was excluded from online publication was the proposed business model and financial projections, since Ofcom deemed this information commercially sensitive and therefore excluded from Freedom of Information requirements. The study was able to gain a sense of the economic scale of the proposed services from the staffing models proposed by many applicants within the publicly accessible element of their applications, but as will be discussed later, this made public and scholarly scrutiny of the decision-making process difficult and made the process somewhat opaque.

Applications

By 12th August 2012, 57 applications had been submitted to the regulator for 19 licences, representing interest in 95% of the 21 licences on offer. Bids were received for licences in Belfast, Birmingham, Brighton, Bristol, Cardiff, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Grimsby, Leeds, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Newcastle, Norwich, Nottingham, Oxford, Preston/Blackpool, Sheffield and Southampton. Figure 14 illustrates the total population of licence applications.

No applications were received for licenses in Swansea or Plymouth and these licences were re-allocated into subsequent phases of licensing. The lack of applications for services in some areas prompted local criticism of the commercial structuring of the network. Swansea West MP Geraint Davies told BBC News the regulator's proposals for a broadcast area reaching just 50,000 people were 'a complete farce' which prevented any interested parties in developing a viable business proposition. Davies suggested that a broadcast coverage area comprising 'the whole region from Llanelli through Swansea to Neath Port Talbot' would have presented a more viable proposition,

with a potential audience of 400,000 (cited in BBC 2012). Criticism such as this suggested that local political actors, as well as aspiring licensees understood only too well that the commercial structuring of the network would have significant effects on the feasibility of local services, and were sceptical of its compatibility with the stated social, cultural and democratic objectives of the policy.

Figure 14. L-DTPS Licence Applications (August 2012)

Location	Service Name	Company type	Profit status	Type	Successful?
Belfast	Made in Belfast	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
	NvTv	Company Limited by Guarantee	Non-profit	Hybrid	Y
Birmingham	Made in Birmingham	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
	YourTV Birmingham	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
	City TV Broadcasting	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	Y
	Bham TV	Limited Liability Partnership	Profit	Commercial	
Brighton & Hove	Latest TV	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	Y
Bristol	Made in Bristol	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	Y
Cardiff	Made in Cardiff	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	Y
	Cardiff Local TV	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
Edinburgh	ETV	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	Y
	Made in Edinburgh	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
	Metro8 Edinburgh	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
	Edinburgh News Network	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
Glasgow	GTV	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	Y
	Made in Glasgow	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
	Metro8 Glasgow	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
	Glasgow TV	Company Limited by Guarantee (without share capital)	Non-profit	Community	
Grimsby	Estuary TV	Community Interest Company	Non-profit	Hybrid	Y
Leeds	Made in Leeds	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	Y
	YourTV Leeds	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
	Metro8 Leeds	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
	Leeds TV	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
	NORTH	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
Liverpool	Made in Liverpool	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
	YourTV Liverpool	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
	Metro8 Liverpool	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
	Bay TV Liverpool	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	Y
	Our-TV	Private Limited Company (social enterprise basis)	Non-profit	Community	
London	LONDON LIVE	Private Limited company	Profit	Commercial	Y
	YourTV London	Limited Liability Partnership	Profit	Commercial	
	Made in London	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
	LondonTV	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	

	London8	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
Manchester	YourTV Manchester	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	Y
	Made in Manchester	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
	Metro8 Manchester	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
	Manchester News Channel	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
	MCR TV	Private Limited Company (to change to CIC if successful)	Non-profit	Hybrid	
Newcastle	Made in Tyne and Wear	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	Y
	YourTV Newcastle	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
	Metro8 Newcastle	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
	NEON-TV	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
Norwich	Mustard	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	Y
	NR ONE	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
Nottingham	Notts TV Television	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	Y
	Nottingham	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
Oxford	That's Oxford	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	Y
	Oxford 8	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
	Oxonian	Private Limited Company (where directors will not take dividends)	Non-profit	Hybrid	
Preston	YourTV Blackpool & Preston	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	Y
	Metro8 Preston	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
Sheffield	YourTV Sheffield	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
	Metro8 Sheffield	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	
	SLTV/Sheffield Live	Industrial Friendly Society	Non-profit	Community	Y
Southampton	That's Solent	Private Limited Company	Profit	Commercial	Y
	TV Solent	Wholly owned subsidiary of Southampton Solent University	Non-profit	Hybrid	

Competition was strongest for the licenses in London and some of the northern conurbations - Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester. Five bids were made for licenses in each of these cities. There were four bids each for Birmingham, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Preston; three each for Oxford and Sheffield; two each for Belfast, Cardiff, Norwich, Nottingham, Preston and Southampton. Just one bid each was submitted for licenses in Brighton, Bristol and Grimsby.

The biggest challenge for local television leaders is the development of a viable and sustainable business model (Wilson 1994; Rushton 1997). A business model is fundamentally underpinned by decisions about how the company proposes to secure and deploys its resources. To produce and broadcast L-DTPS, companies require the rental or purchase of studios, office spaces and equipment, but the largest resource requirement for local television companies is undoubtedly the workforce. To produce local programmes, L-DTPS companies require people, paid or unpaid, to come up with

ideas for programmes; research and develop programmes and series; book presenters, locations, guests and interviewees; shoot and edit packages and programmes; undertake post-production including creating and adding graphics, audio and credits; check content complies with regulatory requirements and ethical frameworks; prepare programmes for broadcast and publish on other platforms such as a corporate website or streaming service.

The production of local news is particularly resource-intensive. To produce daily news bulletins, L-DTPS companies require people, paid or unpaid, on a daily basis, to source, co-ordinate and allocate stories; to research stories; to arrange, shoot, conduct and edit interviews and actuality footage; to script, present, shoot and edit headlines and links; to compile the news programme and undertake post-production including creating and adding graphics, audio and credits; check content complies with regulatory requirements and ethical frameworks; to prepare programmes for broadcast; to write up stories and take and edit still photographs for publication on the website; to upload video news content to a corporate website and/or social media sites; to liaise with and supply daily rushes of news stories to the BBC; and to promote stories and bulletins on social media.

Finally, the management and administration of the company requires people, paid or unpaid, to make decisions about all aspects of the company's structure and operations, as well as manage the accounts; manage the building and physical resources; undertake administration duties; market the service and manage social media accounts; sell advertising slots and help advertisers to produce or commission television adverts; and ensure the company complies with legal, regulatory and employer obligations.

To resource their service, all 57 applicants proposed some combination of a range of six mechanisms including (1) advertising; (2) sales of news content to the BBC; (3) shareholder investment; (4) in-kind support in the production and acquisition of programming; (5) grants and (6) sales or exchange of formats and finished programmes. The emphasis placed on each of these mechanisms, as indicated within the publicly available narrative elements of the bids, varied. The majority of applications (49, 86.0%) proposed a primarily 'commercial' approach in which L-DTPS is seen as a profit-making enterprise and production, resourced primarily through advertising, sponsorship and content sales. By contrast, just three applications (5.3%) proposed what I define as a 'community' approach, resourced primarily through voluntary donations of time and content and grant aid. A third model, defined here as a 'hybrid' approach, was proposed within five applications (8.8%). Hybrid models proposed resourcing strategies which fully integrated commercial revenues, grant aid and voluntary donations.

Commercial type

Commercial proposals are defined as those employing a profit-seeking governance and business model, such as a private limited company or a limited liability partnership. Commercial applications tended to propose large staff teams (10 or more employees) who would undertake the majority of production in-house. Applications suggested a low, and in some cases, token emphasis on engaging volunteers, partner organisations and community groups in production. Commercial applications proposed resourcing strategies which emphasized shareholder investments, sales to the BBC and significant advertising revenues.

Of the 49 commercial bids, 31 were submitted by one of five commercial groups who made multiple bids for a number of localities. For example, the *Made TV* group, established by Jamie Conway, a TV entrepreneur with experience in broadcasting with channels in Ireland and across Europe, submitted the largest number of applications (11), bidding for licenses in Belfast, Birmingham, Bristol, Cardiff, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Leeds, Liverpool, London, Manchester and Newcastle, in many cases in partnership with the local newspaper. *Metro8*, a local television company well established in the Canadian market, and *Your TV*, a new consortium of UK independent local radio executives, both made eight applications - *Your TV* for Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Newcastle, Preston and Sheffield, and *Metro8* for Edinburgh, Glasgow, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Preston and Sheffield. *STV*, operator of the Channel 3 Scotland license, bid for Edinburgh and Glasgow, and *Ultra Consultancy*, later to become *That's TV*, bid for Oxford and Southampton.

Interestingly, it was the northern conurbations along the northern M62 corridor, rather than the wealthier southern cities, that gained most interest from the commercial groups – Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester and Newcastle were the only localities other than London where all three groups were competing. The high level of interest in the populous and overlapping northern cities shows how commercial operators intended from the beginning to consolidate as much as possible in order to limit costs and maximize profits. The ability to consolidate across license areas which have large populations and which share geographic borders, that is, are direct neighbours, was particularly appealing to commercial operators since staff and technical resources can more easily be deployed across multiple broadcast areas. There may be other benefits to securing adjoining broadcast area licenses since audiences may have shared interests or characteristics which may make it easier to centralize programme formatting or share content across multiple localities. The benefits of securing licenses in broadcast areas which have large populations and in multiple, neighbouring, possibly overlapping, localities was therefore much more appealing than winning licenses for disparate areas located in different parts of the country, or those disconnected by large stretches of rural countryside not covered by the L-DTPS network.

A notable exception to this pattern was Sheffield, which attracted only three bids – one independent and two commercial group proposals. The reason for the lower number of bids here is likely to be connected with the city's unusual topography. Although Sheffield is a major city with a population of more than 560,000 (Office for National Statistics 2014) and situated with easy access to major conurbations along the M62 corridor as well as in the North East and the Midlands, its topographical features present a challenge for broadcasting. As George Orwell noted in the *Road to Wigan Pier*, Sheffield is built upon seven hills, 'like Rome' (1937). Following a detailed technical survey in 2011/12, these features led the regulator to propose an L-DTPS broadcast area comprising just 110,000 households. Compared with broadcast areas comprising 840,000 homes in Leeds, 890,000 in Liverpool and 1 million in Manchester, it is clear that Sheffield holds less commercial appeal than its less undulating neighbors.

The remaining 18 commercial applications (31.6% of total) were submitted by independent commercial companies or consortia. Independence here is defined as applications which were not linked to any other application by company registration, parent company or branding. For example, *Latest TV* in Brighton, *Mustard TV* in Norwich and *Bay TV* in Liverpool were all, at the time, independent commercial applications whose owners were not involved in any other applications in other areas.

Consortia bids involved a number of organisations working together to establish a commercial partnership. A good example of a commercial consortium application was *Notts TV*, involving *Nottingham Trent University, Confetti Media, Inclusive Digital* and the *Nottingham Post Media Group*. The *Notts TV* application placed a particularly heavy emphasis on its role in facilitating civic debate, with well-developed plans for news and current affairs programming. The proposal clearly articulated the public service role of L-DTPS, citing *Ofcom* audience research and emphasising the 'accuracy, impartiality, comprehensiveness and authoritative presentation' of its news, including 'hard news reportage and discussion on key social and political issues'. The application detailed extensive news-gathering resources including the journalists of the well-established *Nottingham Post* newspaper as well as collaboration with *ITN* and *BBC* news services and 'the country's first Broadcast Journalism degree' at *Nottingham Trent University*. Proposed programmes included an hour-long monthly debate show, *The Nott Debate*, shot on location around Nottingham and exploring topics such as the bid for a city mayor, Hi-Speed2 Rail Network; and *Notts Politics*, a weekly discussion show with political guest interviews and panels. The Notts TV application also particularly emphasized a strong communications strategy including marketing, public relations and social media, developed by one of the key partners, *Inclusive Digital,* a digital video and web company.

Three applications (5.3%) proposed what I define as a 'community' approach. The community approach is defined as employing a community media model in which local people are provided with the support and equipment necessary to enable them to engage in the process of producing local news and programming, generally on an unpaid basis. Here, the goal is to empower local communities to develop a voice and produce media content about events, issues and people which they see as important, which may challenge narratives found in mainstream media.

Community models proposed a non-profit business model such as a company limited by guarantee or a community interest company, in which any surplus funds are reinvested into the company to support development and growth of the company and its participants. Community applications proposed to employ very small staff teams (4-9 people) with the majority of production undertaken by volunteers, freelancers, independent production companies, universities and colleges and strategic partners from the public, private and third sector. Community applications envisaged lower running costs due to the lower staffing costs, coupled with strong content contributions from strategic and delivery partners. They proposed to generate resources through advertising revenues and sales to the BBC, as well as grant aid and donations to support their community engagement and development work.

For example, one community proposal for the Liverpool license, stated in its opening pages:

> 'Our-TV will not mimic traditional television by relying on formats that merely question those in power, but will also provide a more powerful tool – a means toward more effective dialogue:
>
> • an open access platform that will promote better community engagement by allowing policy makers and service deliverers to talk directly to their respective constituencies and user groups…
>
> • by allowing local communities to 'answer back' and/or demonstrate what they would like to see and get done, rather than 'done to them'…
>
> • open access that means it is not always programme makers, politicians or officials who will set or mediate the agenda, but local people in their own neighbourhoods.
>
> Our-TV's overall aim is allow people to 'talk to' rather than 'at' each other. Alongside allowing people to create rather than simply consume culture. Our vision is to develop a media communications platform that *guarantees airtime* to every community, arts organisation or public body wishing to participate.'

This proposal represented an attempt to democratise the broadcasting industry by allowing people, organisations and public bodies' direct access to the airwaves. Other examples of community approaches include Glasgow's *Community News TV* and *Sheffield Live TV*. *Sheffield Live TV* was developed by *Commedia*, the UK representative body for the community broadcasting sector, established in 1983, which aims to 'enable people to establish and develop community-based communications media for empowerment, cultural expression, information and entertainment' (Commedia 2016). These quotations clearly demonstrate the social and cultural objectives of these applicants, over and above financial or profit motivations.

Hybrid type

Five (8.8%) applications proposed what I define as a 'hybrid' approach. A hybrid approach is defined as an L-DTPS company employing a non-profit business model but working on an 'as commercial' basis. A hybrid company may be registered as a community interest company or a company limited by guarantee, like a community model, or as a private limited company, like a commercial company, with a stipulation that no shareholder dividends are paid. In hybrid models, applicants proposed medium sized staff teams (between 6 and 12 people) comprising professional journalists, producers and editors to design and produce local news and programming. However unlike commercial proposals, hybrid approaches emphasized strong collaborative agreements and a blended model of production with in-house professionals supplemented by a highly organised extended workforce including volunteers, freelancers, partners and students. Here, the emphasis is on enabling volunteers, freelancers, partners and students to gain work experience of the television industry and to develop skills and attributes and vibrant local television industry. Applications employing a hybrid model proposed to generate resources through advertising revenues and sales to the BBC. Due to the strong benefits to strategic partner organisations such as colleges and universities, hybrid models were also often well-supported by their partners.

For example, while numerous applicants cited broad support from a local university within their proposals, three hybrid applicant enjoyed particularly strong, strategic support from local universities and colleges. *Solent TV* for example was led by *Southampton Solent University* which enabled the company to employ, from a very early stage, a full-time CEO and enjoy access to premises, studio and programme making capabilities, journalists and programme makers, and technical TV broadcast and transmission expertise. Other examples of hybrid approaches include *Estuary TV*, a wholly owned subsidiary of *Grimsby Institute of Further and Higher Education*, and *Oxonian Media*, a consortium *involving Film Oxford, Abingdon and Witney College* and *Cornerstone Arts Centre*.

It is clear from reviewing the bidding guidance and license applications that the commercial structuring of the network shaped the nature and volume of applications submitted to the regulator.

Non-profit approaches, whether community or hybrid, represented a small minority of the overall portfolio of applications, with the vast majority of applications consisting of commercial proposals. Once submitted, the regulator then had a crucial role to play in assessing applications and in making decisions about the nature of the applicants selected to deliver the L-DTPS service in each locality.

Assessment and Awards

Bids for each licence were considered by a *Broadcast Licensing Committee* (BLC), appointed by the regulator. Bids were considered on a 'beauty contest' basis rather than the ability to pay the highest price. In these terms, a 'beauty contest' means 'a competitive process that assesses bids on the strength of their offer against pre-determined criteria and the credibility of the organisation (including financial robustness) behind the bid' (DCMS 2011: 20). The beauty contest basis was supported during the consultation process by stakeholders expressing an interest in bidding for licenses since it would enable small organisations and start-ups to secure licences if they were able to demonstrate a sustainable business model, rather than being excluded from the competition because of limited economic resources.

Accounts of award decisions were published by *Ofcom* on the local television licensing section of its website. The guidance stated that the BLC would first consider whether the proposed service would fulfil the statutory criteria set out in the legislation. In localities where multiple applicants demonstrated that they would fulfil this criteria, the BLC would then consider, on a comparative basis, with regard to the statutory criteria set out in Section 18 of the Broadcasting Act 1996, (i) the extent to which a proposed service would meet the needs of the local area (ii) the extent to which a proposed service would be likely to broaden the range of television programmes available for viewing by persons in the local area (iii) the extent to which a proposed service would increase the number and range of programmes made in or about the local area and (iv) the ability of applicants to maintain the service for the licence period.

These qualitative criteria provided the BLC with a great deal of flexibility in justifying award decisions. In particular, it was difficult to scrutinise the BLC's evaluations of applicants' abilities to maintain the service for the licence period, because detailed financial projections and business model information supporting each application were not made publicly available. The Glasgow licence, for example, received four applications, of which three were commercial and one was a community model (*Glasgow Community News Television Ltd*). The BLC described the community proposal as distinctive and locally-focused, but argued that its business plan was less sustainable than its competitors. It was difficult to ascertain the extent to which this was a valid criticism, since the relevant information was not publicly available.

Between September 2012 and February 2013, nineteen L-DTPS licences were awarded. The regulator stipulated that each service must launch within two years of the licence award date. Awards were made to applicants proposing a range of corporate structures including commercial enterprise, either as a small independent or group, or affiliated to a larger media or telecommunications firm; and non-commercial structures, such as an independent charity or non-profit company, or as part of a larger consortium or partnership with for example a local charity, council, college or university.

Analysis of the selected elements enabled development of a deeper understanding of the particular approaches proposed by the applicants, and those favoured by the regulator. As discussed earlier, this approach enabled the conceptualisation of three models of organising and financing L-DTPS companies - commercial, community and hybrid. Commercial proposals massively outnumbered both those adopting community and hybrid approaches, with 49 commercial applications (86.2% of all applications), three community (3.5%) and five hybrid (5.3%). This pattern was largely duplicated within licence awards, with sixteen of the nineteen pioneer licence awards to commercial companies (84.2% of pioneer licence awards), one to a community organisation (5.3%) and two to hybrid companies (10.5%), as shown in Figure 15

Of the 49 commercial applications, 16 were successful, meaning that, in line with the proportion of applications, the vast majority of L-DTPS licensees (84.2%) employ a commercial approach. This gives a ratio between applications and licences secured, or a success rate, for commercial applications, of 32.7%. Of the three community proposals, one was successful, meaning that 5.3% of licensees employ a community model, giving a success rate of 33.3%. Of the five hybrid proposals, two were successful, meaning that 10.5% of licensees employ a hybrid model, giving a success rate of 40.0%. Overall, the average success rate was 33.3%.

This analysis makes clear that community and hybrid approaches are in a significant minority within the emergent network. Also, while it is difficult to draw firm conclusions, given the small sample sizes, these ratios seem to suggest that hybrid bids were more successful in the licencing process than their commercial or community counterparts. There are numerous reasons why this could be the case. It may be that applicants from hybrid organisations are more skilled in producing strong proposals, able to draw on both commercial and community skills and knowledge. It may be that hybrid models really do present the strongest and most sustainable model of operating local television in the contemporary media-sphere. Alternatively, there may be some other factor at play concerning either the capacity of bid writers or the perceptions of commissioners.

Figure 15. Success ratios for L-DTPS licence applications

Type	Commercial		Community		Hybrid		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Applications	49	86.0%	3	5.3%	5	8.8%	57	100%
Licensees	16	84.2%	1	5.3%	2	10.5%	19	100%
Success rate	**32.7%**		**33.3%**		**40.0%**		**33.3%**	

Generally, license awards were announced sooner for localities where fewer applications were received. Awards where there was no competition were announced first, with *Lincolnshire Living*, now *Estuary TV*, in Grimsby and *Latest TV* in Brighton announced on 9th September 2012, and *Made TV* winning the Bristol license shortly after on 18th September. The award of the Cardiff license to *Made TV* and the Norwich license to *Mustard TV*, a partnership led by Archant newspaper group, both cities for which two applications had been received, were also announced on 18th September. On 9th October it was announced that *Northern Visions*, a non-profit media group already broadcasting, had won the Belfast license which *Made TV* had also pursued. Later that month *That's TV* was awarded its first license for Southampton, *That's Solent*, and a couple of weeks later *That's TV* was rewarded with a second license, in Oxford, fending off two competitors. On the same day, the Birmingham license, for which four applications were received, was awarded to *City TV* (which would later collapse even before it could launch its service). Later in November, *Notts TV*, an independent consortium involving a university, a vocational training provider and the local newspaper in Nottingham, was awarded the license over *Television Nottingham*.

On 20th November, the Sheffield license was awarded to *Sheffield Live*, a small but well-established non-profit community radio station, in competition with two major commercial bidders, *Your TV Sheffield* and *Metro8*. On 4th December *Made TV* was awarded its third license in Newcastle for *Made in Tyne and Wear*, fending off competition from two commercial bidders, *YourTV* and *Metro8* and the independent company, *NEON TV*. *STV*, the Channel 3 licensee for Scotland, won both the Glasgow and Edinburgh licenses in mid-December 2012 and early January 2013, which both received four applications from *STV, Made TV, Metro8* and independent companies, *Glasgow TV* and *Edinburgh News Network*, respectively.

The licenses for which there was the most competition, the populous northern cities and London, were left until last, but for the Preston license which had only received two applications. The keenly-awaited award of the potentially lucrative London license was announced on 29th January 2013 – Lebedev's *London Live* proposal fended off competition from *London TV* as well as *YourTV, Made TV*, and independent start-up *London8*. A decision on the Manchester licence was announced on 5th

February 2013, with *YourTV* winning its first licence for its eight applications. The winner of the Leeds licence was announced on 12th February, giving *Made TV* its third licence. Competition for the Liverpool license culminated on 12th February with *Bay TV* seeing off competition from commercial groups *Made TV, YourTV* and *Metro8* and independent non-profit *Our TV*. The last licence to be announced was Preston/Blackpool on 26th February, which gave *YourTV* its second licence over *Metro8*.

Overall, four licenses were granted to *Made TV*; two to *STV*; two to *YourTV*; two to *That's TV* and nine to independent, stand-alone companies. No licenses were granted to *Metro8* - the BLC considered that while the Canadian proposals were well resourced with experienced management, they were overly ambitious in their projections of advertising revenues and did not demonstrate an understanding of the needs of the local population to the same extent as other applicants.

Through this analysis, three cases were selected for further study, with one case drawn from each type or model of L-DTPS. The process for negotiating access to these cases has been described in the previous chapter. The next section provides a detailed profile of each of the three cases selected for ethnographic study during the second stage of empirical work.

The cases

The three cases in the present study operate different business models – one commercial, one community, and one hybrid, incorporating elements of both commercial and community models. This section presents an overview of the three cases – commercial ATV, hybrid BTV and community CTV.

The commercial case - ATV

ATV operates on a commercial basis. It is an independent company formed for the purpose of establishing a local news video on demand service and winning the Freeview license, and very much the product of its two founders. They are the company's only directors and major shareholders. Both have significant experience in regional TV and news production.

The first has a long track record as a local journalist, photographer and editor, and later owner of a regional independent freelance press agency. He helped to found and lead a national trade association of freelance press agencies, and remains a member of its Executive Board as well as organiser of the local Press Club. He serves as Chief Executive Officer (CEO) with overall control of the day-to-day running of ATV with particular responsibility for news production.

The second founder has more than thirty years' experience in television, having worked for two major Channel 3 licensees, the second of which operated a local studio in the city in which ATV is now based. In the 1980s he served as a news reporter and one of the team of regular newsreaders;

in the 1990s as a producer in the documentary department and later as deputy editor of the regional news bulletin. Since 2000 he has worked on setting up a number of web-based community television services in different areas. He has also served on the boards of a number of cultural institutions across the city as well as the regional committee of the Arts Council and an international arts festival. Within ATV he holds the role of Programmes Director.

Like most small firms in the UK and the majority of local television companies, ATV is registered as a private limited company. Under British law, this structure means that 'the shareholders' responsibilities for the company's financial liabilities are limited to the value of shares that they own but haven't paid for. Company directors aren't personally responsible for debts the business can't pay if it goes wrong, as long as they haven't broken the law' (gov.uk 2015a). Essentially, the structure enables companies to raise capital from investors in return for returns on that dividend, and in the event that the company collapses, the financial risks to both shareholders and directors are capped at the amount that has so far been invested.

The rationale for this decision was based largely on the private limited company structure being the one that the founding directors knew best, having worked largely in the commercial sector prior to their engagement in local television. There is a strong sense that both founders are quite explicitly building a business, rather than a public service, and are aiming, at some stage, to gain some recompense for the considerable time and expense they have personally incurred during the lengthy start-up period:

> ATV Leader: 'We did look at some other options very briefly and I suspect possibly rather unworthily because we're looking at the best way of raising funds… There are some funds which are only available if you're a [non-profit] CIC or something like that, and we did think about that. But I suspect probably in the end there was probably a certain amount of mercinariness in the situation. We've worked unpaid for some years now, so in a kind of way it was to get our money back a bit.'

It was also the structure that they believed potential investors knew best, and would feel at ease with when considering investing in the company:

> ATV Leader: 'I think if you're talking to potential investors the limited company is something which they all know and understand. And if you're looking for shareholders you can say fine, we're a limited company, guaranteed. This is the chairman, these are the executive directors, here are the non-executive directors, and this is how it works. And frankly it was just in that there were only two of us and we didn't have a business advisor. It just seemed to be the simplest format to go for. And so that's what we have.'

Using this model, the founders have secured support from a further eight shareholders including a professor at a local university and a former CEO of the local chamber of commerce, although it is difficult to determine the level of investment that each has committed. The board serves in an advisory capacity rather than with direct legal responsibility:

> ATV Leader: 'We've got a kind of shadow board at the moment. We've been meeting for two years in fact, I think since we got the licence pretty much monthly actually. They've been happy to leave the day-to-day running of the company to [us].'

Board meetings are fairly relaxed, one leader tells me, with members providing support, encouragement, advice and connections. The goal is to establish a viable media business that can be sold at a profit:

> ATV Leader: 'It's likely there'll be consolidation of the network at some point, probably before we're halfway through the licenses, but who'll be doing the buying, that's a difficult question. It might be us, or if someone were to make us an offer we can't refuse, well then we might think about selling.'

All the cases run on what might be considered to national broadcasters, a shoestring budget. ATV leaders were 'looking for five or six hundred thousand pounds' to sustain the service, equivalent to around 0.02% of annual ITV revenues (ITV plc 2013: 41). The community service felt able to launch with around a quarter of this sum, with around £160,000, whereas the hybrid service sat between the two, projecting annual turnover of around £250,000. Whatever the desired level of resources, the following sentiments, expressed by one leader, were shared across the cases:

> ATV Leader: 'The biggest challenge for local TV is the funding; it is actually far more expensive than it may appear at first sight… to anybody who's thinking of going in, setting up a local TV station, think of the money and double it and think of the time and effort and quadruple it.'

To produce all of its programming and supplementary content, ATV employs three news journalists; two news editors; two programmes producers, a programmes researcher/presenter and three production staff – a sound engineer, a vision mixer and a floor manager/camera operator. All studio-based programmes are recorded in one large purpose-built TV studio with three mid-range studio cameras. The news is filmed in a second, very small studio adjacent to the main studio. The whole company shares three mobile camera kits of varying ages and specifications. Often even these scarce resources are incomplete, missing working batteries, lights or microphones. Here, the level of human and technical resources are not simply 'relatively fixed' as they are in the settings described

by Hirst (2001: 59) but minimal, almost entirely inadequate. One participant compared the teams' resources with that of the local newspaper:

> ATV News Editor: 'If you go into the [local newspaper] newsroom - because I worked in there before, it's huge and there must be about - there must have been about 150 journalists in there and about 120 computers. Here, we have two computers in the newsroom and just three kits between news and production. It's crazy.'

The owners hope to improve the company's resources once advertising revenues increase, but these days are slow to arrive. Because of the minimal resources, roles are highly fluid – most days it is simply 'all hands on deck' according to their skills and experience, irrespective of job titles and descriptions. Most staff are involved in the planning, recording, editing and uploading of programming to broadcast platforms to varying degrees. Some present programmes as well as produce them. Unlike the other cases, ATV's workforce is organised along genre lines. The news team are based in the newsroom and answer to the Head of News, and the Programmes Team including producers and production crew are based in the Programmes Office and answer to the Head of Programmes.

Most staff are young, in the early stages of their careers. Some hold a journalism qualification; some a post-graduate in broadcasting or journalism; some have previous professional experience on commercial local radio or in local newspapers. Most are from the locality or have family connections, although not all – one has moved to the city from France following an earlier internship with the company during her studies; another has moved up after completing a Master's degree in London. Most have a basic working knowledge of the city and an awareness of the key institutions although the extent of local knowledge varies in line with age and the length of time they have been in the city. Motivations for working in L-DTPS are varied. For some, it provides an accessible entry point to national broadcasters; for others, it offers the opportunity to pursue a broadcasting career without relocating away from family and friends. Production staff are supported by one full-time unpaid, semi-permanent intern. In the weeks and months after they launch, a steady stream of student and work experience placements as well as occasional friends of the owners working as freelance and, more often than not, unpaid consultants. There are three sales staff and an administrator in a separate office.

While operating on a purely commercial basis, much of ATV's programming is presented and co-produced by people who do not directly work for the company. Rather they live or work within the locality, perhaps as university lecturers, filmmakers, radio presenters or community leaders. Few have previous experience of television production or presenting although some have media experience drawn from radio or film. Several hold full-time jobs away from TV and draw on their

local knowledge and connections to devise topics, research and book guests and locations, write scripts, present, edit and promote programmes.

Prior to launch, ATV leaders reported a pipeline of local advertising sales totalling £120,000 from local businesses including car dealerships, restaurants, hairdressers and beauty salons, but described the challenges of persuading potential advertisers of the benefits of local television advertising as significant, exacerbated by the lack of audience measurement. Such a pipeline was not unimpressive, considering that most of the companies expressing and interest had never undertaken any television advertising before and needed a great deal of reassurance and support before they committed what were for them significant sums of between £1,000 and £5,000 for the production and broadcast of a series of television adverts. During its first few weeks a number of these local adverts begin appearing on screen - a city centre restaurant; a furniture retailer, a bathroom ceramics retailer. However many others fail to materialise.

The hybrid case – BTV

By contrast, BTV is registered as a community interest company (CIC) and is a wholly owned subsidiary of the local institute for further and higher education, itself a registered charity. Under UK law, CICs aim to benefit the community rather than private shareholders, with profits generally reinvested or used for other public good (gov.uk 2015b), that is, a non-profit organization. Prior to winning the Freeview licence, BTV operated as a community media channel for some years, largely dependent on grant funding and run by a small staff team and volunteers. Despite its non-profit status, BTV's leader is keen to emphasize that the channel runs on an 'as-commercial' basis. By this she means that the company aims to operate on a commercial footing, generating revenues through the same mechanisms as commercial broadcasters, rather than a traditional non-profit model, which might be assumed to operate on a community media approach, reliant on grant aid and donations, with connotations of 'amateur' production.

BTV provides its owner with rewards other than simple revenues or profits; it provides a rich source of work-based learning placements and professional development opportunities for students on the college's broadcast media and related degree programmes which provide the institute with a unique selling proposition within the region. For BTV then, the goal is to build a sustainable business which provides opportunities for local people to develop skills in broadcast production and journalism and other horizontally integrated industries. For this owner, there is no intention to sell the company, but likewise, there is a reluctance to subsidise it, despite the added value benefits it brings. However, there is a sense that the company needs to demonstrate the ability to break-even, if not turn a profit, in order to prove its credibility to students and potential students of the college.

At the institutional level then, the drive for profit is for aesthetic purposes, rather than private gain. This drive is somewhat problematic, because as a community interest company, the company is legally bound not to distribute any surplus funds to shareholders, but to reinvest them into the company in pursuance of its social objectives. Its board is highly structured with regular meetings and an established membership including corporate representatives drawn from the institute's management as well as the local business community, including legal professionals and media specialists. The principal of the institute group serves as chair of the board of directors and there are established governance structures and practices such as regular, minuted board meetings which follow a standing agenda and established procedures for complying with regulatory requirements, some of which are supported by management and support staff within the wider institute. This model of ownership and governance means that the company enjoys relative organizational stability. The workforce are secure in the knowledge that salaries will be paid and that they have access to state-of-the-art technical resources (the regional BBC news team borrowed their studio to provide enhanced studio coverage during the London 2012 Olympic Games).

This model of governance and leadership means that the company enjoys relative organizational stability, enabling the workforce to focus on the business of making and monetizing local news and programming. BTV is led by a salaried Executive Producer who acts as CEO, with overall responsibility for strategic and business development, operations and production. BTV employs a workforce of around twelve people including management, administrative, journalism and production staff. The Executive Producer is supported by a Head of News and Programme Development, herself an experienced local and regional BBC journalist, and a Production Manager, an experienced local radio presenter and producer. More junior staff are less experienced, first or second jobbers, mostly graduates and some with post-graduate qualifications. Staff are organised along functional lines. The Head of News and Programme Development oversees both newsgathering and programmes development whereas the Production Manager oversees production of all programming including news.

BTV is the only local broadcaster within the region and as such offers a local stepping stone for those aspiring to work for national broadcasters, while also offering those further on in their careers the opportunity to work in broadcasting while remaining local to friends and family, countering the well-documented 'brain drain' to areas of the country where broadcasting is more established such as London and Salford. Sales of advertising and sponsorship are outsourced to a local media agency, which helps to distance the influence of advertisers from the newsroom. Support with financial, personnel, technical and infrastructure issues is provided by the institute. However, paid workers form only one element of the station's workforce. BTV also engages local people, groups and

communities in three key ways in order to extend the workforce – through community engagement, co-production and partnership.

BTV employs a highly horizontally-integrated approach to production, with journalists, editorial, production and technical workers collaborating across the production of news, and with the extended workforce in the development of other programming. This approach is implemented under the management of the News Editor/Programmes Producer, who oversees all newsgathering, reporting and presenting as well as developing new in-house programming and commissioning or assessing submissions from external parties such as independent producers and community organisations; and the Production Manager, who oversees all technical production including studio management, post-production and compliance. They see this integrated approach as ensuring consistency of editorial and technical standards and enabling a fluid, coherent approach to the identification of current local issues and their development or treatment as news stories and/or the subject of current affairs, documentary or other programming. This integration also creates a broad interface between the locality and the station through which information on local issues flows, facilitating the flow of information and highlighting local issues through both news and programming.

BTV's leader describes the difficulties they have in persuading local businesses to advertise on television:

> BTV Leader: 'Lots of these businesses would never advertise on regional TV, it just wouldn't be economical for them, it would cost too much and reach an audience that wasn't relevant to them. We started off trying to bring in sales of a few thousand but that just wasn't sustainable. At one point we charged just £100 and that included production. That would actually cover costs. We streamlined it so the business would send us 10 stills and the text, we'd have one of our graphics guys sit down for an hour or so and pull it all together. Thankfully we don't need to do it at that price any more.'

Analysis of this channel's output revealed a wide range of local advertising including a training company, a firm of electricians, a cycle sales and repair shop, and an information film communicating changes to the delivery of local health services.

The community case - CTV
CTV operates a non-profit corporate structure that rests squarely within the community media approach:

CTV Leader: 'We've insisted from the start that it should be done on a community basis and not for-profit basis, which makes [us] one of the only three non-profit groups in the first phase.'

It has employed a corporate structure that is very unusual within the media industries, and even within community media sector. Industrial and provident societies are a form of company registration more commonly associated with trade unions and membership organisations. Industrial providential societies are regulated by the Financial Conduct Authority rather than Companies House. There is no statutory definition of the type of organisation that can register under this category, but such organisations are generally expected to benefit people who are not members of the society, and to promote rather the interests of the community at large. There is also a requirement that control of the society is 'vested in the members equally, the principle of 'one man, one vote' is fundamental' (FCA 2015) and restrictions on the distribution of profits and interest on capital. For CTV, winning the Freeview licence is the culmination of a struggle for communicative power, a reclaiming of the mediatised public sphere from corporate media and the possibility of a more pluralised and democratised broadcast media environment:

CTV Leader: 'For me it's about changing the world, making a difference, proving things... At the heart of it is the community media concept of providing voice for people, providing a platform that could improve communications capabilities of communities.'

An inclusive and supportive community media ethos is central to CTV's approach which sees media production as a tool for community empowerment, and which increases access to the airwaves for communities which have traditionally been excluded – providing 'voice to the voiceless' (Ali 2012) in the wider media landscape in the face of increasingly conglomerated media industries.

CTV Leader: 'The basis of us is local people because they're the ones who have the local knowledge. We're looking at community reporters, people who know about their communities, whether their communities of interest, whether they're geographical communities or whether they're, you know, minority communities for example. We've spoken to around 50 what you might call hyper local bloggers and journalists, and a lot of them are interested in working with us.'

CTV employs perhaps the smallest staff of any L-DTSP company in the country – a Station Manager and just two staff reporters.

CTV Manager: 'Aside from me, we've got two staff reporters basically and then we've got lots of other people who are volunteers. We have a lot of very, very good volunteers involved who sometimes work very hard, sometimes harder than our paid staff! Some of

them are specializing in production, so camera, editing, sound… and other people are graduates or post-graduates and then we also have people who are basically just interested in finding out more about journalism and want to get involved in it.'

By contrast again, CTV employs a Station Manager and Launch Manager who coordinate what in L-DTPS terms constitutes a vast and highly distributed production workforce involving more than a hundred volunteers already engaged with the channel's sister community radio station, fifty hyper-local bloggers and sixty community groups and partner organisations across the city. CTV is also unusual in its multi-platform focus. This one large integrated team produces programming for radio, TV, web and mobile platforms, from one set of premises.

CTV Leader: 'I think that is really something new… community media should be anticipating cross-platform in the future, via mobile and other stuff'

Here then, financial sustainability is a means to an end rather than an end in itself. Advertising revenues are supplemented through a diverse funding mix of grants, donations and community shareholders that are concerned with the social empowerment outcomes rather than the nature of the programming created. Such funding structures are commonplace within the third or voluntary sector, but can be seen as creative and innovative within the terrestrial broadcasting industry.

CTV Leader: 'In other circumstances that might have more proactively encouraged our sort of model, the end result would have been stations which I believe probably would be more sustainable. I believe our model is probably more sustainable, less likely to be bought up by somebody else from somewhere else, less likely to be uniformized, more likely to contribute to the plurality of media in this country.'

For CTV, the Freeview license offers the opportunity to achieve social and cultural benefits - empowering local people to play a role in media production, develop a voice within the media landscape as well as their own media literacy, and develop local programming that adds local perspectives to mainstream programming, or which challenges dominant media discourses on a range of issues. After three decades campaigning for community media on both a national and international level, there is little likelihood of giving up this hard-won victory by selling it on.

Financing L-DTPS

All the cases run on what might be considered to national broadcasters, a shoestring budget. ATV leaders were 'looking for five or six hundred thousand pounds' to sustain the service, equivalent to around 0.02% of annual ITV revenues (ITV plc 2013: 41). The community service felt able to launch with around a quarter of this sum, with around £160,000, whereas the hybrid service sat between

the two, projecting annual turnover of around £250,000. This section analyses the key mechanisms through which the cases sought to generate revenues.

(1) Advertising

Despite criticism from media consultants Oliver and Ohlbaum (2009) that British advertising markets would be unlikely to generate the sales necessary to support local television, both the DCMS and Ofcom indicated in policy and consultation documents that they expected advertising revenues to form the primary funding mechanism for local television. Leaders of the cases in this study diverged in the extent to which they felt that advertising revenues would be sufficient in enabling development of a sustainable L-DTPS. Leaders of ATV were hopeful, if not confident, that advertising revenues would prove sufficient in sustaining the company, whereas BTV and CTV were less so.

Across the cases, the opportunity to extend their existing reach through Freeview offers the opportunity to significantly extend the reach and penetration of their existing online news, cable television or community radio service and build local audiences. All participants in all the cases see broadcasting on Freeview as enabling these goals because it offers broadcasting on a platform which has near universal reach within the UK and because the government has negotiated, at least for local services in England and Northern Ireland, a prominent position in the Freeview Electronic Programme Guide (EPG). For television viewers watching on Freeview terrestrial systems, the local service is located in the channel 8 position which sits on the landing page of the programme guide[5]. For the leaders I spoke to this reach and prominence was seen as absolutely instrumental in the current iteration of local television as being viable where previous iterations had failed. This feature of the current policy would enable local services to generate greater advertising revenues and build a sustainable business. Local television programming is characterized primarily by its potential audience, which is through physical factors, limited to a particular geographic locality. Local television has been established on the predisposition that geographic proximity predicates some sort of shared cultural identity, but as Lynette Sheridan Burns argues, contemporary audiences are more 'complex and diverse than previous homogenous imaginings' (Burns 2002: 6). Simply living in a particular city or locality does not necessarily engender shared cultural identity or interests, and little is known about local television audiences.

---

[5] This position is not consistent across the entire network. Services in Wales and Scotland sit at higher positions which require viewers to scroll through several pages of channels. It is widely accepted that the higher the channel position, and hence the further down the list viewers have to scroll to find a television service, the harder it is for services to attract viewers and build audiences. This is an issue which Bridgend MP Maria Moon has taken up in a Westminster debate on behalf of Made TV in relation to its Cardiff service. She asked new Culture Minister Ed Vaizey why Welsh services are being disadvantaged in the quest to build local audiences. Furthermore, viewers subscribing to digital cable or satellite television services, such as Virgin or Sky, are subject to the corporate decisions of those organizations. Virgin complied with government requests to provide free carriage to local services, although it positioned local services in most cases at channel 159, several pages down from the landing page. Sky has not provided free carriage, nor a prominent position in the EPG. This is possible because, although local television 'has PSB status because of its local and regional content and is granted spectrum and prominence in return… it is not subject to the *must offer-must carry* system' (DCMS 2015: 11).

Few local television schedules are carried in national newspapers, television listings magazines or the local newspaper. Many local television services receive little press coverage, either positive or negative. In September 2012 Comux had launched a local television website (www.localtv.org.uk) providing updates on development of the network, news of channel launches and channel listings, but the site has not been well publicized and is rather isolated from mainstream television services. This was followed around a year later by the launch of the *Local TV Network* website (www.localtvnetwork.org.uk) which also provides news and updates on local channels. Beyond this, marketing and publicity had been left largely to local licensees. Some local services had opted for a 'soft launch' preferring to avoid publicity at least until initial technical and content challenges settled, while others had tried and failed to secure mainstream media coverage. Several local television leaders and producers told me that the local newspapers quite blatantly stonewalled local television, refusing to acknowledge its presence and on some occasions, openly prohibiting any of their staff and associates from engaging with local television channels.

By contrast, local services that are linked to newspaper groups benefit from corporate synergies in cross-promotions and efficiencies in newsgathering, although this has not necessarily led to commercial success. *London Live*, owned by Evgeny Lebedev, who also owns the *Independent* newspapers and London's *Evening Standard*, benefitted from a raft of positive press coverage leading up to its launch. The following are just a few of the many articles published by the *Evening Standard* ahead of the channel's launch in March 2014:

> 'London Live: A whole new ball game for TV in the capital: 20 things you need to know about the birth of London Live' (Monday 3 March 2014)
>
> 'London Live to be platform for up and coming graphic artists' (Friday 17 January 2014)
>
> 'London Live reveals its News and Current Affairs presenting team' (Friday 3 January 2014)
>
> 'Jonathan Boseley 'to shake up' British television with new London Live channel' (Thursday 22 August 2013)

Similarly, *Mustard TV* in Norwich, owned by local newspaper group *Archant,* benefits from ongoing cross-promotions and shared newsgathering operations, despite significant opposition to its expansion into broadcast from disgruntled staff and readers on local web forums. These factors help the visibility of local television but are perhaps not as important as they used to be, prior to the digitalization of broadcasting which brought the Electronic Programme Guide (EPG) and the diffusion of smart TVs, time-shifted and on demand viewing platforms. The information in the EPG is created by local services and included as meta-data during the uploading process when local services supply programming content to the playout centre. Given that it is one of the most direct communication

mechanisms for local broadcasters with potential audiences, one might expect them to exploit it, providing detailed and engaging descriptions of programming to encourage viewers to give their programmes a try. Analysis of local television broadcasting during three sample weeks between October 2014 and January 2015 suggests that the level of description provided in local channel EPG is variable. On some occasions, descriptions are warm, comforting, funny or intriguing:

'Community gardening that will inspire you to get the best from your garden'

'Unique, bizarre, funny shorts: low on budget, big on ideas'

'A melting pot of comedy sketches, special guests and good times'

'Your local vegetable entertainer'

'Join the team each week for more local news, views and gossip. So, go on... put the kettle on, sit back and relax.'

'In 1974 28 men lost their lives and a community was shattered. 40 years on, the grief is still raw for some. Were lessons learnt from the biggest peace time disaster to hit Britain?'

Moreover, some descriptions highlight the unique selling proposition of the channel, the broadcasting of original, locally-focused programmes that are not available anywhere else:

'[This] is a music show featuring all kinds of bands. We bring you videos you just won't see anywhere else.'

'Join [our presenter] as she explores the [local] countryside, delving into its history and discovering [it]'s hidden gems.'

'Take a look at [the local] Market as we meet the characters and people that make this local market unique.'

On other occasions, descriptions are somewhat cold and clinical, with little to entice the viewer:

'Sports Broadcasting'

'What's coming up in and around [the city]'

On some occasions descriptions are missing altogether, leaving the viewer just the programme title to work out the genre and assess their potential interest in the programme. This suggests that some local broadcasters assume that audiences will understand that programmes are locally-focused and/or locally-produced simply from their presence on the channel itself. But such a level of awareness requires some form of pre-existing knowledge, firstly that the channel exists; secondly,

that the channel is a local television channel; and finally, what local television is. Given today's extraordinarily crowded media marketplace, and the minimal nationwide promotion of the local television network, it is perhaps unsurprising that public awareness is low. Production staff suggest these occasions are probably simple mistakes owing to staff inexperience, a lack of training and heavy workloads, rather than intentional omissions.

When the L-DTPS network first began broadcasting in November 2013, the *Broadcaster's Association Research Board* (BARB) was not equipped to measure local audiences. At launch, most local services had little idea of the size of local audiences and could not afford to commission audience research of their own, so persuading small local businesses to advertise on L-DTPS was challenging, but all the cases achieved at least a small number of local advertisers. In June 2014 the *Local TV Network* announced the appointment of *Axiom Agency* to manage the national stream of advertising across the network of local services (Local TV Network, 2014). In late 2014 and early 2015 national advertising across the network includes a range of food, cleaning, health and personal hygiene products and media services such as *BT Vision*. As well as generating much-needed advertising revenues, these products and adverts are familiar to viewers and potentially enhance the credibility, look and feel of local services, encouraging viewers towards a professional reading of the channel (Hall 1973b). As of 20th April 2015, *BARB* began to publish network audience figures for a subset of L-DTPS channels comprising *Bay TV Liverpool, Estuary TV, Latest TV, Made in Bristol, Made in Cardiff, Made in Leeds, Made in Tyne and Wear, Notts TV, NvTV* and *Sheffield Live* (Email correspondence from BARB, 30 September 2015). Audience figures for the *Macro Local TV Network* group are now published on the *BARB* website alongside the figures for mainstream national terrestrial, cable and satellite channels.

Analysis of these data show that, as of January 2016, the *Macro Local TV Network* achieves a weekly reach of 956,000, representing 1.62% of the total TV audience, as shown in Figure 16. During December 2015, weekly reach of the Macro Local TV peaked at almost 1.4m, or 2.35% of the total television audience, perhaps helped a little by the September 2015 launch of *Digital Nation*, a series of half hour compilations of local television programming from across the UK, broadcast on the *BBC's i-player* service.

Figure 16. BARB weekly reach figures (Macro Local TV Network & London Live 2014-15)

L-DTPS Network Audiences

— London Live   — Local TV Macro Network
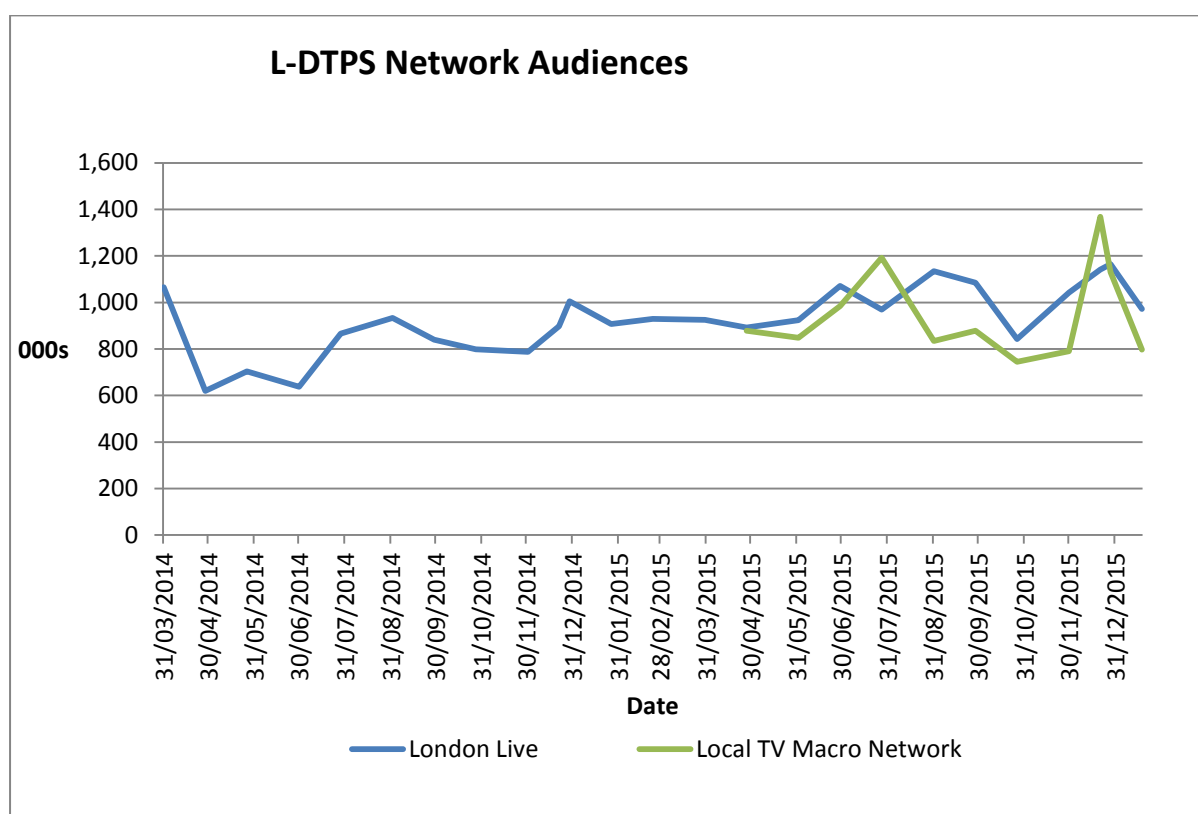
While such figures are significantly lower than mainstream terrestrial channels such as *BBC1* (78.2% weekly reach), *ITV* (60.0%) and *Channel 4* (56.0%), they still rank higher than many well-known channels such as *MTV Music, The Box, Movies 24, Sky Arts 2, Eden, BBC Parliament* and *S4C*, as well as numerous *Discovery Channels* including *Science, History* and *Home and Health*. Both the *Macro Local TV Network* and *London Live*[6] occupy positions in the top half of the weekly reach table, ranked at 125th and 121st positions respectively (11-17 Jan 2016), out of a total of 305 *BARB*-reported channels. Figure 17 shows that the Local TV Network services are far from the bottom of the table with channels such as *Ginx, Sky Sports Active, FilmON TV, FAB TV* and *MoviesForMen*, which reach less than 0.1% of the total TV audience (BARB 11-17 Jan 2016).

Figure 17. BARB weekly reach (Macro Local TV Network & London Live Jan 2016)

Channel	Weekly rank	Weekly reach		Channel	Weekly rank	Weekly reach	
		000s	*%*			*000s*	*%*
ALL/ANY TV		**55,208**	**93.53**				

Top 25   **Bottom 25**

---

[6] London Live maintains a separate contract - its audiences have been measured by BARB since the channel launched in March 2014. Even though the channel was criticised in the London press for 'terrible… disastrous' audiences in its first few weeks (Greenslade 2014), BARB data show that even in its first week the channel achieved a weekly reach of 1.065m representing 1.8% of the total TV audience and ranking the channel 111th out of 281 channels. As of January 2016, the London channel achieves weekly reaches of 994,000 or 1.68% of the total TV audience.

131

Channel	Rank	Value	%	Channel	Rank	Value	%
BBC 1	1	46,139	78.17	Ginx	282	58	0.1
ITV	2	35,427	60.02	Sky Sports Active Lo 5	283	56	0.09
Channel 4	3	33,071	56.03	TVC News	284	47	0.08
BBC 2	4	31,861	53.98	Sky Sports Active Lo 4	285	30	0.05
Channel 5	5	28,768	48.74	FilmON TV	286	30	0.05
ITV 2	6	17,058	28.9	Sky Sports Active Lo 6	287	23	0.04
BBC 3	7	13,489	22.85	Sky Sports Active Lo 2	288	17	0.03
E4	8	12,074	20.45	Sky Sports Active Lo 8	289	11	0.02
Dave	9	11,959	20.26	Sky Box Office Events	290	3	0.01
BBC 4	10	11,470	19.43	Sky Sports Active Lo 3	291	6	0.01
ITV 3	11	11,340	19.21	Sky Sports Active Lo 7	292	7	0.01
Channel 4+1	12	10,934	18.52	Sky Sports Active Lo 9	293	6	0.01
More4	13	10,825	18.34	Sky Sports Active Lo 1	294	0	*
ITV +1	14	10,151	17.2	Sky News Active	295*	0	0
Sky 1	15	9,302	15.76	BBC RB 6781	295*	0	0
Film4	16	9,169	15.53	BBC RB 6785	295*	0	0
Other Non-BARB reported channels	17	9,044	15.32	BBC RB 6786	295*	0	0
BBC News	18	8,792	14.89	BBC RB 6787	295*	0	0
ITV HD	19	8,721	14.77	BBC RB 6788	295*	0	0
ITV 4	20	8,432	14.28	BBC RB 6789	295*	0	0
E4 +1	21	6,864	11.63	BBC RB 6790	295*	0	0
5*	22	6,774	11.48	BBC RB 6881	295*	0	0
Pick TV	23	6,688	11.33	FAB TV	295*	0	0
Sky Sports News HQ	24	6,517	11.04	Movies4Men 2	295*	0	0
Sky Sports 1	25	5,975	10.12	Movies4Men 2 +1	295*	0	0

L-DTPS Channels

Channel	Rank	Value	%
London Live Local TV	121	994	1.68
Macro Network	125	956	1.62

These figures are very encouraging for the L-DTPS network, and provide a platform on which to generate advertising revenues, although since revenues need to be split between numerous companies it is difficult to see how they can achieve commercial sustainability.

(2) Sales of news content to the BBC

All three cases have entered into a commercial arrangement, put in place by policymakers to support the network during its first three years, in which L-DTPS companies act as a local news agency for the regional BBC news team. In return for the provision of around 85 news stories per month, L-DTPS companies are paid up to £150,000 in year one, dropping to £80,000 and £60,000 in years two and three respectively. Only the raw footage, or 'rushes', of each story are required by the BBC – there must be no editing or packaging of the raw footage, no onscreen reporting or

presentation of the story, and no graphics or other branding identifiable as the local service or the BBC. Each day L-DTPS editors submit six or seven potential stories to a named contact at the BBC. Rushes are submitted by around 5pm so they can be prepared for inclusion in the 6.30pm evening regional news bulletin. L-DTPS retain editorial control over the supply of this content, within the parameters of the contract, and the BBC can decide to use one, all or none of the footage supplied by L-DTPS. As well as providing much-needed revenues to L-DTPS, this arrangements also appeals to L-DTPS workers and volunteers, since they are able to experience the kudos and CV-enhancing benefits of seeing their footage broadcast by the BBC.

(3) Shareholder investment

Each case has received investment from its owners or shareholders. ATV has ten shareholders whom have each invested differing sums in the business, either on a cash or in-kind basis, and each of whom would like to receive some form of dividend at some point, should the company begin generating profits. BTV is owned by an educational institution which has invested considerably in the company by providing studio and office space, equipment and support with salary costs since the company began in 1997, although it would be very difficult to quantify this investment in monetary terms. CTV recently undertook a community share issue which raised £90,000 in community shares:

> CTV Leader: 'This model is a good model whereby you can very clearly say you're giving ownership to the community, they'll have a share in it. You can publicly call for investment from the community through a shared structure and you can put that money when you get it on the positive side of your balance sheet. Whereas a company limited by guarantee could only go out and ask for loans and that sits on the negative side of the balance sheet… These are repayable to the investor… but they're only repayable if the board agrees to repay them and can afford to… It also plays well to the growing culture of crowd funding… it embeds community ownership which is what projects like this are about.'

Given CTV's heavy emphasis on volunteer production and small staff team, the £90,000 raised through community shares will go a considerable way to covering running costs.

(4) In-kind support

All cases extend their paid workforce through a variety of mechanisms including partnerships with local educational, cultural and community organisations; co-production of programming with local content specialists, production companies and freelancers; provision of a range of unpaid roles such as interns, trainees and volunteers; acquisition of archive and contemporary independent productions from local and non-local media production companies, community organisations and cultural institutions.

CTV Leader: 'We have a good sense of how it will be viable… resting significantly on the community foundations that we're familiar with from community radio, a big volunteer base, a lot of independent production that costs us nothing but where we give less tangible benefits than money to the producers, exposure to audiences, free access to equipment and studios, training and mentoring, signposting for finance and various other things.'

The ways in which services differ is how volunteers are engaged and perceived, with the act of volunteering mostly 'hidden' and occasionally fiercely contested within ATV the commercial model, but revered and romanticized within CTV the community model.

(5) Grant aid

A fifth option for generating revenues is grant aid. Two of the three cases in this study have attempted to secure grant funding, and both have been successful. One leader, to whom grant applications were relatively new, found this a frustrating and time-consuming process, experiencing numerous rejections before, after several years, securing around £125,000 to 'grow the business' (ATV leader). The other leader who had experienced success with grant funding applications was more accepting of the time-consuming nature and lengthy timescales involved, acknowledging them as a customary part of the grant-aid environment. For example, CTV had received some European Union grant funding that had been secured to support the development of skills and business start-up amongst volunteers.

(6) Sales of formats and programmes

The types of programming that tend to produce the most revenues for national broadcasters, as shown in Figure 4, are entertainment and sports, which generate significant revenues for national British broadcasters through sales of formats and exports of finished programming. L-DTPS find it extraordinarily difficult to produce programming of interest to non-UK markets due to their contractual focus on local news, which has little relevance for any media market beyond its immediate locality, and which becomes outdated very quickly, and on local programming, which also has limited appeal for non-local audiences. That is, the news value of relevance of local news and programming is limited to the local audience. This lack of commercial appeal was the key reason why ITV was so keen to reduce its local news and programming commitments.

Meanwhile, content-sharing represents a much more feasible mechanism for L-DTPS to reduce their costs. L-DTPS are able to offer some of their programming to other services in return for similar quantities of programming from the recipient service. Specialist sports programming has proven popular in this regard and it is likely that programming about local sites of interest, local festivals and tourist activities will also prove popular as the network evolves, with the added local economic benefit of encouraging domestic tourism. It is possible that some L-DTPS companies will succeed in

developing profitable formats that can be sold to other L-DTPS or internationally, although this is likely to be a longer term revenue stream that will take time to develop.

(7) Teleshopping

One genre of programming which is capable to generating revenues is teleshopping. ATV broadcasts teleshopping programming for two hours during the late morning slot each weekday and occasional late evening and weekend slots, including holiday, cruise and keep fit promotions as well as sales of jewellery and electrical gadgets. This programming is a contentious element of the schedule about which is generally not discussed within the company. If raised in conversation, staff members often claim ignorance, as if this aspect of the channel's broadcasting was irrelevant or even inaccurate.

Overall, this analysis has demonstrated the range of revenue generation mechanisms available to L-DTPS licensees, and shown how mechanisms are perceived differently by different types of licensee. Those working within a commercial model favour advertising and sales. Those working within a community model favour in-kind support and grant aid, with little reference to advertising. Finally, those working within hybrid models favour an integrated approach which combines both commercial and community mechanisms.

Industry analysis of the L-DTPS network during development and in the two years following its launch shows that the business model – commercial, community or hybrid - is crucially important in determining the stability and sustainability of local services. Early indications suggest that the purely commercial approach has limited stability and sustainability, since advertising and sponsorship revenues are unlikely to sustain local production once the BBC funding ends in 2017. Commercial models are unlikely to secure long-term financial or in-kind support from partners due to their profit motive which limits goodwill and trust in their commitment to social and cultural outcomes.

This has already been evidenced through multiple mergers and acquisitions between commercial licensees. Prior to launch, *CityTV*, a commercial licensee in Birmingham failed to launch, prompting Ofcom to re-advertise the licence. Also prior to launch, two commercial *YourTV* licensees in Manchester and Preston were merged with larger commercial group *That's TV*. Within the first two years, commercial licensee *Bay TV* went into voluntary liquidation and was taken over by *Made TV*, as was *Big Centre TV*, the commercial company awarded Birmingham's license after *CityTV* collapsed. As the BBC funding draws to a close at time of writing it seems highly likely that further wave of mergers and acquisitions, and collapses, is likely amongst the commercial companies.

By contrast, none of the community or hybrid licensees have been involved in any mergers or acquisitions – all have retained their independence and look likely to continue to the foreseeable future. While there is a smaller population of non-profit companies which may make generalisations unreliable, these early indications suggest, apparently paradoxically, that non-profits are able to

withstand the commercial pressures and survive in a commercial environment more effectively than commercial players. The community model in particular is able to operate on an extremely low level of resources, and is therefore sustainable in the medium term, but the near-total lack of commercial revenue suggests it will not be sustainable in the long term.

The study argues that the hybrid model is the most stable and sustainable, because hybrids are able to secure and operate on a relatively low level of resources because they enjoy the financial or in-kind support of relatively stable and well-resourced partners, for whom they generate significant levels of added value such as work experience and training.

The next section analyses the programming schedules and production approaches employed within the three L-DTPS companies operating on different business models – one commercial, one community and one hybrid.

Schedule Analysis

Unlike specialist children's or sports channels which serves a niche audience who are drawn to the content, L-DTPS channels must attempt to provide for a generalist audience within their local area, attracting viewers of different ages, backgrounds, genders and cultural interests. In their scheduling, there is some diversity. In ATV, there is a heavy emphasis on metropolitan arts and culture and lifestyle programming such as health and fitness, pets and women's issues, as well as a significant proportion of teleshopping programming. In BTV there is a greater emphasis on local sports, environment, heritage and history. In CTV there is a greater emphasis on eclectic music, comedy and programming aimed at cultural minorities. CTV also broadcasts significant volumes of 'local noticeboard' service, which is not television programming in the traditional sense but rather the 'live streaming' of its sister company's volunteer-run community radio station, which is accompanied by still images and captions regarding local news stories and community events.

ATV

At the point of launch in late 2014 and throughout 2015, ATV broadcasts for 117 hours per week, from 6am to 11pm on weekdays and 7am to 11pm on weekends. A typical weekly schedule comprises 5,344 minutes of programming, 1,404 minutes of advertising and 272 minutes of other content such as trailers and montages. Local programming accounts for 79% of the total broadcast content. Central to the schedules are three daily news bulletins, scheduled in three slots at breakfast, lunch and early evening. Programming topics were decided, initially, by the channel's two directors, and incorporate current affairs, arts, film, theatre, books, music, family activities, sports and faith. There are six strands of the main arts programme, focusing on film, music, theatre, visual art, books and acoustic music. There is also a programme aimed at a younger audience promoting local gigs and festivals, and another programme promoting low-cost family activities. During the

sampled week there was also a two hour special feature on a local film festival and two hours allocated for a locally-produced film. Programmes are presented by local experts including a university lecturer and an independent filmmaker.
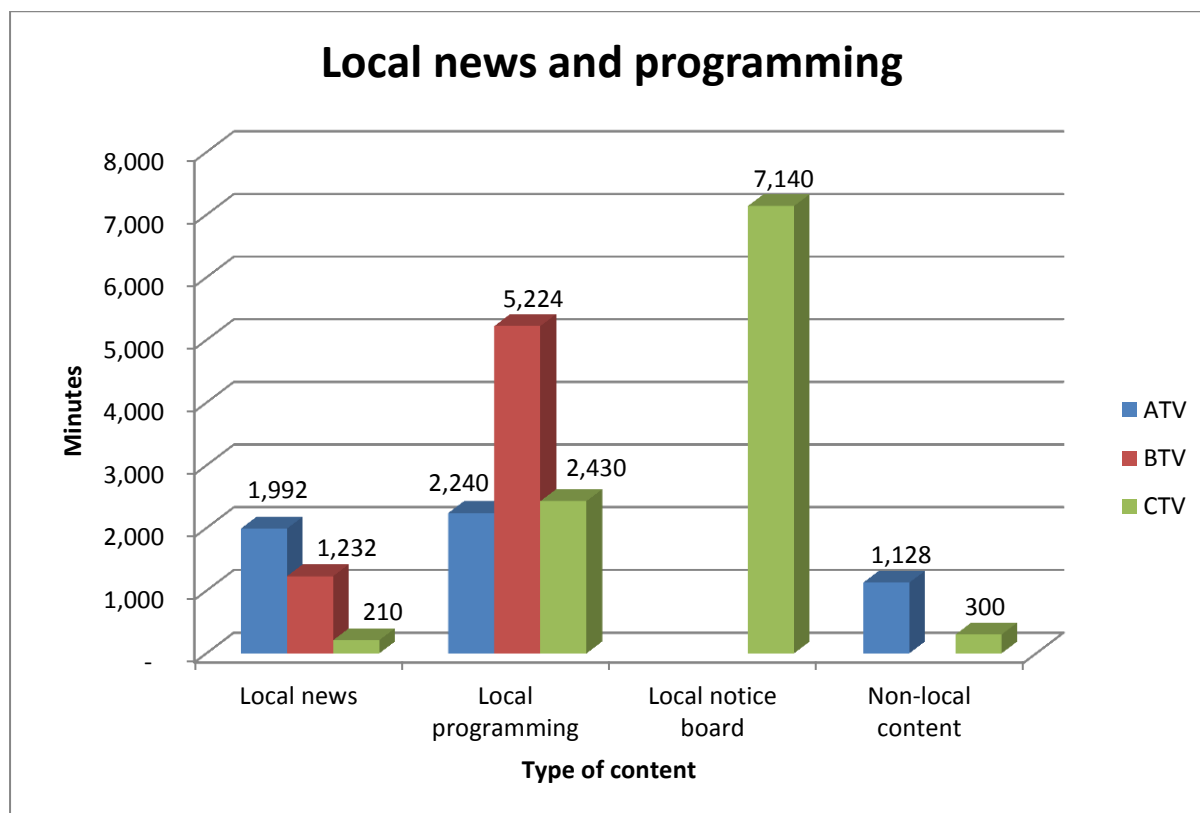
On average each hour of broadcast transmissions included between 44 and 46 minutes of programmes, generally comprising two 22 or 23 minutes programmes; twelve minutes of adverts and up to four minutes of station idents, montage and other content such as trailers. Original, in-house, first-run programming accounted for 722 minutes, or 13.4% of the weekly programming schedule. Repeats of original, in-house programming accounted for 3,019 minutes, or 56.5% of the weekly schedule.

ATV broadcasts 1,992 minutes of news programming during the sample week (see Figure 18) but analysis reveals that only 120 minutes of this is original programming, the remainder is generated through repeats or re-packaging of news content, and even with the 120 minutes of original programming, some new stories and footage is re-used, perhaps with fresh interviews, information or graphics which develop a particular story. While greater than a national broadcaster, high volumes of repeated programming are common amongst the emerging services. Most applicants acknowledged in licence applications that some level of repeated content would be necessary, and it seems that some local audiences understand and accept this aspect of the schedule. One local blogger described the high level of repeats during the channel's early days as 'a necessary evil'. L-

DTPS leaders explain that they hope to reduce repeats over time as they develop archives of programming.

Current affairs programming comprises a weekly interview programme featuring local civic leaders such as the police commissioner, local political figures, charity leaders and campaigners. Beyond news and current affairs, the channel's core programme offer revolves around a group of arts and culture programmes that showcase local cultural products including books by local authors, local theatre productions, musical events and visual arts exhibitions. These programmes are organised in a magazine format, with short packages reviewing and previewing local music events, theatrical productions, exhibitions in local museums and galleries and local festivals; interviewing organisers, artists and audiences, recording rehearsals or performances and illustrating back-stories and context, often linked together by presenters from the studio or on location in a city cinema or bar. One of the channel's highest profile programmes is a youth-oriented guide to music and events in the city. Faith programming comprises a multi-faith discussion programme presented by the leader of a Christian faith initiative in the city.
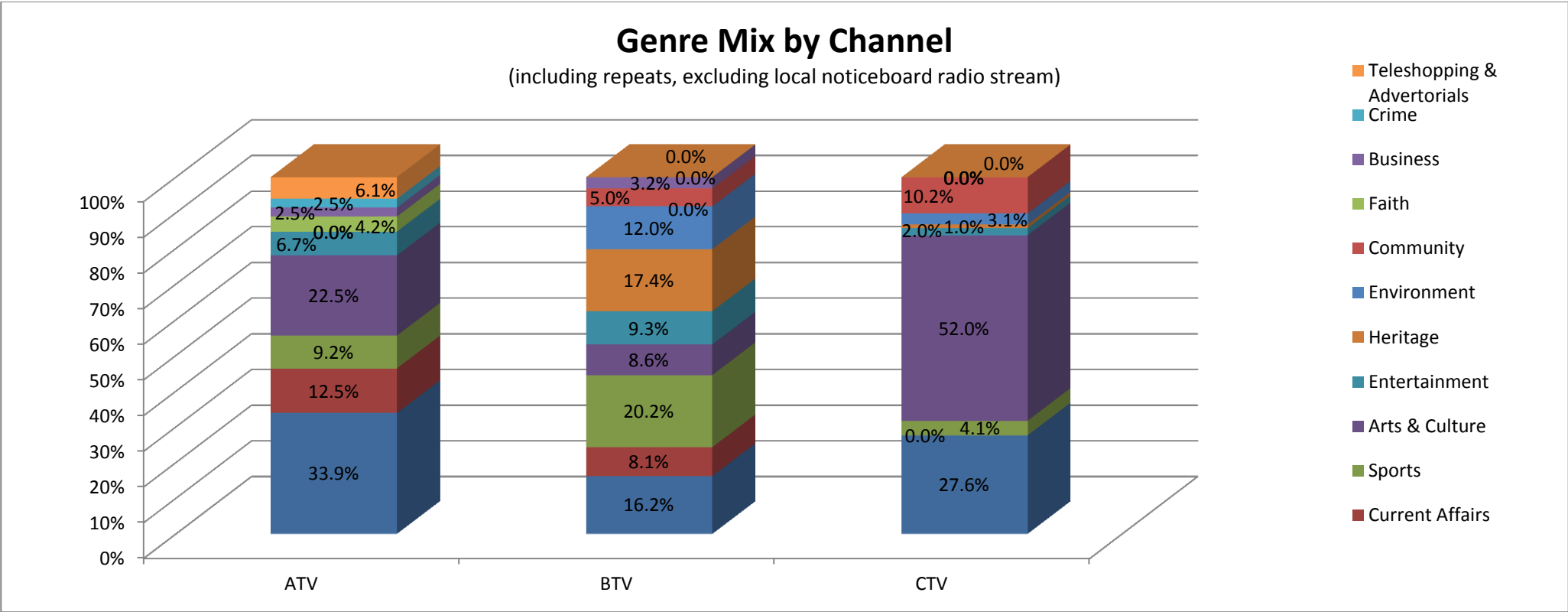
These programme topics limit, to some degree, the nature of local stories, issues, events and other activities likely to be 'picked up' by programmes teams. While there has been some development of these themes – there is now a programme on pets and vets, for example, and another discussing 'issues of interest to women' – the structure of the schedule necessarily emphasizes activities in some areas, such as arts and culture, and limits opportunities for features on other areas. Local events and activities in the area of, for example, local heritage, or astrophysics, or children's play, are unlikely to make it to broadcast simply because there is nowhere in the schedule where they have a natural 'fit'.

The service also broadcasts programming acquired from third parties including a range of teleshopping programming selling holidays, jewellery and fitness equipment, accounting during the sampled week for 21% of programming. Leaders point out that teleshopping programming contributes to rather than uses up their limited resources, through revenues from the teleshopping services as well as their ability to sell advertising spots around it.

> Leader: 'We are a commercial channel, we are a public service broadcaster but we're also allowed to carry teleshopping during the day, and that's part and parcel of the economic model of the station so that, I'm not making any excuses for that, it's a commercial offering'.

This contentious decision is not popular with some participants, who feel its presence undermines the channel's relevance for local audiences, detracting from their attempts at localness:

Figure 19. L-DTPS genre mix by channel (%)

Genre Mix by Channel

(including repeats, excluding local noticeboard radio stream)

Legend:
- Teleshopping & Advertorials
- Crime
- Business
- Faith
- Community
- Environment
- Heritage
- Entertainment
- Arts & Culture
- Sports
- Current Affairs

ATV:
- 6.1%
- 2.5%
- 2.5%
- 0.0% 4.2%
- 6.7%
- 22.5%
- 9.2%
- 12.5%
- 33.9%

BTV:
- 0.0%
- 3.2% 0.0%
- 5.0%
- 0.0%
- 12.0%
- 17.4%
- 9.3%
- 8.6%
- 20.2%
- 8.1%
- 16.2%

CTV:
- 0.0%
- 10.2% 0.0%
- 2.0% 1.0% 3.1%
- 52.0%
- 0.0% 4.1%
- 27.6%

Journalist: 'I think it devalues what we do. It looks cheap, it's not local, it's just more of what's already out there; I think it's going to put audiences off.'

Without audience research it is impossible to understand the extent to which this is true, but teleshopping content certainly seems to have little relevance for audiences interested in local programming and are one example of programming which serves the media agenda rather than the audience's.

BTV

BTV broadcasts for 18 hours a day, from 6am to midnight. In contrast with other cases, BTV's schedule is complex, comprising both short and long form programming, and consists entirely of locally-focused programming. The service offers daily news bulletins and a daily news programme comprising news and sport headlines as well as interviews with local civic leaders, politicians, community organizations and individuals; a weekly current affairs interview programme; a sports discussion programme; a range of programming that celebrates local history, heritage, cultures and connections and a wide range of arts and entertainment programming showcasing local cultural products and services. Shorter programme segments include 3-4 minute local poetry recitals and news headlines; 8-14 minute mini-docs featuring local market traders and their customers or exploring historical seafaring connections; while longer form programmes comprise 24 minute documentary or magazine/entertainment programmes; and hour- or two-hour-long specials on local sports or community events. In common with other cases, there is a greater volume of news and current affairs programming than any other programme genre, accounting for 26.1% of total programming minutes, compared with 20.2% sports programming and 17.4% heritage programming.

BTV is registered as a non-profit community interest company, but it operates on an 'as-commercial' basis, producing a wide range of in-house programming and also co-producing programming with a range of local organisations, and invites independent producers to submit their own work through a structured process which builds the capacity of independent producers and develops a local production ecology by providing a broadcast platform, and potentially a future commissioning route, that enables media graduates and professionals to develop their practice within the area rather than leave for London or Salford and contribute to the region's 'brain drain'. For example, BTV co-produces a weekly sports discussion programme with a cohort of second year students on its university college partner's Broadcast Production degree programme. All students on the programme are encouraged to undertake voluntary work experience with the channel. During their first year they undertake a 10 week studio-based module in which they gain experience of live studio production then in their second year students are supported to take on full editorial and production responsibility for a full ten-week series of the channel's weekly sports discussion programme. Working as a team, students research programme topics, book guests, script interviews, produce

and compliance-check each programme for transmission the following day, supported by their programme leader and by the Production Manager and other staff. Although staff are always available to provide support, and undertake final compliance checks, students take almost complete responsibility for production:

> Lecturer: 'It's really quite exciting. The students came up with the name of the programme. We worked to devise the format of it. We organised the presenters and did all the auditions. The script is written by students, the graphics were produced by a motion graphics student. We had promo photography done by a photography student. Hair and make-up students do the presenters hair and makeup. And obviously the TV and film students work in the production roles in research and development and then in the studio and in post as well. So it really has become this really nicely oiled project. We're planning series four of it now and it's become - it's now at the stage where the students are managing it and the tutors are taking a step back.' (University Lecturer and Programme Leader)

From a student's perspective, they get the opportunity to work on a 'real world' broadcast project in which they are required to work as a team of professionals, developing their own professional identity - what Daniel Ashton calls 'cultural workers-in-the-making' (2010):

> Student trainee: 'I'm learning more about the whole enterprise of TV production. Being in a role like [trainee] production manager, you have to consider all the tasks, the research, the planning, allocating jobs within the team, overseeing production, editing and everything. But we get so much out of it... We're developing all these skills, all these contacts, we get to network and start to form professional relationships that other students just don't get.' (Student, Trainee Production Manager)

In one episode, following a short introduction and local football, rugby union and ice hockey scores, the programme features a video package and studio interview with a local para-triathlete. She discusses her recent experiences cycling on an Italian Formula One track and the challenges she faces in her professional career, as well as a section discussing interesting sports stories from the local newspaper. In addition to this ongoing partnership, BTV supports emerging independent producers and other organisations who submit ideas and content for broadcast:

> Programmes Producer: 'I'm getting a lot of submissions from people. And there's some bloody good stuff out there that's being produced by local, independent companies which are great because they've got high production values. And then at the other end of the scale there's some quite amateurish content, but rather than say 'clear off', I give them feedback. Okay, well, how about approaching it this way? It becomes a relationship rather than just a brush off.' (News Editor/Programmes Producer)

As it grows, BTV is more able to invest resources in supporting this local creative and digital sector, including the provision of mentoring, creative direction and compliance advice. The company also brokers relationships between independent producers, content partners and creative firms across the locality. These activities serve to place BTV in the role of cultural intermediary, whereby BTV acts as a central hub within the local production community, nurturing and supporting emerging cultural producers to develop their skills and networks to develop a more vibrant local creative economy. This work led to the production of a new series of independent short films broadcast in May 2015.

CTV

CTV's approach to relevance and composition schedule is very different to both ATV and BTV. The company is a community media initiative whose mission is 'to change the world, make a difference, provide a voice for people, provide a platform that improves the communications capabilities of communities' (Interview with leader, September 2014). That is to say, the company's goal is not simply to make television that local audiences want to watch, and that will generate advertising revenues and ultimately profits, but that the process of engaging communities in the production of television content, with all the empowerment that accompanies such activities, is a goal in its own right. To this end, the channel's schedule is driven less by commercial interests in attracting the largest possible audience, but by social and cultural objectives such as enabling small communities, minorities and non-profit groups access to the airwaves. It is more interested in serving the interests of local communities through the process of engagement in production as well as the act of watching or consuming programmes.

During the sample week, the channel broadcasts on a continuous basis, 24 hours a day, seven days a week, or 168 hours. However more than two thirds of this broadcast, from 1am until 6pm every weekend and weekday, totalling 119 hours across the week, consists of a 'local noticeboard'. This comprises a live stream from the company's sister community radio station accompanied by still text and images advertising local community news and events and advertising local businesses and services. This type of programming forms a core element of the organisation's business model - without it, the channel would undoubtedly be unable to fulfil its programming commitments.

Between 6pm and 9pm the channel airs a range of locally-produced programming including a half hour what's on programme, a half hour news programme, an hour-long news, culture, sports and community affairs magazine programme; a community gardening series; live music performances by local bands; a guide to local events and festivals; and two series featuring local filmmakers and short films. Between 9pm and midnight the channel broadcasts a mix of late-night music and comedy, the latter billed as 'a melting pot of comedy sketches, special guests and good times'. In CTV local programming constitutes 97% of content, including the local noticeboard.

Between 12 midnight and 1am each night the channel broadcasts Global News Hour by Democracy Now, a US-based independent news programme, described on its website as the 'largest public media collaboration in the US' (Democracy Now 2015) and funded through contributions from listeners, viewers and foundations. This represents the remaining 3% of channel content.

CTV therefore adopts a very open and flexible approach to programme development. The community approach doesn't just 'allow' local communities and audiences to propose particular programme ideas, but actively encourages and facilitates them to do so through the promotion of open calls and community workshops:

> Station Manager: 'The way that we've approached programming is that we've put out calls to [the city], generally people who live, work here, have an interest here and ask them to come to us with their programming ideas. We've had sort of meetings where people can come along and discuss their ideas with us. And we take them through a process where we get them to initially fill out a programme proposal form which really gets them to think about their ideas through to what production they're going to have, whether they think they can bring any sponsorship, what sort of ideas they actually want to see put forward, what sort of equipment they have access to, whether they have crew and then what sort of support they will need or see us giving them.' (Station Manager, CTV)

The company received significant levels of interest in these open calls:

> Station Manager: 'So the first ones that we did there was quite a lot of people turning up at the meetings with lots of ideas and then we ended up with just over 60 programme proposals actually coming in. We've done that now three times since we got the license and we've had nearly, like, about 150, 160 applications through all together. Some of them were realistic ideas, as in they had people, they had crew and could do things very quickly and other people were just sort of 'I just want to be a presenter really…'' (Station Manager, CTV)

The company has secured grant aid through European funding channels to support a number of these individuals, groups and organisations through creative mentoring as well as project and business development support:

> Leader: 'So what we've managed to do is that we've managed to get some mentors in place who are basically helping people explore their ideas and whether they want to sort of possibly create some sort of business out of what they're doing, social enterprise effectively, or whether they just want to do it as a volunteer. Those mentors are also giving them creative help and support to make their ideas real if they haven't had a lot of experience before in sort of TV or filming. And then we've also got a digital enterprise mentor who

gives them help and support in how to think about, like, Twitter and Facebook and all those sorts of social medias -- Pinterest and -- just to sort of get them to think about everything in a cross-platform level. And we've also got a business mentor who basically helps them if they want to set up a business, to sort of like go through the logistics of doing that. So we've been effectively offering support to 40 odd programs that we've really been helping develop to progress to the point where they are actually now making TV programmes and getting them on air… we've got others who need more support who are waiting to sort of come in the second flush, if you like, and then we'll probably do another program proposal call towards the end of this year.' (CTV Station Manager)

6. The news values of L-DTPS

The sections within this chapter set out the findings of the ethnographic case studies of three L-DTPS companies each employing a different business model – one commercial, one community and one hybrid. They analyse the ways in which different news values are prioritised in the production of L-DTPS news and programming and the factors shaping professional practice within the sector. Primarily, they show how L-DTPS practitioners, irrespective of the business model employed, seek to counter criticisms of declining quality of broadcast news and programming and provide local public service broadcast news and programming which is of high quality and which portrays their locality fairly.

They highlight strong similarities between the three cases and show how a particular 'recipe' of news values is played out within L-DTPS journalism and production. Most strongly prioritised across the three cases are the news values of *Relevance, Composition and Unambiguity, Good News, Elites, Follow Up, Entertainment* and *Visual Attractiveness*. By contrast, L-DTPS journalism is less likely to focus on news values of *Surprise/Recency, Bad News/Negativity, Magnitude* and *Shareability*.

These sections will show how this particular recipe of news values is primarily driven by the commercial structuring of the overall L-DTPS network, by policymakers, and applies across the cases within this study, irrespective of the business model adopted at the level of the individual company. That is, the news values of L-DTPS are shaped primarily by their local focus, the commercial structuring of the network by policymakers, and the condition of persistent precarity produced by commercial structuring.

Each section explores a particular sub-set of news values, discussing the ways in which these values are employed within the production of L-DTPS news and programming, drawing on analyses of L-DTPS media content, observations of practice within L-DTPS companies and interviews with those involved in its production including journalists, editors, producers and partners.

Overall, in L-DTPS, news values are part of a form of tacit rather than codified knowledge (Hall 1978; Kung 2008), a form of 'intangible' news sense (Chibnall 1977: 13). On questioning about the concept in abstract terms, participants often responded with confusion or a shrug of the shoulders, akin to the explanations provided by journalists to Becker's (1982: 200) study, indicating that 'it works' or 'it swings'. For L-DTPS journalists, editors and producers, the judgement about whether a news story is 'worthy' of pursuing is partly a sense of audience demand and part paternal instinct about what news might be 'good for them'. For some, it has become so ingrained that it happens almost instantly and instinctively. One tells me:

145

Leader: 'It's news judgment, it's what we think will appeal to the audience, what the audience will find interesting and what we think they ought to know, providing a public service in terms of public information and… exposing wrongdoing or scrutinizing officials and public bodies, all the competing factors that every journalist faces every day. Is it a story and is it a story that we want to do? It becomes second nature.'

It was the contrast between my own drive to understand the particular criteria that influences professional practice, and the practitioners' sense that such decisions are 'second nature', that formed the study's first and most fundamental 'cultural horizon' (Ricoeur 1981: 178) – the conflict between what is expected by the researcher and what is perceived and experienced by participants. When explored in more practical, applied terms, the atmosphere often thawed, prompting lively discussions amongst participants.

Relevance, composition and unambiguity

The most important set of criterion influencing the production of L-DTPS journalism are 'Relevance' (Harcup and O'Neill 2001, 2016), 'Composition' and 'Unambiguity' (Galtung and Ruge 1965).

Relevance

Fieldwork strongly suggests that the most important criteria within L-DTPS journalism is 'Relevance'. Broadly similar to Galtung and Ruge's 'Meaningfulness' and Golding and Ellliott's 'Importance' and 'Proximity', Harcup and O'Neill's preferred value of 'relevance' is defined as 'stories about issues, groups and nations perceived to be relevant to the audience' (2001: 279).

For L-DTPS practitioners, relevance means, above all else, *localness*. Like any 'special interest' channel, such as a sports channel that only broadcasts sports news and programming, or a children's channel that only broadcasts children's programming, L-DTPS channels are defined by their 'localness' in terms of their audience, their production base and their content focus. This 'localness' is seen by practitioners as referring to the channel's broadcast area, which generally comprises one city or large town and an array of surrounding towns and villages as the local topology allows.

News Editor: 'All our stories have to be local, even if it's a national or international story, there's got to be a local angle as to whether that affects the local community or maybe local people are involved in those stories.' 'Relevance' is therefore preferred to 'Proximity' because the most important factor in L-DTPS 'relevance' is localness, which does not automatically equate to 'proximity' which implies that events must take place within the locality. L-DTPS by contrast may cover national or international events but focus on the 'relevance' of those faraway events to the local audience.

The production and broadcasting of locally-focused news and programmes formed a central plank of L-DTPS licence proposals. The level and nature of local news and local programming formed a core part of licence agreements, and levels are monitored by Ofcom. For the L-DTPS practitioners I meet, 'localness' means original programming produced by and for local people, within the locality, about local issues, events and groups. Practitioners pride themselves on their direct links with the local community and design programmes or packages in direct response to issues raised by local residents.

BTV produces a short weekly package, broadcast within the news bulletin, called *'What's going on?'* which provides very small communities, through their councillors or community groups, with a platform to raise issues of importance to them. One young journalist tells me:
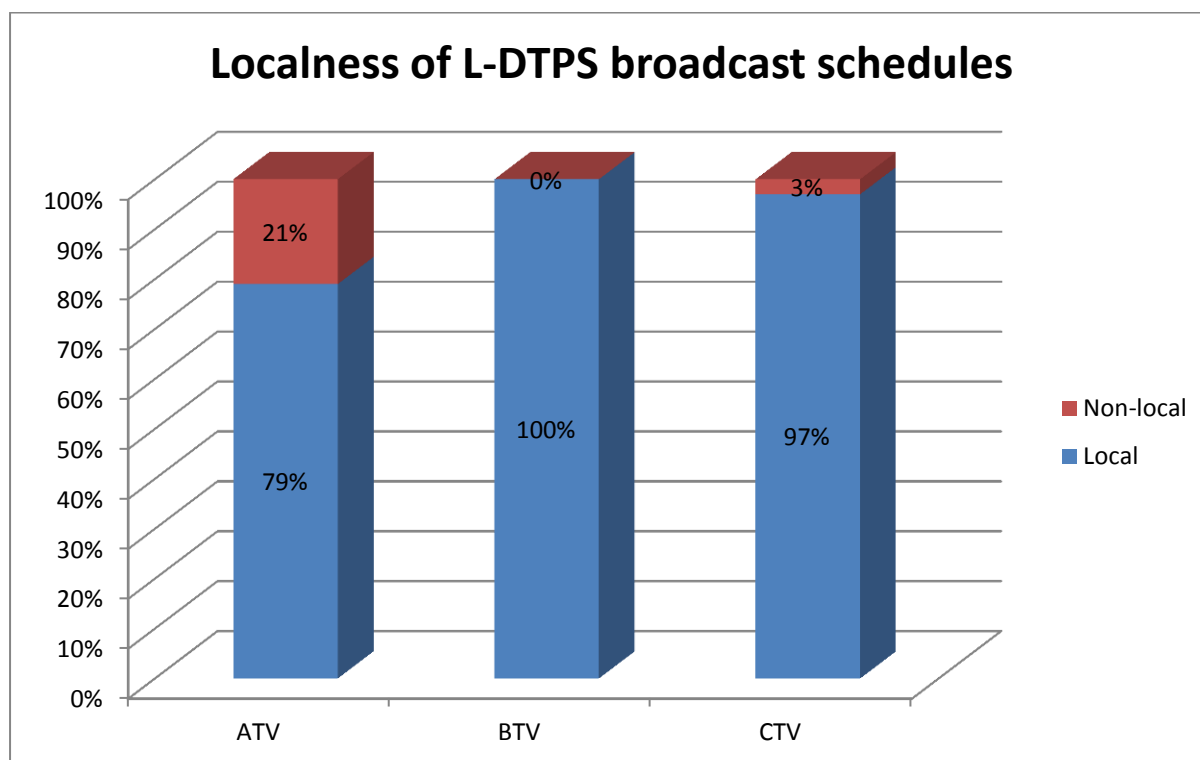
> Journalist: 'Because we're local we do things differently, we have a slightly different news agenda, actually, we get to speak to groups, communities, look at smaller issues and give them a platform to raise their issues… Issues, events, stuff like that… they're always pleased to say it. Quite often, they'll say, oh, there's probably nothing that you're going to be interested in going on in such-and-such this week. And I say look, it doesn't have to be lead story stuff that you see on the 6 o'clock news, the whole point of it is that we want to talk about the things that matter to you and your small community that probably gets overlooked. And they say, well, actually, we've got this housing development that's going to be a real problem for people… and then that turns into a news story, we might get a local councillor or an MP in to discuss it on [our current affairs programme], we might end up making a documentary about it… I think that's what we do very well and it's quite satisfying in that sense.'

These kinds of attitudes show that what L-DTPS does not mean for practitioners is the 'mere siting of a transmitter' (Kleinstuber 1991: 142). Nor is it the syndicated faux-localness of the American commercial networks referred to by Jeremy Hunt in his oft-quoted soundbites (eg. Hunt in Porter 2010). Several participants express concern about the London licensee's attempt to claim as local programming repeat broadcasts of 1990s British serial drama *London's Burning* (ITV 1988-2002) and sitcom *Spaced* (Wright C4 1999-2001), set in Tufnell Park in north London.

Analysis of L-DTPS broadcast schedules demonstrates that the overwhelming majority of L-DTPS programming comprises news and programming focused on the locality (see Figure 18). All cases are obligated to broadcast local news and current affairs under the terms of their licensing agreements with the regulator, which monitors their compliance. All cases broadcast a daily evening news bulletin, which tends to be repeated the following morning, and all cases broadcast a weekly news round-up for weekend broadcast consisting of repackaged weekday stories. In ATV, there are

additional, shorter breakfast and lunchtime news bulletins. All cases also broadcast a range of advertising content, including both local and national campaigns.

The 'localness' of L-DTPS practitioners means that not only do they have more personally and historically invested in the locality, but they are allowed a greater degree of access by that community to the lives and views of local people, and are more accountable to local audiences on an ongoing, daily basis, both in their work and in their personal lives. As 'locals' themselves, many L-DTPS practitioners serve as a point of contact for the community, engaging in dialogue with local people and organizations on an ongoing, daily basis, not just as part of their work but as an inescapable part of their day-to-day lives as a member of the community. Professional practice becomes more closely entwined with personal life:

> News and Current Affairs presenter: 'The great advantage of it being so local is that if you're a citizen of this town, then you will meet the audience. People come up to you in pubs, quite unsolicited, and say you should have asked this question, you missed the point there, well done for that one - you didn't let them bamboozle you with irrelevance… It's not a scientific sample of the audience but it's terribly valuable.'

Local programming across the cases is mostly produced in documentary magazine style, consisting of interviews with local individuals and organisations and accompanying visual footage illustrating the narratives provided by the interviewee. Each of the three cases broadcast a weekly entertainment

magazine programme which reviews and previews current and forthcoming theatre shows, music gigs, local festivals and community or family events, and all cases broadcast at least one sports programme which tends to provide a roundup of premier league or first division football scores plus features on less popular, and less expensive, local sports including rugby, cricket, basketball and junior football as well as more unusual sports. Across the cases, local programming tends to be repeated both within the weekly schedule and across weeks.

Across the cases, the vast majority of news stories and original programming produced by L-DTPS companies is strongly focused on issues, events and groups that take place within the L-DTPS broadcast area. Clearly this is not an accidental outcome, nor a happy coincidence for locally-based production teams, but the consequence of the purposeful design and 'composition' of locally-relevant broadcast and production schedules and of highly targeted local newsgathering.

Composition and unambiguity

The category of 'composition' was first proposed by Galtung and Ruge (1965), who used the term 'composition' to describe the aspirations of the journalist or editor composing the news product. The aim is, they suggested, to achieve a 'balance' of different story types, themes and geographic coverage that engage consumers with differing interests and concerns, and reassures them of the news organisation's omniscience and authority. The news value of 'Composition' is closely related to 'Unambiguity' which will be discussed further below. To achieve the goal of balanced composition, practitioners must consider the type, theme or geographic focus of each story, and make decisions about inclusion or exclusion based on these criteria.

By contrast, Harcup and O'Neill (2001) see 'composition' as problematic, since the methodological approach they most frequently employ, content analysis, precludes identification of the practitioner's *motivation* for including news stories in a particular product. As a result, they reclassified the category of 'composition' as a sub-category of 'Media Agenda', arguing that the composition of a news product is important only insofar as it serves the interests of the news organisation. The present study, through a more holistic approach that employs ethnographic analysis of professional practice and media content, sees composition as playing an instrumental role in the selection or exclusion of particular stories, events and issues to take forward to local news and programme development. For Galtung and Ruge and Harcup and O'Neill, the news product in question was an edition of a daily newspaper, but the value can apply equally well to a television news bulletin or schedule. Surprisingly, Golding and Elliott (1979) do not address the composition issue at all. Across the three cases, L-DTPS programming is overwhelmingly factual. While relatively cheap to produce, factual programming is one of the least profitable genres for national broadcasters, since it is strongly tied to the geographic area for which it is produced, and it is relevant for only a short period of time. For national broadcasters, entertainment programming is

one of the most lucrative areas of business, generating £1.7 billion in 2013/14, up 11% on the previous year, second only to sports programming which generated almost £2.3 billion, albeit down 2% on the previous year (Ofcom 2015b). Taken together then, these two most lucrative areas of broadcast production generate £4 billion for British multichannel broadcasters, compared to 'just' £393 million for news and factual programming (£129 million and £264 million, respectively) (Ofcom 2015b).

L-DTPS broadcasters are unlikely, given their local focus, to be able to generate anywhere near these types of sums, but the point here is that they are largely restricted, through their licence obligations and their small scale, to focus resources on the production of less lucrative news and factual programming which has little value in the wider broadcasting industry and is outdated very quickly. This presents a fundamental disadvantage in their ability to effectively commercialise their content. Indeed, this is the very argument that ITV plc put forward as their case for reducing regional news and programming.

Having considered the broad genres and programmes that L-DTPS are producing and broadcasting, it is clear that L-DTPS programming consists almost exclusively of news and factual programming, with a heavy local focus. But how do L-DTPS journalists, editors and producers select issues, groups and events to develop into news stories and factual packages and programmes? How are those issues, groups and events identified, selected, developed and crafted or constructed into news and factual programming?

This drive for balance also reveals an inherent recognition that news is a commercial product that aims to engage audiences, ultimately to achieve advertising revenues. There is a pressure not simply to produce enough news each day to fill the allotted space in the schedule, but to produce news which covers a range of subject areas, in order to maintain credibility and to keep viewers engaged.

Within L-DTPS news for example, practitioners attempt to present a balance or mix of stories across a broad range of topics or themes.

'I'd always try to get a mix of stories covering a range of themes. This is the topic list I use:

- Homes
- Health
- Education
- Jobs / finance / the economy
- Transport
- Agriculture
- Crime

- Environment
- New Technology
- Sport
- Entertainment
- What's on
- Film / culture' (email from news editor)

A local news programme should not, an editor argued, comprise of too many stories in one category:

News editor: 'It would just look odd, it'd be lop-sided wouldn't it, the viewer would think either, 'why is all the news about education, what about everything else? These people don't know what they're on about' or they'd think 'hang on, there's something going on here, they're in cahoots with someone or other' It just doesn't happen, it wouldn't work.'

'You have to have a mix don't you, or people'd get bored. If it was all housing, or all crime, or all health, the people that like those areas might stick with it but most people would just switch off, you need to keep changing it so people stay interested, so there's something for everyone.'

On 25th November 2014 for example ATV's developing news story list contains seven stories:

1) Junior doctor strikes;
2) An interview with the Health and Safety Executive about a report that says that 45% of construction sites fail their spot check;
3) A 'spat' about the conservation vs. development of some city parkland between the city's mayor and a US celebrity (who has taken an interest in the issue as she was born there – and also happens to have a West End play to promote);
4) A story about 1,000 jobs being transferred from a local council to a private sector contractor;
5) An interview with a local school about anti-bullying;
6) Local reactions to the reinstatement of bus lanes being reinstated; and possibly also
7) A terrorism response training operations by the regional police force

These stories fit rather neatly into the news topics described above, spanning health (NHS strikes and Health and Safety report), environment (conservation/development debate on local parkland), finance/jobs/economy (privatisation of local authority services), education (bullying in schools), transport (bus lanes) and crime (terrorism prevention). There is a sense amongst L-DTPS journalists that a varied composition in terms of story topic lends credibility to the broadcast, demonstrating that the news team or company has a broad overview of a range of areas and adding to a sense of omniscience, rather than specialisms in particular areas.

Closely related to the drive for 'Composition' is the need for 'Unambiguity'. Galtung and Ruge (1965) defined 'Unambiguous' as a clearly-stated message, free of interference. Interestingly, Harcup and O'Neill saw the value as irrelevant, not because it did not apply to the news stories they analysed, but because it applied to almost all of them. They argued that clearly defining a news story constituted a central part of journalistic training and applied in almost every news story, therefore attempting to use the feature as a distinguishing characteristic was futile.

A related value defined by Golding and Elliott as 'Brevity' refers to 'a story which is closely packed with facts and little padding… just the facts and nothing but the facts' (1979: 120), the need to ensure that no single item be allowed to 'drag on too long' (ibid.). 'Brevity' is much less relevant to L-DTPS which has a much greater airtime devoted to a much smaller geographic area to 'fill' than the broadcasters referred to by Golding and Elliott.

'Unambiguity' however, is as important within L-DTPS as it is within any broadcaster, in terms of ensuring that news stories appear simple and straightforward and can be easily communicated in relatively accessible language. One editor commented that as part of his journalism training and experience with national and commercial local radio, he looks for 'issue-led stories' which 'have one thing to say':

> News editor: 'Have one thing to say. That's important. If you try to do too much at once people get confused. If you've got two issue - if you're talking about food banks and suddenly you're talking about dog rehoming - people just think, hang on, what's all this about? You'll lose them. Keep it simple. Don't mix things up. If it's good, create another story for it.'

The following day the team plan for six stories including business/international trade, economy/austerity/jobs, sport//education, art/heritage and health/social. The following text comprises an editor's daily submission to the BBC regional news team:

- a thanksgiving service remembering a local teenager who committed suicide, including footage of the service and a possible interview with the family

- Federation of Small Business event at a city hotel talking about exploring trade with China. Interviews 1730 footage with you a couple of hours later.

- Local council budget cuts – how they envisage achieving £34 million worth of savings. Interview with council with you by late afternoon.

- Bravery award – Local teenager awarded a medal for bravery after saving a girl in trouble in a local river last summer. Interviews with the boy, girl and awarding body to be with you by lunchtime.

- Supporting local sport - After sponsorship deal from a local taxi company to help a local school's football programme, interviewing the school and asking about the financial pressure to commit resources and develop sport. Footage by early afternoon
- Window of Remembrance – local college student creating a WW1 window for a local museum. Talking to the artist and museum about project at 2pm. Footage late afternoon.

Fieldwork therefore showed that the news values of 'Composition' and 'Unambiguity' work together to enable practitioners to devise what appears to be a balanced schedule of news and clearly-defined topics, not simply within each bulletin or daily schedule, but across the weekly schedule and beyond.

Good news, bad news and elites

Good news

'Good news' stories are those 'with particularly positive overtones such as rescues and cures' (Harcup and O'Neill 2001: 279). It is surprising that Golding and Elliott (1979) did not include any related values within their 1979 typology, since, although the majority of stories in national broadcast news are overwhelmingly negative, it has developed a propensity to offer an amusing or human interest story at the end of the bulletin to lighten the mood and retain viewers for the programming to follow.

For L-DTPS practitioners, 'good news' stories come high on the agenda for two reasons. Firstly, practitioners perceive audiences as being 'fed up' with what they see as overwhelmingly negative news in local newspapers and on the national broadcast news:

> News editor: 'What the local newspapers do, sometimes, is just lazy. I mean, I don't want to slate the journalists there, I'm friends with quite a few, and they're not happy about it either. Court reports, police releases – stabbings, murders, burglaries… I mean, it's depressing… who wants to hear about that all the time, I live here and I don't… no wonder circulations are declining… it's not down to the journalists is it, it's the whole industry. We want to do the good news too, not just a token jokey story at the end to cheer people up – proper stories about all the good things that are going on in every community all the time.'

There is a sense that L-DTPS is more accountable and more community-led than national broadcast media:

> News editor: 'We want the community to feel it's theirs; that they can come in and work with us in whatever way. Not just from a news perspective, but whole programme development as well. I want them to feel that we look after them; that we're not here to

shaft them, because I get a sense sometimes... the nationals come in... and the locals hate it, they really do hate it. The big boys come in, blow up and do whatever and then they run off again. And sometimes that gives a very negative portrayal to the community about the press and it's us who have to do that legwork repairing the damage... You can't upset them because if you did, you wouldn't have any content.'

One example of the 'shafting' referred to in the above quote concerns the second series of Skint, a Channel 4 documentary claiming to follow 'the lives of fishermen out of work after a lifetime at sea', doing 'whatever they can to make ends meet'. Described by producers as telling 'the intimate stories of people living with the effects of long-term unemployment in one of Britain's most deprived areas' (Channel 4 2015), the series has been labelled 'poverty porn', defined by a Research Fellow at the Centre for Global Development Europe, as 'any type of media, be it written, photographed or filmed, which exploits the poor's condition in order to generate the necessary sympathy' (Collin 2009). One episode was described by a local newspaper as 'spark[ing] fury with viewers after it showed jobless drug-addicted couple shoplifting and trying to sell their furniture after they discovered their benefits would not be paid because they missed an appointment at the Job Centre'. One news editor tells me:

News editor: 'That Channel 4 doc was filmed here last year. I was inundated, 'why aren't you going to do something to oppose Skint?' Well, we're already doing that every day, we're putting out positive stories about the area; we're showing documentaries about the positive aspects of the area.'

BTV's locality faces further derision as the titular location of a feature film produced by and featuring a well-known English comedian, released in 2016. According to the Guardian, local residents were 'outraged' that their town was portrayed in the film 'as a rubbish-strewn, violent ghetto in which drunks urinate from windows and mothers hand children cans of beer in the street' (Ellis-Petersen and Child 2014). L-DTPS practitioners attempt to challenge such negative representations of the local area by providing a platform for local people to express their views and by developing a range of programming that highlights local assets such as arts and cultural events, local business award ceremonies and rural walks.

The second reason why 'good news' is favoured by L-DTPS practitioners is the ease with which good news stories can be covered, and the lesser resources and therefore costs of gathering and producing good news packages and programmes. Primary definers of news (Hall 1978) such as councils, businesses and public services are keen to promote news stories which show them in a positive light. Fieldwork illuminated how, in relation to good news stories, well-resourced PR departments and marketing officers distribute clearly worded press releases, are quick to answer

calls and emails, happy to arrange interviews with senior managers and in interesting locations, meet and greet journalists and quickly fulfil requests for further information.

On one occasion, a news release was sent to the ATV newsdesk by the local public transport agency, regarding the rewiring of a well-used local road tunnel, a situation which would likely involve temporary disruption for users of the tunnel. A news editor initially sets out his justification for pursuing the story on public interest grounds:

> News editor: 'It's clearly of interest to our viewers. A lot of people have to come through that tunnel to get to work, to visit family, to go out for the night. If their journey is going to be disrupted, if the tolls are going up, if it's going to be improved, whatever, then our viewers want to know about it.'

The editor goes on to explain how the story also provides an 'easy win' for the team:

> News editor: 'Plus it's an easy win. We know we can get a decent interview pretty easily, we can get a crew down to the tunnel entrance this afternoon to get some actuality, and we're done. It'll go in our evening bulletin and off to the BBC.'

This admission is quickly justified with proposals to challenge those in power overseeing the project:

> News editor: 'But we won't give them an easy ride you know. We'll be asking how this is being paid for, is it going to mean an increase in toll fees? That's our job as journalists, we're not a PR company.'

The way in which the job plays out suggests that all of these justifications ring true. The job is assigned to one of the young journalists. He calls the contact named on the press release, who answers promptly, and arranges an interview for lunchtime the following day, when a senior director of the company, who is also a local councillor, will be available in his office. At the appointed time we arrive at the plush city centre offices. A PR officer greets us in reception and we are taken up in the lift to the 13th floor. As we step out of the lift we are greeted with a fantastic view. The PR officer smiles and points out local landmark buildings, which look different from this unusual perspective. He shares some well-trodden stories about how staff feel queasy when the building sways in high winds, and walks us through some smartly-appointed open plan offices to a large office overlooking the river. Thom sets up his camera, organises the lighting and checks sound levels. Presently, the senior official arrives and asks Thom where he wants him, they set up the shot and away they go.

Thom asks the official to outline the story. The official describes how the tunnel wiring has 'served us well since 60s but is in need of upgrading. The new lights will be LED', he says, 'they'll need less maintenance, use less electricity, be cheaper and brighter'. He explains how this will benefit all

tunnel users and improve safety. Thom asks how the work is being paid for, if there will be any rise in toll fees? The official responds that all the work is being paid for through existing toll fees. The journalist asks the question again – will this mean any increase in toll fees for tunnel users? The official responds again, 'the fees cannot be increased as they are set by law'. The journalist moves on – 'will there be any disruption for tunnel users?' Again, the official is well prepared – the tunnel will stay open throughout the work. There will be some minor disruption through lane closures, but they will try to manage and minimise any disruption by carrying out work in the evenings and at weekends when the tunnel is less well used. The journalist asks his final question, is this the beginning of the end for the tunnel? The official appears genuinely surprised by the question. 'No, not at all!' he replies, '[The tunnel is] essential for the city and local economy, there are no plans to close it'. The young journalist thanks him and packs up his equipment. There is pleasant chit chat with the PR officer in the lift on the way down. There is no tension, there have been no difficult questions, only easy answers – the PR officer thanks the journalist and reassures him that he will be in touch with further information in due course. Thom goes off to get some shots of the tunnel.

These examples illustrate how and why good news can be both cheap and easy to produce, and how at the same time it satisfies a personal-professional goal of individual L-DTPS practitioners to produce positive news and programmes which both emphasize the strengths of their localities and challenge negative portrayals within incumbent media. These findings support the continuing inclusion of 'good news' as an important and easily achievable news value for L-DTPS news and programming.

The next sections show how good news might be doubly favoured, due to the difficulties in producing 'bad news' stories, which show power elites in a negative way or address issues which power elites do not want discussed.

Bad news

Harcup and O'Neill described bad news stories as 'stories with particularly negative overtones, such as conflict or tragedy' (2001: 279). This value evolved from similar propositions by both Galtung and Ruge ('Reference to something negative') and Golding and Elliott ('Negativity'). Bad news is often seen as the staple diet of local newspapers and regional and national broadcast news, since bad news stories frequently share other news values such as the power elite, in the case of political scandals, or magnitude, as in the case of natural disasters such as storms or earthquakes. Bad news stories often also hold some entertainment value, seen in its wider context of emotional engagement in human interest stories, rather than in the humorous or exciting sense.

Here, fieldwork suggested that bad news played a relatively minor role in the selection and development of L-DTPS news and programming. This is attributed to three factors. Firstly, L-DTPS

practitioners see local television as challenging what many viewers perceive as overwhelmingly negative news discourses in incumbent local newspapers and regional and national television news. For some, challenging overwhelmingly negative news in incumbent media is a social responsibility. For others, it is a commercial opportunity to distinguish their service from incumbent media and develop a unique selling proposition. Some practitioners emphasize that they avoid a heavy focus on negative stories, since these are a 'turn-off' for viewers. This is convenient for under-resourced editors and producers since it minimises the need to deploy their minimal resources in the pursuit of crime stories such as stabbings, murders and robberies which tend to be unexpected and are therefore difficult to attend at short notice. This contrasts with the findings of all three highly influential news value studies cited earlier, which typically classify bad news as one of the most highly prioritised news values. This suggests that L-DTPS does offer a distinctive form of news and programming, which counters dominant journalism practice.

The second reason that L-DTPS companies place less emphasis on bad news is because it is more difficult to research and grow bad news stories, particularly where it is the news organisations itself that is challenging or confronting an issue, rather than covering an existing 'conflict' between two third parties. For example, in one newsroom I observed the discovery, by a news editor, that a local council was facing budget cuts of £34 million over two years. This prompted some discussion amongst colleagues about how the council might find these savings, and a journalist was tasked with arranging an interview with a spokesperson from the council to explain where the cuts will fall. Throughout the day, call after call went unanswered, or the journalist was promised that someone would call him back after someone returned from their important meeting. By lunchtime time was running out to arrange an interview, go and shoot it, return and edit the package in time for the evening bulletin. By 2pm the journalist had spoken to somebody at the council, but had nothing that could constitute a news story:

> Journalist: 'They haven't decided where to make the cuts. It's all a bit woolly. They're talking about getting people to recycle more, use the services less. I know, it's ridiculous. I think the angle is, 'could they be a bit more innovative in how they are making the savings?' I don't know, I'll keep trying…'

Colleagues make suggestions about other potential interviewees whose perspectives could be useful in developing a package – the unions, the government department responsible for the cuts – but without any firm details on how or where the local cuts will be implemented, there are few options for the journalist to take to develop an angle on the story.

Similarly, another editor discovered that 1,000 jobs were to be transferred from a local council to a new venture with a private sector partner. Essentially, an element of public service operations was

being privatised as part of the local authority's response to national austerity measures. An editor explained:

> News editor: 'We've seen this kind of thing before, loads of public sector workers get made redundant. The private sector take on a few people at lower wages, no rights, zero hours contracts, all that. We're looking for an angle on that…'

The job is allocated to one of the young journalists to pursue. He is asked to arrange an interview with somebody from the council to clarify the story. Later that day the editor checks up on progress:

> News editor: 'Is there anything you're not picking up? That's not going well?'

> Journalist: [Council] 'Jobs. It's not going anywhere, drop it?'

> News editor: 'Why is it not going anywhere? Can you not get an interview? Or you've just not had time? Because if it's that then we can reallocate it.'

> Journalist: 'Ok, do that then.'

Both of these stories seem to fade into the background as further calls are declined, and colleagues busy themselves with other stories in which protagonists are easier to engage. These examples contrast with a story with perhaps lesser social or economic impact, but in which there are clear oppositional positions taken by two third parties. In these instances a contribution by one party, which gives the news team some good interviews and visual footage, makes it more difficult for the other party to decline to participate. It becomes much easier for the team to grow stories where there is a particular organisation or campaign promoting a particular angle and eager to engage local media in their cause.

This kind of practice provides some support for claims of declining quality because it shows how the commercial and pragmatic 'exigencies of news', as one head of news put it, take priority over the 'objective' value of news seen as in the public interest. For example, one such story concerns a city council plan to sell off part of a popular local park to housing developers, and an opposing campaign to save the park, which has won support from an international celebrity/actress with local links, who is in town to promote a play she is in at a city theatre.

> News editor: 'There's the spat between the Mayor … and [a famous actress] about [the local park] – there's a meeting tonight… we look at social media to see who's involved, so we try and find someone from the campaign side through that route. We've asked for a council representative, they might refuse but at least we've asked. Then we can tell the BBC we tried to provide a balanced piece… it's a nice story, there's someone well known, even if we

don't get an interview we can use some quotes off their website, put a nice picture of the actress up, that's probably enough as a last resort.'

This last resort is not necessary though, since later that day a journalist secures an interview with one of the campaigners to save the park which, together with some visuals of the park, provides enough material for a short package criticising the council's plans on the evening news.

These examples suggest that while covering 'bad news' stories involving conflicts between two third parties is more straightforward, developing 'bad news' stories which involve journalists criticising powerful local authorities, or showing them in a less favourable light, are more difficult. Those organisations are able to 'block' stories quite easily by not answering phone calls and declining interviews. Given limited resources and the daily challenges of meeting their 'largely immovable deadlines' (Rudin and Ibbotson 2002: 7), such stories are quickly forgotten. Given L-DTPS' position as a newcomer and each channel's dependence on a relatively small pool of newsmakers, this kind of unintended bias in favour of local power elites suggests that L-DTPS are structurally predisposed towards good news and against bad news stories that challenge power elites.

The following section demonstrates how, even when local television companies are able to secure interviews with power elites about current issues, practitioners can be fearful of upsetting them, and even when difficult questions are put to them, how power elites are well trained and well prepared to handle difficult media enquiries and able to skilfully deflect questions which they do not wish to answer.

Elites

'Elites' stories are those emphasizing 'big names' (Golding and Elliott 1979: 122), 'powerful individuals, organisations or institutions' (Harcup and O'Neill 2001: 279), or 'top leaders' (Galtung and Ruge 1965: 77) – what Hall referred to as the 'primary definers' of news (1978). There are numerous examples within the corpus of L-DTPS news stories and programmes concerning powerful individuals, organisations or institutions but few which effectively challenge their power, strategies or decisions.

In their licence application, ATV proposed wide range of current affairs programming including a morning interview show featuring MPs, councillors and business leaders; a daily 30 minute 'Talking Point' show; coverage of Mayoral Questions and debate; a weekly 'Pavement Politics' programme showing local politicians as they go about their ward business; daily reports from the council chambers; and a Friday night live audience debate show 'In the Mix'. Interviews with leaders suggest great enthusiasm for the importance of news and political programming that encourages civic and political debate.

Leader: 'We'll have a Friday night debate as soon as we can a bit like BBC's Question Time... I'd like to think that we can aim to have a report maybe once a week or whatever from what's been going on. What has [a local] council talked about this week, and how does it affect you? I think there's a huge amount to talk about and I would like to feel that we're not afraid to cover politics in that kind of gritty way.'

However, by the time of my programming analysis, a month after launch, and even more than a year later, none of the political programmes described in the licence application are being produced. The programme most closely addressing current affairs is an interview programme with local civic figures. Co-produced and presented by a university lecturer who formerly worked in BBC local radio and who formerly stood as a city mayoral candidate, the series offers invites local civic leaders and other 'enterprising local people' to communicate their decisions and strategies, providing opportunities to contextualise and discuss long-term complex issues. Fieldwork showed that recent guests included the local Police Commissioner, the Police Chief Constable, a representative from a campaign to extend a planned high speed rail link to the city, a university professor of politics and a charity fundraiser. The presenter is highly knowledgeable of the local civic and political fields, drawing on his own awareness of local issues, researching and liaising with appropriate guests; scripting his own questions, and presenting statistics and historical reports as the stimulus for discussion. Despite this, interviews are fairly sympathetic and even deferential to local power elites.

One episode of the first series features an extended interview with the Chief Constable of the local police force. The programme, like others in the series, is filmed in the main studio. As is often the case, the set consists of a variation on the theme of numerous white flats against black curtains. The host and guest are seated on conference-style chairs, around a simple, Ikea-style coffee table. A yukka plant sits behind them, breaking up the straight lines of the flats. The host briefly introduces himself and the programme, and immediately introduces the Chief Constable in a friendly way, akin to a celebrity walking on to a chat show to promote their latest film, rather than a publicly accountable official:

Presenter: 'Now, 40 years ago a young man entered the [local] police cadets. Four decades on, he's in charge of the service... You're very welcome. Did you ever think 40 years ago that you'd be sitting here with all these splendid pips and this braid, as the guy at the top?'

The chief constable offers a personable, humble response:

Guest: 'Not in a million years! I just enjoyed doing the job and came in – it never occurred to me!'

When asked how the job has changed during the preceding 40 years, the guest continues:

Guest: 'The job has changed massively. I suppose most obviously there is the volume of work. When I started, I started as a foot patrol officer. And there was time to patrol on foot then. There was time to talk to the public. And the beat that I had, which was up near [a local housing estate], was one of the busier beats. And if my radio went three times a night – that was quite a busy night! The rest of the time I had to talk to the public and make a nuisance of myself, try and make friends. Today, the officers are bounced from pillar to post. We're approaching one and a half million calls a year for service. The job is done at a much quicker pace and there is much more that we have to do.'

This gentle, human-interest angle of questioning provides the guest with several opportunities. Firstly, he is able to offer a more personal, emotional response to questions which have the potential to generate personal, empathetic responses from audiences, building trust and rapport between the police chief, his professional role and the police as an institution, and audiences. In particular, this question and response conjure up romantic memories of the past, perhaps drawing in older audiences with nostalgic images of the friendly community bobby, and further building trust and rapport with the guest. However, the 1970s, the period the guest romantically describes as a peaceful time of mischievous bobbies on the beat, were times of significant social upheaval and civil unrest, and were particularly tense within the city in question. Industrial and economic decline, political change and racial tensions would soon develop into the infamous strikes and riots of the early 1980s. Secondly, importantly, the guest is able to craft his response to this personal, human-interest question to his professional agenda - in this case, that police resources are stretched almost to breaking point and that government funding cuts should be halted or reversed. This message is reinforced more forcefully later in the interview:

Presenter: '[The local area] has always been a pioneer in the area of community policing. Man-to-man marking I think some people called it. Is community policing viable when you are under pressure and with budget reductions and so on?'

Guest: 'As the cuts continue, and I lose more officers – and from the point I became Chief in 2010 I've lost more than 700 police officers and 500 support staff – I know I'm going to lose another 800 staff in the next two years. The future viability of neighbourhood policing as it is currently configured has to be in doubt.'

The guest skilfully guides each question back to his agenda, outlining the pressures on the service:

Presenter: 'In the summer there was a report that said your force was actually responding really well, under these budgetary pressures, you were meeting your targets and doing all that stuff. Why will future cuts damage the force when you've been able to manage up to now?'

Guest: 'Well, I think we would have to be honest and say we're doing everything more effectively, more efficiently, with less people. Because we've had to look really closely at everything we do and there isn't a single place in the force that hasn't been reorganised in some way or other. But there is a law of diminishing returns and we are seeing a rise in crime that we haven't seen in seven years. We've seen exponential growth in calls for service as everybody from the age of 3 it seems these days has a mobile phone, and quite a lot of them like to call the police! Whereas at one time you might have had one person ring us to tell us something had happened, now we have 15 or 16 people. So the demands on us are significantly more than they used to be, and they are becoming greater… The most obvious way the public will see [a change in service] is if we get to a point where it takes us longer to respond to their calls… and they start to see less neighbourhood officers out there… There will come a time when the police will be less visible to the public and they will notice that.'

The chief constable is clearly well prepared and well versed in the art of media management, easily able to further his own agenda through the interview. While stating that the area is seeing a rise in crime, he then goes on to describe a rise in reports of crime, at the same time acknowledging that this is largely due to the increasing ubiquity of mobile phones rather than a rise in the number of actual incidents. This lobbying of public opinion is disguised through further subterfuge when he purports to hold beliefs that contradict his own actions:

Guest: 'What I don't believe is, it's the role of the Chief Constable to be in the media telling the public that we're all going to hell in a handcart. Because I don't think that gives them a feeling of reassurance or of safety, and of course perceptions of crime levels are as important as actual crime levels.'

That is, during the very process of warning against budget cuts because of the threats to frontline police services, he states that he doesn't believe that officers in his position should be warning against budget cuts because of threats to frontline police services. The ability of the host to challenge such contradictions is limited. As one journalist explains in an interview, as a new television service attempting to enter the news market, L-DTPS has little power to challenge or hold power to account:

Journalist: 'There's this kind of censorship concerning politics… You shouldn't go too close otherwise you're going to burn your wings… a debate about fracking, a documentary, it could hurt the politicians and maybe we'll have some restrictions for that… You can't ask the local politicians why they're building this building with that much money and why, they for instance, are closing libraries on the other side?'

When asked why not, the journalist replies:

> Journalist: 'Because if you ask them these questions, they're going to feel embarrassed, they're going to say well, it's ATV, forget about them, next time we won't call them and they won't come around, do you know what I mean? And that's happening in local even more than in, like, national and international TV or journalism because you have to stick with the people.'

These comments echo those of a news editor in another company: 'you can't upset them because if you did, you wouldn't have any content'. This closeness suggests a double-edged sword for L-DTPS journalists. On the one hand, they are more accountable to their audiences, potentially creating a broadcast service that is more egalitarian and respectful of its audience, where individual consumers and contributors have a greater degree of influence than in their relationship with national media. On the other however, this close contact and relatively high dependency on a relatively small pool of news makers, contributors and consumers heightens their vulnerability, whereby the service is fearful of broadcasting news and programming that challenges or upsets local people and organizations. These concerns echo the comments made by Channel 4's chief executive, David Abraham, to a parliamentary event organised by the Future of TV Inquiry that 'when you're running commercially funded channels there are places that you do not go… [In commercial broadcasting] the shareholder interest is the primary, dominant factor in editorial decision making… I would get phone calls to say… cancel this investigation into some corporation or into some powerful politician because it will be very convenient' (in Goldsmiths 2016: 76).

Some practitioners emphasize the need to balance the desire to push primary definers for more information than they want to give, or in ways that they are not happy about, with the need to develop long term professional relationships which will bear fruit on future occasions. This appears to be the case across the three cases. A journalist in another case tells me:

> Journalist: 'We do hold, say, the council accountable for their actions, but I think it's getting that balance. Because I know we still have to work around here. I don't want to start pissing off, you know, the people that we're seeing and working with on a daily basis'.

These patterns of relatively powerful elites, and relatively powerless news media, run counter to the trends of mediatization identified by Cushion and Thomas (2013) and Cushion et al (2014), which argue that, through interventions such as live two-ways, news media are becoming more influential of public opinion than political actors, where the media itself becomes the primary definer. Instead, this study finds that L-DTPS practitioners are relatively powerless, lacking in either the audience share to oblige politicians to give them an interview, in the resources needed to thoroughly research issues, and the confidence and experience to authoritatively challenge them. By contrast, power

elites have extensive resources at their disposal including media training, teams of experienced public relations professionals, and a range of broadcasters from which to choose to give an exclusive interview or briefing. This balance clearly places power elites in the more powerful negotiating position. L-DTPS are not able to dictate the schedule of the power elites, as Cushion and his colleagues demonstrated in their study of national media. They found that press briefings and conferences were increasingly being scheduled to fit in with national broadcast news bulletins. By contrast, L-DTPS can be the last to know, and the least equipped to respond to unexpected press conferences. The manager of one L-DTPS told me:

> Station Manager: 'Like today at a quarter past 2:00 we suddenly found out that Nick Clegg was about 10 minutes walk away from here and we just had to find someone to go. If there's no-one else who can do it, that'll be me.'

L-DTPS then offers elites an alternative platform to mainstream broadcasters, over which they wield much greater power and influence than national broadcasters. Indeed it is *in the interests* of political elites for L-DTPS to operate at the margins of the broadcasting industries, with small audiences and limited resources, since this limits their power to challenge and hold power to account. Indeed, with their obligations as public service broadcaster and their limited power and resources, L-DTPS practitioners are caught between a rock and a hard place.

Follow up, surprise and magnitude

Follow up and surprise

Surprise stories have 'an element of surprise and/or contrast' (Harcup and O'Neill 2001: 279), or are what Galtung and Ruge referred to as 'Unexpectedness' (1965). Golding and Elliott's closest comparator was 'Drama', although this is slightly different, which is discussed later.

Within L-DTPS, surprise or unexpected events are difficult to resource. Therefore there is a much greater emphasis on issues and events which are planned and predictable, particularly those which follow up an earlier news story or issue in a previous programme on the local channel or elsewhere. 'Follow up' stories are those about subjects already in the news (Harcup and O'Neill 2001), similarly to Galtung and Ruge's (1965) value of 'continuity'. Golding and Elliott omitted any discussion of this kind of story, perhaps reflecting the tendency of broadcast news at that time to focus on the priority awarded to stories with the value of 'Recency', 'the requirement that news be up to date and refer to events as close to transmission time as possible' (1979: 121). For L-DTPS, essentially, coverage of predicted issues and events can be planned in advance makes operating on very low budgets just about manageable, whereas chasing surprise stories would be virtually impossible.

Within all the cases, practitioners employed a wide range of methods to source ideas for planned news stories and programmes, including news/press releases, a news-diary, local news competitors and social media, as well as friends, family and wider social networks. None subscribed to a Press Association newsfeed, with some citing high costs and a lack of local relevance. For some of this type of news, journalists depend on news releases from local businesses and non-profit organisations:

> News editor: 'We obviously get a lot of press releases from local authorities and companies which is the main staple of any newsroom. And as part of that -- because we can't just rely on corporate news - the journalists have to use their own contacts within the communities to establish relationships, to get their story. So that could be with various, you know, charitable organisations, sports clubs, people within their community, their next-door neighbours… so it's about building and developing those more personal contacts and developing relationships to get stories.'

One young journalist who had previously worked on a well-established local newspaper described the shock he experienced coming to an L-DTPS start-up newsroom:

> Journalist: 'When I worked for a newspaper, it was a newspaper that had been established for, you know, over 100 years and was well known within the community. When you start working for a local TV station which is building its brand from scratch, suddenly no-one's coming to you. You go from a place where you're constantly sinking trying to wade through the treacle of the immense amount of suggestions people have to you and then you go to a place where you've got nothing and you're having to start from scratch, no-one really comes to you, but actually, from a journalistic perspective, if you are half decent at what you do, it's really, really good practice for any journalist from that background because it teaches you to try and be creative with your stories. So because you've got far less coming to you and you're not basically awash with opportunities, you have to look at the things you've got and try and be a bit creative with them, see what you can make from nothing.'

Some L-DTPS practitioners enjoy the pro-active element of developing ideas for news and programming:

> Journalist: 'There are certain standard sources that will be the same for newspapers and local TV, any TV for example. So you've got council agendas, you look at what's going on in the council chambers, check the agendas, the issues that are going to be discussed and then you look at those. If it's say, relating to a certain area, you then follow it up so you might talk to the ward councillors, interview the ward councillors, go to the area, talk to residents, you might talk to portfolio holders for that certain issue, you might try and broaden out as you

always do basically with anything you do broaden the issue to make it a more interesting story.'

News stories and packages which focus on an event or issue which is known about in advance can be planned into the team's newsgathering or production schedule, whereas events which happen unexpectedly cannot, and might mean shifting a journalist from one story which has been pre-arranged and is therefore fairly likely to result in a broadcast-able news story, to a different, new and unpredictable story in which there may be no guarantee of an interview or other engaging visual footage. Pursuing unexpected, or surprise, news stories then presents a much greater degree of risk. Large national broadcasters may be able to manage such risks effectively within their large well-resourced news teams. For local television channels, with three or four journalists, some of whom are perhaps unpaid, are much less able to take risks. They are therefore much more likely to concentrate on the safer, less riskier stories that are predictable and planned in advance.

Fieldwork showed that 'follow up' is not always conducted effectively. In one case this was due to the absence of an efficient data management system, which meant that searching for previous references to a particular issue, event, group or person was difficult if not impossible. For example, on one occasion I observed the development of a news story about the rewiring of a local road tunnel in which a senior council official denied that the work would involve any increase to tunnel toll fees, stating quite categorically that toll fees are set by law and therefore non-negotiable. Yet just a few weeks later the same news team covered a story about potential increases in tunnel fees, without any reference to the previous story or reference to the earlier denial of any increase in tolls.

When I asked team members why they had not challenged the official about his earlier denial of increased toll fees, they expressed surprise and concern about the situation, saying they were unaware of the earlier interview and therefore the wider contradiction in official advice. An editor suggested that this was simply an error on their part, brought about by the lack of a central database of content, clearly and consistently tagged with relevant metadata, which would have enabled the team to archive and subsequently research news stories more effectively. Without such a resource, the team is dependent on individual recall of previous coverage, which is clearly a fallible system, particularly when there are changes in staffing or simply difficulties in staff teams meeting on a regular basis to discuss current issues and share prior knowledge of stories. This means that news stories can be produced in isolation, according to the demands of that particular day's news schedule, and without reference to wider contextual issues or to historical stories and actions.

With their longer term focus, programmes teams are better equipped to identify and pursue follow up stories. One example which is perhaps stretching the definition of 'Follow up' is local history and heritage programming. The first episode of ATV's *Hidden Histories* is a 24 minute documentary that

tells the story of a 1939 IRA campaign to sabotage the city's economic trade infrastructure and force the government to the negotiating table, a story that has been largely forgotten by the city's inhabitants and even local archivists. Although both workers and management claim staff have a great deal of creative autonomy in terms of programme development, such ideals are often tempered by chronic under-staffing and challenging workloads. This is the first time one particular producer has been able to bring a programme to broadcast that has been entirely of his own making, from conception through to post-production.

> Producer: '[The Head of Programmes] says he's open to new ideas and wants us to develop our own interests, and he's always open to discussions about ideas, but the reality is that there's simply no time for it. I have five core programmes that I need to make each week, the production crew are tied up editing and out on location with other programmes, there is just no time whatsoever for developing new programmes.'

The producer in this case has researched the IRA story himself in his own time, unearthed vintage photographs illustrating key sites and identified and secured permissions to use locations across the city and beyond. He has found a local university history lecturer to present the programme and a local filmmaker to shoot and edit the programme, who both agreed to work on the programme free of charge. He has spent his own money on new radio microphones which enable him to film on location rather than be bound to the studio.

In the early weeks and months after launching, all of the five weekly programmes he is responsible for have been shot in the company's dimly lit main studio on the outskirts of the city centre, with guests seated on uncomfortable conference style chairs or an old leather sofa against a backdrop of six white flats on black drapes, with the ubiquitous Yukka plant for company.

> Producer: 'It's difficult because there's just no money. They've always said they want to do more, better lights, better sets, better furniture, but they're just about managing to pay the staff.'

By contrast, *Hidden Histories* begins with sweeping panoramic shots of the city skyline, overlaid with clean modern titles. The programme is full of long shots of the presenter, dressed in a casual green-grey jacket and woolly hat, trekking through leafy parks, suburban housing estates, down grimy backstreets, under pylons in fields, along the outer walls of the city prison, and exploring forgotten railway stations, tracks and platforms overgrown with grass. Sections of the programme are shot within well-known city institutions. In one section, the presenter ambles quietly through a grand circular hall, now a modern children's library, where, we learn, officials once attempted to calm a packed and rowdy public meeting of those concerned about the bombs. Later, the presenter sits in front of the stalls of a former court house where two bombers were tried for their crimes, before

two actors dressed in Georgian attire silently emerge into the dock to await their sentence. These actors return to the programme later, on location in the house the bombers shared in a nearby town. They are used to illustrate the tale of how the man learns that his female accomplice has attempted to flee the city and their campaign and return to Ireland. He attempts to follow her, blowing up the house as he goes, an event which later leads to their arrest and trial. After a six month diet of 'talking-heads' shows shot inside a darkened studio, or from the occasional city-centre bar or restaurant, viewers are treated to a veritable feast of images of the 'real' city, past and present, learning new truths about the buildings that they walk past every day or fields where they might have played as a child.

Similarly, one of BTV's most popular and enduring series showcases the countryside rambles of the presenter through local villages and countryside. In a typical episode, clothed in traditional rambler attire of walking boots and all-weather anorak, despite glorious sunshine, she 'follows the footpaths of our county to meet new people and explore the heritage of our special region'. She reports that an old market town, which dates back to the thirteenth century, is 'famous for its antiques, and at one time, its horse fair'. She explores the Roman origin of the town's name, the importance of its river in enabling trade, its famous sons, the history of its pubs and its wildlife. The programme transports the viewer back in time to a more rural, rooted way of life. It is little surprise that participants here report this series is one of the channel's most popular amongst older audiences, attracting positive feedback and requests for repeats.

These examples demonstrate how, within L-DTPS, the news value of 'follow up' is employed much more effectively within programming, which has a much longer term focus, than in news, which works at a much faster pace, and where, without an effective content management systems, news stories are quickly forgotten, limiting the capacity of L-DTPS news teams to effectively challenge primary definers and hold power accountable. In some senses then, the follow up provided through programme development balances the lack of follow up through news, to some degree working around the previously identified limitation.

Magnitude

'Magnitude' stories are those that 'are perceived as sufficiently significant either in the numbers of people involved or in potential impact' (Harcup and O'Neill 2001: 279). Harcup and O'Neill incorporate into 'magnitude' two of Galtung and Ruge's (1965) news values – 'scale/threshold' and 'frequency'. Similarly, 'magnitude' shares characteristics with Golding and Elliott's (1979) values of 'Size' and 'Importance'. By scale/threshold, Galtung and Ruge referred to the scale of an event and its relevance to the news organisation's audience. Golding and Elliott highlighted the challenges in defining 'Size' as a news value, relating it largely to the numbers of people involved in the event. Similarly, they discussed 'Importance' in terms of the numbers of people affected by an event,

although in both cases they acknowledge the subjectivity involved. For example, a bus accident in a local area which kills 'only' two people might be considered higher priority, or more newsworthy, than a train crash in a country in another continent, even if it kills many times more people, simply because it is further away and therefore less relevant to the audience – they are less likely to know anybody personally involved and other events closer to home might result in greater consequences for them personally. This study found that magnitude plays a lesser role in the selection or exclusion of issues and events for L-DTPS than it might do for national broadcasters.

In L-DTPS the scale of magnitude is much lower than national and regional media, with a strong emphasis on stories and events of hyperlocal significance – what would be considered minor magnitude in a national media organisation. The following example illustrates the very different level of magnitude prevalent in L-DTPS. The example also shows how L-DTPS journalism counters concerns about quality and tabloidisation through in-depth analyses of local issues and time for rational evidence-informed discourse. One example comprises the first episode of ATV's current affairs programme. The programme features a 22 minute interview with a representative from the '20 miles more' campaign, which wants the government to extend plans for HS2, the high speed rail infrastructure project, to the city. The guest, smartly dressed and well-spoken, speaks for almost all of the allotted 22 minutes about the issue, the opportunities the project would bring for the city and the money it would generate for the local economy. In doing so, he offers a wide range of evidence justifying the rationale for the project to be extended:

> Guest: 'In 1830 [this city] built the world's first intercity railway. [This city] paid for it. [This city] invented it. That technology, that revolution that sparked the whole kind of modern era started in [this city]. In 1830 we were the world's most well connected city. If we flash forward to 2030 when the HS2 starts to come on line, we'll be the least well connected major city in the UK. If that happens and the government doesn't invest in [this city] - why should any private business?... Over a 60 year period [this city] could lose out in its economy by around £1.9 billion over that period. [A nearby city] could lose out by a billion, [a nearby town] could lose out by 0.6 billion. And essentially the reason why that is, even though we're connected, is that if businesses become more sensitive to being well connected they'll migrate to those places that are well connected'

Alternatively, he suggests, if HS2 were extended to the city:

> Guest: 'We can be looking at a city region where the HS link can make [this city] one of the best connected cities in the world… We're going to have businesses relocate to [this city] because they'll love the quality of life here, the offer, the culture, the beaches that we have on our doorstep, they're going to love that they can get to their business meetings and back

within the same day, within a morning even. We're going to have tens of thousands of new homes and tens of thousands more jobs. We're looking at a £14 billion boost over a 60 year period to the city metro area. It's a massive boost to the economy.'

The presenter certainly challenges the interviewee, asking provocative questions such as:

Presenter: 'You and I will remember when it took 3 hours to get to Euston. Now you can do it in just over 2. Even if the current proposals, which you think don't really do [the city] justice, if they're implemented it would take around 1 and a half hours. We're doing pretty well, why do we need to spend additional money on another route to chop another 20 minutes off?'

Presenter: 'Isn't there a fear that if our cities are better connected to London, then London will suck all the life out of the regions? Is that a fear you share as well?'

There is a sense that the interviewee is being challenged to defend his argument and rationale, but the significant amount of airtime he is given to defend his arguments certainly enables him to respond to these questions fully and lay out a range of evidence to refute the challenges. The presenter also enables the interviewee to end on a positive note, by asking:

Presenter: 'Well it's all a bit doom and gloom. Andrew, paint us a picture of what [the city] might be like if HS2 and HS3 do come [here]'.

As such the programme gives significant voice to this alternative narrative, challenging the dominant discourse on the project, and encouraging viewers to imagine a positive outcome which might spur further support for the campaign. As one YouTube viewer of the programme comments:

'Excellent. This shows how the city is purposely ignored and marginalized while the neighbour[ing city] is getting billions poured into the city. Whitehall is dividing and ruling by favouring [the neighbouring city] rather than the natural commercial city deep water port.' (John, YouTube comment)

By comparison, the regional BBC news, even in an unusually long feature on the wider HS2/3 project which lasted 9m 37s, covered this particular city's perspective in just 2m 21s. This time included just a 13 second soundbite from the '20 miles more' campaign:

'It's a double whammy for [the city]. Not only is it not on the route for HS2, but it won't even be on the map of the high speed network in the north, which is a crazy situation.'

The report contains two further short soundbites from the city's mayor, also just 13 seconds long and a local business leader, just 11 seconds long. Furthermore, the BBC ended the package by trading on old TV tropes of the hard-up, hard-done-by Northerner:

'Presenter voiceover: Passengers here also think they're getting a raw deal.

Old lady passer-by outside train station (no evidence that she is even a train user): Well I think it's rubbish. I think we should have one to [this city]. It just seems silly, stopping at [the next major city].

Presenter voiceover: Expect more on the fight for the high speed link in coming weeks'

Through use of the resentful language 'passengers are getting a raw deal' and expectations of a long drawn out 'fight' about the issue, as well as the emphasis on emotional responses (the campaigner feels it's 'crazy'; an old lady thinks it's 'rubbish' and 'silly'), the regional BBC package reduces the campaign to an emotional 'battle' between rival cities, rather than presenting an evidence-based economic rationale.

In terms of news values then, this example demonstrates that the extended airtime committed to local news and programming through the L-DTPS policy encourages L-DTPS companies to develop a lower threshold in relation to the magnitude of issues and events than regional and national media. Events of a magnitude that secure them only marginal coverage on regional BBC news, which struggles to squeeze the breadth and depth of regional issues and events into a 28 minute news bulletin, are covered in much greater depth and detail on L-DTPS, which conversely struggles to fill the vast expanse of L-DTPS airtime with local news and programmes with very limited resources.

Entertainment and visual attractiveness

Entertainment

Given widespread concerns about the quality of British journalism, one might expect L-DTPS to prioritise events with strong entertainment value. Harcup and O'Neill's definition of entertainment stories is clearly and closely related to print journalism (stories 'concerning sex, show-business, human interest, animals, an unfolding drama, or offering opportunities for humorous treatment, entertaining photographs or witty headlines') (2001: 279). Golding and Elliott's is much more relevant here, referring to the need to provide journalism which is 'captivating, titillating, amusing or generally diverting material' on the grounds that 'there's no point preparing serious, well-

intentioned, high-minded journalism if the audience registers its boredom by switching off' (1979: 117).

For many L-DTPS practitioners in this study, producing entertaining journalism is absolutely crucial to commercial success and survival. The leader of the commercial company puts it quite bluntly:

> Leader: 'Television in particular is an entertainment medium and if our programmes are not entertaining, you've got to remember that the person, the most important person in the equation is the viewer because they are the jury. They decide. They've got the remote control unit in their hands and if they're watching us and their interest is lost and they channel hop somewhere else, then we've lost a viewer and we've actually lost the skirmish. We've lost the battle to keep their attention.'

But what constitutes entertainment and entertaining content is highly subjective and closely related to the local relevance and magnitude of an issue or event. One editor felt that audiences preferred 'soft' news stories, such as human interest, but that the proprietor preferred hard news such as business and crime:

> News editor: 'He wants to follow the same route that [his former agency] did, and do a lot of hard news. But I think we'd be better venturing away from that and sort of doing stories like people-interest stories... I did quite a few before we went live about people at the hospital, like, so-and-so has needed a kidney for four years, a long-lost sister came and rescued her and donated a kidney. And I'd like to do stuff like that now that we're on the TV, but I think when we started doing the BBC list there were a lot of stories like that on the list and [the head of news] started saying I think you're doing too many of them. So he's kind of pulled it away and made us do more hard stories.'

This approach is shared across the cases, which display little of what Bennet terms 'infotainment' (2003), which he defines as 'trivial' or 'celebrity' stories. Baker argues that infotainment has been largely caused by media concentration and attempts at corporate synergies, contributing 'to a tendency in journalism towards a socially dysfunctional focus on the bottom line' (Baker 2007: 28-9). Due to their small scale and independent corporate structure, L-DTPS companies do not benefit from the synergies that might be achieved by a more conglomerated operator; consequently, mainstream celebrities are relatively absent from L-DTPS programming. There is also a distinct absence within the corpus of what Thussu refers to as 'the new genre of reality TV and its relatives – docudramas, celebrity talk shows, court and crime enactments and rescue missions' (2008: 3). Such programming does make an appearance in the schedules of some L-DTPS schedules - *London Live*'s original commission *Drag Queens of London* has proven to be one of its few hits – but within the study's

ethnographic sample there is nothing that could be construed as reality television, docudrama, talk show or re-enactments.

Drama is another genre conspicuous by its absence. There are none of the 'gripping spectacles with moral truths that move their audience to tears, tensions and plots that keep them interested, loveable characters who make them laugh, brilliant lines that are worth repeating, music that embeds the shows in the memory, and characters who forge with viewers long-lasting attachments' that Abu-Lughod describes in a rare television ethnography of consumption of Egyptian melodrama (2008: 7). One L-DTPS leader believes that co-production of a quality drama which draws on the distributed nature of L-DTPS production would enhance the network's credibility and provide unique content that could be shared across the L-DTPS network:

> Leader: 'My thoughts would either be something like landmark drama, maybe entertainment, game shows… something that only the local network could do because the diversity of where it comes from… I certainly think for us to be taken seriously… we've got to produce something of really good quality that will help to bring in more revenue and develop exactly what that original vision was of, you know, allowing people who don't want to live in London to be able to do some really, really good quality creative production.'

Another leader shares similar aspirations, but sees drama as too expensive to produce within their current resource restrictions. L-DTPS producers have no budgets for actor's fees, dressing rooms, catering, elaborate sets, props, costumes, actors, dialogue or music:

> Leader: 'We'd love to do drama. It's definitely something we want to do. There's quite an appetite for it amongst the staff, but it takes up a lot of resources. Somebody needs to write the thing, you need actors, costumes, sets, props and so on, you need rehearsals, and it's quite time-consuming to film. Whereas with factual, if you're lucky, one or two takes and off you go.'

Because of this, almost all of the L-DTPS production I observe is news and factual, based on and filmed in real life locations within the channels' transmission areas, featuring largely what most would consider 'ordinary people', events and activities. Most regular performers and presenters in L-DTPS are unpaid, or paid relatively little, and are relatively unknown to audiences, or perhaps in the early stages of building a career in the media.

Visual attractiveness

The entertainment value of television news is closely related to the medium's ability to offer interesting 'pictures' or engaging visual footage (see for example, Fleming et al 2006: 17; Niblock 1996: 5-7; Smith and Higgins 2013: 18). Galtung and Ruge saw the ability of a news story to feature

an engaging picture, which provided explanatory support to the reader as well as colour and aesthetic appeal to the page, as a news value in its own right, termed 'picture opportunities'. Golding and Elliott understandably emphasised the need for 'visual attractiveness', referring to 'the special power of television mews [as] its ability to exploit this advantage' while Harcup and O'Neill, concerned only with newspapers, relegated 'picture opportunities' to a sub-category of 'entertainment'. They refer to the sense that a photograph of an attractive celebrity, a funny or cute animal, or an unusual event such as an enormous traffic jam forms a story in itself, or prompts a particular headline or pun. In television, engaging visual footage can influence whether or not what might otherwise be considered a 'major' story is included or excluded from a bulletin.

Fieldwork suggested that the potential to generate interesting and engaging pictures significantly increases a story or packages news value. By contrast, if there is little potential for generating interesting and engaging pictures, then that reduces the value of the issue or event and makes it less likely to be covered, and certainly not to the same extent. Indeed, strong pictures can 'trump' all other news values, their presence or the likelihood of securing them disproportionately increasing the value of an otherwise weak issue or event, or decreasing the value of an otherwise strong story if no pictures are available. The likelihood of being able to secure interesting visual footage makes a story significantly more likely to be picked up and developed by L-DTPS practitioners:

> News editor: 'Obviously with it being television, visually the story's got to have some visual. I sometimes liken [our] news in a way to a daily newspaper, but a visual one. At the same time, there are some stories in the paper that we probably wouldn't touch because from a visual perspective they're not very interesting'.

Visual presentation can significantly enhance the telling of stories on television. One young journalist explains how he has 'done loads of freedom of information requests', but notes that 'they're not very interesting on their own', until a creative approach is applied and they are brought to life with good visuals. For example:

> Journalist: 'The thing about freedom of information requests is they stand alone. They're not very interesting, they're sort of numbers on the page and it's what you do with them afterwards that makes them a good story. So that's where I'm talking about creativity. So I had stats on drunk driving. Rather than saying this many people have been caught for drunk driving in the area, you know, I went along to speak to the casualty reduction officer, he put me through my paces, gave me the drunk goggles and you know, I did this piece-to-camera and I did the test of someone who might have done drunk driving. So I had that to use with the statistics which makes it much more visually pleasing and interesting.'

In L-DTPS, due to the limited resources, pressures to achieve a balanced composition and to maintain a highly local relevance, the possibilities for news and programme topics are already limited. The need to secure engaging visual footage adds a further challenge. One editor describes the way he visualises the way a story will look on screen. For example, he describes a potential story involving a local museum:

> News editor: 'I'm thinking, straight away, lovely dynamic establishing shots. You know, that lovely big kind of peculiar building overlooking the river. You can't help but think that's going to look great anyway. It always looks fantastic.'

A head of news puts it another way:

> Leader: 'I'd like to say it was purely news value. But the reality is that in whichever medium you are reporting, the exigencies of television will always come into play. Say we've got a good story in [the city centre] that hasn't got any -- say it's a court case but we've got no images, no footage to go with it. It might be the biggest story of the day but it might be very difficult for us to tell without footage. But we've got a dog that was lost for three years that's been returned to its owner in [an outlying town]. Well, it's a long way out to the edge of the patch so we'll have to send a crew out but we know we can get the story and we can turn it around easily and it's got a broad public appeal… there are competing concerns, there's no one answer to it, you've got to weight it up on the day.'

Without interesting interviews or actuality, a story might still make it to broadcast, if other ways can be found to make it televisual. Another editor:

> News editor: 'Sometimes that doesn't mean we rule out [stories without pictures] because we could have the person in as a sofa guest.'

An added concern for L-DTPS practitioners, in relation to the commercial structuring of the network, is that it would be almost impossible to sell a story without visuals to the BBC, particularly given their requirement that no pictures or voice of local presenters should be included.

> News editor: 'I can't really envision a way that the BBC would take a story from us that didn't have visuals. Given that they don't want us on screen, they don't want our voices on it, the only thing left is the visuals, that's the only thing they actually want.'

In this way then, visual images are extremely important for L-DTPS practitioners, both as a means of growing a story, making it more interesting and engaging for the viewer and of generating revenues from the BBC.

Local newspapers are able to operate on low budgets, just about, because they are able to fill considerable proportions of the paper or website with photographs taken by either professional photographers or by citizens, and journalists can produce copy drawn from press releases or contributor quotes secured via social media, email or telephone. Local radio is able to operate on low budgets, just about, because of its ability to fill considerable proportions of its schedule with either music or a studio-based presenter talking about current news and events, able to include news reports, packages and guest contributions gathered through social media, email or telephone.

British television audiences, due to the dominance of the well-resourced national broadcasters, are accustomed to high standards in terms of technical and picture quality, and these expectations are naturally extended to L-DTPS. The strong sense of local accountability which many L-DTPS practitioners feel towards local audiences also pushes them to strive to 'tell the story well' with good pictures and interviews. The need to include televisual images within news reports, packages and programmes significantly increases the costs of production. Searching out highly local events and issues around which to construct news stories and factual programmes is an expensive and time-consuming job. Methods of newsgathering that might be commonplace in national and international news organisations are less useful in L-DTPS. Press Association feeds for example are expensive and in any case are highly unlikely to produce the volume of local news necessary to inform an L-DTPS news bulletin.

The resources available to L-DTPS journalists, editors and producers are more akin to the levels experienced by community media practitioners and other alternative, non-profit media organisations, yet these kinds of organisations are rarely committed to the significant PSB duties that L-DTPS channels are, such as daily news and the significant volumes of local programming proposed in licence applications. Unlike local print and radio journalists, L-DTPS journalists are forced to physically leave the newsrooms and the studios each day to gather moving images and interview contributors in person. The need for pictures then has an enormous influence on the type, number and location of stories and events L-DTPS practitioners are able to cover. The commercial structuring of television then places additional pressures on practitioners which are more acute than those on commercial print and radio, which present a significant challenge to the capacity of a commercial L-DTPS network to serve the public interest and fulfil the fourth estate role of journalism by holding power to account.

Shareability

Given the key challenges for contemporary media outlined in the earlier chapters, I agree with Harcup and O'Neill who stated in their follow up study *What is News? (Again)* (2016: 10) that any

study of contemporary media must consider the capacity to create shareable media content. Shareable content is that which engages audiences and prompts online interactions such as likes, shares and comments on social media. Given that digital terrestrial technologies (DTT) were advised only as an interim solution, with IPTV recommended as the long-term route to sustainability, it will be crucial for local services to build large and loyal audiences online and on mobile as well as on traditional broadcast platforms. This will also enable local services to attract younger and more affluent viewers, develop more interactive relationships and construct dialogues with local people – enabling viewers to play a more active role in influencing production and shifting from consumer to prosumer (Toffler 1980) or produser (Bruns 2008).

The study found that the three cases within this study share several commonalities in their online and social media strategies but there are some nuanced variations in the ways they undertake this and in their success. Overall, all three cases undertake some online activity including publishing videos on their own websites, and using social media and video-sharing platforms to post videos as well as updates, comments and alerts about upcoming content. However, across all three cases, online audiences and interactions are low, which can reduce the priority given to online promotions by each company, meaning that online activity can be sporadic and inconsistent rather than part of a consistent and coordinated strategy.

All three cases have their own corporate website. During 2013 and 2014 these sites tended to be fairly static affairs, simply communicating basic information about the company, the broadcast coverage area, expected date of launch, indications of anticipated audiences, appeals for advertisers and sporadically updated listings data. During 2015 and 2016 two of the three cases launched new websites showcasing a variety of daily news and video content.

Two cases upload videos to YouTube and one to Vimeo, with some videos achieving several thousands of views, and many more in the hundreds. All have Facebook pages and Twitter profiles with followers numbering several thousands. All post updates several times each day, but despite regular status updates and tweets often incorporating amusing copy, photos and videos, most are largely one-way traffic achieving little interaction from followers in the ways suggested by Domingo and Paterson (2009), Jenkins (2006), Bruns (2008) and Jonsson and Ornebling (2011), with likes, shares and comments more often than not in the single digits. This lack of online interaction does not necessarily mean that audiences are not engaging with broadcast content, but it does suggest limited impact with the audiences that most use social media, which tend to be the younger segments.

Across the cases, there is broad variation in the nature of the most popular videos and social media posts; no clear trends were identified. Among the most popular were celebrity stories and

entertainment magazine programmes, including some well-known musicians and groups (ATV, 4,809; BTV 1,357 views[7]), also documentaries including an interview with the mother of a young boy who was murdered more than twenty years ago (ATV, 12,563 views), local history programmes (ATV, 2,882 views; BTV, 4,270), about the city's links with the Calais Jungle (2,275 views), coverage of special local events (ATV, 2,157; BTV 2,734 views) and promo videos (ATV, 3,512; BTV 5,523 views).

ATV's original website included a home page with 'headline' news and ten further pages collating news of a particular type, including News, Sports, Lifestyle, Music, Art & Culture, What's On, Film, Business and Community. Each story on the website was accompanied by a short video and a short article a few hundred words in length. According to ATV's licence application, in 2011/12 its IPTV service was attracting around 60,000 visitors per month, and throughout 2013/14 leaders estimated that the team was adding around 'four or five' new stories across the categories each day. The site asked for user contributions and offered a facility for uploading user videos. These were showcased in a section entitled 'Your Videos' where users could view the videos others had contributed. Analysis undertaken in July 2015 demonstrated that in general older stories achieved greater numbers of views, indicating that the website serves as an ongoing archive of local news and stories rather than a source of current or breaking news. Figure 21 shows a cluster of stories published in October 2014 - due to the increase in workforce at that time ahead of launch and a tailing off of new content as the team focused on the new broadcast service.

Of all the 52 stories featured on the category front pages, the most viewed is a story about ATV itself, written by one of the owners, posted around 6 weeks after the launch of the broadcast service. This story can be seen as an outlier in Figure 21 (3,065 views). Accompanied by a 20 second video clip showcasing the channel's logo and jingle, the article describes the channel's launch the previous month, highlights its position on Freeview and cable services, and emphasizes its potential reach, strong local roots and commitment to reflect the city's 'rich culture, unique history, vital diversity and future promise'. The most viewed story across the entire site is about a new open top bus tour launched by one of the city's football teams (9,721 views). (This story is not included in Figure 21 since the story was no longer featured on the website, available only by searching for the specific story.)

Advertising on the site was managed internally with fixed top banners for local taxi firms and local hair and beauty salons; and a dynamic top banner and sidebar containing externally-managed adverts for services such as Vimeo, Tesco and Freshdesk.

---

[7] All video view and social media data correct as of 24th July 2016. Video view data not available for CTV.
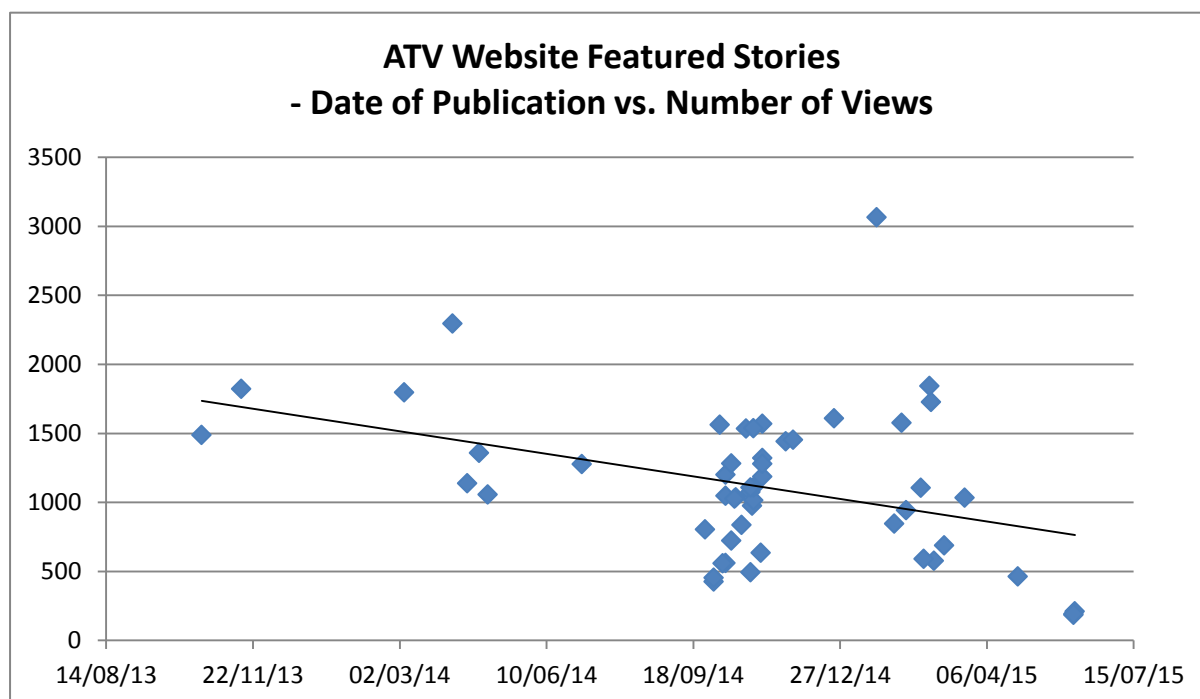
There was an expectation among staff that output across broadcast and online platforms would be standardized after launch of the broadcast service, with a greater consistency between the two platforms, but resources were stretched and uploading content to the web became a low priority. Six months post-launch, the website was highly neglected, with new stories being added only every few weeks, and stories from six months prior remaining visible on each category's front page, and video content on the website bore little resemblance to broadcast bulletins. As of 10th June 2015, on the website's News page, the 'latest news' concerning the death of a local journalist was dated 20th February 2015, almost 4 months prior. Of the remaining headline stories on the News page, two were dated from January and February 2015 and three from late 2014. Despite the channel's emphasis on the arts, the website's Arts and Culture section contains just one story published within the last six months plus a further five published during the previous year. The Business section was similar, and the Community, Film and What's On sections were without a single story published in the first half of 2015. The Sports and Lifestyle sections fared slightly better, with seven out of ten and three out of six stories published in 2015 respectively and the remainder in 2014 and 2013.

Around a year after launch ATV launched a new website. The new site design was modern, simple and 'clean' (free of adverts on the homepage), following the Google model. It contained a small showcase of video content, although videos were difficult to find and soon dated, with little fresh content added. Comments and number of view functions were disabled. This effectively prevented users from engaging in debate about the content or from understanding what was popular or 'trending' at any point, and somewhat contradicts the companies' pledge within its licence

179

application to facilitate civic debate. Leaders suggested that this decision was simply due to resources – enabling this kind of functionality would, they felt, require staff to monitor or moderate comments to ensure that nothing offensive was inadvertently allowed to appear on the site, and staff time was an extremely precious resource which they needed to focus on news and programme production to maintain the broadcast service and fulfil BBC contract to bring in revenues.

On the new website, two of the main menu items linked to commercial content aiming to generate revenues by encouraging visitors to buy tickets to local music and theatre shows and sign up to a local dating service. While such content and functionality might be expected on a local website, the look and feel of the content jarred with other pages on the site, with different designs, typeface and colours, effectively drawing attention to the commercial nature of the content rather than blending in with the wider site and the more subtle goal of providing information about events and activities in the locality. Several months later, this website too was neglected, with the same two video news stories sitting forlornly at the top of the site. Leaders and staff explained this as a consequence of lack of resources and time to upload new content and monitor or moderate comments and debate.

It is widely acknowledged that *Facebook* is the biggest driver of web traffic (Anderson and Caumont 2014; Newman 2011; Olmstead, Mitchell, and Rosenstiel 2011; Phillips 2012) along with other platforms such as *Twitter* (Phillips 2015). ATV uses Facebook to promote local programming particularly entertainment shows with frequent posts about upcoming shows, live updates from local events and occasional videos. Some posts are accompanied by photos of 'behind-the-scenes' happenings in the studio or video teasers where the programme hosts tell the viewer what will be happening in this week's show. As of July 2016, ATV had around 5,200 followers, but there are consistently very few likes, shares or comments, almost always less than five. One unusually popular video post, a hi-speed tour of a local music festival, achieved more than a thousand views. Some posts attempt to entertain audiences, following the *MailOnline*'s model, but there is little that could be considered 'jokey' as Phillips suggests (2012: 675); one example, a short clip from a football show, garnered 145 views. Noticeably less prevalent are posts relating to hard news and more serious programmes such as civic affairs and faith programming. Participants emphasize that this was the consequence of a lack of organizational strategy and understaffing than a deliberate strategy to promote certain aspects of the schedule or programming.

While there are few videos posted to the *Facebook* page, ATV posts many of its original programmes on its *YouTube* site, where advertising revenues are shared with content creators. As of July 2016 ATV's *YouTube* site had 698 subscribers and maintained 35 playlists representing most of the channel's original local programmes, with 749 videos in total. Each programme tends to achieve between 200 and 1,500 views. News packages are uploaded (but not whole news programmes), with most achieving between half a dozen and 150 or more views. The most popular video on the site is

an interview the mother of a young boy who was murdered more than twenty years ago (12,563 views as of 24th July 2016). Among the channel's most watched *YouTube* videos are acoustic music sets and interviews with bands such as *The Hummingbirds,* a contemporary Americana band (4,809 views) and 1980s New Romantic pop group *Spandau Ballet* (3,507 views). Also popular are documentaries exploring the city with local tour guides (2,882 views), about the city's efforts to support migrants and refugees in the Calais Jungle (2,275 views), and an hour-and-a-half long special about a historic visit to the city by three cruise liners (2,157 views). Among the most popular videos are several short news packages regarding celebrity and business stories (eg. 1,688 and 1,944 views respectively) and a reporter swimming with sharks in a local aquarium (1,655 views).

The company employs *Twitter* to promote particular programmes, publishing 10,400 tweets since October 2011 to (currently) 9,188 followers, averaging around 6 tweets per day (as of 24th July 2016). Tweets include live updates from local events, behind-the-scenes photos from local programmes, reminders to watch, competitions, greetings to new followers, thanks to guests and visitors and promotions of local advertisers. However there are few interactions such as likes or retweets. Notable exceptions include tweets promoting two new shows, a show about people of the city and a morning magazine programme, which were retweeted 8 or 9 times. As is often the case across mainstream media, tweeting is somewhat sporadic, with individual L-DTPS journalists, producers and presenters promoting their own shows and reports rather than a coherent and consistent approach.

BTV maintains a corporate website which during 2013 and 2014 contained largely static information about the company, but this was relaunched during 2015 to incorporate a range of video content. BTV uses *Facebook* to promote a wide range of programmes as well as opportunities to participate in studio debates, particularly on political issues such as the EU referendum. In addition, the advertising sales team use *Facebook* to promote their work with local advertisers such as a local hotel, a garden centre and a construction firm. It also posts videos, particularly controversial clips from political debates, and live update clips from local events. Although BTV has fewer followers than ATV (around 2,400), some videos are very popular, with clips showing controversial parts of the channel's panel debate on the EU referendum securing between two and four hundred views. A series of clips showing *The Flying Scotsman* steaming through a local station secured upwards of a thousand views each.

BTV maintains a *YouTube* channel and has 497 subscribers, with playlists for 28 different series comprising 1,031 videos (as of 24th July 2016) including whole news programmes, documentaries, music and entertainment magazines, specials, adverts and channel promos. Among the channel's most watched *YouTube* videos are a channel promo (5,523 views), a documentary about a historic local air disaster (4,270 views) and a contemporary air show (1,056 views), a 5 minute advert for a

local restaurant (1,411 views), several episodes of the channel's sports programme (600-829 views), a weekend magazine show (1,357 views) and a 7-and-a-half hour live stream of a rugby union match (2,734 views). The company is a regular tweeter, with 8,225 tweets since July 2009 to 4,967 followers, averaging 3.2 tweets per day (as of 24th July 2016) including greetings to new followers, thanks to guests and visitors and promotions of local advertisers. However there are few interactions such as likes or retweets. One notable exception was a tweet about the cancellation of an emergency services rescue day event, due to bad weather which was liked 11 times and retweeted 33 times.

CTV uses *Facebook* primarily to disseminate news content to around 3,100 followers, with some updates from local events. Like ATV, there is little interaction with followers, even for coverage of events which are very well attended but which garner little coverage in other media such as union marches. Most posts consistently attract very few likes, shares or comments, often none or less than five. Videos are not posted directly to *Facebook* or *YouTube* directly by the company, but in some cases viewers, partners or guest presenters do. In some cases these prove quite popular; a news interview with Rugby Union manager Neil Warnock for example was watched by 4,233 viewers. More generally, CTV posts links and updates on *Facebook* to video and text stories on the corporate website and to videos on the company's *Vimeo* account. There, videos are watched by small numbers, in the single or double digits. CTV is also a regular tweeter, with 5,754 tweets since July 2010 to 7,661 followers, averaging 2.6 tweets per day (as of 24th July 2016). Again, there are few interactions such as likes or retweets. One notable exception was a tweet with a photo showing the city's EU referendum count pausing to remember the murdered MP Jo Cox, which was liked 25 times and retweeted 24 times.

Analysis of the three cases' web and social media activity demonstrates some shared characteristics and approaches as well as some differences. All three cases maintain a corporate website on which they publish some of their original broadcast content. All cases publish similar content on an online video sharing site, for ATV and BTV this is *YouTube*, CTV uses *Vimeo*. For ATV and BTV, videos posted on their corporate or *YouTube* sites generally achieve several hundreds and in some cases several thousands of views, whereas CTV's *Vimeo* videos generate very few online views, in the single or double digits but rarely in the thousands. For ATV and BTV the most popular online video genres comprise popular music and celebrity interviews and performances, local documentary packages and, particularly for BTV, controversial clips from political debates. All cases use *Twitter* to promote individual shows and reports, averaging between 2 and 6 tweets per day. But in general, none of the three cases achieve significant levels of interactions with online followers, members or users. Mostly, interactions such as comments, likes and retweets, across all platforms, are in the single digits. Overall then, this analysis might suggest that the market for local content is limited.

Consider, however, the video content published by a local newspaper website in ATV's locality. On 1st January 2016 the site published a listicle of the site's most watched videos of 2015. Like ATV, the site does not publish the number of views nor allow comments, but it does publish, in most cases, the number of combined shares across Facebook, Twitter, Google+ and Pinterest achieved by each story. For 2015 the top five videos comprised the moment a Conservative MP in a neighbouring constituency lost her seat in the 2015 General Election (14,994 shares), a 'hilarious online viral clip' of some local builders 'having a laugh in their van' (12,751 shares), the local football team dancing to a famous song in Dubai (14,639 shares), 'a huge brawl' between football fans of two regional rival teams (1,951 shares) and a video showing 'the disturbing moment a woman took a sneaky poo' in a local 'supermarket aisle before carrying on shopping' (number of shares unavailable). These figures show that these videos were shared many thousands of times, and presumably watched many more times by viewers who did not choose to share the content.

Of the five most watched videos on the local newspaper site, four are clear examples of 'click-bait' stories which provide entertainment and shock value. While the MP-losing-her-seat story might appear to be a serious, political story, when taking into account the local context, this can also be interpreted as another entertainment story. This particular city is traditionally highly politicised, with strong left-wing majorities in most constituencies. This particular MP, a Conservative in a neighbouring constituency, was widely scorned in the city for her involvement in welfare reform, particularly regarding the 'bedroom tax' and cuts to disability living allowances. Her ejection from her seat in 2015, otherwise in many respects a resounding Conservative success, was thus seen as highly entertaining, pleasurable and personally satisfying for many in the local audience. When considering these examples alongside the relatively low interactions achieved by all three of the L-DTPS cases, this clearly shows that the appetites of online audiences align with the argument of Guardian online editor Janine Gibson, who suggests that 'things that make us laugh or angry' (cited in Newman 2011: 24) are the most popular online.

This analysis raises many questions and challenges for L-DTPS providers. Are their relatively low online audiences and interactions the consequence of lack of organisational communications strategy and resources? Are they the consequence of L-DTPS broadcast appeal to older audiences who do not engage so heavily in online services? Or are they the consequence of a fundamental discord between what audiences *say* they want (high quality local news and a fair portrayal of their region) and what online interaction figures suggest they *actually* want (entertainment, celebrity, shock clickbait)?

7. Conclusions

This study has been concerned with the ways in which Local Digital Television Programme Services (L-DTPS) in Digital Britain are organised and financed, what news values are prioritised, and relationships between these two aspects of practice. To this end, the study has sought to respond to the following research questions:

- *What business models are employed in L-DTPS? How is the network organised and financed?*
- *What news values are prioritised in the production of L-DTPS news and programming? What factors shape professional practice within L-DTPS?*
- *What are the relationships between the ways that L-DTPS is organised and financed and the news values prioritised by L-DTPS practitioners?*

The study has been able, through the methodological approach set out in Chapter 4, to respond to these questions. This chapter draws together the findings from the literature and the empirical work in response to the research questions, and sets out how these findings relate to wider theories regarding the role of the media in democratic society. It considers recent developments regarding the future of public service broadcasting in Britain, in particular the future role and viability of L-DTPS. Finally, I reflect on some of the key limitations of this study and highlight a number of areas for future research which would help further understanding of this important third tier in British television ecology.

What business models are employed in L-DTPS? How is the network organised and financed?

The study has clearly demonstrated that the coalition government were instrumental in shaping the organising and financing of the L-DTPS network and the business models of individual local services. Through Jeremy Hunt MP, Secretary of State for Media, Culture and Sport, the government made two key decisions in response to a growing gap in local news provision. Both of these decisions contradicted the advice of the government's own advisors, of industry practitioners and of analysts and academics expert in the field, as well as the policies of many advanced western economies addressing similar challenges.

The first key decision was to establish a new network of local news providers as independent television channels. At least two alternative options to this structure would have been more realistic propositions in terms of cost-effectiveness and expectations regarding the level of production. One option was to establish local opt-in services which would supply a few hours of local content each

day or week to one of the established public service channels. Another option would have been to develop a network of online public service local news sites, providing a range of text, image and video content.

Both of these options would have provided two key benefits to citizens and particularly to licence fee payers. Firstly, they would both have significantly lowered the infrastructure costs. The cost of establishing the infrastructure necessary to broadcast a new series of independent local channels was £25 million. This was paid for by the BBC, which was forced by the government in the 2010 licence fee settlement to ring-fence the funds for this purpose. Delivering local news and programming through either of the two alternative options described above would have significantly reduced both the initial expense of establishing the network and the future ongoing costs of maintaining it.

The second benefit of the two alternative delivery mechanisms would have been significantly lower expectations regarding the volume of production. The current expectation is that L-DTPS broadcasters will broadcast for a large part of the day, thereby making use of the 'asset' of broadcast spectrum, by selling as many advertising slots between programmes as possible. There was a clear government requirement for L-DTPS broadcasters to broadcast for the duration of the primetime evening window, despite competition being the highest during this popular slot. The reduction in airtime offered by both an opt-in broadcast service and an online-only 'on demand' service would have significantly reduced the pressures on local providers to produce high volumes of programmes, therefore concentrating scarce resources onto a smaller volume of programming, thus improving both editorial and technical quality and potentially bringing local audiences more in line with pro rata national audiences.

The second key decision taken by the coalition government was structuring the network on a commercial basis. This meant that, unlike in many other European and North American countries, there would be no ongoing public subsidy to support production of local news and programming. The government made a small concession to support the start-up of new services, in that it forced the BBC to ring-fence £15 million of licence fee revenues to pay L-DTPS licensees in return for local news content. This scheme has run during the first three years of the L-DTPS network and will cease when the £15 million is spent.

As has been discussed, applicants for local licences had a high degree of flexibility in their proposed business model. The study has identified three key models of organising and financing L-DTPS - the commercial, the community and the hybrid. Commercial proposals are defined as those employing a profit-seeking governance and business model, such as a private limited company or a limited liability partnership. Commercial applications tended to propose large staff teams (10 or more

employees) who would undertake the majority of production in-house. Applications suggested a low, and in some cases, token emphasis on engaging volunteers, partner organisations and community groups in production. Commercial applications proposed resourcing strategies which emphasized shareholder investments, sales to the BBC and significant advertising revenues.

The community approach is defined as employing a community media model in which local people are provided with the support and equipment necessary to enable them to engage in the process of producing local news and programming, generally on an unpaid basis. Community models tended to propose small staff teams (between 1 and 5 people) with the majority of production undertaken by volunteers. Here, the goal is to empower local communities to develop a voice and produce media content about events, issues and people which they see as important, which may challenge narratives found in mainstream media.

A hybrid approach is defined as an L-DTPS company employing a non-profit business model but working on an 'as commercial' basis. A hybrid company may be registered as a community interest company or a company limited by guarantee, like a community model, or as a private limited company, like a commercial company, with a stipulation that no shareholder dividends are paid. In hybrid models, applicants proposed medium sized staff teams (between 6 and 12 people) comprising professional journalists, producers and editors to design and produce local news and programming. However unlike commercial proposals, hybrid approaches emphasized strong collaborative agreements and a blended model of production with in-house professionals supplemented by a highly organised extended workforce including volunteers, freelancers, partners and students. Here, the emphasis is on enabling volunteers, freelancers, partners and students to gain work experience in the television industry and to develop skills and attributes necessary to build avibrant local television industry. Applications employing a hybrid model proposed to generate resources through advertising revenues and sales to the BBC. Due to the strong benefits to strategic partner organisations such as colleges and universities, hybrid models were also often well-supported by their partners.

Chapter 5 demonstrated that the business model – commercial, community or hybrid - is important in determining the stability and sustainability of local services. Early indications suggest that the purely commercial approach has limited stability and sustainability, since advertising and sponsorship revenues are unlikely to sustain local production once the BBC funding ends. This has already been evidenced through multiple mergers and acquisitions between commercial licensees. As the BBC funding draws to a close and responsibility for maintaining the physical infrastructure is transferred more fully to local licensees it seems highly likely that further wave of mergers and acquisitions, and collapses, is likely.

By contrast, none of the community or hybrid licensees have been involved in any mergers or acquisitions – all have retained their independence and look likely to continue to the foreseeable future. While there is a smaller population of non-profit companies which may make generalisations unreliable, these early indications suggest, apparently paradoxically, that non-profits are able to withstand the commercial pressures and survive in a commercial environment more effectively than commercial players. The key driver here is the value of non-financial rewards such as educational and cultural experiences which act as an incentive for strategic partners to continue to support community and hybrid approaches even when profits in financial terms are negligible or non-existent.

What news values are prioritised in the production of L-DTPS news and programming?

Overall, the study finds much merit in news value theory, particularly with some of the most widely-cited news value typologies proposed by Galtung and Ruge (1965), Golding and Elliott (1979) and more recently by Tony Harcup and Deirdre O'Neill (2001, 2016). In particular, the study has demonstrated that L-DTPS shares some common characteristics with national broadcast and print news media, but also displays some important differences.

The study finds that news values are not, as some have attempted to argue, sets of binary oppositions which require resolution, or a form of circular logic in which values are constructed in order to account for every decision taken by those involved(eg. Braun 2009). Neither should researchers be seeking a generalised typology of news values with universal relevance. Rather, news values should be seen as a set of 'ingredients' from which a news organisation is able to develop their own 'recipe', prioritising a particular set of values and maintaining a lesser emphasis on others. Through this tailoring of a particular recipe of news values, a news organisation is able to distinguish itself from other organisations with different values, which helps the organisation to satisfy the diverse and competing demands of audiences, regulators, proprietors and workers, and with the resources specific to the particular setting.

Comparative ethnographic analysis of three L-DTPS companies suggests the presence of a 'recipe' of news values which is common to L-DTPS; a set of shared values which strongly influence the type and nature of local news and programming in L-DTPS, alongside a second set of news values which are less influential. In L-DTPS, the news values most highly prioritised comprise *Relevance, Composition, Unambiguity, Good News, Elites, Follow Up, Entertainment and Visual Attractiveness*. In L-DTPS, the news values of *Surprise/Recency, Bad News/Negativity, Magnitude* and *Shareability* are less highly prioritised. These are presented in graphical form in Figure 22.As discussed in Chapter 2, some scholars are highly critical of broadcast journalism's perceived turn towards over-

simplification (Harcup 2015: 113), features that delight rather than inform, titillate rather than educate (Frost 2002: 5), bigger pictures and greater use of colour (Franklin 2005: 137), 'soft' stories (de Burghe 2002: 72) such as entertainment, consumer and human interest stories (Franklin 2005: 137), celebrities, randy royals, sporting heroes and reality television 'personalities' (Greenslade 2004; Thussu 2003). L-DTPS' emphasis on values associated with quality journalism such as strong relevance, elites and follow up, and the lower priority it gives to values associated with tabloid journalism, such as surprise and shareablity, suggests the sector leans more towards the 'quality' end of the spectrum.

One of the highest priority news values across L-DTPS schedules is strong local *relevance*. The vast majority of news and programming is highly localised, both focusing on and produced within a relatively small geographic area consisting of one major conurbation and surrounding towns and villages, almost exclusively by staff and volunteers who live and work within this locality. This provides L-DTPS with strong local content which contributes to a strong local identity. Within local news and programming, consideration is paid to particular audience interests in different subject areas such as arts and culture; sport, health and fitness; news and current affairs; lifestyle and local history. The strong prioritisation of local relevance makes the news value of *magnitude* less important for L-DTPS, which has a much lower threshold for magnitude than regional and national media.

L-DTPS prioritise stories about *elites*. Elite issues and events are prioritised for numerous reasons, not least because they are seen as primary definers of news (Hall 1978). That is, they are involved in creating events which are considered newsworthy, and their presence confers authority on the L-DTPS channel. In L-DTPS the kinds of agencies and individuals that constitute the power elite have a lower threshold compared to regional and national media. In L-DTPS power elites can be leaders of city-wide public services, local authorities or prominent businesses. Also, elites are well equipped, in terms of media skills and resources, to engage with L-DTPS and other media organisations, which makes working with them less risky; a safer and more convenient option for under-resourced L-DTPS than attempting to engage with numerous smaller organisations or fragmented communities.

The skills and resources of elites are important in enabling them to be pro-active in promoting and facilitating the coverage of *good news* stories to L-DTPS and other media organisations. By contrast, through the scale of their organisations, their power to withhold information about newsworthy events and their skill in media relations, they are easily able to block *bad news* stories which potentially show them in a negative light. These findings appear to challenge wider trends towards the mediatisation of politics observed by Cushion and his colleagues at the University of Cardiff (2013, 2014). Cushion et al found that greater use of live reports, two-ways and interpretation of issues and events by journalists and special correspondents in the powerful and well-resourced

national media have shifted the power of primary definition away from political actors such as politicians and business leaders and towards the media itself. This enables the national media themselves to become power elites that controls the way in which political, economic, social and cultural issues and events are presented to viewers, voters and consumers.

To be clear, the evidence does not suggest that L-DTPS are heading for a rapid ascent to powerful media elite; quite the opposite. L-DTPS are by comparison with other PSBs, due to the late entry to the field, low status, miniscule resources and vast airtime expectations, relatively power*less*. But their mere presence offers political actors an alternative broadcast platform through which to communicate their message. In contrast to mainstream PSBs, L-DTPS are unlikely to reduce a politician's 15 minute interview to a 15-second soundbite, due to the pressures of the broadcast schedule, but are instead much more likely to use as much of the politician's contribution as possible, in order to fill as much airtime as possible, thus benefiting the politician or other contributor.

L-DTPS prioritise *follow up* over *surprise* stories, since unexpected issues and events, particularly unexpected bad news stories such as crimes and crashes, are necessarily difficult to predict which makes them highly risky and less appealing to under-resourced L-DTPS companies. The study also demonstrated that the news value of *composition* is very important for L-DTPS practitioners in considering which issues and events to pursue within the production of local news and programming. Practitioners consider it important to the audience that the channel is able to broadcast news and programming exploring a range of topics, demonstrating authority and credibility in a broad range of subject areas, rather than specialising in a small number of niche areas.

Regarding *shareability*, the study demonstrated that all three cases undertake some online activity including publishing videos on their own websites, and using social media and video-sharing platforms to post videos as well as updates, comments and alerts about upcoming content. However, across all three cases, online audiences and interactions are low, which can reduce the priority given to shareability by each company, meaning that online activity can be sporadic and inconsistent rather than part of a consistent and coordinated strategy.

The high priority given by L-DTPS practitioners to the values of entertainment and visual attractiveness is entirely understandable and perhaps inevitable for those working in the medium of television and video. It is difficult to imagine a situation in which the production of television, particularly within the phenomenally competitive global media marketplace of the digital age, is not overwhelmingly influenced by the potential to secure strong visuals. Indeed, television without strong visuals is barely television at all.

What are the relationships between the ways that L-DTPS is organised and financed and the news values prioritised by L-DTPS practitioners?

The final research question asks if there are relationships between the ways in which L-DTPS is organised and financed, and the news values prioritised by L-DTPS practitioners. Critical political economists Golding and Murdock argue that the organising and financing of production has traceable consequences for the range of discourses and representations in the public domain and for audiences' access to them (Golding and Murdock 1991: 15).

As discussed in Chapter 2, there is strong consensus that the normative functions of journalism are its social purposes which underpin liberal democracy (McQuail 1992). Its role is to function as 'an instrument or a forum for the enlightened, rational, critical and unbiased public discussion' (Gripsund 1992) by providing a 'public sphere' (Habermas 1989[1962]) in which matters of public interest are debated and discourses formed. Journalism sits at the heart of the public sphere, providing a shared space through which all manner of social and political actors are able to channel their communications and perspectives, enabling citizens both access to these ideas and the capacity to contribute their own perspectives.

Given these highly public purposes, the increasing commercial pressures on the professional practice of journalism, and the particular challenges of funding local journalism discussed in Chapter 3, it is difficult to see how there could *not* be relationships between the way that L-DTPS is organised and financed and the news values prioritized by practitioners.

This study has shown, firstly, how L-DTPS policymakers shaped the organisation and financing of the network on a commercial basis. It has identified three business models of local production – the commercial, the community and the hybrid. Chapter 5 demonstrated how community and hybrid models achieve greater stability and sustainability, highlighting how hybrid models in particular demonstrated more robust proposals which were more appealing to the regulator than their commercial and community counterparts. It also showed how both hybrid and community models have proven, through the first three years of network, to be more stable and sustainable, and less susceptible to mergers and acquisitions than their commercial counterparts.

Interestingly, analysis demonstrated little significant variation in the distinct recipe of news values between the three models of production. On the whole, the news values prioritised within each of the three models were remarkably similar. Chapter 6 showed how L-DTPS prioritise the news values of *Relevance, Composition, Unambiguity, Good News, Elites, Follow Up, Entertainment and Visual*

Attractiveness, and how the news values of *Surprise/Recency, Bad News/Negativity, Magnitude* and *Shareability* are recognised but less highly prioritised.

The response to the third research question therefore, the relationship between the ways in which L-DTPS is organised and financed and the news values prioritised by practitioners, is very clear. The news values prioritised within L-DTPS journalism are very closely related to the clear priority given by journalists and other practitioners to events and issues which are realistically achievable within the constraints of their very low resources, comparable to just 0.01% of the budget of a mainstream public service broadcaster.

This study shows that, within the context of local commercial broadcasting, the overriding concerns of journalists and other practitioners are (a) to what extent does this event or issue appeal to our audience, and (b) to what extent is covering this event or issue achievable within our highly immovable deadlines with our severely constrained budgets?

For many journalists, particularly those working in well-established media organisations, audience appeal can be clearly traced in both quantitative and qualitative terms through readership and circulation figures, through relatively-reliable BARB data and through social media activity. For journalists and other practitioners within the emergent L-DTPS industry, where BARB data is unreliable and social media interaction a relative absentee, audience appeal must be based much more on the professional judgement of journalists and other practitioners.

Married with this, for L-DTPS practitioners, the importance of pragmatic concerns cannot be underestimated. Judgements about whether a particular event or package is realistic and achievable with the very limited resource and time constraints available is of crucial importance, and such judgements are often made in a matter of minutes, if not seconds. Any error of judgement in L-DTPS could result in the dreaded 'dead-air', a blank screen in place of a delayed news report or interview.

These two categories of concerns can be summarised as (a) perceptions of audience appeal and (b) pragmatic concerns. The 'News Value Matrix' model shown in Figure 22 offers a means of analysing the interplay between these two categories.

This matrix model could be used to analyse the news values of any news product, not only a broadcast bulletin or station, but a newspaper or website. In this case the matrix is used to analyse the particular recipe of news values pertaining to L-DTPS journalism.

Figure 22. News Value Matrix

The News Value Matrix
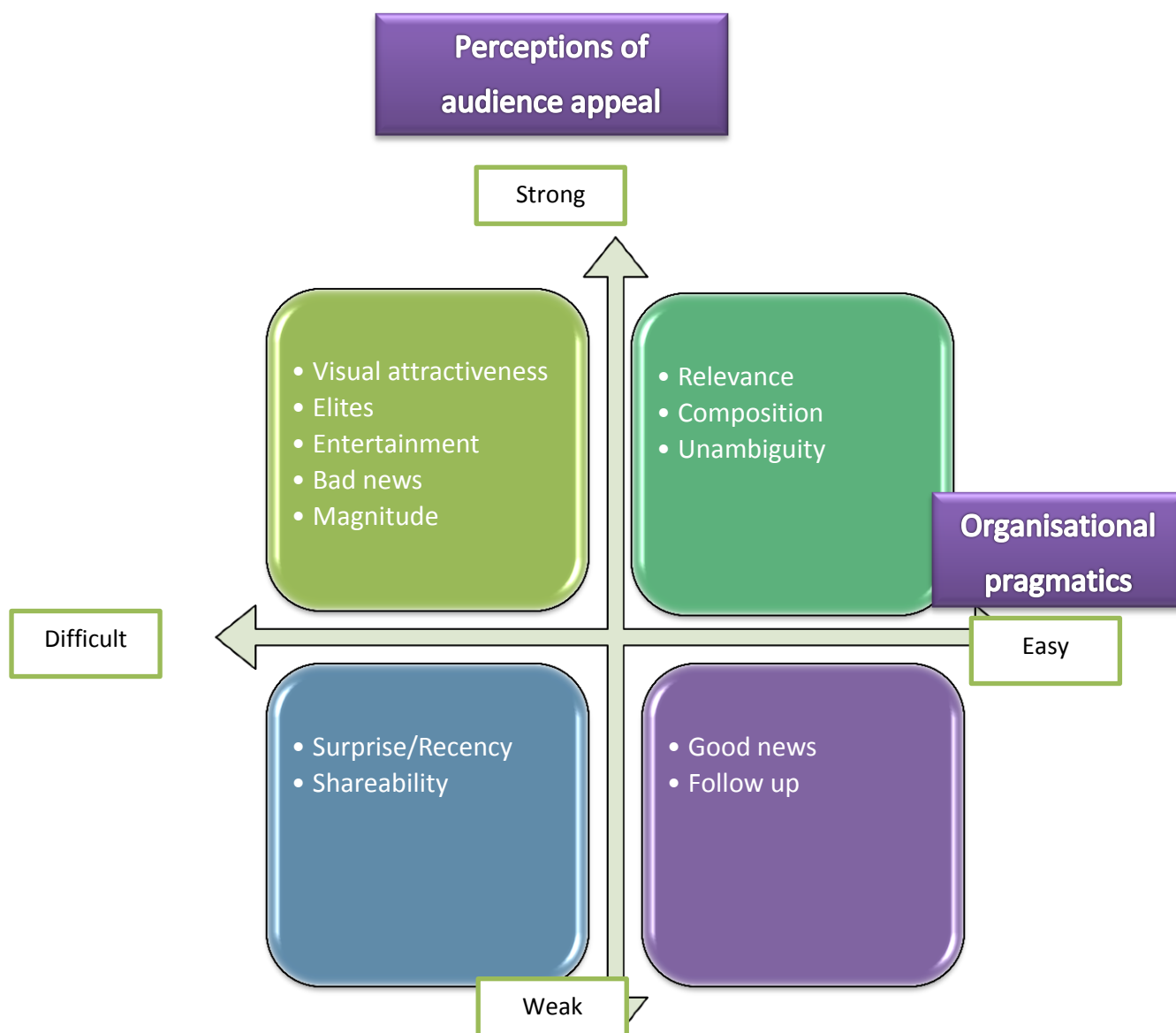
Stories with strong audience appeal that are easy to produce

The model shows that events that are highly relevant to the audience (relevance) are both perceived as having strong audience appeal AND as being relatively easy to achieve within the resource constraints of the organisation. The model also illustrates that practitioners consider the need for a balanced range of stories (composition) that are relatively simple to tell (unambiguity), across a bulletin or weekly schedule as important to the audience and relatively easy to achieve. It would therefore be expected that a relatively large proportion of L-DTPS journalism would demonstrate these characteristics.

Stories with strong audience appeal that are difficult to produce

The model shows that events that are entertaining, visually attractive or concerned with bad news, elites or events of high magnitude are perceived as having strong audience appeal BUT are relatively difficult to produce within the resource constraints of the organisation. It would therefore be expected that a moderate proportion of L-DTPS journalism would demonstrate these characteristics.

Stories with low audience appeal that are easy to produce

The model shows that events concerning good news or following up on ongoing events are perceived as having lower audience appeal BUT are relatively easy to produce within the resource constraints of the organisation. It would therefore be expected that a moderate proportion of L-DTPS journalism would demonstrate these characteristics.

Stories with low audience appeal that are difficult to produce

The model shows that events that are unexpected, a surprise or take place very close to transmission time are perceived as having lower audience appeal AND are relatively difficult to produce within the resource constraints of the organisation. It would therefore be expected that a relatively small proportion of L-DTPS journalism would demonstrate these characteristics.

The model also places Shareability in this category, since there was little evidence within the current study that practitioners considered it a priority in terms of audience appeal, and suggested that resource limitations meant it was difficult to publish or promote online content.

In summary, this model enables analysis of news values in relation to any news organisation or product. Generally, one would expect to see events which have news values which are both easy to achieve and perceived as having strong audience appeal as being selected very frequently. By contrast, events which have news values which are both difficult to achieve and perceived as having low audience appeal are unlikely to be selected very often. Events with news values that are either easy to achieve with low audience appeal, or difficult to achieve with strong audience appeal would be expected to be selected moderately frequently.

Perpetual precarity and the future of public service broadcasting

The L-DTPS policy framework was created by the coalition government of 2010, with reference to the provisions made for local broadcast licensing in the Broadcasting Acts of 1990 and 1996 and the Communications Act 2003. The policy stipulated the commercial nature of the L-DTPS network by prohibiting public funding, despite onerous public service broadcasting obligations placed upon licensees.

The decision to establish this third tier of public service broadcasting on a commercial basis contradicts one of the major normative features of public service broadcasting. That services should

enjoy substantial economic stability, funded by a general charge on users, is one of the central tenets of public service broadcasting, allowing independence from commercial interests (Barendt 1995: 52; Mendel 2000). Given the extraordinarily strong consensus that local television is not viable as a commercial proposition in the contemporary marketplace – a factor responsible for the collapse of almost every historical local television channel that has ever been launched in the UK, including numerous cable, satellite and terrestrial channels– perhaps the only possible conclusion to be drawn is that the intention was to establish L-DTPS on the basis of perpetual precarity.

Precarity is a term generally used to refer to the exploitation of individuals arising from neoliberal capitalist 'flexible' employment practices including illegal, seasonal and temporary employment; homeworking, subcontracting and freelancing; and 'so-called self-employment' (Neilson and Rossiter 2005), and in some senses 'extends beyond work to encompass other aspects of life, including housing, debt and social relations' (Hesmondhalgh 2008). In other words, a precarious existence suggests a life of insecurity, malnourishment and stress in which resources are deployed in a sporadic manner with little focus on the longer term or anything beyond the minimum needed to secure survival.

The question then becomes: how can local television companies, existing in a state of precarity play 'a vital role in contributing to local democracy… holding local politicians to account through coverage of local news and current affairs' (DCMS 2011: 6) when they are struggling for survival? How realistic is it to expect such companies to focus on the creation of 'numerous economic, social, cultural and democratic benefits' (DCMS 2011: 11) for the wider community when they themselves are struggling to pay staff, manage debt, produce programming that local audiences will watch and persuade local and international businesses to pay for advertising? Perhaps this is precisely what Jeremy Hunt intended when he talked about creating a new generation of 'hungry' new media companies (Hunt in Porter 2010).

If strong, 'quality' local broadcast journalism is a public good which enhances the public sphere, empowers citizens, acts as a local fourth estate holding local power to account in a way that would not meet the magnitude threshold for national media, and is not commercially viable, then local services working on a non-profit basis should be offered robust public support.

Given the Conservatives' much reduced majority in the General Election of June 2017, the Labour surge suggesting growing popular support for domestic public services, there is now a real opportunity to reverse some of the austerity-driven cuts to, and commercialisation of, public services, including public service broadcasting.

Limitations and recommendations for further research

This exploratory study has employed an innovative approach in the analysis of news values within local broadcast journalism, a much under-explored field of media practice. The approach has enabled analysis not simply of the characteristics of the events around which news is constructed, or of the final published texts of journalism, but of the motivations and perceptions of journalists, editors, producers and others involved in the production of local news and programming and the numerous challenges and limitations which constrain their practice. Ethnography has been a valuable approach to exploring work practices and interactions within this emergent industry and a way of gaining insights to the professional practices of journalists, editors, producers and others involved in L-DTPS journalism which are rarely accessible to those studying journalism or media production.

However, the approach has not been without limitations. Inductive ethnography is a time-consuming and emotionally and intellectually demanding approach, inevitably involving small sample sizes. It tends to produce tentative theory and is rarely generalizable. Given the limitations of the small sample size and the exploratory nature of ethnographic approaches, the conclusions here can extend only to 'moderatum generalizations' (Payne and Williams 2005: 297) which, rather than attempt to produce sweeping sociological statements that hold good over long periods of time, or across a range of cultures, are moderate and open to change.

Even within the small, emergent L-DTPS industry there are already a multitude of strategies, companies, individuals, contexts and numerous other variables, internal and external. A similar study employed at a different time and with different sample may well produce different findings.

It has been established that media ethnographies are incredibly rare. In Chapter 2 I outlined some of the key factors in what Paterson (2009) called a 'premature' turn away from ethnographic studies, including some highly critical analyses of broadcast journalism (see Glasgow University Media Group 1976, 1980) together with increasing conglomeration and tightening control within media industries. Combine problematic access with contemporary pressures on scholars to produce high volumes of research outputs, as well as increasing pressures on teaching excellence, and it is easy to see why ethnography is less popular now than it might have been in less competitive, more plentiful times.

There is much still to be known about local digital television. As discussed in Chapter 4, cultural production, distribution and consumption constitute an integrated circuit. As Du Gay et al commented, 'you have to go the whole way round before your study is complete' (Du Gay et al 2013: xxx). Within this study, I chose to focus on the particular part of the circuit concerned with production and the professional practice of broadcast journalism and to a lesser extent, L-DTPS

media texts themselves. Other arcs of the circuit remain massively unexplored, particularly analysis of L-DTPS distribution networks and audience reception of L-DTPS texts. Further, the study has not been able to explore the impact of the consolidation of the network that has already taken place. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the centralisation brought about through consolidation might improve the visual and technical appeal of local services, but it significantly increases commercial pressures on practitioners, reduces local accountability, reduces the volume of local news and programming content and quality of community involvement in local production.

Further research into local journalism, in its most inclusive conceptualisation, is absolutely necessary. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, journalism plays a crucial role in the public sphere, and local journalism is important to audiences as a means of accessing and contributing to the local public sphere and as a means of establishing shared values and community identity. I hope that future studies will explore not only the ways in which local audiences engage with L-DTPS content, and the sustainability of the various business models, but the impacts of consolidation on the professional practice of local journalists. Further research is also needed to explore emerging attempts to provide local journalism over new media distribution networks, such as IPTV, and the extent to which they prove a more engaging, and less economically challenging, technological solution. Overall, I do hope that other scholars and students will take up this challenge and contribute to our understanding of local broadcast journalism, and that L-DTPS companies will cooperate with researchers as the brave and pioneering participants within this study have done with me.

References

Abolafia, M. Y. (1996) *Making markets: Opportunism and restraint on Wall Street.* Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press.

Abu-Lughod, Lila (2008) *Dramas of Nationhood: The Politics of Television in Egypt* (Lewis Henry Morgan Lectures). University of Chicago Press.

Adler, P. and Adler, P. (1987) *Membership Roles in Field Research.* Sage.

Adorno, T. & Horkheimer, M. (1979) *The Dialectic of Enlightenment*. London: Verso.

Ali, C. (2012) Media at the margins: Policy and practice in American, Canadian, and British community television. *International Journal of Communication* 6: 1119–1138.

Ali, C. (2013) *Where is here? An analysis of localism in media policy in three Western democracies.* PhD thesis. Annenberg East School of Communication.

Altheide, D. L. (1987) Reflections: Ethnographic content analysis. *Qualitative Sociology.* 10(1): 65-77.

Anderson, E. (1990) *Streetwise: Race, Class, and Change in an Urban Community.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. Qualitative Social Work 8(1)

Anderson, E. (1999) *Code of the Street: Decency,Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City.* New York: W. W. Norton.

Anderson, M. and Caumont, A. (2014) *How Social Media is Reshaping News.* http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/09/24/how-social-media-is-reshaping-news/.

Armstrong, C., McAdams, M. and Cain, J. (2015) What Is News? Audiences May Have Their Own Ideas. *Atlantic Journal of Communication* 23(2): 81-98. DOI: 10.1080/15456870.2015.1013102.

Ashton, D. (2010) You just end up feeling more professional: media production and industry-ready personhood. *Networks.* 10: 14-19.

Babbie, E. (2010) *The Practice of Social Research.* Wadsworth: Belmont

Bagdikian, B. (1987) *The Media Monopoly.* 2nd edn. Boston: Beacon Press.

Bailey, K. (1994) *Methods of Social Research.* 4th edn. New York: The Free Press.

Baisnee, O. and Marchetti, D. (2006) The economy of just-in-time television newscastig: Journalistic production and professional excellence at Euronews. *Ethnography.* 7(1): 99-123.

Baker, E. C. (2007) *Media Concentration and Democracy: Why ownership matters.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bandura, A., Ross, D., and Ross, S. A. (1963) Imitation of film-mediated aggressive models. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*. 66(1)

BARB (2016) BARB weekly reach figures (Macro Local TV Network & London Live 2014-15)

Barendt, E. (1995) *Broadcasting Law: A Comparative Survey.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Barnett, S. (2011) *The rise and fall of television journalism: Just wires and lights in a box?* London: Bloomsbury.

Barnett, S., Ramsey, G.N., and Gaber, I. (2012) *From Callaghan to credit crunch: changing trends in British television news 1975-2009.* University of Westminster.

Barthes, R. (1973) *Mythologies*. Paladin.

Batman v Superman: Dawn of Justice (2016) Zack Snyder. USA: Warner Bros.

Baudrillard, J. (1981) The Precession of Simulacra. In Durham & Kellner (Eds.) *Media and Cultural Studies: Keywords.* Ann Arbor, Mi.: University of Michigan.

BBC (1990) *BBC Guide 1990.* London: BBC.

BBC (2012) Local TV: No bids for Swansea, but two for Cardiff. *BBC News Website.* Unattributed. 14 August 2012.

BBC (2016) *The BBC's Editorial Guidelines.* http://www.bbc.co.uk/editorialguidelines/guidelines/bbc-editorial-values/editorial-values

Becker, H. (1982). *Art worlds.* Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Press.

Bednarek, M. and Caple, H. (2014) Why do news values matter? Towards a new methodological framework for analysing news discourse in Critical Discourse Analysis and beyond. *Discourse and Society* 25(2): 135-158.

Bell, A. (1991) *The Language of News Media: Language in Society.* Cambridge, Ma: Blackwell.

Bell, M. (2002) Martin Bell: The BBC's no place for fat cats. We should stop feeding them cream. *The Independent.* 20 July 2002. http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/commentators/martin-bell-the-bbcs-no-place-for-fat-cats-we-should-stop-feeding-them-cream-185081.html [Accessed 10 Sept 2016]

Bennet, L. (2003) *News: The Politics of Illusion.* 5th ed. New York: Addison Wesley Longman.

Bernard, H. (1995) *Research methods in anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative approaches.* 2nd edn. Walnut Creek, Ca.: Altamira.

Bernard, H. (2011) *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches.* Rowman Altamira.

Bernard, H. (2012) *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches.* London: Sage.

Bishara, A. (2006) Local hands, international news: Palestinian journalists and the international media. *Ethnography.* 7(1) 19-46.

Blau, P. (1955) *The dynamics of bureaucracy: A study of interpersonal relations in two government agencies.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Blumler, J. (1999) Political communication systems all change: a response to Kees Brants. *European Journal of Communication.* 14: 241-9.

Boellstorff, T., Nardi, B., Pearce, C. and Taylor, T. L. (2012) *Ethnography and Virtual Worlds: A Handbook of Method.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Bond, D. (2016) BBC told to reveal stars earning more than £150,000. *Financial Times.* 16 September 2016. https://www.ft.com/content/86c0cbc2-7a6d-11e6-ae24-f193b105145e [Accessed 16 September 2016]

Boorstin, D. (1962) *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-events in America.* New York: Vintage.

Born, G. (2000) Inside television: television studies and the sociology of culture. *Screen.* 41(4) Winter 2000. Reports and debates.

Bourdieu P. (1998) *On Television and Journalism.* London: Pluto Press.

Bowen, G. (2009) Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method. *Qualitative Research Journal* 9(2): 27-40.

Bowman, S. and Willis, C. (2003) *We the Media: how audiences are shaping the future of news and information.* Reston, VA: American Press Institute.

Boyer, D. and Hannerz, U. (2006) Introduction: Worlds of Journalism. *Ethnography*. 7(1): 5-17.

Brannan, M., Rowe, M. and Worthington, F. (2012) Editorial for the Journal of Organizational Ethnography: Time for a new journal, a journal for new times. *Journal of Organizational Ethnography*. 1(1): 5 - 14.

Brants, K. (1998) Who's afraid of infotainment? *European Journal of Communication*, 13: 315-335.

Braun, J. A. (2009). *Rehashing the gate: News values, non-news spaces, and the future of gatekeeping.* Unpublished masters thesis, Cornell University. Retrieved from http://ecommons.cornell.edu/handle/1813/11652.

Brewer, J. D. (2000) Ethnography. Buckingham, Open University Press. *Understanding Social Research series*, series editor Alan Bryman.

Brighton, P. and Foy, D. (2007) *News Values.* London: Sage.

Bromley, M. and O'Malley, T. (1997) General Introduction. In Bromley, M. and O'Malley, T. (Eds.) *Journalism: A Reader.* Psychology Press.

Bruns, A. (2008) *Blogs, Wikipedia, Second Life and Beyond: From Production to Produsage.* New York: Peter Lang.

Bruns, A. (2011) Citizen Journalism and Everyday Life: A Case Study of MyHeimat.de. In Franklin, B. and Carlson, M. (Eds.) *Journalists, Sources and Credibility: New Perspectives.* London: Routledge. 182-94.

Burkeman, O. (2002) Fox on the run. *The Guardian.* 25 November 2002.

Burns, A. (2008) Select Issues with New Media Theories of Citizen Journalism. *Journal of Media and Culture.* 11(1).

Burns, L. S. (2001) Comfort or curse? In Tapsall, S. and Varley, C. (Eds.) *Journalism: Theory in Practice.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burns, L. S. (2002) *Understanding Journalism.* London: Sage.

Caple, H. and Bednarek, M. (2016) Rethinking news values: What a discursive approach can tell us about the construction of news discourse and news photography. *Journalism* 17(4): 435-455.

Channel 4 (2015) *Skint.* http://www.channel4.com/programmes/skint [Accessed 3 February 2015]

Charnley, M. V. (1936) Preliminary Notes on a Study of Newspaper Accuracy. *Journalism Quarterly* 13:394-401.

Chibnall, S. (1977) *Law and Order News: An analysis of crime reporting in the British press.* London: Tavistock.

Clarke, S. (2008) Interview: Jeremy Hunt. *Broadcast magazine* (online) 13 August.

Cohen, S. and Young, J. (1973) *The manufacture of news.* US: Sage.

Collin, M. (2009) What is 'poverty porn' and why does it matter for development? *Aid Thoughts*. http://aidthoughts.org/?p=69 [Accessed 1 December 2016]

Commedia (2015) *Who we are.* http://www.commedia.org.uk/who-we-are/ [Accessed 3 September 2015]

Connell, I. (1992) Personalities in the Popular Media. In Dahlgren, P. and Sparks, C. (Eds.) *Journalism and Popular Culture.* London: Sage.

Cooper, M. (1991) Ethical Dimensions of Political Advocacy from a Postmodern Perspective. In Denton (Ed.) *Ethical Dimensions of Political Communication.* New York: Praeger. pp. 23–47.

Corbin, J. & Strauss, A. (2008) *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory.* (3rd edn). Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage.

Corner, J. (1991) Meaning, Genre and Context: The Problematics of "Public Knowledge" in the New Audience Studies. In J. Curran and M. Gurevitch (eds) *Mass Media and Society.* London: SAGE. Pp. 217–30.

Corner, J. (2003) Debate: The Model in Question: A Response to Klaehn on Herman and Chomsky. *European Journal of Communication.* 18(3): 367–375. London: SAGE Publications.

Corner, J. (2009) Public knowledge and popular culture: spaces and tensions. *Media, Culture & Society.* 31(1): 141–149.

Cousins, M. and Hussain, A. (1984) *Michel Foucault.* London: Macmillan.

Cowling, P. (2005) An earthy enigma: The role of localism in political, cultural and economic dimensions of media ownership regulation. *Hastings Communication and Entertainment Law Journal.* 27: 257-358.

Crawford and Balcarres (1925) Report of the Committee on Broadcasting 1925. (Cmnd 2599)

Creswell, J. W. (2009) *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches. (*3rd Edn) Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage.

Crotty, M. (1998) *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process.* London: Sage.

Cushion, S. and Thomas, R. (2013) The Mediatization of Politics: Interpreting the Value of Live versus Edited Journalistic Interventions in U.K. Television News Bulletins. *The International Journal of Press/Politics.* 18: 360-380.

Cushion, S., Rodger, H. and Lewis, R. (2014) Comparing levels of mediatization in television journalism: An analysis of political reporting on US and UK evening news bulletins. *International Communication Gazette.* 76: 443-463.DOI: 10.1177/1748048514533860.

Dahlgren, P. (2003) Chapter 9. Reconfiguring Civic Culture in the New Media Milieu. In Corner and Pels (Eds.) *Media and the Restyling of Politics*. London: Sage.

Davie, W. and Lee, Jung-Sook (1995) Sex, Violence, and Consonance/Differentiation: An Analysis of Local TV News Values *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*; Jan 1, 1995; 72, 1; Periodicals Archive Online pg. 128.

Davies, Nick (2009) *Flat Earth News*. UK: Vintage Books.

Delbridge, R. (1998) *Life on the Line in Contemporary Manufacturing: The Workplace Experience of Lean Production and the 'Japanese' Model.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Delli Carpini, M. and Keeter, S. (1996) *What Americans know about politics and and why it matters.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Democracy Now (2015) *About Democracy Now* https://www.democracynow.org/about [Accessed 4 April 2015]

Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (Eds) (2005) *Handbook of Qualitative Research. (*3rd edn.) Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Denzin, N. K. (1970). *The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods.* New York: Aldine.

Department for Culture, Media & Sport (2011a) *A new framework for local TV in the UK.* London, DCMS.

Department for Culture, Media and Sport (2015) *The balance of payments between television platforms and public service broadcasters: options for deregulation.* Consultation Paper: 26 March 2015.

Department for Culture, Media and Sport (2016a) *A BBC for the future: a broadcaster of distinction.* www.gov.uk/government/publications/a-bbc-for-the-future-a-broadcaster-of-distinction [Accessed 1 December 2016]

Department for Culture, Media and Sport (2016b) *BBC Charter Review 2016: Information Sheet - Distinctiveness. London: DCMS.* [Accessed 30 September 2016]

DeWalt, Kathleen and DeWalt, Billie R. (2010) *Participant Observation: A Guide for Fieldworkers.* Rowman Altamira.

Dick, M. (2014) Interactive Infographics and News Values. *Digital Journalism.* 2(4): 490–506.

Domingo, D. and Paterson, C. (2009) (Eds.) *Making online news: The ethnography of new media production.* New York: Peter Lang.

Downie, L. and Schudson, M. (2009) *The Reconstruction of American Journalism.* New York: Columbia University Publications.

Downing, J. and Husband, C. (2005) *Representing Race: Racisms, Ethnicity and the Media.* New York: Sage.

du Gay, P., Hall, S., Janes, L., Madsen, A., Mackay, H. and Negus, K. (2013) *Doing Cultural Studies: The Story of the Sony Walkman.* (2nd edn.) Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Durkin, T. (1997) Using Computers in Strategic Qualitative Research. In Miller, G. and Dingwall, R. (Eds.) *Context and Method in Qualitative Research.* London: Sage. Pp. 92-105.

Eberle, T.S. and Maeder, C. (2011) Organisational ethnography. In Silverman, D. (Ed.) *Qualitative Research*. London: Sage. pp. 53-73.

Edwards, P. and Belanger, J. (2008) Generalizing from Workplace Ethnographies: From Induction to Theory. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*. 37: 291-313. DOI: 10.1177/0891241607309654.

Efron, E. (1972) *The News Twisters.* New York: Manor Books.

Ellis-Petersen, H. and Child, B. (2014) Grim outlook for Grimsby as Sacha Baron Cohen sets comedy in town. *The Guardian.* 14 July 2014. https://www.theguardian.com/film/2014/jul/14/sacha-baron-cohen-film-grimsby-fury [Accessed 15 July 2014]

Entman, R. M. (1993) Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication* 43(4), Autumn. https://www.attorneygeneral.jus.gov.on.ca/inquiries/cornwall/en/hearings/exhibits/Mary_Lynn_Young/pdf/05_Entman.pdf. [Accessed 28 January 2016]

Erikson, Kai T. (1976) *Everything in Its Path: Destruction of Community in the Buffalo Creek Flood.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Ernest, P. (1999). *Social Constructivism as a Philosophy of Mathematics: Radical Constructivism.*

ESRC (2015) *ESRC Framework for research ethics.* Updated January 2015. http://www.esrc.ac.uk/files/funding/guidance-for-applicants/esrc-framework-for-research-ethics-2015/ [Accessed 1 February 2013]

European Commission (2016) *EC Audiovisual Media Services Directive* (AVMSD). https://ec.europa.eu/digital-single-market/en/audiovisual-media-services-directive-avmsd [Accessed 25 March 2016]

Ewart, J. (2000). Capturing the Heart of the Region: How Regional Media Define a Community. *Transformations*, 1 (September 2000).

Financial Conduct Authority (2015) *Registered societies: an introduction.* https://www.fca.org.uk/firms/registered-societies-introduction [Accessed 23 March 2015]

Fine, G. and Kleinman, S. (1986) Interpreting the sociological classics: Can there be a true meaning of mead? *Symbolic interaction*. 9: 129-146.

Fine, G., & Shulman, D. (2009). Lies from the field: Ethical issues in organizational ethnography. In S. Ybema, D. Yanow, H. Wels, & F. Kamsteeg (Eds.) *Organizational ethnography: Studying the complexities of everyday life.* London: SAGE Publications Ltd. pp. 177-196. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781446278925.n10

Fleming, C., Hemmingway, E., Moore, G. and Welford, D. (2006) *An Introduction to Journalism.* London: Sage.

Flew, T. (2013) *Global Creative Industries.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Forde, S., Foxwell, K. and Meadows, M. (2003) Through the lens of the local: Public arena journalism in the Australian community broadcasting sector. *Journalism.* 4(3): 314-335.

Forrest Gump (1994) Zemeckis. LA, Ca.: Paramount Pictures.

Foster, P. (2016) Half of BBC stars paid more than £150,000 could escape being named due to royal charter loophole. *The Telegraph.* 15 September 2016. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/15/half-of-bbc-stars-paid-more-than-150000-could-escape-being-named/ [Accessed 16 September 2016]

Franklin, B. (1997) *Newzak and News Media*. London: Arnold.

Franklin, B. (2004) *Packaging Politics: Political Communications in Britain's Media Democracy* (2nd Edn.) London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Franklin, B. (2005) McJournalism: The Local Press and the McDonaldization Thesis. In Allan, S. (ed.) *Journalism: Critical Essays*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press. 137-51.

Freedman, Des (2016) Des Freedman: PSBs must be free to provoke. *Future of TV blog*. 30 June 2016. London: Goldsmiths.

Frohlich, R., Quirling, O., and Engesser, S. (2012) Between idiosyncratic self interest and professional standards. *Journalism.* 13(8): 1041-63.

Frost, C. (2002) *Reporting for Journalists.* London: Routledge.

Gallmeier, C. P. (1983) Leaving, revisiting, and staying in touch: neglected issues in field research. In Shaffir, W. B. and Stebbins, R. A. (Eds.) *Experiencing Fieldwork.* Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage. Pp. 224-31.

Galtung, J. and Ruge, M. (1965) The structure of foreign news: the presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus crises in four Norwegian newspapers. Journal of International Peace Research 1, pp. 64–91.

Gans, H. (1974) *Popular Culture and High Culture.* New York: Basic Books.

Gans, H. J. (1979). *Deciding what's news: A study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time.* New York, NY: Pantheon.

Garnham, N. (1994) The Broadcasting Market and the Future of the BBC. *Political Quarterly.* 65(1): 18.

Geertz, C. (1973) Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture. In Geertz, C. (Ed.) *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays.* New York: Basic Books. pp 3–30.

Gentzkow, M. (2006) Television and Voter Turnout. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics.* August 2006.

Gibson, W. (2003) *Pattern Recognition.* London: Viking.

Gieber, W. (1956) Across the Desk: A Study of 16 Telegraph Editors. *Journalism Quarterly.* Fall 1956. http://www.aejmc.org/home/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/Journalism-Quarterly-1956-Gieber-423-32.pdf [Acessed 28 January 2016]

Gieber, W. (1964) News is what newspaper men make it. In Dexter, L.A. and Manning, D. (Eds.) *White, People, Society and Mass Communications.* New York: Free Press.

Gitlin, T. (1982) Prime time ideology: the hegemonic process in television entertainment. In Newcomb, H. (Ed) *Television: The critical view.* (3rd Edn.) New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 426-454.

Gladwell, M. (1997) The Cool-Hunt. *The New Yorker Magazine.* 17 March 1997 < http://www.gladwell.com/1997/1997_03_17_a_cool.htm >.

Glasgow University Media Group (1976) *Bad News.* London: Routledge and Keegan Paul Ltd.

Glasgow University Media Group (1980) *More Bad News.* London: Routledge and Keegan Paul Ltd.

Glasser, T. (1992) Objectivity and news bias. In Cohen, E. (Ed.) *Philosophical issues in journalism.* New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 176-183.

Glesne, C. (1999) *Becoming Qualitative Researchers: An Introduction.*

Gobo, G. (2008) *Doing ethnography.* Online: Sage. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9780857028976. Online ISBN: 9780857028976

Goddard, P. (2017) 'Distinctiveness' and the BBC: A new battleground for public service television? *Media Culture and Society*. Published online 16th February 2017.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443717692787

Goffman, E. (1974) *Frame Analysis: An essay on the organisation of experience.* New York: Harper and Row.

Golding, P. and Elliott, P. (1979) *Making the news.* London: Longman.

Golding, P. and Murdock, G. (1991) Culture, Communications and Political Economy. In Curran, J. and Gurevitch, M. (Eds.) *Mass Media and Society.* London: Edward Arnold.

Goldsmiths (2016) *A Future for Public Service Television: Content and Platforms in a Digital World: A report on the future of public service television in the UK in the 21st century.* London: Goldsmiths.

Gov.uk (2015a) *Choose a legal structure for your business.* https://www.gov.uk/business-legal-structures/overview [Accessed 17 February 2015]

Gov.uk (2015b) *Setting up a social enterprise.* https://www.gov.uk/set-up-a-social-enterprise. [Accessed 27 March 2015]

Gov.uk (2016) *Get information about a company.* https://www.gov.uk/get-information-about-a-company [Accessed ongoing, up to 16 December 2016]

Gredler, M. E. (1997). *Learning and instruction: Theory into practice* (3rd ed). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Greenslade, R. (2004) Do these People have a Right to Privacy? *The Guardian*. 26 January.

Greenslade, R. (2010) Flaws in Hunt's local TV vision. *The Guardian.* Wednesday 29 September 2010

Greenslade, R. (2011) Why Hunt has tuned out of his TV dream. *The Guardian.* Tuesday 10 May 2011

Greenslade, R. (2012) Can Channel 6 prove me wrong by making London TV work? I doubt it. The *Guardian.* 13th December 2012 [Accessed 10th January 2013]

Greenslade, R. (2014) London Live TV suffers terrible Barb ratings three weeks on from launch. London: *The Guardian*, 24 April 2014

Gripsund, J. (1992) The Aesthetics and the Politics of Melodrama. In Dahlgren, P. and Sparks, C. (Eds.) *Journalism and Popular Culture.* London: Sage. pp. 84–94.

Guo, Q. (2012) Perceptions of News Value: Comparative Research between China & US. *China Media Research* 8(2): 26-35.

Habermas, Jurgen (1989[1962]) *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeouis Society.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Hall, S. (1973a) *Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse.* Birmingham: Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies.

Hall, S. (1973b) The determinations of news photographs. In Cohen, S. & Young, J. (Eds.) *The manufacture of news: Social problems, deviance and the mass media. Communication and society*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications. pp. 176-190.

Hall, S. (1994) The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power. In Hall, S. and Gieben, B. (Eds.) *Formations of Power.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hall, S., Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clarke, J., & Roberts, B. (1978) *Policing the crisis: Mugging, the state, and law and order.* New York: Macmillan Press.

Hallin, D. and Mancini, P. (2004) *Comparing Media Systems.* Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Hammersley, M. & Atkinson, P. (1983) *Ethnography Principles in Practice.* London: Routledge.

Hansard (2010) *Parliamentary Debates.* Tuesday 6 April 2010.

Harcup, T. & O'Neill, D. (2001). What is news? Galtung and Ruge revisited. *Journalism Studies*, 2(2), 261 280. doi:10.1080/14616700120042114

Harcup, T. & O'Neill, D. (2016) What is news? News values revisited (again). *Journalism Studies*. DOI: 10.1080/1461670X.2016.1150193.

Harcup, T. (2001) Review of de Burgh (2000) *Journalism Studies* 2(4): 632–33.

Harcup, T. (2003) The unspoken - said: The journalism of alternative media. *Journalism.* 4(3): 356-376.

Harcup, T. (2004) *Journalism: Principles and Practice.* London: Sage.

Harcup, T. (2015) *Journalism Principles and Practice.* (3rd edn.) London: Sage.

Hargreaves, I. and Thomas, J. (2002) *New News, Old News.* London: Broadcasting Standards Commission/Independent Television Commission.

Harrison, J. (2000) *Terrestrial TV news in Britain: The culture of production.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Harrison, S. (1998). The local government agenda: news from the town hall. In Franklin, B. (Ed.), *Making the Local News: Local Journalism in Context* (1st ed., pp. 157–170).

Hart, C. (1998) *Doing a Literature Review.* London: Sage.

Hartley, J. (2002) *Communication, Cultural and Media Studies: The Key Concepts.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Harvey, D. (2009) The 'New' Imperialism: Accumulation by Dispossession. *Socialist Register* Vol. 20: 63-87.

Herbert, J. (2000). The purpose and meaning of news. In *Journalism in the digital age: Theory and practice for broadcast, print and on-line media* (pp. 59-73). Boston: Focal Press.

Herman, E. S. and Chomsky, N. (1988) *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media.* New York: Pantheon.

Hesmondhalgh, D. (2008) Cultural and Creative Industries. In Bennett, T. and Frow, J. (Eds.) *Handbook of Cultural Analysis.* Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Hesmondhalgh, D. (2013) *Cultural Industries.* 4th edn. London: Sage.

Hesmondhalgh, D. and Baker, S. (2008) Creative Work and Emotional Labour in the Television Industry. *Theory, Culture and Society.* 25: 97-118.

Hesmondhalgh, D., Oakley, K., Nisbett, M. & Lee, D. (2015) Culture, Economy and Politics: The Case of New Labour. In Series: *New Directions in Cultural Policy Research.* UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hetherington, A. (1985). *What's news? Who makes the news? In News, newspapers and television.* London: Macmillan Press.

Higgins, J. W. (1999). Community television and the vision of media literacy, social action, and empowerment. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 43(4), 624–644.

Hirst, M. (2001) Journalism in Australia: hard yakka? In Tapsall, S. and Varley, C. (Eds.) *Journalism: Theory in Practice.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hodkinson, P. (2011) *Media, Culture and Society: An Introduction.* London: Sage.

Hoggart, S. (1957) *The uses of literacy: Aspects of working class life.* London: Penguin.

Holton, A., Coddington, M. and Gil de Zuniga, H. (2013) Whose News? Whose Values? Citizen journalism and journalistic values through the lens of content creators and consumers. *Journalism Practice* 7(6). http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2013.766062

Holtz-Bacha, C. and Norris, P. (2001) To Entertain, Inform, and Educate: Still the Role of Public Television. *Political Communication* 18(2): 123-140.

Hooghe, M. (2002) Watching Television and Civic Engagement: Disentangling the Effects of Time, Programs, and Stations. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 2002 7: 84.

Howley, K. (2005) *Community Media: People, Places, and Communication Technologies.* Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press.

Huesca, R. (1996) Participation for development in radio: An ethnography of the reporteros populares of Bolivia. *International Communication Gazette*. 57(1): 29-52.

Hunt, J. (2010) *BBC Funding Settlement.* Letter from The Right Hon. Jeremy Hunt MP, Secretary of State for the Department of Culture, Olympics, Media and Sport to Sir Michael Lyons, Chairman of the BBC Trust. 21 October.

Hutchins, B. (2004) Castells, regional news media and the information age. *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies* 18(4): 577–590.

Ichniowski, C., Kochan, T., Levine, D., Olson, C. and Strauss, G. (1996) What Works at Work: Overview and Assessment. *Industrial Relations*. 35(3): 299-333.

IPSO (2014) *Editors Code.* https://www.ipso.co.uk/editors-code-of-practice/

ITV (2016) *BBC ordered to disclose names of stars earning more than £150,000.* 15 September 2016. http://www.itv.com/news/2016-09-15/bbc-ordered-to-disclose-names-of-stars-earning-more-than-150-000/ [Accessed 16 September 2016]

ITV plc (2013) *Annual Report 2013.*

Jankowski, N. (1991) A European Opening: The Netherlands, Local Television in Europe: proceedings of the colloquium in Strasbourg. *Editions ACTA*: 85.

Jenkins, H. (2006) *Convergence Culture: Where old and new media collide.* New York: New York University Press.

Jonsson, A. and Ornebring, H. (2011) User-generated Content and the News: Empowerment of Citizens or Interactive Illusion? *Journalism Practice.* 5(2): 127–144.

Kanter, J. (2012) Manchester's Channel M axed. *Broadcast Now.* http://www.broadcastnow.co.uk/news/broadcasters/manchesters-channel-m-axed/5040518.article?blocktitle=Most-commented&contentID=-1 [Accessed 27 January 2016]

Katz, J. (1997) Ethnography's Warrants. *Sociological Methods and Research*. 25(4): 391–423.

Katz, J. (2001) From how to why. *Ethnography.* 2(4): 443-473.

Kellner, D. (1990) *Television and the crisis of democracy.* Oxford: Westview Press.

Kerkoven, M. and Bakker, P. (2014) The Hyperlocal In Practice: Innovation, creativity and diversity. *Digital Journalism.* 2(3): 296-309.

King, D. L., & Mele, C. (1999). Making public access television: Community participation, media literacy and the public sphere. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media.* 43(4): 603–623.

Kleinstuber, H. J. (1992) The Global Village Stays Local. In Siune, K. and Truetzschler, W. (1992) *Dynamics of Media Politics: Broadcast and Electronic Media in Western Europe.* London: Euromedia Research Group.

Kukla, A. (2000). *Social Constructivism and the Philosophy of Science.* New York: Routledge.

Kuklick, H. (2011) Personal Equations: Reflections on the History of Fieldwork, with special reference

to sociocultural anthropology. *Isis.* 102: 1-33.

Kung, L. (2008) *Strategic management in the media from theory to practice.* London: Sage.

Kurpius, D. D. (2000) Public journalism and commercial local television news: In search of a model. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly.* 77(2): 340-354.

Kushner, B. and Kushner S. (2013) *Who needs the cuts? Myths of the economic crisis.* London: Hesperus.

Labuschagne, A. (2003). Qualitative research: Airy fairy or fundamental? *The Qualitative Report.* 8(1): Article 7. http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR8- 1/labuschagne.html.

Lazarsfeld, P. F. and R. K. Merton. (1948) Mass Communication, Popular Taste, and Organized Social Action. In Schramm, W. and Roberts, D. (Eds.) *The Process and Effects of Mass Communication*. Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press. pp. 554–578.

Lee, A. and Chyi, H. (2014) When newsworthy is not noteworth: Examining the value of news from the audience's perspective. *Journalism Studies* 15(6): 807-820. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2013.841369.

Leeds-Hurwitz, W (2009) Social construction of reality. In Littlejohn, S. and Foss, K. (Eds.) *Encyclopedia of communication theory.* Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage. pp. 892-5. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412959384.n344.

Lefever, E. W. (1974) *TV and the National Defense.* Boston, Va: Institute for American Strategy.

Leung, D. and Lee, F. (2015) How Journalists Value Positive News. *Journalism Studies* 16(2): 289-304. DOI: 10.1080/1461670X.2013.869062.

Lewis, J., Inthorn, S., & Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2005). *Citizens or Consumers? What the media tell us about political participation.* Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Lewis, J., Williams, A., Franklin, B., Thomas, J. and Mosdell, N. (2008) *The Quality and Independence of British Journalism: Tracking the changes over 20 years.* Mediawise/Cardiff University.

Lijphart, A. (1971) Comparative politics and the comparative method. *American Political Science Review.* 65 (3): 682-693.

Lippman, W. (1965/[1922]) *Public Opinion.* New York: Free Press.

Livingstone, S. (2009) On the Mediation of Everything. Journal of Communication. 59(1): 1-18.

LJMU (2010) *Code of Practice for Research.* https://www2.ljmu.ac.uk/RGSO/RGSO_Docs/LJMU_Code_of_Practice_for_Research.pdf [Accessed 1 February 2013]

Local TV Network (2014) *LTVN appoints network advertising agency.* 23 June.

Lofland, John and Lofland, Lyn H. (1995) *Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Methods*. 3rd edn. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

London's Burning (1988-2002) ITV

Lowe, G. F. and Brown, C. (Eds, 2016) *Managing Media Firms and Industries: What's So Special About*

Media Management? London: Springer.

Lowrey, W., Brozana, A. and Mackay, J.B. (2008) Toward a measure of community journalism. *Mass Communication and Society.* 11: 275–299.

Lyons, M. (2010) *BBC Funding Settlement.* Letter from Sir Michael Lyons, Chairman of the BBC Trust to The Right Hon. Jeremy Hunt MP, Secretary of State for the Department of Culture, Olympics, Media and Sport. October.

Mack, N., Woodsong, C., Macqueen, K., Guest, G. and Namey, E. (2005) *Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide*. North Carolina: Family Health International.

Macnamara, J. (2005). Media content analysis: Its uses, benefits and Best Practice Methodology. *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal.* 6(1). Pp. 1– 34.

Madison, D. S. (2005) *Critical Ethnography: Method, Ethics and Performance.* London: Sage.

Mandarano, L., Meenar, M., & Steins, C., (2010). Building Social Capital in the Digital Age of Civic Engagement. *Journal of Planning Literature.* 25: 123.

Mann, T. (2016) BBC will have to name all presenters and employees getting paid more than £150,000. *Metro.* 15 September 2016. http://metro.co.uk/2016/09/15/bbc-will-have-to-name-all-presenters-and-employees-getting-paid-more-than-150000-6129047/ [Accessed 16 September 2016]

Martinson, J. (2016) BBC presenters' salaries over £150,000 to be made public. *The Guardian.* 15 September 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/sep/14/bbc-presenters-pay-to-be-made-public. Accessed 16 September 2016.

Matsa, K. (2016) *State of the News Media: Local TV News: Fact Sheet. Washington: Pew Center.* 15 June 2016. http://www.journalism.org/2016/06/15/local-tv-news-fact-sheet/ [Accessed 11 September 2016]

Mayes, T. (2000) *Restraint or Revelation: Free Speech and Privacy in a Confessional Age*. London: spiked-online.

Maykut, P. and Morehouse, R. (1994) *Beginning Qualitative Research: A Philosophic and Practical Guide.* London: Falmer Press.

McChesney, R. W (2004) *The problem of the media: US communications politics in the 21st century.* New York: Monthly Review Press.

McCombs, M. E. and Shaw, Donald L. (1972) The Agenda-Setting Function Of Mass Media. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36(2): 176-187.

McIntyre, K. (2016) What Makes "Good" News Newsworthy? *Communication Research Reports.* 33(3): 223-230. DOI: 10.1080/08824096.2016.1186619.

McNair, B. (2000) *Journalism and democracy: An evaluation of the political public sphere.* London: Routledge.

McNair, B. (2009) *News and Journalism in the UK*. London: Routledge. 18 Feb 2009.

McNair, B. (2011) *Introduction to Political Communication.* 5th edn. London: Routledge.

McNally, P. (2009) Ofcom: ITV could be free from regional news from 2011. *Press Gazette.*

http://www.pressgazette.co.uk/node/42872 [Accessed 22 January 2016]

McQuail, D. (1992) *Media Performance: Mass Communication and the Public Interest.* London: Sage.

McQuail, D. (2000) *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory* (4th ed.) Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Mencher, M. (2000) *News reporting and writing.* 8th Edn. Boston: McGraw-Hill.

Mendel, T. (2000) Features of Public Service Broadcasting Organisations. In *Public Service Broadcasting. A comparative Legal Survey*. Kuala Lumpur : UNESCO, Asia Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development. http://www.unesco.org/webworld/publications/mendel/features.html [Accessed 22 January 2016]

Miles, M., & Huberman, M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis.* California: Sage.

Miliband, R. (1969) *The State in Capitalist Society.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson.

Mitchell, C. (1983) Case and situation analysis. *Sociological Review.* 31:187–211.

Mogalakwe, M. (2006) The Use of Documentary Research Methods in Social Research. *African Sociological Review.* 10(1): 221-230.

Monbiot, G. (2009) Champions of the Overdog. *The Guardian.* 9 November 2009. Available http://www.monbiot.com/2009/11/09/champions-of-the-overdog/

Moon, Jenny (2004) *A Handbook of Reflective and Experiential Learning.* Routledge Falmer, London.

Morley, D. (1980): *The 'Nationwide' Audience: Structure and Decoding.* London: BFI

Morley, D. (1991) Where the global meets the local. *Screen* 32(1) Spring 1991 / Television Audiences and Cultural Studies. Routledge.

Mosely, I. (2000) (Ed.) *Dumbing Down: Culture, Politics and the Mass Media.* Thorverton: Imprint Academic.

Murdock, G. and Golding, P. (2000) Culture, Communications and Political Economy. Chapter 4 in *Mass Media and Society*. London, Hodder Education. pp. 60-83

Murdock, G. and Golding, P. (2005) Culture, Communications and Political Economy, pp. 60–83 in J. Curran and M. Gurevitch (eds) *Mass Media and Society (*4th edn). New York: Hodder Arnold.

Murthy, D. (2013) Twitter. *Digital Media and Society series.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Nationwide (1968-1982) BBC. London: BBC.

Neilson, B. and Rossiter, N. (2005) FCJ-022 From Precarity to Precariousness and Back Again: Labour, Life and Unstable Networks. *The Fibreculture Journal.* 5: Precarious labour.

NESTA (2013) *UK Demand for Hyperlocal Media Research Report.* April 2013. London: Kantar Media.

Neuman, W. R., Just, M. R. and Crigler, A. N. (1992) *Common Knowledge.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Neuman, W.L. (2003) *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches.* Allyn and Bacon.

Newman, N. (2011) *Mainstream Media and the Distribution of News in the age of Social Discovery.* Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.

Neyland, D. (2008) *Organizational Ethnography.* London: Sage.

Niblock, S. (1996) *Inside Journalism.* London: Blueprint.

Nie, N., Junn, J. and Stehlik-Barry, K. (1996) *Education and Democratic Citizenship in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Norris, P. (2000) *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Post-industrial Societies.* Cambridge University Press, 18 Sep 2000.

NUJ (2016) *Code of Conduct.* https://www.nuj.org.uk/about/nuj-code/

Obeholzer-Gee , F. and Waldfogel , J. (2006) Media markets and localism: Does local news en español boost hispanic voter turnout? Working paper 12317 http://www.nber.org/papers/w12317 *National Bureau of Economic Research*. 30 May 2006.

Ofcom (2007) *New News, Future News: The challenges for television news after Digital Switch-over.* London: Ofcom.

Ofcom (2009a) *Local and Regional Media in the UK: Discussion Document.* London: Ofcom. 22 September.

Ofcom (2009b) *Ofcom's Second Public Service Broadcasting Review: Putting Viewers First.* London: Ofcom. 21 January.

Ofcom (2009c) *Local and Regional Media in the UK: the view from Ofco*m. London: Ofcom

Ofcom (2011) *Regulating the quantity of advertising on television.* London: Ofcom. 15 December 2011. https://www.ofcom.org.uk/tv-radio-and-on-demand/broadcast-codes/code-tv-advertising/regulation-ad-minutage [Accessed 28 February 2016]

Ofcom (2012a) *Invitation to Apply for an L-DTPS Licence. Phase 1 Locations.* London: Ofcom. 10 May.

Ofcom (2015a) *Public Service Broadcasting in the Internet Age. Ofcom's Third Review of Public Service Broadcasting. London: Ofcom. 2 July 2015. [Accessed 10 October 2015]*

Ofcom (2015b) *The Communications Market 2015: TV and audio-visual.* London: The Stationery Office.

Ofcom (2016) *The Ofcom Broadcasting Code.* https://www.ofcom.org.uk/tv-radio-and-on-demand/broadcast-codes/broadcast-code

Office for National Statistics (2014) *Population estimates for UK mid-2014 analysis tool.* 25 June 2015. Retrieved 1 October 2016.

Oh Dearism (2009) Curtis, for Charlie Brooker's Newswipe (BBC, Series 1, Ep 3)

Oliver & Ohlbaum Associates (2009) *Local TV: Birmingham Alabama 8, Birmingham UK 0?* Online.

Olmstead, K., Mitchell, A. and Rosenstiel, T. (2011) Navigating News Online: Where People go, how They get There and What Lures Them Away. *PEW Research Center's project for Excellence in Journalism.* http://www.journalism.org/2011/05/09/navigating-news-online/ [Accessed 14 October

2016]

Oremus, W. (2014) The First News Report on the L.A. Earthquake Was Written by a Robot. *Slate.com*. 17 March 2014. http://www.slate.com/blogs/future_tense/2014/03/17/quakebot_los_angeles_times_robot_journal ist_writes_article_on_la_earthquake.html [Accessed 3 February 2016]

Orwell, George (1937) *The Road to Wigan Pier.* Victor Gollancz Ltd. p. 72. ISBN 0-905712-45-5.

O'Sullivan, T., Hartley, J., Saunders, D., & Fiske, J. (1983). News values. In Fiske, J., Hartley, J. and Montgomery, M. (Eds.) *Key Concepts in Communication: Studies in Communication.* 1st edn. New York: Methuen.

Padgett, D. (1998) *Qualitative Methods in Social Work Research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Paget, D. (2011) *No other way to tell it. Documdrama on film and television.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Palmer, J. (1998) News production. In Briggs, A. and Cobley, P. (Eds.) *The media: An introduction.* Essex: Longman. pp. 377-391.

Paterson, C. (2009) Introduction. In Domingo, D. and Paterson, C. (Eds.) *Making online news: The ethnography of new media production.* New York: Peter Lang.

Patton, M. (1990) *Qualitative evaluation and research methods.* (2nd ed.). Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Paules, G. (1991) *Dishing it Out: Power and Resistance among Waitresses in a New Jersey Restaurant.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Payne, G. and Payne, J. (2004) *Key Concepts in Social Research.* London: Sage.

Payne, G. and Williams, M. (2005) *Generalization in Qualitative Research.* Sociology 39 (2): 295-314.

Peterson, S. (1979). Foreign news gatekeepers and criteria of newsworthiness. *Journalism Quarterly*. 56: 116-125.

Peterson, S. (1981). International news selection by the elite press: A case study. *Public Opinion Quarterly.* 45(2): 143-163.

Petley, J. (2012) The Many Mythologies of Press Freedom, Part 2, Media Self-Censorship.*Inforrm's Blog: The International Forum for Responsible Media Blog*. https://inforrm.wordpress.com/2012/10/11/the-many-mythologies-of-press-freedom-part-2-media-self-censorship-julian-petley/ [Accessed 3 January 2016]

Phillips, A. (2012) Sociability, Speed and Quality in the Changing News Environment. *Journalism Practice* 6(5-6): 669–679.

Phillips, Angela (2015) *Journalism in Context.* London: Routledge.

Pilkington, S. H. (1962) *Report of the Committee on Broadcasting.* (Cmnd 1753).

Pipe, J. (2013) Two years on, what has the Localism Act achieved? *The Guardian.* (2 November 2013). Retrieved 16 November 2014.

Pirates of the Caribbean: On Stranger Tides (2011) [film] Rob Marshall. USA: Disney.

Porter, A. (2010) Jeremy Hunt: Ministry of Fun is about to get 'very horrible'. *The Telegraph.* 12 August 2010. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/tvandradio/bbc/7895994/Jeremy-Hunt-Ministry-of-Fun-is-about-to-get-very-horrible.html

Porter, O. (2011) Consumer, Produser: The rise of collaborative content creation and its impact on producer/user relationships. *Journal of Digital Research and Publishing.* 11(3).

Postgate, N. (1985) *Amusing ourselves to death.* London: William Heinneman.

Potts, S. (2012) *Liverpool Community Radio: An Impact Report by the Institute of Cultural Capital.* http://iccliverpool.ac.uk/?research=liverpool-community-radio

Prawat, R. and Floden, R. (1994) Philosophical Perspectives on Constructivist Views of Learning. *Educational Psychologist.* 29(1): 37-48.

Public Select Committee (2015) *Future of the BBC.* London: House of Commons.

Putnam, R. (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community.* New York: Simon & Schuster.

Puttnam, D. and Freedman, D. (2016) *In the News: Charter plans stifle BBC's independence.* 20th September 2016. London: Goldsmiths. http://futureoftv.org.uk/news/ [Accessed 30 September 2016]

Raboy, M. (1995) *Public broadcasting for the 21st century.* Luton, Bedfordshire: University of Luton Press.

Richardson, L. (1990) *Writing strategies: Reaching diverse audiences.* Newbury Park, Ca.: Sage.

Ricoeur, P. (1981) The Hermeneutical Function of Distanciation. In Thompson, J. B. (ed.) *Paul Ricoeur: Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences.* pp. 131-144. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Riddell, P. (1999) Creche coarse. Whatever happened to political reporting? *The Guardian.* 20 Sept 1999. https://www.theguardian.com/media/1999/sep/20/pressandpublishing.mondaymediasection [Accessed 10 Sept 2016]

Ritzer, G (1993) *The McDonaldization of Society* London: Pine Forge/Sage.

Ritzer, G (1998) *The McDonaldization Thesis* London: Sage

Ritzer, G (2002) *McDonaldization: The Reader* London: Pine Forge/Sage

Robertson, J. (2010) The last days of free market hegemony? UK TV news coverage of economic issues in spring 2008. *Media, Culture and Society.* 32: 517-529.

Robinson, J. P. (1981) Television and leisure time: A new scenario. *Journal of Communication* 31: 10.

Robinson, M. J. (2007) *Two decades of American News Preferences.* Washington: Pew Research Center. http://www.pewresearch.org/2007/08/15/two-decades-of-american-news-preferences/

Rodriguez, C. (2001) *Fissures in the mediascape: An international study of citizens' media*. Creeskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Rosenberg, B. and White, D. (1957) *Mass culture.* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.

Rudin, R. and Ibbotson, T. (2002) *An Introduction to Journalism: Essential techniques and background knowledge*. Oxford: Focal Press.

Ruehlmann, W. (1979) *Stalking the feature story.* New York: Vintage Books.

Rusbridger, A. (2002) Taming the beast. *The Guardian.* 18 February 2002.

Rushton, D. (1993) *Citizen Television: A local dimension to Public Service Broadcasting.* London: John Libbey.

Rushton, D. (1997) *Creating Local Television.* Sheffield: Community Radio Association.

Rushton, D. (2015) What is wrong with local & community TV in the UK? *International Journal of Communication and Development* (RICD). (1) 1, pp. 127-137, ISSN e2386-3730.

Sallaz, J. (2008) Deep plays: A comparative ethnography of gambling contests in two post-colonies. *Ethnography.* 9(1): 5-33.

Scannell, P. (2007). *Media and Communication.* London: SAGE. ISBN 978-1-4129-0269-4.

Schaffer, J. (2007) *Citizen Media: Fad or future of the news? The rise and prospects of hyperlocal journalism.* http://www.j-lab.org/_uploads/downloads/citizen_media-1.pdf   [Accessed 27 January 2016]

Schaudt, S. and Carpenter, S. (2009) The News That's fit to Click. *Southwestern Mass Communication Journal.* 24(2): 17–26.

Schiller, D. (1981) *Objectivity and the News*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Schlesinger, P. (1980) *Book Review: Making the News.* Sociology. Aug80. 14(3): 495-496.

Schudson, M. (1978) *Discovering News.* New York: Basic Books.

Sculthorpe, T. and Slack, J. (2016) New rules forcing the BBC to name 100 staff on £150,000 a year WON'T apply to stars who make huge salaries working for production companies. *Daily Mail.* 15 September 2016. http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3790114/More-100-BBC-stars-earning-150-000-named-months-corporation-s-new-charter.html [Accessed 16 September 2016]

Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport (2016) *Broadcasting: A copy of the Draft Royal Charter for the continuance of the British Broadcasting Corporation.* Cm 9317. London: Parliament.

Selznick, P. (1949) *TVA and the grassroots: A study in the sociology of formal organization.* Berkeley: California University Press.

Shannon, Claude E. & Warren Weaver (1949): *A Mathematical Model of Communication.* Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press

Shoemaker, P. and Mayfield, K. (1987) Building a theory of news content: A synthesis of current approaches. *Journalism Monographs*, 103.

Shoemaker, P. J., & Reese, S. D. (1996). *Mediating the message: Theories of influences on mass media content* (2nd ed.). White Plains, NY: Longman.

Shott, N. (2010a) *Local Television in the UK.* A letter from Nicholas Shott to the Secretary of State for Culture, Olympics, Media and Sport. London: DCMS. 9 December 2010.

Shott, N. (2010b) *Commercially-viable local television in the UK: A Review by Nicholas Shott for the Secretary of State for Culture, Olympics, Media and Sport.* London: DCMS.

Singer, J., Domingo, D., Heinonen, A., Hermida, A., Paulussen, S., Quandt,T., Reich, Z. and Vujnovic, M. (2011) *Participatory Journalism: Guarding Open Gates at Online Newspapers.* Wiley Blackwell.

Singletary, M. W. (1976) Components of credibility of a favourable news source. *Journalism Quarterly.* 53(3) 16-19.

Skint (2013-2015) Channel 4.

Skornia, H. (1965) *Television and Society.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Smith, V. (2001) Ethnographies of Work and the Work of Ethnographers. In Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., Delamont, S., Lofland, J. and Lofland, L. (Eds.) *Handbook of Ethnography.* London: Sage.

Snow, David (1980) The disengagement process: a neglected problem in participant observation research. *Qualitative Sociology.* 3(2): 100-22.

Sonderman, J. (2011) With 'frictionless sharing,' Facebook and news orgs push boundaries of online privacy. *Poynter. 29* September 2011. http://www.poynter.org/2011/with-frictionless-sharing-facebook-and-news-orgs-push-boundaries-of-reader-privacy/147638/

Spaced (1999-2001) Wright, E., Channel 4.

Sparks, C. (2000) Introduction: the panic over tabloid news. In Sparks, C. and Tulloch, J. (Eds.) *Tabloid Tales: Global Debates over Media Standards.* New York: Routledge.

Sparks, C. (2007) Extending and Refining the Propaganda Model. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture.* University of Westminster, London. Vol. 4(2): 68-84. ISSN 1744-6708

Staab, J. F. (1990) The Role of News Factors in News Selection: A Theoretical Reconsideration. *European Journal of Communications* 5: 423–443.

Starks, M. (2013) *The Digital Television Revolution.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sullivan, A. (2002) *Sunday Times.*

Tedlock, Barbara (1991) From Participant Observation to the Observation of Participation: The Emergence of Narrative Ethnography. *Journal of Anthropological Research.* 47(1): 69-94.

Temple, M. (2006) *British Politics.* 1: 257-73. DOI: 10.1057/palgrave.bp.4200018.

This Week (1956-1978) Associated Rediffusion / (1986-1992) Thames TV.

Thussu, D. K. (2003) Live TV and Bloodless Deaths: war, Inotainment and 24/7 News. In Thussu, D. K. and Freedman, D. (Eds.) *War and the Media*. London: Sage. Pp. 117-32.

Thussu, D. K. (2008) *News as entertainment: The rise of global infotainment.* London: Sage.

Toffler, A. (1980). *The third wave: The classic study of tomorrow.* New York, NY: Bantam.

Tuchman, G. (1972) Objectivity as strategic ritual: an examination of newsmen's notions of

objectivity'. *American Journal of Sociology* 77(4): 660-70.

Tuchman, G. (1978) *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*. New York: The Free Press.

Tukachinsky, R. (2013) What Turns Events into News? *Communication Teacher.* 27(3): 146 151. July.

Tumber, H. (1999) (Ed.) *News: A Reader.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tunstall, J. (1970) *The Westminster Lobby Correspondents.* London: Routledge and Kegan Ltd.

Tunstall, J. (1971) *Journalists at Work.* London: Constable.

Turner, G. (2010) *The Demotic Turn: Ordinary People and the Media.* London: Sage.

Ursell, G. (2009) Creating Value and Valuing Creation in Contemporary UK Television: or "dumbing down" the workforce. *Journalism Studies* 4(1):31–46.

van Dijk, T. (2000) *New(s) Racism: A Discourse Analytical Approach*. http://www.discourses.org/OldArticles/New(s)%20racism%20-%20A%20discourse%20analytical%20approach.pdf

Vine, J. (2012) News values and country non-daily news reporting: The online revolution's impact. *Rural Society* 21(2): 158-171. DOI: 10.5172/rsj.2012.21.2.158.

Wacquant, L. (2007) *Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Waheed, M., Schuck, A., Neijens, P. and de Vreese, C. (2013) Values in the news: Comparing the news coverage of political speeches in developed and developing countries. *Journalism Studies* 14(4): 618 634. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2012.701910.

Warner, M. (1970). Decision-making in network television news. In *Media sociology: A reader.* Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Watson, J. (1998) The news: Gates, agendas and values. In *Media communication: An introduction to theory and process.* London: Macmillan Press. pp. 105-129.

Weber, M (1974) trans Parsons, T. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.* London: Unwin University Books

Westerhahl, J., and Folke, J. (1994) Foreign News: News Values and Ideologies. *European Journal of Communication.* 9: 71–89.

Whyte, W. F. (1948) *Human relations in the restaurant industry.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Whyte, W.F. (1955) *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Williams, A., Harte, D. and Turner, J. (2015) The value of UK hyperlocal community news. *Digital Journalism* 3(5): 680-703. (10.1080/21670811.2014.965932)

Williams, R. and Williams, E. (2003/1974) *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*. London: Routledge.

Wilson, C. E. and Howard, D. M. (1978) Public perception of media accuracy. *Association for*

Education in Journalism. US: ProQuest LLC.

Wilson, J. (2010) *Essentials of Business Research: A Guide to Doing Your Research Project.* London: Sage.

Wilson, R. (1994) *Local Television: Finding a Voice.* Shropshire: Dragonflair Publishing.

Wolcott, H. F. (2008) *Ethnography: A way of seeing.* (2nd edn.) Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

World in Action (1963-1998) Manchester: Granada.

Wright Mills, C. (1978 [1959]) *The Sociological Imagination.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 195-226.

Ybema, S., Yanow, D., Wels, H. and Kamsteeg, F. (Eds.) (2009) *Organizational ethnography: Studying the complexities of everyday life.* London: Sage. www.sagepub.com/books/Book232255

Appendices

Appendix 1. Introduction Letter to Gatekeepers.

[Name]

[Date]

Dear [Name],

PhD study – Local Media in Digital Britain

Following our recent emails, I am writing in relation to my PhD studies at the Institute of Cultural Capital, a collaborative partnership between Liverpool John Moores University and the University of Liverpool, in which I am supervised through the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at LJMU.

My studies include a number of research strategies including analysis of government policy documents and licence applications, analyses of local TV broadcast schedules and content, and interviews and focus groups with people involved in local television production within the pioneer service areas. I am aiming to carry out detailed case studies of 3-4 pioneer local TV services.

I would like to conduct a case study on [name of service]. If you were to agree to acting as a case study, I would like to meet with people involved with your service, such as staff, management, partners, third party content producers and/or volunteers/participants. Ideally, meetings would take place at your premises and at mutually convenient times.

Please note: Neither your organisation nor individuals concerned would be named in any published reports – all contributions would be anonymised in the form of Participant A, Licensee B etc. However please note due to the small number and the distinctive nature of some local TV services, it may be possible for some services and individuals to be implicitly identified by some readers.

I have included an Information Sheet about the project which would be given to each potential participant before they decided whether to take part or not. I have also included Consent Forms and Draft Questions.

Participation would of course be entirely voluntary and anybody could withdraw at any point should they wish to. Participation would, I hope, be an enjoyable experience in which participants are encouraged and supported to explore and articulate their experiences and attitudes to local media. The research aims to contribute to this much under-researched topic within the UK, and your assistance in this matter would be greatly appreciated.

Please let me know if this is something you may be interested in, and we can discuss things further.

Yours sincerely,

Kerry Traynor

Institute of Cultural Capital, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Liverpool John Moores University

k.e.traynor@ljmu.ac.uk **/ 07899 912415**

Appendix 2. Participant Information Sheet.

LIVERPOOL JOHN MOORES UNIVERSITY

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Title of Project   Understanding the social impacts of local media in the UK

Name of Researcher: Kerry Traynor

School/Faculty: Institute of Cultural Capital / School of Humanities and Social Sciences

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it involves. Please take time to read the following information. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide if you want to take part or not.

1.   What is the purpose of the study?
The study aims to find out how local media services such as local television, local radio, local newspapers, local websites and blogs affect the people in those communities. The researcher is studying for a PhD and this research will form a part of her study.

2.   Do I have to take part?
No. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do you will be given this information sheet and asked to sign a consent form. You are still free to withdraw at any time before, during or after participating, without giving a reason. A decision to withdraw will not affect your rights/any future treatment/service you receive.

3.   What will happen to me if I take part?
If you agree to take part, you would be asked to:

- *Attend and participate in a meeting to discuss your thoughts and experiences of local media*
- *Respond to a series of questions or statements about local media*
- *It will take place at a venue which is relatively local and accessible to you*
- *It will last no longer than 90 minutes*
- *It will be audio/video recorded for research purposes*
- *I will provide a transcript of the session for you to check before it is used in the study*

4.   Are there any risks / benefits involved?
I do not believe there are any risks to you participating in the project. I hope you will find it enjoyable and interesting – an opportunity to talk about your experiences and opinions of local media and share your thoughts and ideas.

5.   Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?
Your participation will be kept strictly confidential. No individuals will be named in the final research report. All contributions will be anonymised, for example, Volunteer A, Licensee B. However please note that due to the small number of local TV services and the distinctive features of some services, your service may be identifiable to some readers.

Contact Details of Researcher: Kerry Traynor (Tel: 07899 912415 Email: K.E.Traynor@ljmu.ac.uk)

Contact Details of Academic Supervisor: Nickianne Moody, Principal Lecturer, Media and Cultural Studies, Liverpool John Moores University (Tel: 0151 231 5028 Email: N.A.Moody@ljmu.ac.uk)

Appendix 3. Participant Consent Form

LIVERPOOL JOHN MOORES UNIVERSITY

CONSENT FORM

Title of Project   Local Media in Digital Britain

Name of Researcher: Kerry Traynor

School/Faculty: Institute of Cultural Capital / School of Humanities and Social Sciences

I confirm that I have read and understand the information provided for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily

1.   I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and that this will not affect my legal rights.

2.   I understand that any personal information collected during the study will be anonymised and remain confidential

3.   I agree to take part in a focus group or interview as part of the above study

4.   I understand that the session will be audio/video recorded and I am happy to proceed

5.   I am happy to be included if any photographs are taken and for these images to be used in future presentations and documents (you can say 'no' to this and still be involved in the project)

6.   I understand that parts of our conversation may be used verbatim or in summary in future publications or presentations but that such quotes will be anonymised

Name of Participant   Date   Signature

Name of Researcher   Date   Signature

Name of Person taking consent   Date   Signature

(if different from researcher)

Note: When completed 1 copy for participant and 1 copy for researcher