

Seeing Culture by Ear

The Function of Radio Broadcasting in
the Socialisation and Cultivation of Two Communities in Northern Japan

Jeanine Hoogerbrug

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by drs. J.E. Hoogerbrug

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Contents

TRANSCRIPTIONS	IV
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	V
INTRODUCTION	1
SECTION I: RADIO STUDIES – CONCEPTS AND METHODOLOGY	
1. RADIO BROADCASTING AND ITS SOCIETAL FUNCTION	6
1.1 RADIO STUDIES	7
1.1.1 <i>Studies on Radio</i>	8
1.1.2 <i>Radio Studies as an Academic Discipline</i>	9
1.1.3 <i>Contemporary Radio Studies</i>	10
1.2 POSITIONING RADIO IN EVERYDAY LIFE	12
1.2.1 <i>Media Convergence and Community Radio</i>	14
1.2.2 <i>Radio's Influence on Society: Social Capital and Uchi 内 and Soto 外</i>	17
1.2.3 <i>Analysing Community Radio via Cultural Indicators</i>	20
SECTION II: ANALYSING COMMUNITY RADIO IN JAPAN	
2. RADIO BROADCASTING IN JAPAN	23
2.1 THREE IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO RADIO IN JAPAN	23
2.2 LISTENING RATES AND THE POPULARITY OF RADIO	25
2.3 BROADCASTING ON DIFFERENT LEVELS	27
2.3.1 <i>National Radio and Regional/Prefectural Radio</i>	27
2.3.2 <i>Community Radio</i>	30
2.3.3 <i>Receiving (Community) Radio Inside and Outside of Japan</i>	35
3. FILLING THE AIRWAVES: RADIO CONTENT ANALYSIS	37
3.1 PROGRAMMING: WHAT IS BEING BROADCAST	38
3.1.1 <i>Morning Messages</i>	39
3.1.2 <i>Lunchtime Line-up</i>	44
3.1.3 <i>Afternoon Announcements and Finishing the Day</i>	47
3.2 TIMETABLE: WHICH INFORMATION IS EMPHASISED	51
3.2.1 <i>Practical Information</i>	52
3.2.2 <i>Everyday Stories</i>	52
3.2.3 <i>Education and Special Interest Corners</i>	52
3.2.4 <i>Music</i>	53
3.3 QUALIFYING: HOW ARE TOPICS DISCUSSED	54
3.3.1 <i>Health, Safety and Money Matters</i>	54
3.3.2 <i>Attention for the Community and What Lies Beyond</i>	55
3.3.3 <i>Stimulating Local Culture, Language and History</i>	56
3.4 MATCHING: WHICH ELEMENTS ARE COMBINED	58
3.5 SAME INTENTION, DIFFERENT ROUTES	59
CONCLUSION	62
WORKS CITED	65
APPENDICES	72

Transcriptions

Following Japanese conventions, this thesis structures Japanese personal names by first mentioning the surname/family and then the given name. No distinction is made based on the person's (current) geographical living and/or working position (e.g. Japan, the United States or The Netherlands). When the source is in Japanese, the authors name is added in characters to the Works Cited List. Furthermore, when it comes to terms, titles, cities or short quotations, this thesis includes the pronunciation (italicised), the Japanese characters and (if needed) the translation. The pronunciation is transcribed following the *Hepburn*-system. This means that to indicate a long vowel, a-o-u receive a macron (¯) and e-i are followed by another 'i' when written as such in Japanese or also a macron when it is lengthened in katakana script.

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“I swam the oceans, I saw the cities, I climbed the mountain tops and you were with me,
And when I came home, your arms were open and I felt protection in that moment

...

In your own way, with your own two hands, you gave me everything I needed every single time,
So I say: hey, even in hard times, you are the hope that I believe in, You’re my peace of mind”

-- “The Artist Inside” by Don Diablo featuring JP Cooper (2012), heard on Dutch radio

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Introduction

“As every radio listener knows, it’s amazing how much you can see with your ears.”¹

-- Epigram (or ‘pot-shot’) by Ashleigh Brilliant, number 5892

Even though it is meant as an entertaining *epigram*, the quote above expresses a very truthful sentiment at the same time. As the oldest broadcasting medium,² radio has had a long history of informing and entertaining its listeners worldwide. Whether it is through a car radio, home audio set or public speakers (think of events, malls or the *shōtengai* 商店街 (shopping arcades) in Japan), radio broadcasts are commonplace and provide their audiences with information, like emergency reports, the news, the weather, traffic and current affairs and entertainment in the form of music, talk shows, documentaries, radio plays/dramas or quizzes. As is also the case for other media that eventually followed radio (e.g. television or the internet), this combination of informing, entertaining and educating,³ makes it possible for the ‘audio only’ medium to influence everyday life in several ways. This means that, returning to the epigram, radio listeners get to *see* more of the world than just the latest changes in the music charts.

This ability of radio to convey different messages in different forms to different people, makes it interesting for scholars to study the medium.⁴ Especially sociologists and anthropologists who, albeit with separate methods, explore the workings of societies and the (social) actions of peoples,^{5/6} can find an interesting angle of analyses in radio broadcasts. Why this is the case is clearly expressed by journalist and scholar Adam Clayton Powell III in his contribution to Pease and Dennis’ *Radio: The Forgotten Medium* (1997). Resembling the wit in Ashleigh’s epigram, Powell entitled his essay “You Are What You *Hear*” (emphasis added)⁷ as opposed to the general expression ‘you are what you eat’. Summarizing his essay, radio is

¹ For more epigrams like this, see Brilliant’s website: “Ashleigh Brilliant – Home Page,” Ashleigh Brilliant, accessed July 19, 2016, <https://www.ashleighbrilliant.com/>.

² Edward C. Pease and Everette E. Dennis, “Introduction,” in *Radio: The Forgotten Medium*, ed. Edward C. Pease and Everette E. Dennis (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1997), xv.

³ Bertolt Brecht, “Radio as a Means of Communication: A Talk on the Function of Radio,” *Screen* 20.3-4 (1979), 26.

⁴ The words ‘medium’ and its plural ‘media’ refer to a means through which communication becomes possible. Radio is a broadcasting medium, just like television. The integration or *convergence* of media will be discussed in a later chapter.

⁵ John Monaghan and Peter Just, *Social and Cultural Anthropology A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 19.

⁶ Steve Bruce, *Sociology A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 25.

⁷ Adam Clayton Powell III, “You Are What You Hear,” in *Radio: The Forgotten Medium*, ed. Edward C. Pease and Everette E. Dennis (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1997), 75.

several things: “powerful,” “cheap,” “ubiquitous,” “diverse,” “fragmented,” and “community.”⁸ These characteristics of radio exist, because “[e]ach radio station tailors itself to a specific target audience, aiming to attract a specific group of people at a particular part of their day.”⁹ Just like television networks or newspapers, radio stations¹⁰ cater to personal or communal preferences. Listeners are free to choose from a wide range of radio stations offering various types of music, current events and their interpretation, popular disk jockeys and their small talk or a combination of these. This aspect of radio and its broadcasted programmes led Powell to conclude that “you are what you hear and you hear what you *choose* to be”¹¹ and even “hear what you *are*.” (emphasis added)¹² Radio appears to be influential on people’s lives, not just as some background audio, but also as an intentionally used *tool* for self-development and self-formation. In other words, radio has the power to *socialise* and *cultivate* its listeners.

This thesis (later on referred to as ‘study’ or ‘research’), therefore, works with the assumption that people will pick up certain things from what they hear (or see on other media related to these stations) and will then almost certainly incorporate them into their own day-to-day lives.¹³ This usage¹⁴ of media and the assimilation of the messages and images it conveys, befits the idea of the postmodern character which is considered to be characterising for today’s cultural experiences. However, as media theorist Dan Laughey summarises, this would mean that there is no “authentic reality or way of representing it”.¹⁵ And indeed, when looking at the level of *community radio* and the programmes which are being broadcast, it is important to keep in mind that there might be certain hidden intentions (for example, promoting dairy produced in southern Hokkaidō as the best option out there) which do not really adhere to reality (perhaps the cheese from eastern Hokkaidō has better quality).

To prevent an unrealistic focus on *the* identity features present or *the* cultural elements that represent a region, one of the aims of the following study is to look more at the socialising and cultivating potential of radio in combination with possible identity indicators. Formulated more broadly, it wishes to analyse the phenomenon of community radio in (northern) Japan and

⁸ Ibid., 75-77.

⁹ Ibid., 77.

¹⁰ This study uses the terms ‘radio station’ and ‘radio network’ interchangeably, but is aware of the fact that this is not necessarily always the case.

¹¹ Ibid., 77.

¹² Ibid., 79.

¹³ John B. Thompson, *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1995), 207.

¹⁴ The word ‘usage’ here assumes an active listener who is aware of why and how he or she uses radio. The popular *uses and gratifications model* was the first theory in which this agency was acknowledged and this study also considers the radio listener to be active.

¹⁵ Dan Laughey, *Media Studies: Theories and Approaches* (Herts: Kamera Books, 2009), 81.

the type of content it uses in its programmes broadcasted to then see how radio has a function within the socialisation and cultivation process of its listeners. The second aim is a more general introduction of a radio study and the exploration of the medium in a (local) Japanese context. To translate these two ambitions to a more comprised format, this study will work on the following two-tiered and partially hypothetically formulated research question:

Why can community radio be understood as a medium which is able to socialise and cultivate the members of the community it serves and *how* is this illustrated by stations in northern Japan?

For the sake of clarity, this study uses the definition of *socialisation* as it is formulated by sociology professor John Macionis. According to him, socialisation is “the lifelong social experience by which people develop their human potential and learn culture.”¹⁶ It is influenced by agents, like family, schools and mass media and is expressed through social interactions. When trying to find out how a radio station contributes to the socialisation of a listener, these interactions are of importance. From the perspective of mass media, which radio is, the influence exerted will be mainly aimed at secondary and tertiary socialisation, in other words how to properly behave as a member of a group (a community) and how the mass media offer values and norms related to this behaviour. And even though socialisation already includes culture, a more specific definition of *cultivation* might be useful. In this study, the cultivation of people means their education in cultural knowledge and the general contributions that are being made to their cultural identity. This cultural identity is understood to be an identity marked by social distinction based on shared experiences, both within a group and among individuals, and it is guided by common symbols and values.¹⁷

To then answer this research question, the following study is roughly divided into two sections, chapter one and the chapters two and three. The first section aims to show the contemporary value of radio studies and it will introduce the general field of radio studies, the circulating concepts it employs and how radio can be linked to socialisation, cultivation and identity. It will also look at the future of radio studies and how other types of (social) media are becoming increasingly tied into the creation of radio as a whole. One major model which will be introduced in this chapter is the *cultural indicators* model by George Gerbner. It is one of the

¹⁶ John Macionis, *Sociology* (Boston: Pearson, 2012), 102.

¹⁷ David Willis and Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu, “Transcultural Japan: Metamorphosis in the cultural borderlands and beyond,” in *Transcultural Japan: At the borderlands of race, gender, and identity*, ed. David Willis and Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu, (Oxon: Routledge, 2008), 19.

models that can be used to shape a research from an “audience-cum-content” perspective. This methodology means that the study acknowledges the importance of both media content and the agency of its audiences.¹⁸ Gerbner’s model emphasises the content portion of this method and this study will do so as well. The *cultural indicators* model will be used as an analysis form to academically study media content and its cultivating abilities and it will serve as a blueprint for the second section which places radio in a Japanese context.

Chapter two will shed more light on the current radio landscape as it exists within Japan. Inspired by Gerbner’s discussion of *institutions* (one of the indicators from the model), this chapter will introduce the different players in the realm of Japanese radio by discussing developments of radio within Japan, its current popularity and the different levels of broadcasting. A further emphasis will be made on community radio as well. There already exist several studies on community radio in areas like the United Kingdom, Australia, the United States of America and South-Africa in which this socialising and cultivating ability of radio is explored, but less so in a Japanese context. As such, perhaps future scholars might benefit from this chapter in their own research into Japanese media.

The third and final chapter will address two community radio stations from the northern region of Japan. The choice for this northern region, or the prefectures Aomori 青森 and Hokkaidō 北海道 to be more specific, is both personal and academic. The region is peripheral, meaning distant from central Japan (the Tōkyō-Kyōto-Ōsaka area). And even though this study does claim to be the first to do so, the amount of academic study on Japan’s northern periphery could do with more attention, especially from a media perspective. Personal interest in the region was evoked by random listening to radio stations from this area. This is usage of Japanese radio was meant to advance Japanese language skills and has ultimately led to this elaborate study on the workings and functions of the radio stations. The third chapter will analyse the radio content from two of these community radio stations to ultimately find out the extent to which they reflect socialising and cultivating tendencies.

The first is *efu emu Wakkanai* エフエム稚内 (also known as FM 稚内 or FM わっぴー (*Wappy*)), broadcasting from Japan’s northernmost city Wakkanai 稚内 in Hokkaidō prefecture. The other station is *bī efu emu* ビーエフエム (also known as BeFM), from the Aomori prefecture city Hachinohe 八戸. Using Gerbner’s *message system analysis*, a term which will be further explained in chapter one, this third chapter has been divided into four dimensions, namely that of

¹⁸ Klaus Bruhn Jensen, “Media reception: qualitative traditions,” in *A Handbook of Media and Communication Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methodologies*, ed. Klaus Bruhn Jensen (Oxon: Routledge, 2012), 178.

existence, priorities, values and relationships. A fifth paragraph will then briefly go into the major differences found and what they may indicate. The material for this analysis has been collected between July 2015 and August 2016 and is taken from the radio stations respective websites, Facebook pages and/or Twitter feeds, recordings of their online broadcasts and fieldwork done in the Summer of 2015, when the author visited both cities, observed both radio stations and interviewed the FM Wappy chairman of the board of directors Mrs Katō Yumi 加藤由美.

With these three chapters, this study attempts to find out what radio and radio studies is able to *show* academia, what Japanese radio listeners get to ‘see’ when they tune into their favourite (community) radio stations and why these stations can be eye-opening for scholars researching the radio and communities.

1. Radio Broadcasting and its Societal Function

“No sports, no rock, no information; for mindless chatter, we’re your station.”¹⁹

-- Slogan/Jingle of the KBBL Radio Station, *The Simpsons* (1989-)

Depending on which radio station is playing, it is possible to perceive radio as only broadcasting chitchat or music. This element of being able to passively or ‘mindlessly’ consuming radio is indeed part of its attraction for some.²⁰ However, very few radio stations will agree that this is all that radio has to offer and neither will the academic discipline of Radio Studies. In short, radio is also very much able to impact its listeners by giving them socialising and cultivating cues and it frequently requires an active participation of its audiences. Therefore, in an attempt to answer the first half of this study’s main question, it is important to get a better theoretical understanding of *how* the medium of (community) radio can contribute to everyday life. By introducing the historical development of Radio Studies, the first portion of chapter one will show that already early on, scholars saw and recognised the possibly socialising and cultivating impacts of radio on its audiences (albeit mainly a direct effect on behaviour) b. In the second half of this chapter, certain terms and models produced by these media and radio academics will further indicate the ability of radio being a socialising and cultivating medium. Also providing tools for the later analysis of the Japanese community radio stations FM Wappy and BeFM, special attention will be given to concepts like the worldwide phenomenon of *media convergence*, *social capital* and the more Japan specific appearance of the *uchi* 内 (lit. ‘inside’) / *soto* 外 (lit. ‘outside’) distinction within media as proposed by culture and media scholar Takahashi Toshie. The *cultural indicators* project as visualised by George Gerbner will then be discussed as a model which guides and inspires the second and third chapter of this research.

Because of its emphasis on radio’s socializing and cultivating function, this study will largely ignore the historical development of radio as a medium. For radio in general, it will suffice that during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, several scientists were working on transforming radio waves (discovered by the German physicist Heinrich Rudolf Hertz’ (1857-1894)) into a usable form of communication.²¹ Other physicists like the Russian Aleksandr Popov (1859-1906), the French Édouard Branly (1844-1940) and the Italian and German Nobel

¹⁹ “Sideshow Bob Roberts,” *The Simpsons*, created by Matt Groening (1994; Los Angeles, CA: 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2007), DVD: 0:13 - 0:19 minutes.

²⁰ Guy Starkey, “Radio Studies: The Sound and Vision of an Established Medium in the Digital Age,” *Sociology Compass* 6.11 (2012), 851.

²¹ Andrew Crisell, *Understanding Radio* (London: Routledge, 1994), 17.

Prize winners Guglielmo Marconi (1874-1937) and Ferdinand Braun (1850-1918) later on contributed to the development of the ‘wireless’, eventually becoming ‘radio’. First used on a small scale by the military and a few individual radio enthusiasts, radio quickly turned into a real ‘broadcasting’ medium with the help of governments and corporations which began to see its public and commercial value. After the first long-distance voice transmission was achieved by Marconi in 1901,²² Canadian Reginald Fessenden was able to create a first broadcast with words and music in 1906 and in 1920, the first ‘regular radio broadcast’ was produced by KDKA Radio from Pittsburgh. With his dream of “a simple Radio Music Box ... arranged for several wavelengths which should be changeable with the throwing of a single switch or pressing a single button,”²³ David Sarnoff (1891-1971) was one of the first to work on *personal* radio receivers and since 1921 radio and radio broadcasting have had a steady existence in people’s everyday lives. However, the development of Radio Studies has been less gradual.

1.1 Radio Studies

When hearing the word ‘radio’, several images may come to mind: the invisible radio waves transferring sounds, the material object of a radio receiver, a mast emanating radio waves, radio studios with their lit “on air”-signs or the music/talk shows (‘content’) coming from your speakers. Finding out what defines the discipline of Radio Studies, also means clarifying what is actually meant with the word ‘radio’. During the 2007 *Radio Conference* at the University of Lincoln, UK, media and culture scholar Kate Lacey also brought up this difficulty of definition and eventually concluded by saying that “[r]adio’ is always both an abstracted idea (albeit a product of social action) and a material reality. The real challenge, then, is to recognise that in our work [that of scholars focussing on ‘radio’] and to tease out the dialectical tensions between them.”²⁴ In other words, it is possible to address all the examples given above and possible others under the heading Radio Studies. However, to narrow down the field for practicality, this research will focus on the final (and perhaps the fourth) expression of radio. The content of the radio programmes and the characteristics of radio stations that create them are the most useful sources of information in answering questions about radio’s connection to socialisation,

²² Stephen Barnard, *Studying Radio* (London: Arnold, 2000), 19.

²³ Asa Briggs and Peter Burke, *A Social History of the Media: From Gutenberg to the Internet* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), 152.

²⁴ Kate Lacey, “Ten years of radio studies: The very idea,” *The Radio Journal – International Studies in Broadcast and Audio Media* 6.1 (2008), 29.

cultivation and identity. The mechanics of how radio works (think of frequencies, electromagnetism or long/short wavelengths) will therefore be put aside.

1.1.1 Studies on Radio

Up until the 1980s, Radio Studies as an acknowledged discipline did not yet exist. However, this does not mean that studies on radio were absent. Staying close to this study's understanding of radio as primarily being radio program content, these types of research took off after the 1920s when radio broadcasting had started and people had the opportunity to buy a radio (receiver) if they had the funds for it.

Mapping the importance of radio in academia in the early twentieth century is difficult. On the one hand, radio and journalism professor Guy Starkey remarks that even though radio “was already a medium with considerable potential for systematic academic analysis”²⁵ in the 1930s, it was often “considered too benign a medium to be ‘taught’.”²⁶ Instead, more attention went to film and later on television. On the other hand, Takahashi identifies “[t]he 1940s ... as ‘the golden age of radio research’, especially because the tradition of media audience research was becoming much more firmly established at this time in American communication studies.”²⁷ It was also a period during which more and more scholars and radio producers and political figures began to acknowledge the strong effects of media on its consumers. Therefore, it is clear that already early on, scholars who used radio in their academic works focused mainly on the effects of radio on society and its pedagogical potential. For example, in 1928, US scholar Daniel Starch conducted one of the first audience ratings investigations and ²⁸ in 1935, public opinion scholar Hadley Cantril and psychologist Gordon Allport published their extensive work *The Psychology of Radio* in which they tried to give several ways of understanding radio, “a recent innovation that has introduced profound alterations in the outlook and social behavior of men ... a means of social control and epochal in its influence upon the mental horizons of men.”²⁹ Discussing, among other things, the influence of radio on social life, radio programmes, the difference between listening and reading and how radio could be used in education, this work is an example for many other studies on radio even today.

²⁵ Starkey, “Radio Studies, 846.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Takahashi Toshie, *Audience Studies: A Japanese Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 14.

²⁸ Hugh Malcolm Beville, *Audience Ratings: Radio, Television and Cable* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1988), 3.

²⁹ Hadley Cantril and Gordon W. Allport, *The Psychology of Radio* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1935), vii.

Studies on radio during the Second World War primarily focused on how radio could achieve its proven powerful effects, either as a positive impact on one's own forces or a negative influence on those of the enemy (radio as propaganda).³⁰ A return to a broader understanding of the effects of radio was mainly led by Paul Lazarsfeld and his fellow Columbia University colleagues. Working under a research program, they published several studies on the reinforcing effect of radio on behaviour.³¹ This emphasis on media effect on behaviour remained the essential focus of studies on radio throughout the 1950s and 1960s as well. Together with new ideas like Ted Newcomb's notion of *co-orientation* (media affects the perception of one person towards another, 1953) or Raymond Bauer's view on audiences being *obstinate* (communication effects require a 'give-and-take'-relationship between audience and communicator, 1964),³² the study of media began to find its own place within academia. In 1951, the academic journal *Hollywood Quarterly* changed its name to *The Quarterly of Film, Radio and Television*, now also including studies on radio, however, after seven years, they dropped their radio and television entirely by changing it again to *Film Quarterly* (1958). During the 1970s, studies on (social) behaviour and the functions of journalism or advertising took place in university departments and schools, but the focus on individual types of media had been lost to a broader understanding and study of 'media' as a whole or simply 'communication'.³³

1.1.2 Radio Studies as an Academic Discipline

A clearer starting point for academic research on radio on its own did not arrive until the founding of the Radio Academy in the United Kingdom in 1983. Still in business today, this academy "was formed to promote the discussion and appreciation of radio to some extent as an interface between the industry and academia."³⁴ Together with a shift of general academic interest from 'effects on behaviour' to the more 'constructional and cultivating ability of media', the 1980s saw the beginning of Radio Studies as a specified academic discipline.

One of the first works that (re-)took radio as its starting point was Andrew Crisell's *Understanding Radio* (1986). Discussing both the material object, its programming, radio related technical terms and audiences, this work is a good example of how radio could be singled out from the large pool of (broadcasting) media. In 1989, Peter M. Lewis and Jerry Booth published

³⁰ Daniel G. McDonald, "Twentieth-Century Media Effects Research," in *The SAGE Handbook of Media Studies*, ed. John D.H. Downing et al. (London: Sage Publications, 2004), 187-188.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 188.

³² *Ibid.*, 189-190.

³³ *Ibid.*, 190.

³⁴ Starkey, "Radio Studies," 847.

The Invisible Medium, in which they made a clear distinction between public, commercial and community radio in Britain. A scan of the sources used by Crisell and Lewis and Booth also shows how the large majority of works focussing on radio that they used is published in the 1980s. The gradually increasing publication of works on radio continued during the 1990s. Books like Paddy Scannell's *Radio, Television and Modern Life* (1996) used terms like 'sociability', 'identity' and 'dailiness' indicating a strong connection between radio (and television) and a sociological/cultural studies perspective, while Tim Crook's *Radio Drama: Theory and Practice* (1999) singled out a specific form of radio content which he then discussed extensively.

However, claiming to be the first to actually use the phrase 'Radio Studies' in its title was Hugh Chignell in 2009.³⁵ His *Key Concepts in Radio Studies* contains exactly what its title sets out to do. With chapters each discussing one concept (for example 'phone-ins', 'reception', 'pirate radio' or 'radiocracy'), this book is truly a go-to work for those looking for more knowledge of radio and what it means to study it. And even more contemporary works focussing on radio begin to include new media like social media and the self-evident existence of the Internet. Illustrating this is *Radio in the Digital Age* (2013), a contribution to the Digital Media and Society series by Polity Press by self-proclaimed 'radio academic' Andrew Dubber. This idea of radio having to find its new form in contemporary society and the modern-day media landscape means that studies on radio and the now more acknowledged discipline of Radio Studies has returned to the question of how technological developments will shape the medium. Starting in the 1920s, studying radio has gone from a large emphasis on technological research, to its direct effects on people's behaviour, leading on to its suitability for propaganda and later on its more reciprocal status which includes the active participation of its listeners.

1.1.3 Contemporary Radio Studies

Besides the influx of books and essays focussing on radio on its own, the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century also saw the start-up of three leading academic journals on radio. Only looking at English language journals, the *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* began its distribution in 1981. Although not focussing solely on radio, this journal did open up a platform for scholars working on radio and studying it in an interdisciplinary way. In 1992, the US Broadcast Education Association began their *Journal of*

³⁵ Hugh Chignell, *Key Concepts in Radio Studies* (London: Sage Publications, 2009), 1.

Radio Studies. Their mission was to become a “forum exclusively dedicated to radio studies.”³⁶ Currently known as the *Journal of Radio & Audio Media* (renamed in 2008) this journal’s diverse approach to radio (e.g. interdisciplinary and taking various methodological angles) this is still a large source of information on academic research within Radio Studies. The third and final journal was set up in 2003 under the name *The Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media*. In its opening editorial “On defining the field”, editor Ken Garner gives a specific, yet multi-faceted mission of this journal. In order for essays and articles to be considered for *The Radio Journal*, they should in some way relate to the field of study to which the journal wishes to contribute. He then defines this thusly:

“Our field of study is the production, reception and context of complex texts, whether broadcast, commodified or performative; which may employ various modes of communication (vocal, acoustic, musical, textual, and even visual) in their preparation or execution, but which are designed primarily to be received and understood via the ear.”³⁷

Including the different forms of radio (think of AM, FM, cable, DAB+, satellite or internet) and the various types of content, these three journals are the main fora for scholars working on the combination of radio and society.³⁸

Briefly turning to Radio Studies in Japan, it is complicated to identify branches of research which solely deal with radio. After the introduction of radio in the late 1910s and early 1920s, several magazines on *rajio* ラジオ or *rajio/razio* ラヂオ (both meaning ‘radio’, but the usage of the second form went out of style after 1941³⁹) were published. However, practically all of them focussed on radio technology and not so much on radio’s position in and effect on its listeners and society. Magazines like *musen to jikken* 無線と実験 (literally *Wireless/Radio and Experiments*, currently also known as *Audio Technology MJ*, 1924) and *rajio kagaku* ラジオ科学 (*Radio Science*, 1933) mainly discussed the workings of radios and the latest technological developments. For a large part, radio (and television) culture was and is conducted by the NHK Radio and Television Culture Research Institute (currently known as the NHK Broadcasting

³⁶ Frank J. Chorba and Martin P. LoMonaco, “The Journal of Radio Studies: An Introduction,” *Journal of Radio Studies* 1 (1992), ix.

³⁷ Ken Garner, “Editorial: On defining the field,” *The Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media* 1.1 (2003), 6.

³⁸ There is also the *International Journal of Radio Frequency Identification, Technology and Applications* (2006-), however, considering its technological focus it has been excluded from this study.

³⁹ Takahashi Yūzō 高橋雄造, *Rajio no rekishi: kōsaku no ‘bunka’ to denshi kōgyō no ayumi* ラジオの歴史: 工作の(文化)と電子工業のあゆみ (The History of Radio: The Advancement of the ‘Culture’ of Manufacturing and the Electronics Industry) (Tōkyō: Hōsei University Publishing, 2011), 25.

Culture Research Institute).⁴⁰ Through surveys on ratings, ‘how-do-people-spend-their-time’ and analyses of programmes, this institute kept track on media (and therefore radio) effects on Japanese society. The presence of Radio Studies at Japanese universities is more difficult to trace, because no real academic journal covering the subject exists. In general, different departments at universities keep their own journal or magazine and many universities offer programmes on media or communication. For now, this study will not further explore Radio Studies conducted at various universities, but later chapters will use sources coming from these university specific journals indicating the existence of academic studies into radio and its societal/cultural effects by Japanese scholars.

The three English language journals and the comparatively low level of publications on radio in general has led several authors working on radio and Radio Studies to the idea that radio is a ‘forgotten’, ‘invisible’, or ‘secondary’ medium. Compared to other types of media like film, television, newspapers or magazines (and nowadays digital media as well), radio might indeed be a less common field of inquiry, however, it has not become a ‘disappeared’ medium just yet. “Radio, though, notwithstanding the longevity that certainly justifies the less pejorative term ‘established’ medium,” Starkey emphasises, “is also engaged with new media and other digital initiatives that ... promise to bring new dimensions to it and to the ways in which it may be theorised and taught in the classroom.”⁴¹ This is why the current study will also take a brief look at the combination of radio and other types of media in paragraph 1.2.3. Besides this, the second half of this first chapter will shed more light on the socialising and cultivating effects of radio on its listeners and how especially community radio stations like FM Wappy and BeFM are able to contribute to these processes.

1.2 Positioning Radio in Everyday Life

As the previous paragraphs have shown, this study does not claim to be the first in proposing a connection between a medium, like radio, and a collective’s culture and/or identity, like those existent within communities. In her guide to Media Studies, media scholar Joanne Hollows also mentions this ability of media. Among the ten most important reasons as to why scholars should study media (and therefore radio), she mentions how “media play a key role in defining values and ideas ... shape how people understand identities ... impact ... audiences [and] shape the

⁴⁰ NHK History Compilation Room: Radio and TV Culture Research Institute, *The History of Broadcasting in Japan* (Tōkyō: NHK, 1967), 319.

⁴¹ Starkey, “Radio Studies,” 848.

everyday life.”⁴² Not claiming that radio has an identifiable direct impact on the behaviour of its listeners, this study does consider radio to have an influence on the social and cultural shaping of community identity. It therefore agrees with Hollows when she writes that

“[m]edia play an important role in constructing a sense of shared identity and belonging ... Members of a nation can feel a sense of unity and a common identity as they watch television footage of important news or sporting events. When they do this, people are not only engaged in the same practices, but many experience a sense of national belonging and a connection to other members of the nation ... However, identities are not just constructed on the basis of similarity. They are also constructed through difference. The meaning of one identity is defined through its contrast to other identities.”⁴³

Replacing the words ‘nation’ and ‘television’ with ‘community’ and ‘radio’, this explanation by Hollows illustrates a main thought in this study. Not only is community radio able to create a unified sense of belonging, it also allows studying the differences between communities (in this case Hokkaidō versus Aomori).

This description of identity is in line with the famous concept of *imagined communities*, a term coined by Benedict Anderson to indicate how people can still consider themselves part of a collective without ever seeing/meeting the other members of this group in real life.⁴⁴ Radio is perfectly able to solve these physical and sociological distances which could keep people separated from each other. Providing this solution, radio is an interesting tool in this creation of an (imagined) community. It is able to achieve more than only informing people about the latest news, traffic jams or traffic reports. This study works under the assumption that radio stations highlight recognisable linguistic and cultural elements, appealing to peoples existing sense of belonging and by making this obtainable for everybody within (and outside!) the community it serves.

To show how this translates to the everyday practice of FM Wappy and BeFM, it is important to have certain analytical tools or terms which are able to connect the actual radio content to the more academic ideas of socialisation, cultivation and identity making. This is why the following three paragraphs will discuss three main concepts which will help in understanding how radio is able to impact people’s lives (*media convergence*, *social capital* and the Japanese

⁴² Joanne Hollows, *Media Studies: A Complete Introduction* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2016), 5.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁴⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1991), 6.

uchi/soto distinction in combination with media) and one model which will be the guiding tool for chapters two and three (the *cultural indicators* model as designed by George Gerbner).

1.2.1 Media Convergence and Community Radio

It has hopefully become apparent that radio and Radio studies has not yet disappeared. In fact, it has “a vibrant present and enviable potential for future development.”⁴⁵ And not only in countries with high listening rates, like the US or The Netherlands. Also in Japan, the era of radio is not necessarily over. The argumentation behind this belief in a future for radio is mainly twofold. First is the proven status of radio (it is an ‘established’ medium) and the high degree of integration it has into people’s everyday lives. In her article on contemporary radio, communications scholar Maura Edmond summarises the opinions of other scholars on radio when she states that “[r]adio continues to be seen as intimate, personal, trustworthy, exploratory, live and immediate.”⁴⁶ Because people are so used to listening to the radio in, for example, their cars, at work or in times of need, radio broadcasting has earned its place as a useful and entertaining medium.

Second is the phenomenon of *media convergence*. At first, radio appeared to be “slow to get out of the gate in respect to the utilisation of new technologies.”⁴⁷ However, it has managed to quickly catch up and radio is now very much cooperating with other types of media. In his authoritative work *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (2006), media scholar Henry Jenkins defines this act of media convergence as a

“flow of content across multiple media platforms, the cooperation between multiple media industries, and the migratory behavior of media audiences who will go almost anywhere in search of the kinds of entertainment experiences they want ... In the world of media convergence, every important story gets told, every brand gets sold, and every consumer gets courted across multiple media platforms ... This circulation of media content ... depends heavily on consumers’ active participation.”⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Starkey, “Radio Studies,” 853.

⁴⁶ Maura Edmond, “All platforms considered: Contemporary radio and transmedia engagement,” *New Media & Society* 17.9 (2015), 1569.

⁴⁷ Dhyana Ziegler, “Commentary: Radio as Numbers: Counting Listeners in a Big Data World,” *Journal of Radio & Audio Media* 23.1 (2016), 182.

⁴⁸ Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 2-3.

Even listeners who are tuning in through the most basic analogue radio will soon realise that modern-day radio programmes no longer limit themselves to their ‘air wave’ form alone and that they invite their listeners to participate through other media platforms as well. Listeners are asked to respond via e-mail, Twitter, Facebook or personal messaging services like WhatsApp or Line (especially in Japan), DJ’s post pictures on Instagram, webcams show the inside of the radio studio and during happenings like the Dutch *Top2000* (NPO Radio 2) or *Serious Request* (NPO 3FM), special television programmes are made to support the radio based event. This media convergence enables the producers of radio to strengthen their engagement with their audiences and it intensifies the bond between listeners and a particular radio station.

Crossmedia and Transmedia

Media convergence can be further divided into two types, which, also in the case of community radio like FM Wappy and BeFM, do not necessarily need to rule each other out. The first is known as *crossmedia*. Scholars and those working in the media industry use this term to indicate “an intellectual property, service, story or experience that is distributed across multiple media platforms using a variety of media forms.”⁴⁹ This usage of various media is to strengthen a brand or, coming back to radio, a particular radio station itself. The examples from the previous paragraph fall under this concept of crossmedia. Even small-scale community radio stations cannot escape the necessity of having a website or Facebook profile to support their programming. It provides the listeners with extra information and allows the radio station to present themselves more often and on a larger scope.

What separates the second term of *transmedia* from crossmedia is the presence of a continuing narrative. According to Jenkins, transmedia storytelling involves a story which “unfolds across multiple media platforms, with each new text making a distinctive and valuable contribution to the whole.”⁵⁰ So instead of having multiple media platforms strengthening the range of, for example, a particular radio station or radio programme, transmedia refers to a narrative which spreads out across different types of media, each adding to the narrative. This process is not unheard of in Japan. When it comes to popular culture narratives, cultural anthropologist Ito Mizuko sees this transmedia storytelling in child products like *Pokémon* and *Yu-Gi-Oh!* and refers to it as a *media mix*. To fully enjoy or experience the product, consumers are expected to participate in the constructed “pervasive mass-media ecologies that integrate in-

⁴⁹ Indrek Ibrus and Carlos A. Scolari, “Introduction: Crossmedia innovation?” in *Crossmedia Innovations: Texts, Markets, Institutions*, ed. Indrek Ibrus and Carlos A. Scolari (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012), 7.

⁵⁰ Jenkins, *Convergence Culture*, 95-96.

home media such as television and game consoles, location-based media such as cinema and special events, and portable media such as trading cards and handheld games.”⁵¹ In fact, Japan knows many of these media mix narratives with anime, manga, games, films, theatre or audio-cd’s all working together to expand the story. And this idea does not only apply for popular culture narratives, but could also be used in the context of socialising and cultivating members of a certain community and promoting a certain city or area in particular. This will be explored in more detail in chapter two.

Added Value of Media Convergence for Community Radio

The mentioning of media convergence, crossmedia and transmedia in this study is intentional. Zooming in on community radio, this cooperation between radio and other media is frequent and meaningful. It takes away the common one-sidedness of radio and makes it an *engagement medium*. This is especially important for community media, because they are looking for this connection with their audience to heighten their bond to the community they broadcast to. From a *crossmedia* point of view, community radio makers employ other media platforms to strengthen the popularity of their station and to provide their listeners with more information. People are able to see more of the activities which are performed by the radio station and social media allow people to participate (for example by giving written responses or seeing and hearing themselves back). From a *transmedia* perspective, community radio becomes part of a larger project. This means that the narrative to which they contribute is that of a unified community. Together with other institutions, like local governments, shop-owners, museum holders and other media, like television or newspapers, community radio adds to the construction of a shared community feeling, or community identity. Hence, referring back to the main question of this study as to how these radio stations achieve this, the process of media convergence is a phenomenon to be kept in mind as well. This is why the analysis of FM Wappy and BeFM will also use their social media output and look at the connections of these radio stations to the local government and other institutions within the community.

⁵¹ Ito Mizuko, “Technologies of the Childhood Imagination: *Yu-Gi-Oh!*, Media Mixes, and Everyday Cultural Production,” in *Structures of Participation in Digital Culture*, ed. Joe Karaganis (New York: Social Science Research Council, 2007), 91.

1.2.2 Radio's Influence on Society: Social Capital and *Uchi* 内 and *Soto* 外

To measure the effects of a medium like radio on a collective or, on a larger scale, society, it is possible to look at the existence and level of *social capital* within said group. Adding to this concept, this paragraph also includes the Japanese distinction of *uchi* 内 and *soto* 外, because it also deals with personal connections and the varying levels of intimacy which are more or less beneficial for the individual and the collective. Both *social capital* and the *uchi/soto*-concept are of interest, because they are able to say more about the relations within a community and how radio might affect these connections.

Radio and Social Capital

Bringing it down to its basic form, John Field explains social capital as coming from relationships between people. They “connect through a series of networks and they tend to share common values with other members of these networks; to the extent that these networks constitute a resource, they may be seen as forming a kind of capital.”⁵² Even though this social capital is difficult to measure, it would be possible to say that radio has an influence on the degree and nature of these relationships and thus on the extent of social capital within a group. Whether this influence is positive or negative is less clear-cut.

On the negative side of the scale, political scientist Robert Putnam's famous work *Bowling Alone* (2000) on social capital and community suggests an unfavourable effect of media on communities and its level of social capital. His main argument was that in America, a general trend of weakening community bonds and decreasing social capital was visible⁵³ and that radio had an ambiguous position within this decline.⁵⁴ This time in an Indonesian context, economist Benjamin Olken agrees with Putnam that an increase of television and radio usage has “substantial negative impacts ... on participation in a wide range of village activities ... particularly ... among community self-improvement activities, neighbourhood associations, school committees, and informal saving groups.”⁵⁵ When people decide to spend more time on viewing television or listening to their radio, the effects on social capital build-up would apparently be negative. However, Putnam has not emphasised the possibility of radio being part of a transmedial narrative aimed at improving community bonds and Olken has left out the

⁵² John Field, *Social Capital* (Oxon: Routledge, 2008), 1.

⁵³ Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), 26.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 426.

⁵⁵ Benjamin Olken, “Do Television and Radio Destroy Social Capital? Evidence from Indonesian Villages,” *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper 12561* (2006), 2.

element of media convergence as well. In other words, he only focused on the time people used on either television or radio (and therefore time not used in communal activities), neglecting the constructing ability of social capital through interactions through, for example, the radio stations Facebook page or Twitter feed. This is of course obvious, because both were practically inexistent in 2000 and 2006.

A more positive stance towards radio and social capital is therefore taken by Kanayama Tomoko in her essay “Community Radio and the Tōhoku Earthquake.”⁵⁶ Kanayama also refers to Putnam and his observation of decreasing social capital. However, she sees community radio as a solution for this decline: “[t]he experience of voluntary, collaborative activities for community FM may well lay the foundation for social capital in the community.”⁵⁷ The usage of Facebook and Twitter added to the improved position of community radio stations (and their temporary forms of ‘emergency-broadcasting FM’) within the affected Tōhoku areas in times of need. This current study wishes to show the same positive effect of community radio on its community, even without the undesirable occurrence of a (natural) disaster.

Radio and the *Uchi / Soto* Distinction

When starting of an inquiry into Japanese society, the combination of the terms *uchi* 内 (lit. ‘inside’) and *soto* 外 (lit. ‘outside’) will often pop up. This idea has been criticised for “emphasising the uniqueness of Japanese people and culture”⁵⁸ and as such being part of *Nihonjinron* 日本人論 studies (lit. ‘theories on the Japanese’), a field often considered as over-emphasising a unique Japanese homogeneity and having a somewhat nationalistic undertone. However, it is still an often used frame of looking at Japanese society and the social relationships within it. Especially known through the works of Japanese social anthropologist Nakane Chie 中根千枝 and psychoanalyst Doi Takeo 土居健郎, the *uchi/soto* distinction is basically aimed at sorting out social relations of an individual with people close to him/her (*uchi*) and with people who are seen as more distant (*soto*). A better and more inclusive explanation is given by social psychologist Takata Toshitake when he writes

“[t]he *Uchi* (inner) relationship applies to those people with whom we have a strong emotional bond, such as relatives, *those living in a same community*, or those belonging to a same group or

⁵⁶ The phrase Tōhoku Earthquake refers to the Tōhoku Earthquake and Tsunami which hit the nation on March 11th, 2011. It left the Tōhoku area (the area above Tōkyō and below Hokkaidō) severely damaged and, relevant for this study, resulted in the founding of several new *emergency* radio stations.

⁵⁷ Kanayama Tomoko, “Community Radio and the Tōhoku Earthquake,” *International Journal of Japanese Sociology* 21 (2012), 34.

⁵⁸ Takahashi, *Audience Studies*, 57.

organization ... *Soto* (outer) relationship, on the other hand, applies to those with whom one has no intimate relatedness and those whom one tends to disregard, be hostile to, and compete with.” (emphasis added)⁵⁹

This understanding of *uchi* and *soto* allows for the consideration of people within the same community as oneself to be seen as close-tied, as connected, as *uchi*. In her perception of *uchi*, Nakane Chie saw a necessity of *uchi* contact to be “maintained by constant face-to-face activity so as to nurture the flame.”⁶⁰ However, as Anderson indicated, Takata mentions and Takahashi Toshie assumes, it is possible for people within a certain community (even a larger one like complete village or city) to experience an *uchi* type of connection with those around them, while not having to know all of them personal. And this is where community media like newspapers, television and radio come in.

To incorporate the terms *uchi* and *soto* in her research on Japanese (media) audiences, Takahashi Toshie rephrases her understanding of *uchi* to be more flexible compared to Nakane. To her an *uchi* represents a social interaction⁶¹ opposed to static circles, like family, clubs or work. It does not really matter on which level these interactions take place (from person to person contact in real life to unknown interactions online), because they are all supplemented by media and ‘new’ technologies, like mobile phones and the internet. “These different types of *uchi*,” Takahashi concludes, “coexist and people reflexively create and recreate them through their mediated, non-mediated and quasi-mediated interaction, often adaptive to external changes.”⁶² As long as the social interaction, or *uchi*, is able to provide security, freedom and comfort,⁶³ it is an important part of the person’s socialisation and cultivation.

In the case of (community) radio, the broadcasted messages are a context for the audience by which they can create themselves as more or less belonging to the close community, a possible form of *uchi*, as it is intended by the radio makers and other socialising institutions like the government, schools, religious organisations or local business owners. Community radio offers its listeners the opportunity to follow the ‘weal and woe’ of their fellow community members through content such as the news, police reports, reports on local sports clubs, commercials, local event coverage, brief documentaries and literature readings. And because it is relatively small-scale, it can also give people the opportunity to create their own content. As

⁵⁹ Takata Toshitake, “Self-Enhancement and Self-Criticism in Japanese Culture: An Experimental Analysis,” *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 34.5 (2003), 543.

⁶⁰ Nakane Chie, *Japanese Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 135.

⁶¹ Takahashi, *Audience Studies*, 121.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 141.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 113.

such, community radio brings the community closer, strengthens the identification of its listeners with the community and enables them to experience a social interaction with their surroundings without having to know all the members of the collective personally. And this feeling of closeness and the community as *uchi* will then also be beneficial for the growth of social capital as it was earlier desired by Kanayama.

1.2.3 Analysing Community Radio via Cultural Indicators

Besides the concepts of *media convergence*, *social capital* and the community as *uchi*, this study on community radio will lastly use the analysing approach as first designed by media scholar George Gerbner (1919-2005). To create a framework through which the “relationships between message systems, corporate forms and functions, collective image-formation, and public policy”⁶⁴ could be investigated, Gerbner proposed his cultivation theory, also referred to as the *Cultural Indicators* model. Despite being criticised for its lack of allowing multiple interpretations⁶⁵ of symbols and the difficulty of categorising different types of users (how often do people use a certain medium?)⁶⁶, Gerbner’s approach to cultivation has remained popular. Also, the application of his method has expanded beyond the initially studied medium of television and its effect on behaviour through violent imagery.

The ‘three-prongs’ in the *Cultural Indicators* Model

Gerbner’s *Cultural Indicators* model consists of three levels of analysis which show how “[c]ultivation is ... a continual dynamic, ongoing process of interactions among messages, audiences, and contexts.”⁶⁷ These are the *institutional process analysis*, the *message system analysis* and the *cultivation analysis*.⁶⁸ By studying these three elements within (mass) media, Gerbner sees it possible to get to a better understanding of cultivation. It not only enables scholars to explore the impacts of messages on the audiences, but also takes the institutions that produce the messages and the actual messages themselves into account.

⁶⁴ George Gerbner, “Cultural Indicators: The Case of Violence in Television Drama,” *The Annals of The American Academy* 388 (1970), 71.

⁶⁵ Michael Morgan, *George Gerbner: A Critical Introduction to Media and Communication Theory* (New York: Peter Lang, 2012), 144.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 147.

⁶⁷ Michael Morgan, James Shanahan and Nancy Signorielli, “Growing Up with Television: Cultivation Processes,” in *Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research*, ed. Jennings Bryant and Mary Beth Oliver (New York: Routledge, 2009), 38.

⁶⁸ Morgan, *George Gerbner*, 56.

To make his *Cultural Indicators* model researchable, Gerbner also offers possible questions or elements for study which may clarify the respective analysis used. When the *institutional process analysis* is used on radio, it is informative to look at political authorities, patrons, the organisation structure, management, colleagues, competing stations and experts (the actual people working, like technicians, DJ's or newscasters).⁶⁹ Appendix 1 shows the complete division of the 9 groups which belong to this analysis. If used, it would contribute greatly to understanding the different institutions which influence the cultivation potential and form of the radio stations. However, due to limitations on time and resources and restricted access to inside information, a detailed result of this analysis is almost impossible. Still, it is possible to include some elements from the above mentioned list and this will also increase the understanding of why certain programs are created.

The *message system analysis*, which can be seen in full in appendix 2, works with four main questions, namely what *exists* (types of programmes and how often), what is *prioritised* (which programmes come first or during which time of the day), what are the *values* (opinions given) and what are the *relationships* between the previous three questions (logical structure or how are programmes clustered)?⁷⁰ Analysing messages thusly would give scholars the opportunity to see how radio tries to represent everyday life and which elements from this reality they consider to be worthwhile or important. This form of analysis is then significant for *cultivation analysis*. Through this last analysis tries to see if “the patterns and ‘lessons’ found in the symbolic ‘world’ ... are reflected in audiences’ assumptions, expectations, definitions, interpretations, values, and conceptions of social reality.”⁷¹ However, just like the institutional process analysis is mainly impossible to conduct in full, so is it also arduous to get to what people ultimately think or do with the information they received through radio. Luckily, contemporary society has a benefit over the period of Gerbner in the form of social media. To give at least some body to the cultivation analysis as proposed by Gerbner, this study will use the websites, Facebook-page and Twitter feed of FM Wappy and BeFM and explore the audience feedback given to these community radio stations. Although it is not a one-on-one ‘translation’ of Gerbner’s idea of cultivation analysis, this does allow some insight into the participation of the listeners and the level of agreeance they show with their community radio stations’ messages.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 58.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 62.

⁷¹ Ibid., 63.

A Blueprint for Analysing Community Radio

As said, it is possible to apply the *Cultural Indicators* model to other mediums besides television as well. “The content analysis procedures developed by Gerbner and the Cultural Indicators Research team,” Marilyn Boemer argues, “are adaptable for determining *aural* as well as visual violence.” (emphasis added)⁷² Still focusing on violence content, but this time in the setting of radio thriller dramas, Boemer saw potential in using the content analysis portion of Gerbner’s ‘three-pronged’ model and in her dissertation on *Offensive Language Spoken on Popular Morning Radio Programs* (2007), Megan Fitzgerald also used Gerbner’s ideas on cultivation research. When the exposure to radio content, in this case offensive language, is constant and consistent, listeners may pick up on the pattern and a cultivation effect becomes possible.⁷³

In line with studies like that of Boemer and Fitzgerald, this research will also employ Gerbner’s *Cultural Indicators* model in its analysis of community radio in Hokkaidō and Aomori. The choice for Gerbner’s method is because it first of all allows a structural look at the different processes at work in producing the socialising and cultivating messages which community radio is able to broadcast. Secondly, by using the message system analysis format, it becomes possible to see differences in programming between FM Wappy and BeFM. And this will then help to confirm the expectation of there being visible distinctions between the two radio stations coming from two separate-but-yet-not-so-separate geographical areas.

Using the three analysis models as a blue print, the second portion of this study will present a light version of the *institutional process analysis* in chapter two. By looking at the various types of radio in Japan and their connections with other types of media and other institutions, it becomes more clear why community radio stations do what they do. The third chapter including the case study of FM Wappy and BeFM will combine the *message system analysis* and the *cultivation analysis* and also refer back to the importance of *media convergence* within the presentation of themselves and their radio content. These two chapters will show how community radio could be able to increase the feeling of the community as *uchi* for those who listen and as such, how these stations are contributing to the level of *social capital* within their region. Eventually, chapter two and three will then also be able to answer the second half of this research’s main question, namely how radio stations in northern Japan can illustrate the socialising and cultivating abilities of community radio.

⁷² Marilyn Lawrence Boemer, “An Analysis of the Violence Content of the Radio Thriller Dramas and Some Comparisons with Television,” *Journal of Broadcasting* 28.3 (1984), 352.

⁷³ Megan Fitzgerald, “Offensive Language Spoken on Popular Morning Radio Programs” (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2007), 27.

2. Radio Broadcasting in Japan

“The one thing we all believe in, is that one day we can make a show we are all satisfied with. Everyone who makes it. Everyone who hears it.”⁷⁴

-- Character Ushijima Tatsuhiko 牛島龍彦 *Rajio no jikan* ラヂオの時間 (1997)

In the 1997 screwball comedy *rajio no jikan* ラヂオの時間, viewers get a comical inside look into the world of radio drama. Voice actors behave like divas, managers agree with whomever they are talking to, producers need to solve all the problems created by others and listeners are either unaware of this or are confronted with an ugly truth. Considering its comedy genre, this film may not reflect the reality of radio production, but it does show several layers of radio producers. To refer to Gerbner's *institutional process analysis*, the film shows *patrons* sponsoring the show, *managers* who try to direct staff members, *experts* like technicians and voice actors, their organisation and the *public* in the form of a lorry driver. This second chapter aims to do something similar by looking at the different types of radio broadcasting in Japan and the institutions that come into play. These institutions will then be italicised as reference to the terms used by Gerbner in his model.

With this analysis model in mind, chapter two will try to give a basic overview of radio's position in the Japanese media landscape, its distribution and the various 'power roles' that are involved with radio production. It will first mention three important (historical) development related radio in Japan and the continuing influence on (broadcasting) media exerted by government *authorities*. Then, it will map out the different levels of radio stations and zoom in on community radio in particular. As such it intends to show the different influences at work in organising radio stations, how (Japanese) radio listeners can receive Japanese broadcasts and it will provide future scholars with a quick reference towards Japanese radio.

2.1 Three Important Developments Related to Radio in Japan

When it comes to the development of a Japanese predecessor of radio, it is possible to go back to Hiraga Gennai 平賀源内 (1728-1780).⁷⁵ As a Rangaku student, Hiraga was confronted with a Dutch generator creating static electricity and in 1776, he presented his own *erekiteru* エレキテル

⁷⁴ *Rajio no jikan* ラヂオの時間 (lit. 'Radio Time', but released in English under the title *Welcome Back, Mr. McDonald*), directed by Mitani Kōki 三谷幸喜 (Tōkyō: Tōhō, 1997), 1:11:44 – 1:11:57 minutes.

⁷⁵ “The Dawn of Television: Electricity Meets the Radio Wave,” NHK: The Evolution of TV - A Brief History of TV Technology in Japan, accessed July 26, 2016, <http://www.nhk.or.jp/str/aboutstr/evolution-of-tv-en/p04.html>.

(friction generator). The first big development for radio in Japan took place on March 22nd, 1925, almost a hundred-and-fifty years later, when the first modern-day Japanese radio broadcast took place.⁷⁶ At its initiation, Tōkyō governor Gotō Shinpei 後藤新平 (1857-1929) foresaw the importance of broadcast media, especially radio at the time, and in his speech he wanted radio broadcasts to create an equal division of culture, restore home life, spread education and revitalise the economy.⁷⁷

The need for introducing radio broadcasting in Japan was sped up by the 1923 Great Kantō earthquake which shook the Tōkyō region. As the NHK research institute states in their *History of Broadcasting in Japan* (1967), “[d]uring the earthquake disaster, misleading rumours plunged the general public into serious confusion, and [this] was one of the reasons why there was an acute awareness of the need for radio broadcasting.”⁷⁸ This did not mean, however, that the medium of radio came under government supervision immediately. For a year and a half, several independent organisations were allowed to apply for the responsibility of setting up the Tōkyō (and later Nagoya and Ōsaka) Broadcasting Station.⁷⁹ The Ministry for Communications did interfere by setting up regulations and monitoring activities, but independent broadcasters (the Tōkyō/Nagoya/Ōsaka Broadcasting Stations) were the ones handling the actual broadcasts.⁸⁰ Their financial support was mainly covered by producers of the broadcasting materials and the collection of ‘receiver’s fee’, a monthly amount paid by those who owned a radio receiver. With these funds, these Broadcasting Stations filled the airwaves with updates on the stock market, general news and the weather on the one hand and music (both Japanese and non-Japanese), stage plays and courses on English.⁸¹ However, inadequate technology and increasing costs for properly reaching the expanding group of listeners called for a new organisation of nationwide radio.

The second important development was this reorganisation which was completed in 1926, one year after the beginning of official radio broadcasts in Japan. The three Broadcasting Stations were merged together to eventually form the still existing *Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai* 日本放送協会 (NHK), Japan’s national public broadcasting organisation.⁸² The NHK has remained a publicly owned organisation ever since, but its connection to the government administration

⁷⁶ Takahashi 高橋, *Rajio no rekishi* ラジオの歴史, 37.

⁷⁷ “Address by Governor Shinpei Goto,” NHK: The Evolution of TV - A Brief History of TV Technology in Japan, accessed July 26, 2016, http://www.nhk.or.jp/str/aboutstr/evolution-of-tv-en/p06col_2.html.

⁷⁸ NHK History Compilation Room, *The History of Broadcasting in Japan*, 17.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 46.

continues to be strong. The official designation of the NHK being an independent corporation supported by listeners' fees in one of the three *denpasanhō* 電波三法 (Three Radio Laws, 1950) did not change this connection that much. This third important development, after decades of technological developments and a restless war period, meant that Japan formulated three laws as a response to orders from the American General Headquarters, occupying Japan at the time. One of them, the *hōsōhō* 放送法 (Broadcast Law) caused a reorganisation of the NHK and opened the broadcasting industry for commercial broadcasters as well. It also set out to assure the maximum availability of broadcasting media throughout Japan, to secure freedom of expression in these media and to confirm "the broadcaster's commitment to a healthy democracy."⁸³ Together with a few amendments over the years, every broadcaster in Japan is still subject to this law.⁸⁴

Nowadays, the broadcast media landscape of Japan has expanded to include hundreds of radio and television stations, ranging from international to very locally produced ones. The involvement of the government remains very much present and recently, question began to arise about the second aim of securing freedom of expression in the media. Without going into too much detail, Japan scored a remarkably low 61st position on the Press Freedom Index in 2015.⁸⁵ This score was mainly due to reforms on how to handle whistle-blowers and a general 'nervous attitude' of politicians towards media. What this will mean for future developments of the Japanese Press and the Japanese media in general is perhaps a topic for study yet to come.

2.2 Listening Rates and the Popularity of Radio

The popularity of radio within Japan is a complex one. With labels such as Pease and Dennis' 'the forgotten medium' or Ulrich Heinze's opinion on radio in Japan being the "minority mass medium"⁸⁶, it appears as if radio might be less influential than its 'broadcasting brother' television or the wide spectrum of internet based data sources (social media, digital journals/magazines, etc.). As a later chapter will indicate, radio was and sometimes still is seen as an expiring medium. With this idea in mind US, Dutch and Japanese listening ratings show a

⁸³ "Broadcast Law: Broadcasting for the Public," NHK: The Evolution of TV - A Brief History of TV Technology in Japan, accessed July 26, 2016, <http://www.nhk.or.jp/str/aboutstr/evolution-of-tv-en/p08/index.html>.

⁸⁴ An unofficial English translation of the 2010 version of the Broadcast Law has been published by the Japanese Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications and can be found at http://www.soumu.go.jp/main_sosiki/joho_tsusin/eng/Resources/laws/pdf/090204_5.pdf.

⁸⁵ Boudewijn Verleg, "Japanse regering kan slecht tegen kritiek in de media," *Trouw*, published March 25, 2016, accessed July 31, 2016, <http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/5009/Archief/article/detail/4269928/2016/03/25/Japanse-regering-kan-slecht-tegen-kritiek-in-de-media.dhtml>.

⁸⁶ Ulrich Heinze, "Radio and Television Consumption in Japan: A Trilateral Intercultural Comparison with the UK and Germany," *Electronic Journal of Contemporary Japanese Studies* 11.2 (2011), accessed July 20, 2016, <http://www.japanesestudies.org.uk/articles/2011/Heinze.html>.

varying image. In 2015-2016, media research institute Nielsen concluded that “radio reaches more Americans each week than any other platform. 93% of adult consumers (18+) use radio on a weekly basis, more than TV or smartphones.”⁸⁷ In The Netherlands, the percentage of people reached is a little bit lower, but radio was still able to reach 89,4% of the Dutch in 2015, coming down to 13,2 million people listening close to an average of three hours a day.⁸⁸ For Japan, these percentages are significantly lower and Heinze’s characterisation of radio being the ‘minority mass medium’ in Japan is fairly accurate.

According to a report by the Japanese Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (MIC or the *Sōmushō* 総務省 in Japanese), only half of the Japanese citizens listens to the radio once (or more times) per week (compared to more than 90% in the US).⁸⁹ And when they do, the NHK (*Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai* 日本放送協会, Japan’s national public broadcasting organisation) reports that they have an average listening time of only 31 minutes per day and that especially people older over 60 tune in.⁹⁰ However, despite this relatively little attention for radio in Japan, the amount of small, community radio stations keeps growing. Based on the data from the Japan Community Broadcasting Association (JCBA), an umbrella organisation keeping track of the different community radio stations throughout Japan, there were 295 community orientated stations up until 2015⁹¹ and in July 2016, the number grew to 303 community radio stations.⁹² So even though there is no real data on how many Japanese citizens listen to their local, community radio, the increase of stations seems to hint at a continuing interest in the maintaining and founding of community radio in Japan. Compared to the overall status of radio in Japan, community radio stations appear to have a larger appeal to their listeners and this study works under the assumption that there is indeed a demand and market for these station to thrive.

⁸⁷ Nielsen, *State of the Media: Audio Today – How America Listens*, published February 25, 2016, accessed July 20, 2016, <http://www.nielsen.com/content/dam/corporate/us/en/reports-downloads/2016-reports/state-of-the-media-audio-today-radio-2016.pdf>, 3.

⁸⁸ Media Standaard Survey, *Rapportage 2015 Media Standaard Survey (MSS)*, published February 23, 2016, accessed July 20, 2016, http://radio.nl/i/809749/a_image/445/470/mss_2015_rapportage_160223_def.pdf, 14.

⁸⁹ MIC, *Rajio no chōshu ni kan suru hōsōku shiryō* ラジオの聴取に関する補足資料 (*Supplement material related to radio reception*), published February 24, 2016, accessed July 20, 2016, http://www.soumu.go.jp/main_content/000401151.pdf, 2.

⁹⁰ Hoshi Akiko 星暁子, Yamamoto Kayo 山本佳代 and Yoshifuji Masayo 吉藤昌代, “*Terebi-rajio shichō no genkyō ~ 2015 nen 11 gatsu zenkoku kojū shichōritsu chōsa kara ~ テレビ・ラジオ視聴の現況 ~ 2015年11月全国個人視聴率調査から ~ (Current condition of television viewing and radio listening ~ From the November, 2015 Nationwide Survey on Individual Audience Ratings)*,” NHK 放送研究と調査 March (2016), accessed July 20, 2016, http://www.nhk.or.jp/bunken/research/yoron/pdf/20160301_4.pdf, 64.

⁹¹ JCBA, *Komyuniti hōsō no genkyō ni tsuite* コミュニティ放送の現況について (About the current condition of community broadcasting), published November 25, 2015, accessed July 20, 2016, <http://www.jcba.jp/community/pdf/cfmgenkyou-jcba.2015.11.25.pdf>, 2.

⁹² “*Komyuniti hōsō to ha?* コミュニティ放送とは? (What is Community Broadcasting?),” JCBA, accessed July 20, 2016, <http://www.jcba.jp/community/index.html>.

2.3 Broadcasting on Different Levels

Before getting to the level of community radio stations on which FM Wappy and BeFM find themselves, Japan has several ‘higher’ levels of radio which are of course also receivable in Hokkaidō and Aomori respectively. In general, Japanese radio stations can be divided in either *kōkyō hōsō* 公共放送 (public broadcasting) and *minkan hōsō* 民間放送 (commercial broadcasting) or in three geographically specific areas, being *zenkoku hōsō* 全国放送 (national broadcasting), *keniki hōsō* 県域放送 (prefectural broadcasting) and *komyuniti hōsō* コミュニティ放送 (local or community broadcasting). Since this study deals primarily with community radio, the following overview of radio stations in Japan will use the latter division, which mean that radio stations operating on a national and prefectural scale are in this case the ‘higher’ level. However, keep in mind that with the arrival of internet radio, any radio station can attain world coverage. This would mean that a classification by geographical reach would be somewhat meaningless. Aware of this, the current study will still employ the geographically specific division, because it enables both the everyday listener and the scholar to make a clearer distinction between area specific identities and how they are expressed through radio. To make a connection to Gerbner’s *institutional process analysis*, positions like *authorities*, *patrons*, *management*, *competitors* and *organisation* will also be addressed in passing.

2.3.1 National Radio and Regional/Prefectural Radio

Broadcasting throughout Japan: Who and What

Focussing only on radio networks broadcasting on AM or FM frequency (so not the satellite and cable radio stations of which there are more than 1700), Japanese radio listeners can choose from nine officially acknowledged national radio networks. Three of them belong to the public broadcaster NHK, four of them are in the hands of major commercial media and news conglomerates in Japan, and two stations operate independently. Table 1 shows these nine radio networks and, if existent, their Hokkaidō and Aomori subdivision. For Hokkaidō, further subprefectural division is possible, but for the sake of brevity, this is excluded from this table. The abbreviations given are usually used in Japan to refer to these networks/stations.

General Name	In Hokkaidō	In Aomori
NHK Radio 1 (NHK) <i>NHK Rajio dai-ichi hōsō</i> NHK ラジオ第1放送	NHK Sapporo Broadcasting <i>NHK Sapporo hōsōkyoku</i> NHK 札幌放送局	NHK Aomori Broadcasting <i>NHK Aomori hōsōkyoku</i> NHK 青森放送局
NHK Radio 2 <i>NHK Rajio dai-ni hōsō</i> NHK ラジオ第2放送	-	-

NHK FM Broadcast <i>NHK Efu emu hōsō</i> NHK-FM 放送	-	-
Japan Radio Network (JRN) <i>Japan rajio nettowāku</i> ジャパン・ラジオ・ネットワーク	Hokkaidō Broadcasting (HBC) <i>Hokkaidō hōsō</i> 北海道放送	Aomori Broadcasting (RAB) <i>Aomori hōsō</i> 青森放送
National Radio Network (NRN) <i>Zenkoku rajio nettowāku</i> 全国・ラジオ・ネットワーク	Hokkaidō Broadcasting (HBC) <i>Hokkaidō hōsō</i> 北海道放送 STV Radio (STV) <i>STV Rajio</i> STV ラジオ	Aomori Broadcasting (RAB) <i>Aomori hōsō</i> 青森放送
Japan FM League (JFL) <i>Japan efu emu rīgu</i> ジャパン・エフエム・リーグ	FM North Wave <i>Efu emu nōsu uēbu</i> FM North Wave	J-Wave <i>Je uēbu</i> J-Wave
Japan FM Network (JFN) <i>Zenkoku efu emu hōsō kyōgikai</i> 全国 FM 放送協議会	FM Hokkaidō/AIR-G' <i>Efu emu Hokkaidō / Eajī</i> FM 北海道・AIR-G'	Aomori FM Broadcasting (AFB) <i>Efu emu Aomori</i> エフエム青森
Megalopolis Radio Network <i>Megaroporisu nettowāku</i> メガロポリス・ネットワーク	Available via Broadcasting Satellite	Available via Broadcasting Satellite
Open University of Japan <i>Hōsō daigaku</i> 放送大学	Available via Broadcasting Satellite	Available via Broadcasting Satellite

Table 1: Nationwide radio networks in Japan and their Hokkaidō/Aomori equivalents

(Created by the author from information gathered from the websites of the respective radio networks)

Regulations set by authorities: NHK and Commercial Networks

These national and regional radio stations (whether they are public or commercial) need to adhere to certain programme standards set by what Gerbner refers to as *authorities*. Besides the general governmental regulations as stipulated in the 1950 Broadcast Act and the several amendments it went through since then, the public NHK has to make sure that their programming (both on television and on the radio) includes these four types of programmes: 1) Cultivating or Refining Programmes; 2) Educational Programmes; 3) Informing Programmes and 4) Amusement Programmes.⁹³ In line with the general idea of this study, radio makers are required to consciously incorporate cultivating and socialising elements in their shows. Illustrating this is the radio shows *appuru rajio* あっふるラジオ (Apple Radio) aired every Friday afternoon on *NHK Aomori Broadcasting Radio 1*. It describes itself with the following slogan:

⁹³ “*kokunai hōsō bangumi no shubetsu no kijun* 国内放送番組の種別の基準 (criteria for the classification of nationally broadcasted programmes),” NHK 経営情報, accessed August 3, 2016, <http://www3.nhk.or.jp/pr/keiei/syubetsu/pdf/001.pdf>.

Aomori no miryoku hakkutsu, sugoi supotto wo shōkai, minna de wai wai katatte, kigaru ni kiku rajio bangumi 青森の魅力発掘、凄いスポットを紹介、皆でワイワイ語って、気軽に聞くラジオ番組 (The easy listening radio show which excavates the appeal of Aomori, introduces amazing spots and talks enthusiastically with everyone)⁹⁴

Apple Radio presents itself as a program made for those living in Aomori and listeners who are interested in the region. It includes regional news, comical *rakugo* 落語 (verbal entertainment) reading sessions and the teaching of Aomori words and phrases. Wrapped in amusing show formats, it educates Aomori culture and contemporary and historic language.

Similar to the NHK, the four commercial (radio) networks need to make sure that their programming fulfil the requirements set by *nihon minkan hōsō renmei* 日本民間放送連盟 (The Japan Commercial Broadcasters Association (JBA)), an NPO organisation in charge of regulating commercial broadcasting. By placing the *hōsō bangumi no shubetsu* 放送番組の種別 (the classification of broadcasted programmes, see table 2) on their websites, regional branches like the HBC and RAB inform their audience of what it is supposed to offer them according to the JBA.

Classification		Classification Criteria
Information		Programmes which cover topics, events and trends important for society
Education		Programmes which aim to spread knowledge, enrich sentiment and taste, raise morality and improve life in general and programmes which aim to contribute to school and societal education.
Cultivation/ Refinement		Programmes which aim to spread knowledge, enrich sentiment and taste, raise morality and improve life in general. Excluding those belonging to the category of ‘education’.
Amusement		Programmes which aim to pleasantly enrich and enlighten life, including sports and music.
Others	Mail order	Programmes for the purpose of communicating the selling of products and services.
	Others	Programmes not resembling what is mentioned above.

Table 2: The Classification of Broadcasted Programmes

(Taken from The Japan Commercial Broadcasters Association⁹⁵ and translated by the author)

⁹⁴ “*bangumi jōhō shōsai appuru rajio* 番組情報詳細あつぶるラジオ (Programme Information and Details: Apple Radio),” NHK 青森放送局, accessed August 3, 2016, <http://www.nhk.or.jp/aomori/program/b-det0059.html>.

⁹⁵ “*hōsō bangumi no shubetsu kijun* 放送番組の種別基準 (criteria for the classification of broadcasted programmes),” *nihon minkan hōsō renmei* 日本民間放送連盟 (The Japan Commercial Broadcasters Association), accessed August 3, 2016, <https://www.j-ba.or.jp/category/references/jba101056>.

Besides their expected commercial aim of making profit, these radio networks also create shows that have a cultivating and/or socialising effect on its listeners. An example of this is the weekly 15-minute show *ainugo rajio kōza* アイヌ語ラジオ講座 (Radio Course on Ainu Language) by STV Radio in Hokkaidō. Since 1998, STV Radio has been broadcasting brief lectures on the endangered Ainu language and since 2008, the shows are made available as podcasts as well. The programme recognises the disappearance of the language spoken by “the first people of Japan”⁹⁶ and aims to teach it together with other cultural and historical knowledge of the Ainu people.⁹⁷ The programme shows the decision of *management* to offer this kind of information and it shows *experts*, both technical (making the programme possible) and content-wise (people with knowledge of Ainu language and heritage).

By looking at the content criteria to which both public and commercial networks have to comply, it becomes clear that national and regional radio programming is filled with cultivating and socialising content. Their different institutional organisation (for example, more or less government involvement or level of commercial perspective) does not really matter in this respect. However, it needs to be said that this is not uniquely Japanese. The connection between (mass) media and society has already been said to be universal. Nevertheless, it is meaningful to be aware of the official regulations which form the basis of Japanese national and regional radio broadcasting. It is done consciously and the acts of contributing to the cultivation and socialisation of their audiences is addressed directly in policy making. Radio stations intentionally tailor their programs to appeal to people’s already existing sense of belonging based on where they live and work or on their specific interest, like language learning or nostalgic music listening. It would be possible to say that the institutions at work try to infiltrate the everyday intimate reality, or *uchi*, of their listeners. And as these radio stations settle themselves within these *uchi*, they become able to affect this reality as well.

2.3.2 Community Radio

Geographically Determined Communities

To form a community, David McMillan and David Chavis once concluded that there are four main elements which need to be achieved by those who are or want to be part of that group. These are *membership, influence, integration and fulfilment of needs* and a *shared emotional*

⁹⁶ Willis and Murphy-Shigematsu, “Transcultural Japan,” 27.

⁹⁷ “*ainugo rajio kōza* アイヌ語ラジオ講座 (Radio Course on Ainu Language),” STV, accessed August 4, 2016, <http://www.stv.ne.jp/radio/ainugo/index.html>.

connection.⁹⁸ The function of media on these elements is almost not mentioned by them, at least not more than a brief mentioning of it being one of the external forces affecting the values within these communities.⁹⁹ In the *Community Radio Handbook*, published by the UNESCO in 2001, the external force of radio affecting the community is considered as having benefits and “filling [a] gap” which is left by large scale mass media.¹⁰⁰ With functions like reflecting and promoting local identity, character and culture, giving a voice to the voiceless and promoting diversity within the community,¹⁰¹ community radio is able to both represent the community and its members and, agreeing with McMillan’s and Chavis’ idea of media affecting community values, it can influence the community as well. And unlike large scale national or regional radio stations, community radio stations (or community FM’s) achieve this through assistance of the community itself.

In their 1989 study of British radio, Peter Lewis and Jerry Booth saw this agency of community members as a decisive difference between community radio and its ‘big brothers’ public and commercial radio. “[W]hile the commercial and public service models both treat listeners as objects, to be captured for advertisers or improved and informed,” they state, “community radio aspires to treat its listeners as subjects and participants.”¹⁰² However, agreeing with this characterisation of community radio in its totality is rather difficult. Community FM’s also broadcast local commercials which try to tempt listeners to buy or use things and, moving to Japanese community radio stations, the phenomenon of *teikyō* 提供 (programme sponsoring) is yet another way through which companies also use community radio stations to present themselves.

This study would therefore like to combine the previous ideas on community radio by saying that these stations reflect a community and its members, because it is generally produced by these members themselves. This and the local themes discussed, allow the radio station to emphasise its shared emotional connection to the community it serves, also resembling the concept of *uchi* discussed earlier. Depending on the radio content, listeners can be informed, educated or socialised in the community’s values and ‘ways’. And together with sponsorships from local companies in both their programming and advertisements, community radio stations

⁹⁸ David W. McMillan and David M. Chavis, “Sense of Community: A Definition and Theory,” *Journal of Community Psychology* 14 (1986), 9.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁰⁰ Colin Fraser and Sonia Restrepo Estrada, *Community Radio Handbook* (Paris: Unesco, 2011), iii.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 18-22.

¹⁰² Lewis and Booth, *The Invisible Medium*, 8.

can also influence its listeners on a commercial level. How all these elements go hand-in-hand will be shown in chapter three.

Community Radio Stations and the Government

The first institutionalised community FM's in Japan appeared around 1992.¹⁰³ Since then, the number of community radio stations in Japan has expanded quite extensively and this study will use two of them from northern Japan as its main focus, namely FM Wappy from the city of Wakkanai in Hokkaidō and BeFM from Hachinohe, Aomori.

The people and institutions contributing to FM Wappy and BeFM are numerous. Both radio stations are registered as a public *kabushiki gaisha* 株式会社. This means that they have shareholders to whom they have to answer and, besides their general adherence to the Japanese and Commercial Laws, not to the government. However, this does not mean that they are detached from government input. As can be seen in their timetables and heard in their broadcasts, FM Wappy and BeFM do use a lot of information input from the Wakkanai and Hachinohe local governments respectively. On the one hand, this is partially required by the Japan Community Broadcasting Association (JCBA). Many community radio stations in Japan, including FM Wappy and BeFM, are members of this organisation because it strengthens their status as a community radio station and because it gives them benefits, like access to ready-made music shows. For entry to the JCBA, community radio stations have to provide information which is relevant for the community as a whole.¹⁰⁴ The JCBA, in turn, is affiliated with the Japanese Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications. As such, government *authorities* have a background participation in the workings of community radio stations from a national level downwards, by setting rules on which types of programmes should be created.

On the other hand, local governments often try and use community radio in their strategies for improving local culture and strengthening social relations within their city or town. Coming back to the earlier discussed concept of *transmedia*, local governments can use their city's community FM to lengthen and solidify their desired narrative of a united community. In Japan, these strategies are often accompanied with the word *machizukuri* まちづくり (lit. 'creating a town, also translated as town or community development). Taking Wakkanai and FM Wappy as

¹⁰³ Kitagō Hiromi 北郷裕美, "saigaiji media toshite rajio ga hatasu yakuwari shiron~komyuniti hōsō no jirei wo chūshin ni~ 災害時メディアとしてラジオが果たす役割試論~コミュニティ放送の事例を中心に~ (Essay on The role of radio broadcasting in the case of a disaster ~ The example of community FM broadcasting ~)," 札幌大谷大学社会学部論集 1 (2013), 241.

¹⁰⁴ JCBA, *Ippan shadanhōjin nihon komyuniti hōsō kyōkai teikan* 一般社団法人日本コミュニティ放送協会定款 (General Corporation Articles for the Japan Community Broadcasting Association), published June 10, 2011, accessed August 7, 2016, <http://www.jcba.jp/jcba/pdf/jcbarules2011-.pdf>, 2.

an example, the webpage *machizukuri seisakubu hisho seisakuka* まちづくり政策部秘書政策課 (Policy page on the Administration of the Community Development Policy Department)¹⁰⁵ shows the different areas of interest for the local government, like social welfare, sports or education. For their public relations office, FM Wappy plays an important part of being one of the two broadcasting media outlets (the other being the Hokkaidō television network STV). The city of Wakkanai has two programme elements which come back multiple times per day and it uses this time to not only inform people, but also to invite listeners to participate with their *shisei fureai tsūshin* 市政ふれあい通信 (City Administration's Connecting Communication) project, a collaboration between the city and FM Wappy to connect listeners and inform them of other people's lives and jobs. This way, community radio stations can also be used by government *authorities* from a local level upwards, by feeding them information with which they can fill their programmes.

FM Wappy and BeFM

Founded in 1996 and 1999 respectively, these two community radio stations are similar in some respects and different in others. Besides their similarity in servicing their communities, they both operate in harbour cities in northern Japan and they expand their listeners reach by using internet radio as well. In their programming, a similar division is visible into main live shows created by those working for the radio station and smaller special interest programmes which are either incorporated into the live show as a segment or which get some stand-alone air time afterwards. For FM Wappy, these special interest programmes are created by the members of the Wappy Club. According to FM Wappy chairman of the board of directors Mrs Katō Yumi 加藤由美,¹⁰⁶ people



Figure 1: FM Wappy's (or FM Wakkanai's) main studio, located in an industrial area somewhat removed from the City centre (Source: Picture taken by the author on August 7th, 2015 in Wakkanai)



Figure 2: BeFM's main studio, situated along one of the major streets in downtown Hachinohe (Source: Taken from the Twitter profile image of *hasegawa takuya no KADARU rajio!* 長谷川たくやのKADARUラジオ! (Hasegawa Takuya's KADARU Radio!), a former programme featured on BeFM, <https://twitter.com/kadaruradio>)

¹⁰⁵ This Policy Page can be found at http://www.city.wakkanai.hokkaido.jp/group/group_98.html.

¹⁰⁶ Katō Yumi 加藤由美 (chairwoman of the board of directors and in charge of development and operations, FM Wakkanai (FM Wappy), interview with the author at the FM Wappy Studio in Wakkanai, August 7, 2015.

are free to apply for this air time once they become members of the FM Wappy Club, however not all the members of this club necessarily create programmes for broadcasting. There are also people who report on local events or who assist during FM Wappy created events. BeFM also works with volunteers, but it is unclear whether or not this requires membership of a subdivision within the station. Besides the difference in location of their main studio (see figure 1 and 2), the distinctions between the two community FM's are primarily visible in their programme content and this will be shown in more detail in chapter three. A summary with more information on both radio stations can be found in appendices 5 and 6. These list, for example, the general aims of these stations as placed on their websites and the ideas behind their names.

Special Interest Communities

Besides the geographically determined community radio stations, like FM Wappy and BeFM, there are also several Japanese radio stations which aim to inform certain special interest groups. Briefly naming a few for the sake of completion, these could be the radio stations aimed at commuters and travellers, like *rosoku hōsō* 路側放送, also known as *haiue rajio* ハイウェイラジオ (Highway Advisory Radio) or *michi no eki rajio* 道の駅ラジオ (Roadside Station Radio). These special interest radio's confine themselves to broadcasting traffic and tourist information. Another specific interest radio station is the *American Forces Network* (AFN), a radio and television network providing information and entertainment to dispatched Americans worldwide, including Japan. One of the networks substations is located in Aomori as well, on the Misawa Air Base to be specific.

A third, final and probably most interesting example of a special interest community radio station that fills Japanese air waves is *efu emu pipaushi* FM ビパウシ (FM Pipaushi).¹⁰⁷ Currently part of *FM Wing* programming, a community FM from the eastern city of Obihiro 帯広 in Hokkaidō, this very small station initially began in 2001 as an independent radio station creating podcasts about Ainu life, culture, history and language. Still in business, this special interest radio station has made and still makes efficient use of the internet and is therefore available to everyone, even outside of Japan.

¹⁰⁷ Recent and previous broadcasts/podcasts of *FM Pipaushi* can be found at <http://www.geocities.jp/fmpipaushi/menu.html>.

2.3.3 Receiving (Community) Radio Inside and Outside of Japan

This practical matter of actually receiving and listening to Japanese (community) radio should not be overlooked in a study on Japanese radio. Primarily “threatened by visual media”¹⁰⁸ and the reality of commuters being more inclined to watch television (even in their cars)¹⁰⁹ or surf the web, the relatively low listening rates in Japan are not likely to be blamed on radio’s inaccessibility. Those who do want to listen to the various community radio stations are no longer confined antenna radios. Even though the phrase ‘community FM’ makes it appear as if they only use the FM (or perhaps AM) modulation, many stations today also offer their programmes via Internet radio. It differs per station whether or not they offer 24/7 broadcasting, but the main shows (morning, lunchtime and afternoon) are commonly available online.

One website aimed at Internet radio is *Radiko.jp* (only in Japan)¹¹⁰ and it allows its users to receive both national, regional and community radio broadcasts. Widening the consumption market even more, *Radiko.jp* is also downloadable as an application for smartphones. Just like previous AM/FM handheld radios, listeners can now also tune in on the go and because it is online, listeners from a different area which is not covered by the community radio station’s regular AM/FM range can also listen in. The American website/smartphone application *TuneIn* also features several Japanese community radio stations.¹¹¹ For the third chapter in this study, *TuneIn* proved to be a helpful tool since it facilitated not only the reception of FM Wappy and BeFM, but also the possibility of recording certain broadcasts. Writing from The Netherlands, the majority of their programming happened at night. However, the option of scheduling a recording time made it possible to listen to these radio stations and rewind certain information if necessary.

Two other websites which allow worldwide audiences to specifically listen to Japanese community radio stations are *SimulRadio*¹¹² and *Internet Simul Radio*.¹¹³ Both websites are based on the idea of *simulation radio*, which indicates the online and ‘air’ (AM/FM) presence of radio stations at the same time. The first is a website set up in 2009 by the Community Simul Radio

¹⁰⁸ Heinze, “Radio and Television Consumption in Japan,” paragraph ‘The Minority Mass Medium.’

¹⁰⁹ Chester Dawson, “In Japan, Television Viewing Doesn’t Have to Take a Back Seat,” *The Wall Street Journal*, April 23, 2013, accessed August 1, 2016, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424127887323296504578397020440247856>.

¹¹⁰ Only usable and downloadable in Japan, basic information on *Radiko.jp* can be found on the following website: <https://radiko.jp/rg/premium/>.

¹¹¹ Online listening to Hokkaidō stations is possible at <http://tunein.com/radio/Hokkaido-r100931/>. Aomori stations are found at <http://tunein.com/radio/Aomori-r101674/>.

¹¹² Offering community and emergency radio stations throughout Japan, *SimulRadio* can be found at <http://www.simulradio.info/>.

¹¹³ Indicating which radio stations are a member of the JCBA, *Internet Simul Radio* presents a website which offers direct listening to some stations and links to others at www.simulradio.info/.

Alliance (CSRA), an organisation which aims to improve the reach of community FM's. The second has been renewed in 2015 and is run by the JCBA. In general, they both offer the same options, but *SimulRadio* is more direct and user friendly. For both radio stations, the 2011 Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami was and remains an important turning point. It called for the establishment of emergency radio stations and a stable accessibility of them. Internet radio offers exactly this. However, unlike the recording option in *TuneIn*, these websites provide a streaming service. Very few radio stations create downloadable *podcasts* or online rewinding options of their regular programmes. Based on the growing popularity of podcasts in America and The Netherlands, perhaps this service might also benefit Japanese radio stations. Even though podcasts are not quite the same as radio, they do appeal to the pleasure of solely listening¹¹⁴ and perhaps this might open up new audiences for regular radio as well.

Aided by the *TuneIn* recording option, the next chapter will go into the radio content created by these community radio stations. By following George Gerbner's *message system analysis* and applying this to FM Wappy and BeFM programming, chapter three strives to explain which forms of socialisation and cultivation can be lifted out, how their broadcasts can differ from each other and why this could possibly be the case.

¹¹⁴ Elja Looijestijn, "Het uitdijend universum van de podcast," *VPRO Podcasts*, June 14, 2016, accessed August 1, 2016, <http://www.vpro.nl/podcasts/lees/achtergronden/podcast-introductie.html>.

3. Filling the Airwaves: Radio Content Analysis

“This station can be re-listened to and is also broadcast on the internet.

People who left this town and are in Sendai or Tōkyō, etc. are also listening.

The function of this radio station is to create broadcasts which make these people feel like wanting to return.” “You see, like ‘making this abandoned town pretty again’.”¹¹⁵

-- Characters Kunie Shigeji 國枝重治 and Sasayama Yuki 笹山ユキ, NHK Drama *Rajio* ラジオ (2013)

Set in Onagawa 女川, a seaside town in the north eastern prefecture Miyagi 宮城, special drama episode *Rajio* shows the way this town is trying to recover from the March 11th, 2011 Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami. Besides images of destroyed homes and bare plots, it presents the rehabilitation of a girl named Bō-chan and how she is able to pick up her life by taking part in the broadcasts of the *emergency* radio station *Onagawa Saigai efu emu* 女川さいがいの FM. When it comes to these small-scale emergency radio stations in specific and community radio stations in general, the Tōhoku disaster gave a new impulse to these ‘community FM’s’. They organised special emergency-broadcasts and, as the drama also indicated, eventually provided “information to survivors, to [rebuild] their community.”¹¹⁶ *Onagawa Saigai FM* truly existed until March, 2016 when it concluded its emergency radio station activities. Since then, the radio makers have been releasing weekly podcasts under the name *Onagawa Now!*,¹¹⁷ but daily shows have stopped.

Moving further north and away from the realm of emergency radio stations which are generally founded out of necessity and terminated when there is no longer a need for emergency information, this research has been focussing and will continue to do so on two radio stations which do qualify for the label of *community* radio. Operating long before, during and after the Tōhoku disaster, Hachinohe’s BeFM (Aomori) and Wakkanai’s FM Wappy (Hokkaidō) have been in business for seventeen and twenty years respectively. During these years, both community FM’s have aimed to inform their local audiences and those listening in from further away. The following paragraphs will show that besides this informing function, FM Wappy and BeFM also perform a socialising and cultivating role. To find evidence of these roles in the programming of FM Wappy and BeFM, these paragraphs will use Gerbner’s *message system*

¹¹⁵ *Rajio* ラジオ (*Radio*), directed by Kishi Yoshiyuki 岸善幸 (Tōkyō: NHK Enterprise, 2013), 5:35 - 5:53 minutes, <http://www.pideo.net/video/pandora/fa2025c4853f8303/>.

¹¹⁶ Kanayama Tomoko, “Community Radio and the Tōhoku Earthquake,” 34.

¹¹⁷ “*onagawa efu emu satō toshio no onagawa nau! Otona no tamariba* オナガワエフエム佐藤敏朗の ONAGAWA NOW! 大人のたまり場 (Onagawa FM: Satō Tosio’s Onagawa Now! Adults’ Hang-out),” Onagawa FM, accessed August 1, 2016, <http://onagawafm.jp/>.

analysis and the analysis dimensions of *existence*, *priorities*, *values* and *relationships*. As such, it hopes to confirm the idea expressed in the introduction of radio being able to have an impact on the socialisation process of people and how it adds to their cultural experiences in everyday life.

3.1 Programming: What Is Being Broadcast

In his “You Are What You Hear”-article, Powell claimed that “[s]uccessful radio stations offer their listeners more than just particular types of music or talk or well-presented news – they also offer shared identity and community.”¹¹⁸ FM Wappy and BeFM do exactly this. Appendices 7 to 10, show the current (July 2016) timetables used by both stations (only including programs that are also broadcast online) and besides the expected *nyūsu* ニュース (news) and *tenki yohō* 天気予報 (weather forecast) (or *uezā* ウェザー as used by BeFM) the broadcasting hours are filled with many other topics which emphasis this shared identity or the community values in general.

To zoom in on Gerbner’s message dimension of *existence* and to answer the main question as to *how* FM Wappy and BeFM contribute to the socialisation and cultivation of their audiences through their programming, the following three paragraphs will discuss the types of programmes that are created and the themes that are discussed. Considering the varying and extensive timetables of both stations, only those show elements which contain a demonstrable element of socialisation or cultivation will be highlighted. Still being, quite extensive, any evaluations of which priorities and values are brought forth is mainly postponed to paragraph two and three. These will then not go into the programme content once more. To keep track of Gerbner’s concepts, though, a few reflecting words will be placed after each time period and by each station. The division of this paragraph is based on how both radio stations tend to centre their main programmes around three specific time periods of the day (morning, early and late afternoon) and will describe the types of information that the listeners receive.



Figure 3: Hardcopy Timetables and Programme Descriptions of BeFM and FM Wappy (Summer 2015) Community FM’s alter their timetable twice to four times a year. These brochures can be found at public locations, like stations, tourist information centres and supermarkets. (Source: Brochures taken by the author from Hachinohe and Wakkanai, July/August 2015)

¹¹⁸ Powell, “You Are What You Hear,” 77.

3.1.1 Morning Messages

FM Wappy in the Morning

During the weekdays, FM Wappy and BeFM start their broadcasting with a morning show. FM Wappy's *kawashima genki no ohayō saihokutan* 川島玄起のおはよう最北端 (Kawashima Genki's Good Morning Wakkanai)¹¹⁹ features two hosts who inform their listeners about local news, events, special offers from several shops in the Wakkanai area and the daily horoscope (using astrological zodiac signs instead of the more common Japanese method of blood-type determined predictions). The show is broadcast live from FM Wappy's main building, has a set arrangement which can be found in the hardcopy timetables and online and has several sponsors who also provide the information for certain features in the show. Interesting elements in this morning programme are the opening section *kyō no itterasshai* 今日の行ってらっしゃい (lit. today's 'please go and come back', a term generally used to wish someone who is leaving a pleasant day) and the returning feature *wakkanai-shi kara no oshirase – hātofuru wakkanai* 稚内市からのお知らせ～ハートフル稚内 (Notifications from the city of Wakkanai – Heart-warming Wakkanai).

The first involves the daily encouragement of a listener. Following a rather standard topic structure, pre-school children from a Wakkanai nursery are asked to say hello to their parents, thank them for what they do for them every day and wish them a good and safe day.¹²⁰ With its information coming from city hall, *Heart-warming Wakkanai* goes into the details of upcoming local events and it adds the experiences of people of those that already took place. To illustrate this with examples, during the broadcast of July 19th, 2016, a reporter visited an event at the *noshappu kanryū suizokukan* ノシャップ寒流水族館 (Noshappu Cold Current Aquarium) to ask people what they are doing and if they enjoy themselves. In the studio, one of the DJ's (or *pāsonariti* パーソナリティ (personalities)) told the people about the upcoming '*sora no hi*' *matsuri* 「空の日」まつり (Day of the Sky Festival), held on July 30th at the Wakkanai Airport.¹²¹

A third important element of FM Wappy's live show (not only in the morning but also later during the day) is the rather direct interaction between the DJ's and the listeners. People are constantly invited to send in messages or song requests. These messages often relate to the

¹¹⁹ The term *saihokutan* 最北端 (northernmost point) is frequently used in Wakkanai. Not only by FM Wappy, but the majority of organisations (for example the station or shops) incorporate it into their names and products. Since Wakkanai is Japan's northernmost city on 'main land', the term has become synonymous with Wakkanai itself. This is why this morning show has been translated to *Kawashima Genki's Good Morning Wakkanai* and not *Good Morning Northernmost*.

¹²⁰ "kyō no itterasshai 今日の行ってらっしゃい," FM Wappy: *kawashima genki no ohayō saihokutan* 川島玄起のおはよう最北端, ±7h35m, from a programme broadcast by FM Wappy on July 22, 2016, recorded via *TuneIn*.

¹²¹ "wakkanai-shi kara no oshirase – hātofuru wakkanai 稚内市からのお知らせ～ハートフル稚内," FM Wappy: *kawashima genki no ohayō saihokutan* 川島玄起のおはよう最北端, ±8h30m, from a programme broadcast by FM Wappy on July 19, 2016, recorded via *TuneIn*.

events covered by FM Wappy or the weather. Exemplifying the concept of *media convergence*, FM Wappy has expanded its reach to also include a website, a Facebook page (since July 15th, 2015), a blog (since September 1st, 2015) and the possibility for listeners to add FM Wappy as a friend on the text messaging app Line. An example of the accessibility of FM Wappy could be heard during the July 19th broadcast when a listener had informed the hosts of the morning show that her roses enjoyed the rainier weather of the day before. Messages like these are usually read alongside the reoccurring weather reports and this time, DJ Kawashima said that he wondered what colour roses this listener would have. Not fifteen minutes later, the woman replied telling them the colour. Together with using this live morning broadcast to send out practical information, reflect on the day before and give recommendations for the day to come, FM Wappy offers their listeners a platform for sharing their own experiences and thoughts.

During the week, five different shows follow FM Wappy's live morning show. Created in advance by people other than the regular DJ's, these shows last thirty minutes each. Four of them are targeted towards the older residents or people with particular health issues. In 2015, Mrs Katō Yumi recognised that most of the listeners to FM Wappy were already of a more advanced age¹²² and morning programs like Wednesday's *otasha de nani yori* お達者で何より (Above All a Good Health) and Thursday's *anshin! kusuri bako* 安心! くすり箱 (Don't worry! Medicine Box) reflect this somewhat. For FM Wappy, Heinze's remark on there being a 'radio generation' in Japan consisting of baby-boomers (born between 1935 and 1979) appears to be true.¹²³ On Monday, another relevant show is broadcast which is entitled *soyō hottorain* 宗谷ほつとライン (Sōya Hotline)¹²⁴. This show features a different guest every week and sheds more light on people and their lives. On Monday July 18th, a reporter visited an electrician at home and interviewed him about his work and personal life in Wakkanai. This program also fits a goal expressed by Mrs Katō. When asked about the type of programmes she would still like to make, she answered that more shows emphasising hard-working people would be desired. *Sōya Hotline* already did this and despite changing schedules and new programmes, this feature still remains.

In the weekends, FM Wappy broadcasts between eight o'clock in the morning and one o'clock in the afternoon. On both Saturday and Sunday, the DJ's of the one hour long live show *ohayō sōya 761* おはよう宗谷761 (Good Morning, Sōya 761)¹²⁵ discuss the general topics of weather, news, traffic and people's horoscopes. The feature of *Heart-warming Wakkanai* is also

¹²² In the interview between Mrs. Katō Yumi and the author on August 7, 2015.

¹²³ Heinze, "Radio and Television Consumption in Japan," paragraph 'The Minority Mass Medium.'

¹²⁴ *Sōya* 宗谷 refers to Cape Sōya, Japan's northernmost point and the subprefecture Sōya in general, to which Wakkanai also belongs.

¹²⁵ 761 is the frequency (76.1) on which FM Wappy broadcasts.

included and there is more attention for sport. Match results are told, representatives of sport clubs are asked to give their opinion on important matches and this summer, especially the



Figure 4: FM Wappy Car used for broadcasts on locations (Source: Picture taken by the author on August 7th, 2015 in Wakkanai)

triathlon athlete Fujita Masaki 藤田正樹, born in Wakkanai, is put into the spotlight for his participation in the 2016 Rio de Janeiro Paralympic Games. On Sunday, the remaining time between nine o'clock and one o'clock is filled with reruns of weekday shows. On Saturday, however, a second live show is made which increases the interaction between FM Wappy DJ's and their audiences even further.

Gurutto odekake DonDon doyōbi ぐるっとおでかけ DonDon 土曜日 (Circling Around and Getting Out There, Don Don Saturday)¹²⁶ is a live show during which one of the regular DJ's is in the studio and another one sets out to meet people and ask them about their day and their activities. In the programme component *sumeba miyako Wakkanai* 住めば都わっかない (Home is where you make it, Wakkanai), the DJ out in the field meet up with people who are not originally from Wakkanai, but who work there for a particular reason, like a journalist or even the assistant director of the marine safety department operating from Wakkanai. They ask them all sorts of questions about their life in Wakkanai and sometimes even get the chance to see their working environment and their work/creations. In *donjara chibikko daikōshin* どんじやらチビッコ大行進 (Great Banging and Jangling Children's Parade)¹²⁷, children from Wakkanai nurseries get the chance to ask one question each which they will then get answered by the reporter or the nursery staff. Together with the afternoon show *Swing Beat Jam*, this final weekend morning show (which slides into lunchtime hours) is perhaps the best visualisation of how the community radio station FM Wappy and its audience get close to one another, both topic wise and physically by driving into the city and residential areas for broadcasts.

Looking back at Gerbner's dimension of *existence*, FM Wappy's morning programmes pay attention to topics, like current events, social courtesies (for example, thanking people), events during which people can enjoy themselves and meet others, health issues and practical

¹²⁶ DonDon is used as an alliteration for the following word 'doyōbi' and translates to a drumming noise.

¹²⁷ *Donjara* どんじやら is also a children's version of the Mahjong boardgame. The word has here been translated as a combination of *don* (as previously said, a drumming sound) and *jara* (a jangling, metal sound), to highlight the playful character of the show which has nothing to do with Mahjong.

information about the weather and traffic reports. Confirmed by their horoscope corner and a segment on current offers at one of the supermarkets, FM Wappy uses contemporary events and what is happening now as an inspiration for their programming.

BeFM in the Morning

With no morning broadcasts during the weekends, Hachinohe's BeFM broadcasts a rather varied morning show during which several pre-recorded show elements feature as well. *Be Mornin'* has one main DJ who discusses the news, weather, a newspaper check, traffic information and the event updates. However, there are five corners which are of more interest when looking at show element which might aim to socialise and cultivate its listeners consciously. These are created by people other than the live broadcast DJ's,

The first is a feature of a few minutes which also returns later during the day, namely *enburi dei ingurisshu* えんぶりデイイングリッシュ (Enburi Day English). Resembling the phrase *eburidei ingurishhu* エブリデイイングリッシュ (everyday English), this segment involves two people taking to each other, one native Japanese and one native English speaker. The Japanese host translates whatever is said in English into Japanese and as such, the conversation actually takes place in twofold. The usage of *enburi* hints at a specific historical object from Hachinohe and a festival in February which is currently still celebrated. The *enburi/eburi* 杵 (tree, or an old fashioned farming tool) was used in a dance which called for prosperous harvests during the following harvest season. Its connection to the contemporary *enburi* festival and its status as a cultural artefact already give an indication to the general content of the conversations held in English. When asked about the goal of this show element by the new native English speaker, the Japanese host answered that it aims to make people familiar with English and tell them about the cultural background of both the English speaker and the new environment he now lives in (being Hachinohe itself).¹²⁸

Just like FM Wappy, BeFM also features a show element during which people can say hello to people they know or who they want to encourage. During *sawayaka Hachinohe aisatsu rendō* さわやか八戸あいさつ連動 (Refreshing Linkage through a Hachinohe Greeting) elementary and middle school students can do a brief 'shout out' to parents, teachers, classmates and other people they want to say hello to. In *KIDS KISS*, pre-schoolers are allowed to do the same, resembling FM Wappy somewhat more. Later on during the segment *kodomo no shishū*

¹²⁸ “*enburi dei ingurisshu* えんぶりデイイングリッシュ (Enburi Day English),” BeFM: BeMornin', ±7h20m, from a programme broadcast by BeFM on August 1, 2016, recorded via *TuneIn*.

'*hanazono*' こどもの詩集「花園」(Children's Poetry Collection 'Flower Garden'), elementary and middle schoolers are welcomed to send in their poetry which will then be recited by a BeFM volunteer.

Recurring during the lunchtime show as well, the segment *omoshiro nanbuben kōza* おもしろ南部弁講座 (Course on the Interesting Nanbu Dialect) is a fine example of radio content which very intentionally cultivates its audience. In every broadcast, a particular word from the Nanbu 南部 dialect, a form of Japanese spoken in the old north eastern province *mutsu no kuni* 陸奥国, a region which also contained today's Aomori and therefore Hachinohe, is mentioned and explained. The explanation starts off indirectly through a conversation between two people, for example a grandfather and his grandson, who use the word in context. They use the more contemporary *tōhoku-ben* 東北弁 (Tōhoku dialect) for their sentences and sometimes use the Nanbu word of the day in between. After this, the meaning is given or explained. On August 1st, the work was *mazutēmon/mazudēmon* マズデーモン/マズデーモン. While talking about something they found in grandmother's house, the meaning of the word gradually becomes clear, until it is finally defined as indicating something which resembles a treasure or something that keeps its value for eternity.¹²⁹ In their online programme description, this segment advertises itself as a variety show on *eikyū fumetsu rōkarugogaku* 永久不滅ローカル語学 (eternal and indestructible local language study),¹³⁰ indicating how this Nanbu dialect is considered as a local language to Hachinohe. The two hosts of this segment also invite listeners to send in their questions about these or other Nanbu dialect words and as such, this element both teaches its audience about local and historic language and it seeks engagement.

Similar to FM Wappy, BeFM fills its morning shows (and therefore Gerbner's dimension of *existence*) with practicalities and adds the involvement of newspapers. BeFM also reports more on international news compared to FM Wappy. Different from the Wakkanai station are programme segments on learning English, learning words from the Nanbu vocabulary and the presence of poetry written by children. BeFM also allows children to say their thanks to other people, but its morning show has less room for the DJ to interact with his listeners. The second programme on Saturday shows how FM Wappy also approaches its audience literally by including a segment broadcasted from their FM Wappy car.

¹²⁹ "*omoshiro nanbuben kōza* おもしろ南部弁講座 (Course on the Interesting Nanbu Dialect)," BeFM: BeMornin', ±7h40m, from a programme broadcast by BeFM on August 1, 2016, recorded via *TuneIn*.

¹³⁰ "*omoshiro nanbuben kōza* おもしろ南部弁講座," BeFM, accessed August 2, 2016, <http://www.befm.co.jp/2015/03/23/おもしろ南部弁講座/>.

3.1.2 Lunchtime Line-up

FM Wappy around Lunchtime

Starting at eleven o'clock and lasting until two o'clock, FM Wappy fills its weekday lunchtime programming with three different live shows. The first and main one is *wappī saihoku channeru* わっぴ〜最北チャンネル (Northernmost Channel Wappy). In line with the morning programme, this show alternates between practical information (like news, weather, traffic), local events and activities (like those mentioned in *Heart-warming Wakkanai*) and show elements which add something new to the broadcast. In *Northernmost Channel Wappy*, interesting show elements which add to the status of FM Wappy being a community centred radio station are *happi wappī bāsudē* ハッピーわっぴ〜バースデー (Happy Wappy Birthday), during which people can congratulate someone they know and one of the listeners receives a birthday cake, and *bōsai saigai hito kuchi memo* 防災・災害ひとロメモ (A Short Memo on Disaster Prevention and Calamity), a brief element in which local authorities like city hall, the police or the fire department give a short reminder of how to handle in case of an emergency, for example heavy rainfall. FM Wappy tries to get itself involved with personal experiences such as celebrating someone's birthday and they give area specific information on emergencies most likely to happen to Wakkanai.

Besides inviting people to make musical requests and send FM Wappy their general messages, *Northernmost Channel Wappy* also features a weekly theme. Throughout the show, the DJ's discuss matters relating to the theme and read responses of the listeners as well. These themes relate to the time of year like 'summer concerts' or 'the Olympics'. They are the red thread throughout the show and give direction for the conversation in the studio. These weekly themes are yet another method of FM Wappy to try and get their audiences engaged.

The two other live shows during lunchtime are *sacchī shidō no sūpā denriku* サッチー・シドウのスーパー電リク (Sachi's and Shidō's Super Electronic Request) on Wednesday and *yorō! yorō! eon he go!!* 寄ろう! 寄ろう! イオンへGO!! (Gather! Gather! Let's go to Aeon!) on Friday. During the first, listeners are asked to send in requests from local music artists who performed during the 1970s and 1980s and especially those who sung *enka* 演歌 (traditional Japanese ballads). The Friday show tells people what is on offer at the Aeon shopping centre in Nayoro 名寄, a city approximately two and half hours away from Wakkanai by car. Listeners are able to win a gift card and sometimes people can get a discount when they say they come for a product advertised by FM Wappy. The show by Sachi and Shidō is understandable, since it features local artists, but the one focused on Aeon less so. It is the closest Aeon shop to Wakkanai and the popularity of

the store chain is quite large. Nevertheless, it is difficult to find any other explanation than the Aeon sponsorship.

The other programmes until three o'clock are once again previously created shows. Members of the FM Wappy Club, the group of people who contribute to FM Wappy either by creating a show or report on an event, who get air time to broadcast their own special interest show, are allowed to fill up the time until the next big live show starts later on. Some members get a certain time slot, while other alternate every week, as can be seen in appendix 7. For example, on Monday and Tuesday list five different programmes which take place at either the first, second, third, fourth or fifth Monday or Tuesday each month. Through this rotation system, FM Wappy is able to give quite a lot of different groups a portion of their air time. The local *yosakoi* よさこい (form of Japanese group dance), a Beatles fan looking to share the love or a local painter, they each get half an hour in the afternoon to share their thoughts with the listeners within and outside of the Wakkanai area.

Besides practical information on news, weather, traffic and events that are held, new elements and themes in FM Wappy's lunchtime programming include a birthday segment during the live show, a call to the most *southern* community radio station in Japan FM Ishigaki once a month and a rotating schedule for special interest groups who discuss their favourite topics. Space is given to motivated people from Wakkanai to inform and entertain their fellow community members.

BeFM around Lunchtime

At half past eleven, BeFM starts its lunchtime programming. The three and a half hour long main live show *bibisuta* びびすた¹³¹ has a similar setup as *BeMornin'*, but this one allows more live interaction with its listeners. This is achieved through primarily two ways. First of all, the



Figure 5: BeFM Studio at the hacchi museum (Source: Picture taken by the author on July 30th, 2015 in Hachinohe)

broadcast of *Bibisuta* is not from its main studio, but from the first floor of the Hachinohe Portal Museum (stylised as hacchi). People are invited to come by, especially considering the fact that there is no entrance fee for the museum, and during the segment *hacchi i* はっち i (Information from hacchi) the DJ's will read out a few messages from people

¹³¹ It is unclear how this show title should be translated. In all likelihood, *bibi* refers to the mascot of BeFM, named bibi, and *suta* is an abbreviation of *sutajio* スタジオ (studio). Because of this uncertainty, this study will refer to the show as *Bibisuta*, also dropping the originally included musical note.

within the museum. *Bibisuta* also reports on special occasions organised by hacchi. A second element which enhances the level of audience engagement in *Bibisuta* is its length and the presence of two DJ's at the same time. These DJ's have time to read messages which they received through their website or by e-mail or Twitter and they also coin topics to which people can respond. These can be experiences, like 'habits I have been able to stick to so far' or simply words, like 'mō もう (an interjection to strengthen an emotion, often related to annoyance)'. The DJ's sometimes give away presents and they provide their listeners with practical information throughout the broadcast.

Besides these DJ's and the usage of hacchi and the topics it provides (historic finds, anniversaries of museum pieces or special events), *bibisuta* also has several segments created by others. The section *hachinohe hotline* はちのへ HOTLINE broadcasts information by and about local volunteers, the police and sport clubs, the *oh! my! gakkō hōsōkyoku* Oh! My! 学校放送局 (Oh! My! School Broadcasting Station) segment features the middle school discussing club (excluding holidays) and in *kosodate rajio ~sessēsē no yoi yoi yoi* 子育てラジオ～せっせーせーのよいよいい～ (Child Raising Radio: Sessese and Yoi yoi yoi)¹³² parents give and receive tips on how to handle problems with their children. The schedule of *Bibisuta* is different every day and has several contributors both before and during the actual broadcast.

The remainder of the BeFM's timetable before four o'clock and the weekend schedule in its totality is filled with brief half hour or one hour segments. During the week, the brief radio drama *nanbu mukashiko monogatari* 南部昔コ物語 (Various Tales from Nanbu's Past) and short radio documentary *furutachi kōji no kimama ni hisutorī* 古館光治のきままにヒストリー (Furudate Kōji's Own Way of doing History) are of special interest. Both deal with narratives from Aomori's and/or Hachinohe's past, although one more mythological than the other. On August 1st, 2016, the storytellers of *Various Tales from Nanbu's Past* perform the story of *numa no sake no hanashi* 沼のさけの話 (The Story of the Salmon in the Swamp),¹³³ in which a fish gets seduced by the swamp to swim in him instead of the water. At first it seems as though the fish is trapped, but by clever thinking he manages to get out eventually. In the radio documentary led by Furudate Kōji, the character of the *kappa* 河童 (a mythological water creature) is explored. In July and August, the Hachinohe City Museum held an exhibition on this creature, its various forms and its history and Furudate adds to this display by telling his listeners more about the Aomori version of. Completely different, but still reflecting the local focus of BeFM and its

¹³² *Sessese* and *yoi yoi yoi* come from a Japanese nursery rhyme which also includes clapping one's hands.

¹³³ The identification of the title of this story is based on the author's understanding. Since the story was performed in Tōhoku dialect, there may be a misunderstanding of the word 'sake'.

programmes is *Glocal Hachinohe*. This brief show is presented in Japanese by foreigner students from all kinds of places, like America, Russia or Great-Britain and discusses a “variety of topics concerning both the local and the global.”¹³⁴ On July 20th, they discussed the 2016 Summer Olympics, how it is experienced by the different countries and the finished with a song from one of their original countries.

In the weekends, the fifteen-minute show *watashi no machi hachinohe* 私の街八戸 (My Town, Hachinohe) is also a fine example of how radio can convey feelings for the community. Presented by elder hosts, this radio programme tries to evoke the *furusato* ふるさと (a nostalgic denominator of location as a ‘home town’) feeling that they believe once belonged to Hachinohe. Together with guests, they discuss nostalgic topics, like former shops and school events.

The live lunchtime show of BeFM knows a lot of variation and it offers its listeners a lot of different themes and topics. The live show is broadcast from among the people and as such, it literally *exists* between its target audience. People can visit the museum to see the broadcast. Just like FM Wappy, the BeFM live show gives people the opportunity to send in requests and messages and depending on the day, show elements focus on sports, safety information or what is playing at the cinema. People can send in their parenting questions to have them answered on Wednesday and previously recorded segments include English and Nanbu lessons once more. After the live show, Monday afternoon is filled with culture through a folk tale performed in radio drama style and a history lesson which is connected to what is happening in Hachinohe at that time. There is also room for an international contribution on Wednesday.

3.1.3 Afternoon Announcements and Finishing the Day

The Afternoon and Evening of FM Wappy

At three o’clock in the afternoon, FM Wappy begins its hour and a half afternoon live show, *Swing Beat Jam*. Similar to BeFM’s lunchtime show, FM Wappy’s *Swing Beat Jam* is broadcasted from a satellite studio, namely from the indoor marketplace and meeting point *fukukō ichiba* 副港市場. In this show there is less focus on practical information, like the news or



Figure 6: FM Wappy Studio at the *fukukō ichiba* market place (Source: Taken from “日本最北端のFM放送局「FMわっぴ〜」椎名賢俊さん,” Hokkaido Likers, accessed August 3, 2016, <http://www.hokkaidolikers.com/articles/639>)

¹³⁴ “Glocal Hachinohe,” BeFM: Glocal Hachinohe, ±15h45m, from a programme broadcast by BeFM on July 20, 2016, recorded via *TuneIn*.

the *Heart-warming Wakkanai* corner. Instead, it has a few day specific topics, like the discussion of a certain *oyatsu* おやつ (snack, usually consumed around three o'clock) produced by the local sweets store in Wakkanai or a run-through of the films playing at the cinema's. Every Wednesday, students and teachers of the Wakkanai Hokusei Gakuen University 稚内北星学園大学 come by to discuss the topics that are researched or when there is a special event, like the arrival of foreign students from Nepal. On Thursdays, a brief recitation is programmed. However, this reading is different in content and intention than the one performed on BeFM. In the description of this programme element on their website it is said that this recitation has received a renewal since Spring 2016.¹³⁵ The aim of it is to convert an existing song lyric into a form of poetry which then conveys a different feel. On July 21st, 2016, *Swing Beat Jam* used the lyrics of *natsu iro* 夏色 (Summer Colour, 1998) by the popular two-man band Yuzu. Unlike BeFM's recitation, FM Wappy only uses song lyrics and no dialect or folk tale based narrative.

To fill the remainder of its air time, *Swing Beat Jam* plays, as its name somewhat suggest, a lot of soul- and jazz-like music and it also features a weekly discussion theme, like the lunchtime programme. Listeners are asked to invite to statements like 'if I don't eat this, it will not feel like summer' or 'stories that send a chill down my spine'. Furthermore, because *Swing Beat Jam* is broadcast from a relatively open studio in the market place, there is sometimes a brief interaction with visitors or FM Wappy participates in an event held inside the market place. Other methods through which the show tries to engage its listeners is with contests for items, like film tickets or prizes from stores within the *fukukō ichiba* market place. *Swing Beat Jam* gets close to its audience by asking them to respond or participate in the show and by becoming physically visible for them as well. It is the final live show of the day from Monday to Thursday, with only one extra live show on the last Friday of the month.

Following *Swing Beat Jam* is the standard half hour show *ebuninngu taimuzu* イブニングタイムズ (Evening Times). Designed as a recapitulating show, practicalities like the news, the weather reports and the section *Heart-warming Wakkanai* is repeated for the last time that day. From six o'clock onwards, FM Wappy's broadcasting time is filled with pre-recorded programmes by the members of the FM Wappy Club. These programmes focus on specific forms of music, like J-Pop (Japanese popular music) or less contemporary pop music or *enka*, give extra time to students of the Wakkanai Hokusei Gakuen University or allow individual members to invite people they want to interview.

¹³⁵ See the link to *rajio de rōdoku* ラジオで朗読 (Radio Recitation) in the *Swing Beat Jam* listing at "taimutēburu タイムテーブル (Timetable)," FM Wappy, accessed August 2, 2016, <http://wappy761.jp/timetable/>.

The content of this third time period is equally varied as FM Wappy's lunchtime programming. When looking at what *exists*, listeners can hear topics such as sports, the recurring news and weather reports, event information and a small recitation. The level of audience participation is high. Just like BeFM's lunchtime show, FM Wappy's afternoon show is broadcast from 'among the people' and people are invited to participate with the show by responding to a week theme, the news or by simply sending in a song request. The special interest broadcasts following the live show are often focused on music and sometimes it is just a talk show which will introduce either a certain topic or invite a guest.

BeFM's Afternoon and Evening Shows

In BeFM's *yūraji! Hachinohe* ゆうらじ ! HACHINOHE (Hachinohe Evening Radio!)¹³⁶, a three-hour long alternation of practical information (news, weather and traffic reports) and various other programme elements is presented. Back in their main studio, this live show resembles the lunchtime show somewhat in its style, but it has a few different segments and only one DJ. Listeners can still send in music requests, share their general experiences or respond to the theme of the day which is set by the DJ's themselves per day. On July 20th, 2016 there was a double theme of either 'diet methods, inspired by a documentary on fitness schools, or 'where I want to go this summer'. Also, programme elements like *Enburi Day English* and the *Refreshing Linkage through a Hachinohe Greeting* are incorporated and the DJ keeps the listeners informed of traffic information and the weather forecast.

New and relevant elements in this live show are *ashita gomi chekku* 明日ゴミチェック (Tomorrow's Refuse Check), *kennan omotenashi maisutā* 県南おもてなしマイスター (The Hospitable Master from the Prefecture's South) and *ii ne! Hachinohe* いいね! 八戸 (Nice, right! Hachinohe). The first is a brief reminder of which refuse/trash will be collected the next day and from what time it is allowed to put it on the curb. It is presented in such a clear manner and repeated twice so that even children can understand it. The second and third segments are more focused on local culture and people's experiences of the Hachinohe area. In *The Hospitable Master from the Prefecture's South*, the hosts discuss what is currently popular in Hachinohe when it comes to food or music. In *Nice, right! Hachinohe*, inhabitants of a particular neighbourhood get to talk about why it is great to live where they live or of which part of Hachinohe they have the fondest memories.

¹³⁶The programme title's *yūraji!* is a contraction of the words *yū* 夕 (evening) and *rajiō* ラジオ/らじお (radio).

The final weekday show broadcast via internet on BeFM is *rōdoku no jikan* 朗読の時間 (Recitation Time). Different from FM Wappy's recitation of a known song lyric, this show chooses a certain literature author for one or two weeks and reads either a short story or a few chapters of his or her work. For example, in the summer of 2016, a lot the works by mystery writer Edogawa Rampo 江戸川乱歩 (1894-1965) were read. The show is positioned at the end of the day with the aim to let people unwind while listening to a story, as if it were a bedtime story.¹³⁷ A collection of all that is read during the week is repeated in its totality on Sunday evening and is then followed by a *David Matthews presents ON AIR GIG* rerun. This show brings easy listening music to the BeFM audience and is another example of BeFM's at times international content.

Finishing the exploration of what is available for public attention, in other words, what kind of messages *exist* for the audience, BeFM's afternoon programme brings a large variety in topics once again. Adding to practical information and language segments, BeFM's live show also has coaching messages on how to properly separate your garbage or what to do in case of emergencies and (natural) disasters. During previously recorded segments, listeners get to hear more about what it means to live in Hachinohe and what certain guests appreciate about the region. The DJ calls for reactions and input from the listeners and as such, the level of interaction is still high in this afternoon live show. The shorter shows after the live show are less focused on music than those of FM Wappy. They are usually talk shows which play a few songs while they talk about something from the Hachinohe area, art, motherhood or sports. BeFM finishes its weekdays with a more legitimate recitation corner through which listeners are brought into contact with Japanese literature.



Figure 7: A Bumper Sticker distributed by FM Wappy in 2015 (Source: Given by Mrs Katō Yumi to the author in Wakkanai, July/August 2015)

Shaping *Uchi* by FM Wappy and BeFM

Before looking at the other three dimensions of Gerbner's *message system analysis* model, it might be useful to already reflect on how FM Wappy and BeFM are trying to get close to their listeners. A first step towards becoming part of their audiences' *uchi*, is the level of relevance and meaningfulness of the topics and themes discussed. The alternation between

¹³⁷ “*rōdoku no jikan* 朗読の時間 (Recitation Time),” BeFM, accessed August 2, 2016, <http://www.befm.co.jp/2015/03/01/朗読の時間>.

practical information and programmes made by special interest parties seems to make this happen. People can use FM Wappy and BeFM as a mere information tool on news, weather and traffic or they can listen more by also showing interest for more topical shows and segments. A second necessity for becoming part of people's intimate circle is to show interest in their lives and respond to their experiences. Nowadays, this is achieved through social media and the internet and the interaction between FM Wappy and BeFM employees and the listeners has never been more frequent.

To see whether or not the radio station has succeeded in infiltrating a listener's *uchi*, several indicators may be checked. First is the level of audience participation during live shows. How many people respond and how? A second is the looking at whether or not people want to show that they listen to the radio station. In 2015, FM Wappy began distributing bumper stickers with their logo and frequency on it (see figure 7) and this is a useful tool for both spreading awareness of the station and seeing who is listening to it. It is unclear if BeFM also has similar stickers or other merchandise. A third indicator is the involvement of listeners in the well-and-woe of the radio station in return. In July 2016, FM Wappy celebrated its 20th anniversary (see figure 8) and for several weeks, people and businesses could send in their congratulations which would then be broadcast. To the joy of FM Wappy, this was done by many people. The radio content and level of audience involvement shows how these community FM try to become part of the listener's *uchi* and how they create a larger community *uchi* at the same time.



Figure 8: A Cake celebrating the 20th Anniversary of FM Wappy (Source: Taken from the FM Wappy Facebook Page. Posted on July 1, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/wappy761/>)

3.2 Timetable: Which Information Is Emphasised

In a *message analysis*, it is often most educational to find out what exactly is being broadcast. This is why Gerbner's *existence* is the most extensive of the four dimensions. However, by seeing which elements in their programming are emphasised, a stronger understanding of the radio stations intentions can be reached. To see the *priorities* of FM Wappy and BeFM, four content themes have been selected based on their intensity, frequency and relevance.

3.2.1 Practical Information

Perhaps an obvious element of their programming, both FM Wappy and BeFM reserve a lot air time for the broadcasting of *practical information*, like the (local) news, weather and traffic updates. Counting the references to these types of segments during the week, FM Wappy features this information at least ten times a day and BeFM more than sixteen times a day. And this does not even include the occasional on the hour news bulletin. Other forms of practical information are the segments reserved for information coming from their local governments and the recurring reminders of the events which will soon take place. Together with the next priority of everyday stories, the high frequency of practical information is not surprising. When asked what she wanted to achieve with FM Wappy, Mrs. Katō also mentioned this element of informing people. Among other things, she wanted FM Wappy to become a platform which gave people real time information. A community radio station has to be able to tell people what is going on. The same goes for BeFM. The information from these segments may prove to be useful for anybody. This is why they take up a large portion of the broadcasting and get set times during the live shows.

3.2.2 Everyday Stories

In order for FM Wappy and BeFM to get closer to their audiences, it pays off to incorporate *everyday stories* in their shows. This means that both the DJ's and the listeners frequently share what they have experienced or what they think about certain topics. These messages are encouraged through weekly and daily themes and by sending out reporters who question people, even more reality fills the air waves. For FM Wappy, their *Heart-warming Wakkanai* is a good example of a show segment which features everyday stories and (live) experiences of people. The segment returns roughly three times a day during the week and twice during the weekend. BeFM does not have a clear show element on every day stories like this, but it incorporates it in the sections 'event information'. These also return about three times a day on weekdays.

3.2.3 Education and Special Interest Corners

A third emphasis is placed on *educational segments* and special interest corners. Especially BeFM has many examples of show elements which are aimed at teaching something to the listeners. FM Wappy mainly introduces new songs or, for example, repeats traffic rules when cycling season has begun (start of the Summer), but it has no real educational show. According

to Mrs Katō Yumi, FM Wappy once had a show on northern Japanese dialect, but it stopped quite some time ago. The special interest programmes of FM Wappy are also mainly focussed on either music and sometimes on how people can prevent unhealthy behaviour or money troubles.

BeFM on the other hand has several educational show (segments). It features an English corner twice a day, it explains the meanings of old Nanbu words and it has special interest corners on local history. There is a show segment during the morning that teaches people how they could save energy and through its involvement with the hacchi museum, BeFM DJ's also elaborate on historic objects from time to time. There are programmes on art, a literature reading and the introduction of new music takes place as well. It is especially the existence and priority of this content element which sets the two radio stations somewhat apart from each other. It is difficult to give a proper reason for this, but paragraph 3.5 will later on ponder on one explanation.

3.2.4 Music

The fourth and final element which features frequently on both radio stations is *music*. Both stations use music during their shows and they indicate the end of one segment and the beginning of a new one. Sometimes, they use ready-made music content provided through the JCBA or other, more regional, radio stations like Aomori's J-Wave. However, they also feature music they choose themselves. In FM Wappy's programming, a lot of emphasis is placed on *enka* music. On Wednesday afternoon, it is only allowed to request seventies and eighties music and during the half our segment that precedes the lunchtime live show, it is mainly *enka* music which is broadcast. This does not mean that they do not play contemporary and international music, but it is on a lower scale.

When asked about local artists, Mrs Katō

responded that they indeed support them. The signed poster in figure 9 shows one of them and on the FM Wappy website several others are introduced. FM Wappy features a CD of the month and these are often created by local artists as well. BeFM also supports local artists and some even have their own radio time to showcase their music. However, what is most striking about BeFM's music choice is the variety between traditional Japanese music and international music.



Figure 9: Fragments of the CD cabinet and the posters which fill the walls of the hallway leading up to FM Wappy's main studio (Source: Pictures taken by the author on August 7th, 2015 in Wakkanai)

Shows like *glocal Mix* and *David Matthews presents ON AIR GIG* are filled with non-Japanese music. However, there is also a show on folk songs, so the music range of BeFM is quite varied.

3.3 Qualifying: How Are Topics Discussed

The next dimension of Gerbner's message system analysis is that of *values* and the eventual *norms* which arise from them. To find these values, Gerbner proposes a focus on what is considered to be good or bad and to see if the messages tend to contain value judgements or critical attitudes towards certain types of behaviour.¹³⁸ An initial result of looking for values within FM Wappy and BeFM programmes might lead to slogans and frequently used words. FM Wappy fills its jingles and illustrations with the catchphrase *anata no rajio* あなたのラジオ (Your Radio) and the words *saihokutan* 最北端 or *saihoku* 最北 (Most Northern (Point)). However, theseThese qualifications emphasise the stations community value and its appreciation of its northern status. BeFM lacks such a slogan. Besides the overall characterisation of a radio station, this research has distilled three other relevant areas which are both prioritised and qualified by FM Wappy and BeFM.

3.3.1 Health, Safety and Money Matters

Both radio stations appear to value *health* and *safety* and the general well-being of their (elderly) listeners. FM Wappy's timetable also includes a half hour show on *finances*. However, before going any further, it needs to be said that (especially for values drawn from traffic reports) it is difficult to distinguish between content which illustrates a true 'value' and phrases that have become part of general speech. Nonetheless, the recurring emphasis on these matter may prove enough reason to consider them being somewhat of a value, at the least.

Therefore, exemplifying the value of safety, DJ's continuously emphasise caution to drives during their traffic information, the need to follow traffic rules and the returning short reminders of how to act during an emergency. For health, both FM Wappy and BeFM feature shows by doctors and civil servants and they occasionally give air time to companies in the funeral business.

The financial element of life is also discussed on FM Wappy and during this brief show, it is often stressed that people should stay aware of their financial situation and how it might change in the future. This last value also returns in the commercials broadcast by FM Wappy and

¹³⁸ Morgan, *George Gerbner*, 62.

BeFM. Without giving too much attention to these advertisements, a frequent ‘commercial’ on FM Wappy was a warning about the nowadays infamous *ore ore sagi* 俺俺詐欺 (“It’s me”-scam) by both the government and a bank. Apparently, (especially elderly) people need to be reminded to not be too careless with their money.

FM Wappy and BeFM incorporate judgements on what is good or bad for one’s health, how people should look out for their money and they routinely express the wish that people look after themselves and each other. By Gerbner standards, this might indicate that health, safety and responsible finance management are values carried out by both radio stations.

3.3.2 Attention for the Community and What Lies Beyond

Just like the necessity of the term *soto* to understand the term *uchi*, so does a community need to be able to see what it does not entail. In other words, to emphasize the value of *solidarity* or, simply the sense of community in general. To achieve this, community radio can have the tendency to make a distinction between what belongs to their community and what is ‘other’. This solidarity is a very big value and this whole study on community radio is also partially an exploration of this idea. In general, this message analysis will highlight which elements are used to strengthen this sense of community for both FM Wappy and BeFM. This is why this current paragraph will focus on more on how and when the two radio station refer to an ‘other’. However, it is difficult to complete separate this ‘other’ from the own community, as the next paragraph will show.

For FM Wappy, there is a real ‘other’ in very close proximity. On clear days, it is possible to see Sakhalin (Russian soil) from Cape Sōya, the most northern point on Japanese ‘main land’. There are ferry services to the island and in general, the nearness of Russia is noticeable in throughout the city (see figure 10). When DJ’s discuss the weather on FM Wappy, they sometimes use the possibility of seeing Sakhalin or not as a measure for how good or bad the weather is. When asked about the Wakkanai-Sakhalin connection, Mrs Katō answered that



Figure 10: A Road Sign with Russian Translations and the famous Russian *matryoshka* dolls, on sale at a Wakkanai souvenir shop (Source: Pictures taken by the author on August 7th, 2015 in Wakkanai)

FM Wappy once had a segment during which they made a phone call to inhabitants of the island. However, with the decreasing number of Japanese living on the island, this segment is no longer airing. The FM Wappy website, still features an information web page on Sakhalin, which again shows the significance of the

island for Wakkanai. This ‘other’ which is only 43 kilometres away gives Wakkanai, and FM Wappy, a good counterpart. It is something which is not really Japanese or ‘Wakkanai’, but at the same time it is also difficult to *not* use it as a method for identification. Sakhalin is a tool which sets a northern boundary of the Wakkanai community, but it is also part of the community, particularly because it is so close by and because the two regions have a shared history.

Hachinohe has no close ‘foreign other’, but does incorporate other outside cultures in its programming. Programmes like *glocal MIX*, *Glocal Hachinohe*, *Enburi Day English* and *David Matthews presents ON AIR GIG* present the listeners with speech and topics which might not belong to the general ‘Hachinohe community’. However, it does show an openness of, at least, BeFM for these outside influences. For FM Wappy and BeFM, the referencing to ‘others’ functions as a strengthening of the own solidarity and sense of community (this is apparently what we are not) on the one hand. On the other, the integration and usage of this ‘other’ is so normalised, that it would be difficult to take it away from the community or, for BeFM, the community radio programming.

3.3.3 Stimulating Local Culture, Language and History

Very relevant for this study is the value of *tradition* and the extent to which it is carried out by FM Wappy and BeFM. The extent to which this is done differs greatly between FM Wappy and BeFM.

There is no real show on language or history in FM Wappy’s timetable. So when it comes to cultivating listeners consciously through radio content, it may appear as if FM Wappy has very little to offer. However, in its desire to position themselves as the radio of the people (*anata no rajio*), the attendance of (traditional) cultural events does take place (see figure 11). Another indication of passing on tradition and how FM Wappy assists in this is a commercial that regularly returns. It is send out by the Hokumon Shrine and it asks the listeners to send in any pictures that relate to the shrine and its surrounding activities. Especially older pictures would be appreciated. The culture that is covered by FM Wappy is mainly contemporary



Figure 11: The transfer of the *o-mikoshi* 神輿 (portable shrine) during the Hokumon Shrine Festival in Wakkanai (Source: Taken from the FM Wappy Facebook Page. Posted on July 5, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/wappy761/>)

and festivals that are held are more in line with Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's concept of *invented traditions*. Cultural events at the *fukukō ichiba* market place or the celebration of the opening of the renewed Wakkanai station all have a fairly recent origin and “establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition.”¹³⁹ Therefore, concluding that FM Wappy pays no attention to culture or tradition would be unfair, however, it does not create any elaborate radio content which teaches children (or adults) about traditional culture, language or history per se.

How different this is for BeFM. With shows on regional folk tales told in the Tōhoku dialect, lessons on Nanbu words, discussions on historical objects from the museum and short history talks, BeFM very much engages with the local culture, language and history that Hachinohe possesses. Coming back to BeFM's lunchtime live show, it is revealing that it is being broadcast from the hacchi museum. Just a few buildings away from BeFM's main studio, this museum is one of the main embodiments of culture in Hachinohe since 2011. It describes itself as a museum which “showcase[s] the appeal of the numerous local Hachinohe resources through permanent tourism exhibits” and it also tries to promote social exchanges and “urban development, cultural art, tourism, craftsmanship and child-rearing support as a base to awaken new activities and interest in [their] city.”¹⁴⁰ The main hall of hacchi has many seats and tables which allow people to meet and have a drink and the BeFM studio has a rather prominent place on the first floor. Through this location, BeFM emphasises its involvement as a whole in the larger community building project in Hachinohe called *machigumi* まちぐみ (here translated as ‘town team’). On their website, *machigumi* presents itself as a volunteer group that wants to encourage the future of Hachinohe, support its fun activities and repay the community in which they were raised.¹⁴¹ Becoming a member of this group is fairly easy and BeFM is also connected to the initiative. The pictures of *machigumi* members decorate the



Figure 12: Pictures taken as part of the BeFMx*machigumi* *kikaku* まちぐみ企画 (town team project), hung near BeFM's studio on the first floor in the hacchi museum. This ongoing project is a volunteering programme. The pictures show past and present volunteers. All the pictures covered more than a wall. (Source: Pictures taken by the author on August 7th, 2015 in Wakkanai)

¹³⁹ Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 2.

¹⁴⁰ “What is hacchi?” Hachinohe Portal Museum hacchi, accessed August 3, 2016, http://hacchi.jp/en/what_is_hacchi.html.

¹⁴¹ “*machigumi to ha* 「まちぐみ」とは？ (What is Machigumi?),” Machigumi, accessed August 7, 2016, <http://machigumi.main.jp/about.php>.

surroundings of the BeFM hacchi studio (see figure 12) and BeFM sometimes uses these volunteers to report on events or situations.



Figure 13: BeFM DJ's reporting live on the Sansha Taisai Festival. The float progression takes place just outside the BeFM main studio (Source: Taken from the BeFM Twitter feed. Posted on August 3, 2016, https://twitter.com/BeFM_hachinohe)



Figure 14: BeFM Mascot Bibi-chan also features on one of the floats for the Sansha Taisai Festival (Source: Taken from the BeFM Twitter feed. Posted on July 31, 2016, https://twitter.com/BeFM_hachinohe)

A final example of BeFM's strong connection to traditional local culture is seen in its involvement with the annual Hachinohe Sansha Taisai Festival 八戸三社大祭. This progression of immense floats and divine palanquins takes place in August and BeFM reports on both the preparations and the event itself (see figure 13). During the first week of August, the radio station has a special Sansha Taisai Festival week. They inform people on the origin and meaning of the festival, which activities they can join in with and people are encouraged to download one of the apps that allows them to listen to a live report of the event. This way, BeFM supports the passing on of tradition and in a way, it becomes a small part of it as well. Sometimes even literally (see figure 14).

3.4 Matching: Which Elements Are Combined

The fourth and final dimension of Gerbner's *message system analysis* requires a look at the overall structuring of the messages and the connections between them. For radio messages broadcast by FM Wappy and BeFM, this comes down to looking at the timetables and how certain show segments are clustered or connected.

One important concept within this dimension is that of *zoning*. Despite their tendency to change at least twice a year, these timetables (see appendices 7 to 10) always follow the same division of three main live shows during weekdays and perhaps two in the weekends. In his earlier mentioned work *Radio, Television and Modern Life* (1996), Paddy Scannell addresses this structuring of time zones. The division into three time zones is not an uncommon one and it serves a purpose. They are thusly "arranged to be appropriate to the time of day – which means appropriate to who in particular is available to watch or listen at what time and in what

circumstances. So zoning adjusts services to be grossly appropriate to what people are doing and when.”¹⁴² Like other broadcast media, community radio stays close to its audience by looking at who is likely to listen and when. This zoning affects the content of messages, like the weather or information on when to take your garbage outside, but it also shows which group of people is likely to listen at a certain time. For FM Wappy, the one-hour time between ten and eleven o’clock is reserved for the more elderly listener. On BeFM, the younger listeners are targeted later on the day between seven and nine o’clock, when they broadcast shows with more modern music.

Another important aspect which becomes clear in this dimension of *relationships*, is the formation of *routine*. Pretty much all of the segments within the live shows are set at specific times and some of them return quite frequently. This structure allows listeners to get familiar with the radio station through familiar and predictable types of information. Other ways of strengthening this routine is to introduce a certain catch phrase or by setting a certain theme which structures the show. Both are done by FM Wappy and BeFM. As for catchphrases, when FM Wappy DJ’s read the incoming messages during the weekday morning live show, they always pronounce the phrase *ohayō gozaimasu* おはようございます (good morning) with a certain recognisable stress pattern. Listeners have come to expect this.

A brief review of how FM Wappy and BeFM structure their broadcasts shows that they are aware of their target audience and that they try to keep their listeners through routine. Listeners know what they can expect from their community radio station and this increases the chances of people tuning in at the right time to listen to the show they prefer.

3.5 Same Intention, Different Routes

The *message system analysis* on FM Wappy and BeFM’s radio content has shown how two radio stations with an overall similar objective can broadcast different types of programmes to achieve it. They employ a different strategy or take another route compared to the other. Most striking within this difference is the amount of cultural, linguistic and historical references within their broadcasts and the emphasis on local companies. Compared to each other, BeFM has included significantly more programmes on culture, history and language than FM Wappy. FM Wappy on its turn is more reliant on local branches of national companies and truly local businesses. This

¹⁴² Paddy Scannell, *Radio, Television and Modern Life: A Phenomenological Approach* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 150.

final paragraph would like to look back at these two elements and see what these distinctive routes could indicate or how they might be explained.

An illustration of the possible difference between Hokkaidō and Aomori is visible in Kajiyama Sumiko's book title *Cool Japan: A Guide to Tokyo, Kyoto, Tohoku, and Japanese Culture Past and Present* (2013). Even though it also includes southern Japan, there apparently exists a difference in the cultural history of Aomori (a prefecture in the Tōhoku area) and Hokkaidō. Taking a very brief look at Japanese history, this can indeed be explained.

For centuries, Hokkaidō did not belong to the sphere of influence of Japanese culture coming from the Kyōto and Tōkyō area. The main island Honshū eventually became the main roaming grounds for the so-called *wajin* 和人 (an archaic term indicating 'Japanese' inhabitants from Honshū) and it was on this island where political institutions and cultural productions prospered. People currently known as *ainu* アイヌ (indigenous inhabitants of (northern) Japan, particularly Hokkaidō) lived on Hokkaidō. It was not until 1799 that they and the region of Hokkaidō first came under 'Japanese' administration¹⁴³ and it has been 'equal' to other prefectures since only 1947.

The precise history of Hokkaidō and the *ainu* people is turbulent and this brief paragraph will surely not do them justice. What is most important right now, however, is the notion of culture to which the radio stations can revert. Samurai clans like the Nanbu provide Aomori with cultural traditions similar to those in the south of Japan. The dialect has had centuries to develop from standard Japanese and the people living in Aomori might be able to trace back their roots over several generations. The cultural well, so to say, is far deeper in Aomori. In Hokkaidō, on the other hand, traditional culture is a far more difficult issue. In theory, FM Wappy could draw from a rich *ainu* culture. However, as Michele Mason also argues in her book on narratives of colonial Hokkaidō, the acknowledgement of a significant *ainu* culture is hard to find. As part of the, according to her 'colonising' activities of Japan in Hokkaidō, the *ainu* have been written out "of their ancestral land" including their history and culture.¹⁴⁴ Instead, the *tondenhei* 屯田兵 (Japanese farming-militias who came to colonise and cultivate Hokkaidō) and their current descendants are more inclined to look at their brief history in Hokkaidō.¹⁴⁵ This makes for a shallower cultural pool from which FM Wappy can derive radio content.

¹⁴³ Willem Boot, *Keizers en Shōgun: Een geschiedenis van Japan tot 1868* (Amsterdam: Salomé/Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 100.

¹⁴⁴ Michele M. Mason, *Dominant Narratives of Colonial Hokkaido and Imperial Japan: Envisioning the Periphery and the Modern Nations-State* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 73.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

Instead, FM Wappy focuses on contemporary cultural expressions which are often initiated by local businesses. The locations of cultural events in Wakkanai are generally close to stores and market places, like the one from which FM Wappy broadcasts in the afternoon. Unlike Hachinohe, Wakkanai has no museum from which a broadcast could possibly take place and the market place comes closest to a cultural centre. This lack of programmes aimed at teaching people about traditional culture, history and language might therefore be explained by an overall lack of a long cultural history in Wakkanai.

Conclusion

“With radio, the listener absorbs everything.”¹⁴⁶

-- Attributed to radio host and Peabody Award winner Robert Alan Edwards

Although it sounds like a perfect closing statement for a study on radio effects, the above quote is often denied by radio scholars. Because radio messages are only delivered in an audible manner, it is very difficult, if not impossible, for listeners to ‘absorb it all’. There is just simply too much information. However, a *partial* absorption *is* possible. This study set out to confirm and answer a question which very much assumes this ability of radio to be taken in by the listener. And after going through the motions of finding out where radio comes from, what it can mean for scholars, by whom it is created and what it broadcasts, an answer can be formulated for the question which asked:

Why can community radio be understood as a medium which is able to socialise and cultivate the members of the community it serves and *how* is this illustrated by stations in northern Japan?

The first section tried to shed more light on the why-portion of the question which essentially asks for confirmation of radio being able to influence its audiences. As said before, this inquire is somewhat formulated as a hypothetical question, because this ability of radio has already been studied by several others. Effects on behaviour, on thought processes and on community building have been researched and proven to exist to a certain extent. The discussion on the development of radio studies shows that the effects of radio on its listeners is and was a popular research angle and with the rise of podcasts, the audio only medium is getting a renewal which is still capable to affect people’s lives.

Besides validating studies on radio and the study of radio effects, this first section also intended to bring certain concepts and models to the fore. These would then later be used to support findings in the case studies. Terms like *imagined communities*, the *uchi/soto* distinction, *social capital* and *media convergence* connected media and everyday life. They showed the different forms of community, the beneficial social capital that comes from creating a more unified community and the expanding reach of radio through the cooperation of different types

¹⁴⁶ The origin of this quote is unclear. It circulates on the internet as an ‘inspirational quote’, but a direct source is never given.

of media. With these concepts it becomes possible to answer the why-question because they allow the confirmation that community radio contributes to the cultivation and socialisation of its listeners. For this to happen properly, the audience needs to listen frequently and the community radio has to 'earn' its place inside the listener's direct environment. In line with Takahashi Toshie's argumentation, the radio station needs to become part of the listener's *uchi*. This means that the (community) radio stations have to discuss topics close to the reality of people's lives and that they should give members of the community an opportunity to participate with the radio station instead of being its mere object. In short, both the *content* and level of *audience participation* are vital for a radio station, especially for community FM. These two elements can shape and determine the four requirements of community as formulated by McMillan and Chavis, namely *membership, influence, integration and fulfilment of needs* and a *shared emotional connection* and as such, the characteristics of community and radio are able to complete each other.

The second section of this study zoomed in on radio in Japan and included an analysis of the radio content as broadcast by the community radio stations FM Wappy and BeFM. With the assistance of George Gerbner's *cultural indicators* model, the second chapter looked at the different institutions that busy themselves with radio production. The (local) government, shareholders, local business owners and inhabitants of the region themselves, they all contribute to the eventual programming and radio content as it hits the air. The third chapter used Gerbner's *message analysis* and eventually showed different ways of making and arranging community radio. Although sometimes similar in their structure and values, FM Wappy and BeFM show diverging emphases on culture and the prominence of businesses. Yet, their socialising and cultivating abilities remain equally present.

Socialisation, the learning of how to become a member of society, is presented by both in the form of social interactions and making listeners aware of social conventions and rules. Children are shown that it is good to thank people and to show them their appreciation, traffic rules are to be abided with and an open attitude towards other people and other cultures is desirable. The community FM's not only demonstrate proper conduct in their programmes, but listeners are constantly invited to participate with the radio station in creating meaningful radio content. Social interactions between the listener and the DJ's is desired and visiting the studio is possible. People might know someone who is involved with the station or they may be asked by the radio station for an interview. FM Wappy and BeFM are able to get close to their audiences not only through social media, but also physically. And this proximity of the community FM and its audience promotes the social impact of the station.

Cultivation, or the education of culture knowledge and the providing of cultural experiences, takes place at both stations, but its realisation differs. FM Wappy focuses on contemporary events often founded by local businesses. There is little attention for language or history during the programmes, but it does try to teach its listeners more on what it is that defines the community. For example, its northernmost location is an inspiration for many items. For BeFM, culture, history and language is a more regular topic. They also refer to the regions history, traditions and historical language. On the other hand, BeFM also looks beyond its borders and offers several programmes in which non-Japanese citizens are able to share their thoughts and experiences. Both radio stations present their listeners with either contemporary or more dated cultural knowledge and both try to position themselves as important intermediates through which this knowledge gets to the people.

This research does not claim to be even nearly complete and there are many other institutions and examples which could be discussed in relation to the community radio phenomenon or radio in Japan. The existence of emergency radio stations and their transformations after the 2011 Tōhoku disaster have not been analysed to their full potential and the study of the area-specific determination of radio content, as briefly shown in the last paragraph, could be elaborated. Possible solutions for Japan's dwindling listening rates could be examined or the effectiveness of using radio in reviving Ainu culture in Hokkaidō could be tested. Nevertheless, this exploration of radio studies, radio in Japan and community radio in Hokkaidō and Aomori has tried to show the importance of considering radio for academic study and the appeal of northern Japan for fuelling research topics.

In reference to the quotations used throughout this piece, this study has hopefully shown that radio is more than *mindless chatter*. It is and promises to be so in the future, a world in which real people try to create *satisfying shows* which possibly *make a town pretty again*. And whether or not the listeners are able to *absorb everything* that is offered, they will almost always have *seen* a lot.

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Audio materials, like the interview with Mrs Katō Yumi and the recordings of FM Wappy and BeFM, are in possession of the author and are available upon request.

Pictures not taken by the author herself are credited to their respective owners.

Appendices

-1-

Power Roles (Groups)	Types of Leverage	Typical Functions
1. AUTHORITIES <i>Make and enforce legally binding decisions</i>	Political and Military	Arbitrate, regulate, legitimize power relations; demand service
2. PATRONS <i>Invest, subsidize</i>	Control over resources	Set conditions for the supply of capital and operating funds
3. MANAGEMENT	Control over personnel	Set and supervise policies; public relations
4. AUXILIARIES <i>Supplement and support management</i>	Access to specialized services	Provide supplies, services
5. COLLEAGUES	Solidarity	Set standards; protection
6. COMPETITORS	Scarcity	Set standards; vigilance
7. EXPERTS <i>Talent, technicians, critics, subject specialists</i>	Skill, knowledge, popularity, prestige	Provide personal creative, performing, technical services, advice
8. ORGANIZATIONS	Pressure through representation, boycott, appeal to authorities	Demand favourable attention, portrayal, policy support
9. PUBLICS <i>Groups created or cultivated (or both) media</i>	Individual patronage	Attend to messages; buy products

Appendix 1: Institutional Process Analysis: Major power roles, types of leverage, and typical functions directing the formation of mass-produced message systems

(Originally from: Gerbner, George. "Cultural Indicators: The third voice." In *Communications technology and social policy*. Edited by George Gerbner, Larry P. Gross and William H. Melody, 555-573. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973.

Taken in this format from: Michael Morgan, *George Gerbner*, 58.)

-2-

<i>Dimensions:</i>	EXISTENCE	PRIORITIES	VALUES	RELATIONSHIPS
<i>Assumptions about:</i>	WHAT IS?	WHAT IS IMPORTANT?	WHAT IS RIGHT OR WRONG, GOOD OR BAD, ETC.?	WHAT IS RELATED TO WHAT, AND HOW?
<i>Questions:</i>	What is available for public attention? How much and how frequently?	In what context or order of importance?	In what light, from what point of view, with what associated judgements?	In what overall proximal, logical or causal structure?
<i>Terms and measures of analysis</i>	ATTENTION Prevalence, rate, complexity, variations	EMPHASIS Ordering, ranking, scaling for prominence, central tendency, or intensity	TENDENCY Measures of critical and differential tendency; qualities, traits	STRUCTURE Correlations, clustering; structure of action

Appendix 2: Message System Analysis: Dimensions, questions, terms, and measures

(Originally from: Gerbner, George. "Cultural Indicators: The third voice." In *Communications technology and social policy*. Edited by George Gerbner, Larry P. Gross and William H. Melody, 555-573. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973.

Taken in this format from: Michael Morgan, *George Gerbner*, 62.)

-3-

Community Radio Stations in Hokkaidō 北海道

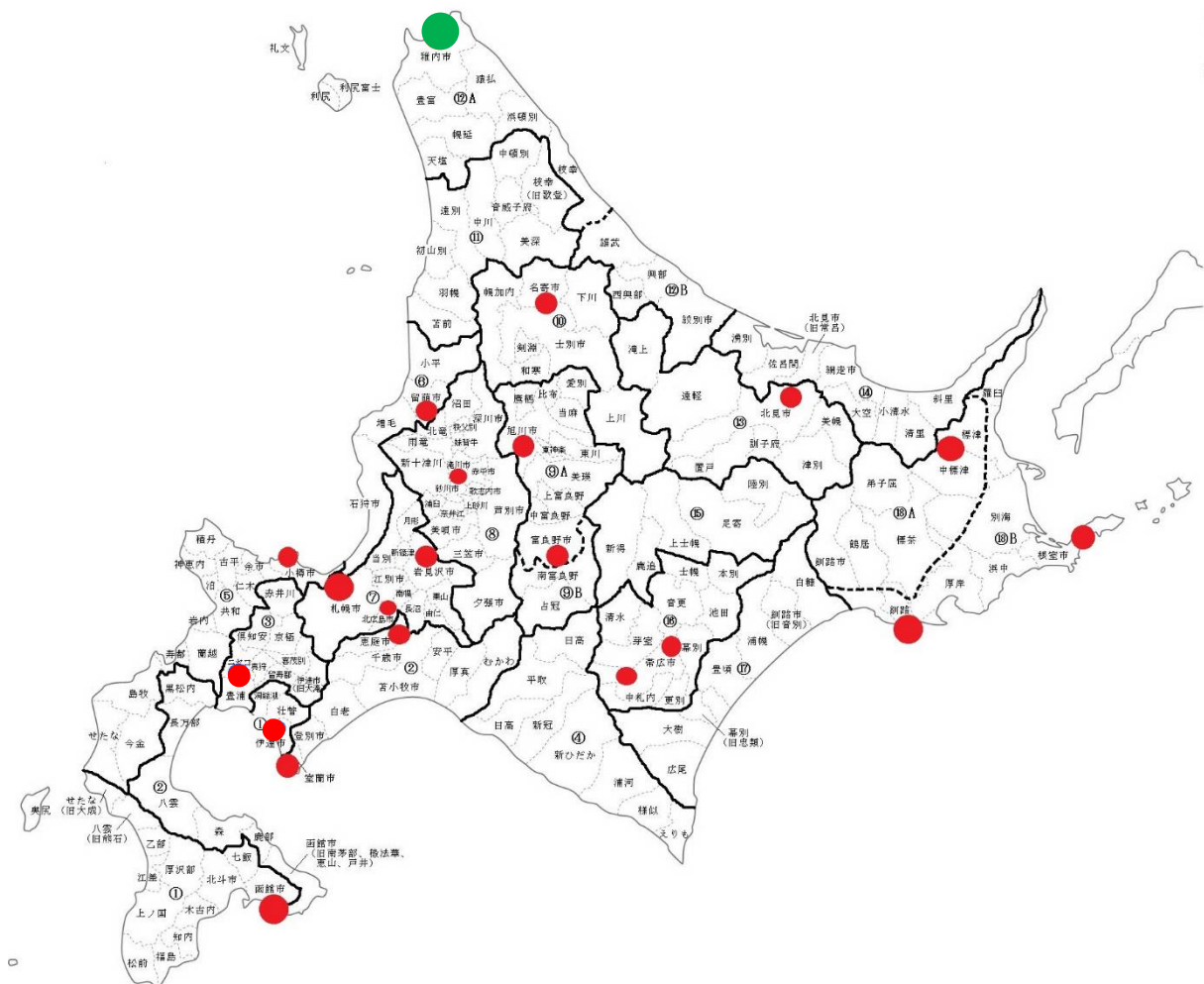
1. FM Kushiro → Kushiro-shi 釧路市 (<http://www.fm946.com/index.html>)
2. FM Wakkanai/FM Wappi~ → Wakkanai-shi 稚内市 (<http://www.wappy761.jp/>)
3. FM Moeru → Rumoi-shi 留萌市 (<http://www.moeru.fm/>)
4. FM Nakasorachi/FM G'Sky → Takikawa-shi 滝川市 (<http://www.fmgsky.com/>)
5. FM Nemuro → Nemuro-shi 根室市 (<http://fmnemuro.iinaa.net/index.html>)
6. FM Toyohira/FM Apple → Sapporo-shi 札幌市 (<http://765fm.com/>)
7. Sankakuyama Hōsōkyoku → Sapporo-shi 札幌市 (<http://www.sankakuyama.co.jp/>)
8. Radio Karos Sapporo → Sapporo-shi 札幌市 (<http://www.radiokaros.com/>)
9. FM Rivière/Ribēru → Asahikawa-shi 旭川市 (<http://www.fm837.com/>)
10. E-niwa → Eniwa-shi 恵庭市 (<http://www.e-niwa.tv/>)
11. Obihiro Shinmin Radio/FM Wing → Obihiro-shi 帯広市 (<http://www.fmwing.com/>)
12. FM Obihiro/FM JAGA → Obihiro-shi 帯広市 (<http://www.jaga.fm/>)
13. FM Hamanasu → Iwamizawa-shi 岩見沢市 (<http://www.fm761.jp/>)
14. FM Iruka → Hakodate-shi 函館市 (<http://www.fmiruka.co.jp/>)
15. FM Otaru → Otaru-shi 小樽市 (<http://fmotaru.jp/>)
16. Radio Furano → Furano-shi 富良野市 (<http://radio.furano.ne.jp/index.html>)
17. FM View/Byū → Muroran-shi 室蘭市 (<http://fmview.jp/>)
18. FM Nayoro/Air Tesshi → Nayoro-shi 名寄市 (<http://www.nayoro.fm/>)

19. FM Ohōtsuku → Kitami-shi 北見市 (<http://fmok.jp/>)
20. FM Hana → Nakashibetsu-chō 中標津町 (<http://fmhana.jimdo.com/>)
21. Radio Niseko → Niseko-machi ニセコ町 (<http://radioniseko.jp/>) (largely aimed at tourists)
22. Wi-radio → Date-shi 伊達市 (<http://www.date-kanko.jp/cfm/>) (largely aimed at tourists)

All these radio stations are affiliated with **JCBA**.

23. Hokkaidō Sogōhōsō/FM Shiroishi/With-S → Sapporo-shi 札幌市 (<http://www.830.fm/>)
24. Sapporo-mura Radio → Sapporo-shi 札幌市 (<http://www.sapporomura.jp/>)
25. Radio TxT FM Doramacity → Sapporo-shi 札幌市 (<http://776.fm/>)
26. FM Maple → Kitahiroshima-shi 北広島市 (<https://www.facebook.com/fm.maple79.9/>)

These four radio stations are *not* registered with the **JCBA**.



Appendix 3: List and Map showing the distribution of Community Radio Stations in Hokkaidō

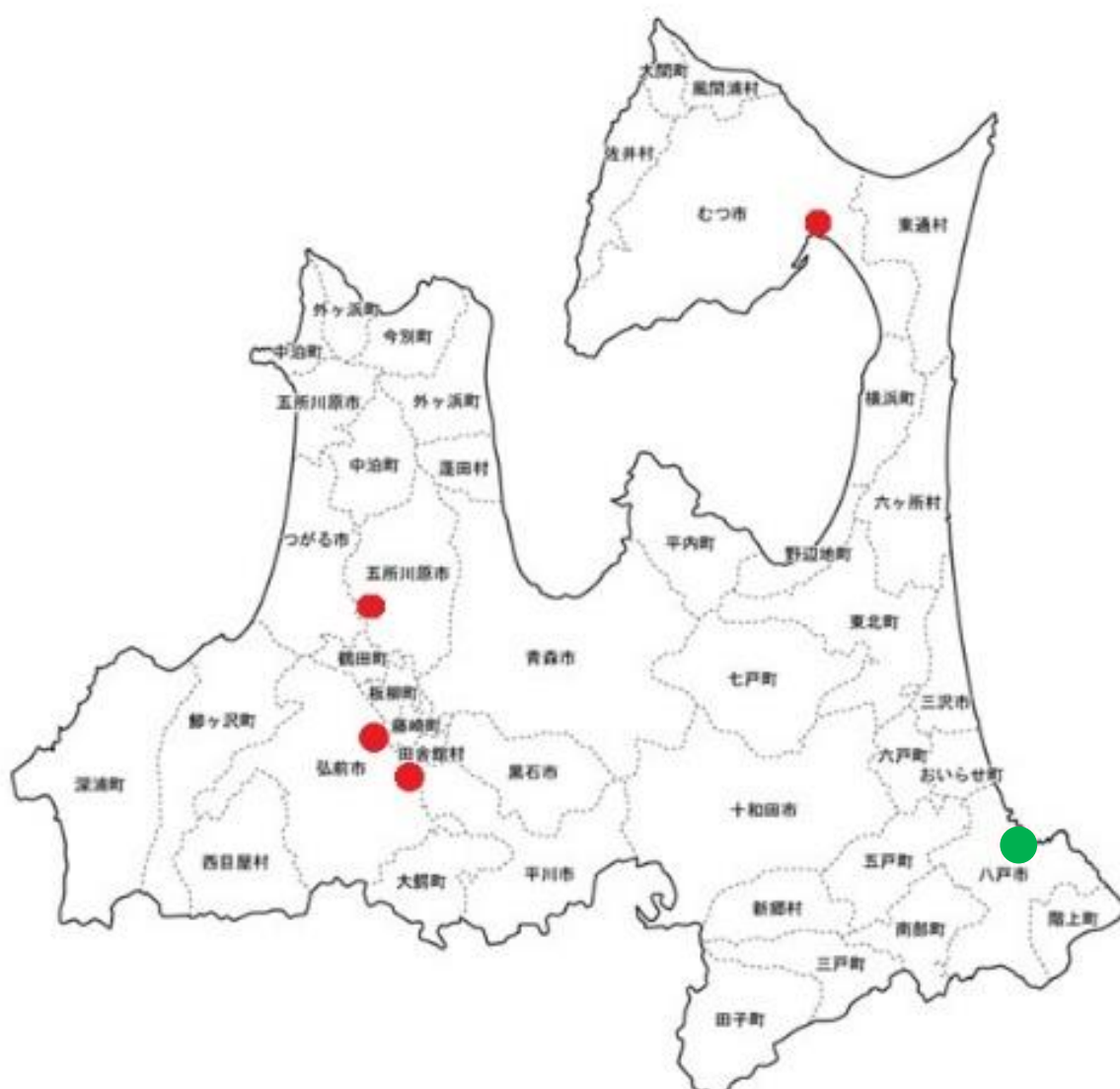
(Created by the author from information gathered from http://www.jcba.jp/map/area_01.html and <http://www.simulradio.info/>)

-4-

Community Radio Stations in Aomori 青森

1. FM Jaigo Wave → Inakadate-mura 田舎館村 (<http://www.fm-jaigo.co.jp/web/index.htm>)
2. FM Apple Wave → Hirosaki-shi 弘前市 (<http://www.applewave.co.jp/>)
3. BeFM → Hachinohe-shi 八戸市 (<http://www.befm.co.jp/>)
4. FM Goshogawara/G.Radio → Goshogawara-shi 五所川原市 (<http://fm767.jp/index.html>)
5. FM Azur/Mutsu → Mutsu-shi むつ市 (<http://www.fmazur.jp/index.html>)

All these radio stations are affiliated with **JCBA**.



Appendix 4: List and Map showing the distribution of Community Radio Stations in Aomori

(Created by the author from information gathered from http://www.jcba.jp/map/area_02.html and <http://www.simulradio.info/>)

-5-

FM Wappy - FM わっぴ〜76.1Mhz (City of Wakkanai, Hokkaidō)

日本最北端の街稚内のコミュニティラジオ放送局

稚内と宗谷管内の地域情報

Facts and Numbers

- **Founded:** July, 1996 to circulate the town's notices.
- **Main focus:** to provide a platform for local (emergency) information and do so in 'real time'. Also, to broadcast tourist information to inform the rest of the country/world and to stimulate the local economy.
- **Media:** FM radio, internet radio (<http://www.simulradio.info/>), website (<http://wappy761.jp/>), Facebook, blogs (<http://wappy761.jp/blog/>), LINE Chat.
- **Design:** FM Wappy uses the following iconography on its website and blogs → Cape Soya and Cape Nosshappu, the wave breaking arches, the island of Saharin, whales, seals and ice.
- **General program content:** To create the "people's radio" (あなたのラジオ) based on interaction with the citizens of Wakkanai and neighbouring areas. Broadcasting themes are (among others) culture, government information, education, economics and amusement.
- **Name:** Wappy is the station's nickname created from the 'wa' from Wakkanai and *Wakka* 輪っか (loop/ring) and the 'pī' from Peace and People.



-6-

BeFM – ビーエフエム (City of Hachinohe, Aomori)

災害・緊急時も情報を届けます

Facts and Numbers

- **Founded:** January, 1999. The 13th station in Tōhoku, the 2nd in Aomori (under the name Telecom Hachinohe, changed to BeFM in October, 2003)
- **Main focus:** To present emergency information to the area of Hachinohe city and a little bit to the surrounding areas. Also, to activate the area, to connect citizens and inform them and to present the citizens with governmental information. The aim is to achieve community development through the radio.
- **Media:** FM radio, internet radio (<http://www.simulradio.info/>), website (<http://www.befm.co.jp/>), Twitter (@BeFM_hachinohe, since April, 2010), magazines (*Interview* and *Relay Column*) and blogs belong to the different programmes.
- **Design:** blue and white. Logo is a Radio Wave, called BiBi-chan who has an *umineko* ウミネコ (Black-tailed Seagull), common in Hachinohe, as a scarf.
- **General program content:** Various programmes on the language, history, culture and everyday life of Hachinohe.
- **Name:** Derived from two thought patterns. First, *Be* is the English translation of "FM しよう!", in other words, let's be (an) FM (station). Second is the abbreviation for the following phrase: 八戸市八日街八番地. In this (area?) description, the character "hachi" is seen thrice, in Japanese 三つ八 (*mitsubachi*). The English translation for this 'word' can also be (honey)bee.



-7-

	月曜日	火曜日	水曜日	木曜日	金曜日		
7:30	LIVE 川島玄起のおはよう最北端 月-金 7:35~ 今日の行ってらシャイ 金 7:40~ 最北マクドナルド Music Cafe 月-金 7:50~ 道路・安全情報 月-金 8:00~ ニュース・天気予報・交通情報 月-金 8:20~ 稚内市からのお知らせ〜ハートフル稚内				  7:30 月-金 8:40~ 今日の占い 月-金 8:55~ 天気予報 月-金 9:00~ 晴れのち晴れ・ユアーズココロの歌 月-火-金 9:20~ ①ミルクランド・北借や ②お元気ですか、市立病院です ③ふれあいホットインフォメーション 木 9:40~ 地域情報発信！		
10:00	宗谷ほっとライン	年金人健保の一口知識 しげはるさんのなるほど講座 (再)	お達者で何より	安心！くすり箱	ビビとマッキの小児科サロン	10:00	
10:30	なつかしのあの歌・この歌					10:30	
11:00	LIVE わっぴ〜最北チャンネル 月火 11:30~ ①葬儀あれこれ相談 ②暮らしのホットライン 火 12:00~ ①沖縄県石垣市にあるサンサンラジオと電話つなぎ ②ハッピーわっぴ〜バースデー 月火木金 12:20~ しんきんインフォメーション 月火木金 12:30~ 今日の占い 月火木金 12:40~ 稚内市からのお知らせ〜ハートフル稚内 月火木金 12:55~ 防災・災害ひとロメモ 月火木金 13:00~ ニュース・天気予報・交通情報 火 13:30~ はぐニュース 月火木金 13:55~ 天気予報		LIVE サッチー・シドウのスーパー電リク! 12:00~ 演歌の花道 12:40~ 稚内市からのお知らせ〜ハートフル稚内 12:55~ 防災・災害ひとロメモ 13:00~ 天気予報 13:55~ 天気予報		LIVE わっぴ〜最北チャンネル 木 11:30~ ANA クラウンプラザホテル稚内スマイルカフェ 木 12:10~ 焼肉平成園まんぶく情報! 木 13:15~ 教えて歯医者さん 木 13:30~ Dr.奥村の今週のテーマ! <i>[Thursday Specific Programming, for more see Monday and Tuesday as well]</i>		LIVE 奇ろう!奇ろう!イオンへGO!!  LIVE わっぴ〜最北チャンネル 金 13:15~ ラジオクッキング <i>[For more see Monday and Tuesday schedule for programming as well]</i>
14:00	①市政ふれあい通信 ②わっぴ〜ミュージックパラダイス	安心！くすり箱	思い出のメロディー	宗谷ほっとライン	元気ハツラツ稚内	14:00	
14:30	①FEEL THE パッカイ ②よさこいチャレンジ ③上勇知元気だより ④あったか愛ランド ⑤わっぴ〜ミュージックパラダイス	①Bravo! クラシック ②ジャンボの Oldies Soul Time ③B 旧ラジオ ④どーらクラブ ⑤わっぴ〜ミュージックパラダイス		キャブテンクックの玉手箱	年金人健保の一口知識 しげはるさんのなるほど講座	14:30	
15:00	LIVE Swing Beat Jam 月 15:30~ おやつのはじかん 月-金 15:55~ 天気予報 月-金 16:20~ 副港インフォメーション 月-金 16:40~ スポーツ情報		水 15:30~ シネマトーク 水 16:00~ 大学探検	木 15:30~ ラジオ朗読	 	15:00	
17:30	イブニングタイムズ (ニュース・天気予報) 月-金 17:40~ 稚内市からのお知らせ〜ハートフル稚内 月-金 17:45~ 街角					17:30	
18:00	①Dog Spirits ②釣り太郎のパワフルラジオ ③Dog Spirits ④わいるど☆とーく ⑤わっぴ〜ミュージックパラダイス	北海道歌旅座 Discover Music.jp	北星学園大学からの生放送デジたる!?	井上仁志 (THE TON-UP MOTORS) のロックンロールゼミナール	①豊富温泉コンシェルジュの「Oh! You! Talk!」 ②はな金カフェ[-19:00h] ③市政ふれあい通信 ④くるみのきやんでいーぼくす ⑤わっぴ〜ミュージックパラダイス[-19:00h]	18:00	
18:30	堀江津のフィンミュージックアワー				①わっぴ〜ミュージックパラダイス ③キャブテンクックの演歌道 ④元気が出るラジオ	18:30	
19:00						19:00	
					LIVE フライデーばっふら NIGHT	20:00 - 22:00	

Appendix 7: FM Wappy Timetable Weekdays Online Broadcasts (Created by the author from <http://www.wappy761.jp/timetable/>)

-8-

	土曜日	日曜日		
8:00	LIVE おはよう宗谷761 土-日 8:05~ 天気予報 土-日 8:15~ スポーツ情報 土-日 8:20~ 稚内市からのお知らせ〜ハートフル稚内 土-日 8:40~ 今日の占い 土-日 8:45~ ニュース・交通情報 土-日 8:55~ 防災・災害ひとロメモ		8:00 	
9:00	LIVE ぐるっとおでかけ DonDon 土曜日 09:30~ Go!Go!ポリスマン 10:30~ 住めば都わっかない 11:30~ 稚内市からのお知らせ〜ハートフル稚内 11:45~ 今日の占い 12:00~ 天気予報 12:30~ どんじゃらチビッコ大行進	   	ビッピとマッキーの小児科サロン (再) チャイルド・スズッピーとトミッピー お達者で何より わっぴ〜クラブ釣り研究所 気ままにサンデー 11:30~ 稚内市からのお知らせ〜ハートフル稚内 11:45~ 今日の占い 12:00~ ニュース・天気予報・交通情報 12:30~ 笑いが一番! わっぴ〜演芸場	9:00 9:30 10:00 10:30 11:00 13:00
	13:00			

Appendix 8: FM Wappy Timetable Weekends Online Broadcasts (Created by the author from <http://www.wappy761.jp/timetable/>)

-9-

	月曜日	火曜日	水曜日	木曜日	金曜日		
7:00	LIVE Be Mornin' (月-金) 7:00~ オープニング&ミュージック 7:10~ ニュース&ウェザー 7:15~ デーリー見出しチェック 7:20~ えんぶりデイイングリッシュ 7:25~ さわやか八戸あいさつ連動 7:30~ ニュース&ウェザー				7:35~ デーリー見出しチェック 7:40~ おもしろ南部弁講座 7:50~ KIDS KISS 7:55~ こどもの詩集花園 8:00~ ニュース&ウェザー 8:05~ デーリー見出しチェック	8:10~ 交通情報 8:20~ イベント情報 8:30~ ニュース&ウェザー 8:35~ デーリー見出しチェック 8:45~ アースガールズのワンポイントエコ	7:00
9:00	J-WAVE						9:00
11:30	LIVE びびすた♪ 11:40~ はちのへHOTLINE 公民館からの施設ガイド 12:00~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 12:15~ ティーセレモニー 12:30~ Oh!My 学校放送局 おもしろ南部弁 講座 12:40~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 13:00~ はっちい 13:15~ こでかけナビ 14:00~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 14:30~ イベント情報	11:40~ はちのへHOTLINE 公民館からの地域情報 12:00~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 12:15~ MOVIE Q 12:30~ Oh!My 学校放送局 おもしろ南部弁 講座 12:40~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 13:00~ はっちい 13:15~ 大地球のお宝拝見 14:00~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 14:30~ イベント情報	11:40~ はちのへHOTLINE スポーツ情報 12:00~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 12:15~ 球さんと一緒 12:30~ Oh!My 学校放送局 おもしろ南部弁 講座 12:40~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 13:00~ はっちい 13:15~ 子育てラジオ~せ っせーの よいほいほい♪ 14:00~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 14:30~ イベント情報	11:40~ はちのへHOTLINE ボランティア市民団体情報 12:00~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 12:15~ ウルトラマニアア ックス! 12:30~ Oh!My 学校放送局 おもしろ南部弁 講座 12:40~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 13:00~ はっちい 13:15~ The STANDARD GOES ON 14:00~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 14:30~ イベント情報	11:40~ はちのへHOTLINE 安心安全110 & 交通安全 講座 12:00~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 12:15~ これ知ってるか ー! 12:30~ Oh!My 学校放送局 おもしろ南部弁 講座 12:40~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 13:00~ はっちい 13:15~ ワンデートリップ 14:00~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 14:30~ イベント情報	11:30	
15:00	青春プレイバック 月 15-15:15 南部昔物語				金 15-15:10 僕らの時計 健康ガイド		15:00
15:45	古館光治のきままにヒ ストリー	キトヒト	Glocal Hachinohe	Hachinohe F.C.	仲さんのやべこにやっ てらが~	15:45	
16:00	LIVE ゆうらじ! HACHINOHE 16:10~ 八戸市からのお知 らせ→広報八戸へ 16:25~ えんぶりデイ イングリッシュ 16:30~ 県南おもてなし マイスター 16:45~ さわやか八戸あい さつ連動 16:50~ 防災ひとロメモ 16:57~ 明日ゴミチェック 17:00~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 17:05~ 交通情報 17:15~ イベント情報 17:50~ KIDS KISS 17:57~ 明日ゴミチェック ニュース& スポーツ 18:10~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 18:15~ ジモスポ Monday 18:30~ SPOT LIGHT ~八戸広人苑~	16:10~ 八戸市からのお知 らせ→健康・子育ていき き情報 16:25~ えんぶりデイ イングリッシュ 16:30~ 月刊ステージ インフォ 16:45~ さわやか八戸あい さつ連動 16:50~ 防災ひとロメモ 16:57~ 明日ゴミチェック 17:00~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 17:05~ 交通情報 17:15~ イベント情報 17:50~ KIDS KISS 17:57~ 明日ゴミチェック ニュース& スポーツ 18:10~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 18:15~ Art Lounge 18:30~ SPOT LIGHT ~八戸広人苑~	16:10~ 八戸市からのお知 らせ→福祉情報→福祉やさ しい街づくり 16:25~ えんぶりデイ イングリッシュ 16:30~ アミューズ・ チェック 16:45~ さわやか八戸あい さつ連動 16:50~ 防災ひとロメモ 16:57~ 明日ゴミチェック 17:00~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 17:05~ 交通情報 17:15~ イベント情報 17:50~ KIDS KISS 17:57~ 明日ゴミチェック ニュース& スポーツ 18:10~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 18:15~ 八戸ニュース チャンネル 18:30~ SPOT LIGHT ~八戸広人苑~	16:10~ 八戸市からのお知 らせ→ちょっと聴いてよ ~!! 消費生活ミニ情報 16:25~ えんぶりデイ イングリッシュ 16:30~ いいね! 八戸 16:45~ さわやか八戸あい さつ連動 16:50~ 防災ひとロメモ 16:57~ 明日ゴミチェック 17:00~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 17:05~ 交通情報 17:15~ イベント情報 17:50~ KIDS KISS 17:57~ 明日ゴミチェック ニュース& スポーツ 18:10~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 18:15~ あつまれ消防団 18:30~ SPOT LIGHT ~八戸広人苑~	16:10~ 八戸市からのお知 らせ→ゆたかな食づくり~ 農業・漁業情報~ 16:25~ えんぶりデイ イングリッシュ 16:30~ ブリュブリュ☆ ブリュス 16:45~ さわやか八戸あい さつ連動 16:50~ 防災ひとロメモ 16:57~ 明日ゴミチェック 17:00~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 17:05~ 交通情報 17:15~ イベント情報 17:50~ KIDS KISS 17:57~ 明日ゴミチェック ニュース& スポーツ 18:10~ 八戸地方の天気 情報 18:15~ はちがくクロス 18:30~ SPOT LIGHT ~八戸広人苑~	16:00	
19:00	民謡列島めぐり	美メロ屋	十日市秀悦のえぶりこ ぎでゴメン!	ゴールデンエイジズ	ハチスポ!	19:00	
19:30		岡崎倫曲の Acoustic Wind	PRACA Ooh-LA (ブラッサ・ウーラ)				
20:00	mama smile	あどばるーんのほにゃ らららじお!	私の街八戸 (再)	LIVE 坂本サトル ミリオンレディオ	①勉強ナビ (再) ②古館光治のきままに ヒストリー (再)	20:00	
20:30	弁護士奥山倫行のロッ ク裁判所	ジネットリオ	古屋敷裕大のうたうラ ジオ		ロンドン Calling	20:30	
21:00	八日町発演歌定期便				David Matthews presents ON AIR GIG	21:00	
					Hachinohe F.C. (再)	21:30	
21:45-22:00	朗読の時間					21:45-22:00	

Appendix 9: BeFM Timetable Weekdays Online Broadcasts (Created by the author from <http://www.befm.co.jp/>タイムテーブル)

-10-

	土曜日	日曜日	
14:00	ゴールデンエイジズ (再)	J-WAVE	14:00
15:00	ハチスポ F! (再)		
16:00	古屋敷裕大のうたうラジオ (再)		
	キラ☆スタ両立ナビ		
	キトヒト (再)		
17:00	PRACA Ooh-LA (ブラッサ・ウーラ) (再)		
	あどばるーんのほにゃらららじお! (再)		
18:00	十日市秀悦のえぶりこぎでゴメン! (再)	勉強ナビ	18:00
		子育てラジオ◎～せっせっせーのよいよいい～ (再)	
	美メロ屋 (再)	ひろこの音部屋	
19:00	堀江淳のファインミュージックアワー	俊ちゃんの人生応援歌	19:00
	私の街八戸		
20:00	SEINAN presents BLUES POWER	朗読の時間 総集編	20:00
	サンドウィッチマンのラジオやらせろ!		
21:00	glocal MIX	David Matthews presents ON AIR GIG (再)	21:00- 21:45
		Glocal Hachinohe (再)	

Appendix 10: BeFM Timetable Weekends Online Broadcasts (Created by the author from <http://www.befm.co.jp/>タイムテーブル)