

REACHING OUT FOR A FAMILIAR VOICE.

A CASE STUDY OF WORLD RADIO GENEVA, AND HOW EXPATRIATES  
USE AN ENGLISH-SPEAKING MEDIUM TO ADJUST TO THEIR NEW  
ENVIRONMENT.

By  
R. Bronwyn Allan-Reynolds.

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## Declaration

I, R. Bronwyn Allan-Reynolds, declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Masters of Arts (Coursework) in the Faculty of Human Sciences, University of Natal, Durban. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

Graduate Programme for Cultural and Media Studies  
University of Natal, Durban January 2000.

R. B. ALLAN-REYNOLDS  
Student number : 801 - 807221,

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## Abstract

The focus of the study is a commercially orientated community radio station, World Radio Geneva, which is based in Switzerland. The radio station uses the English language as a medium of communication, and aims its broadcast programmes at the English-speaking expatriate community residing in the Geneva / Lausanne area. The study examines the extent to which an English-speaking medium can aid the adjustment and acceptance of expatriates into a foreign European society. To address the topic some preliminary investigation into the socio-cultural implications of living in a foreign country is undertaken before the in-depth examination and evaluation of World Radio Geneva.

The study is undertaken within the broad theoretical framework of what constitutes identity, specifically expatriate identity and what constitutes community and commercial radio and the relevant debates. Research questionnaires were sent to a selected number of English-speaking expatriates and were used as a survey method for investigation into the following areas : the socio-cultural implications for expatriates living in Switzerland; the 'uses and gratification's' gained from their media consumption; their views on and possible preferences for World Radio Geneva; and whether the radio station has helped with the integration and adaptation process into Swiss society.

## PREFACE.

We're moving country'. Powerful, powerful words and by implication this means leaving behind one's family, friends, home and one's entire emotional support system. There is no way to make it simple. Moving is difficult and the logistics involved are really the very least of it. Much more complicated are the family's psychological needs. Whether you're happy to go or sad to leave, whether it's your first transfer or the latest of many, everything you do now takes place within the context of the impending move. Your sense of relative permanence is replaced by one of uncertainty and trepidation. An international move is an inherently stressful experience. It can also be a very isolating experience as the process of transition requires that those moving and those staying disengage from one another. Family, friends and colleagues can empathize but ultimately it's you and your family alone who board that aeroplane and leave behind all that is familiar. Its you and your family alone ...

## INTRODUCTION.

The preface paints the scenario of every expatriate who arrives to live in the Geneva / Lausanne area of Switzerland which is the location of this study. Here begins an academic journey that encompasses the socio-cultural implications of relocation and living in a foreign country, a case study and an evaluation of World Radio Geneva (hereafter referred to as WRG), and how expatriates use an English-speaking medium to adjust to their new environment. The overall problematic will be whether the existence of an English language radio station plays a part in the integration and adaptation process of expatriates into a foreign European society.

The focus of the study is a commercially-driven community radio station, WRG, which is based in Geneva, Switzerland. This radio station uses the English language as a medium of communication, and primarily aims its programmes at the English-speaking expatriate community living in its small broadcast area. I have drawn on the experiences of expatriates in this area to help me understand the link between displacement and the need for a 'familiar voice'. Hence this work relies on both theory and empirical investigation with the use of interviews and questionnaires as part of the research process.

The reasons for choosing this topic are as follows :

We live today in media saturated societies. We inhabit a multi-media world with its multitude of messages, multi-signifying systems and numerous modes of discourse. The globalization of media is a well-documented phenomenon. With the increase in satellite transmissions has come the concomitant increase in localized radio stations. The audiences of these radio stations are divided by language (in this case English, in a country in which the official languages are German, French and Italian), and have common interests such as their shared expatriate experiences.

Community radio as a form of communication has shown a remarkable resurgence in recent years. This is true not only of Third World countries, but also in the heartland's of Europe and America. There are very few contemporary studies which trace these developments

empirically. It is hoped that this study will be useful in drawing attention to the importance of localized community radio within current debates on communications policy.

The closing years of the twentieth century have witnessed immense changes in all spheres of life. Amongst these changes there is the astonishing growth and pervasiveness of the mass media and information technology as well as the increased mobility of people between countries and continents. With this increased travel and communication the world is becoming a smaller global village and intercultural encounters have multiplied at a prodigious rate. This growing trend of people moving between countries to both live and work raises the question of how they utilize the media in order to adjust to their new environments.

- ❖ Finally, good research ideas often start with who one is, what one does, or what one experiences in everyday life. This project is personally motivated by my experience of a fragmented sense of identity upon leaving South Africa and arriving in Switzerland. Predicaments are personal beliefs that are ideologically conflicted and are most salient for individuals whose identities have been challenged. As an expatriate it is part of the process of adaptation that one's identity is challenged and Rojek and Urry make an interesting point when they claim that in order to theorize one leaves home" (Rojek & Urry 1997 : 10).

#### About the location of study.

Europe is a continent divided into two geopolitical spheres - Western and Eastern Europe. Business practices, media systems and social customs will to some extent vary according to whether the capitalist or socialist system is used. Europe is a dynamic and interesting place to research at the close of the millennium. The winds of economic, social and political change are sweeping throughout the whole continent, both in its Western and Eastern portions. Foreign companies are being invited to base their headquarters and facilities in Europe and especially in the financial and diplomatic paradise of Switzerland.

Switzerland is a small but wealthy First World nation centrally located in Western Europe. Here, there is no lack of communication infrastructure, professional skills or production resources.

Switzerland has a population of 7,260,350, according to the latest census conducted in July 1998.

The population of Swiss nationals is divided into three groups, all with their own official language:

German - 74%

French - 20%

Italian - 4%

The Romansch group counts for 1% and 'other' for 1% (<http://www.about.ch>).

Switzerland is a prosperous and stable modern economy with a per capita GDP approximately 10% above that of the large Western European economies such as France and Germany. Its leading sectors include financial services, biotechnology, manufacture of precision instruments, pharmaceuticals and machinery. It is therefore reliant on export markets. The unemployment rate is 5% and inflation shows a negative rate of -0,1% (<http://www.about.ch>).

Switzerland is a democratic and pluralist society. By pluralist, I mean it is a form of society in which members of different groups maintain their independent cultural traditions whilst retaining a strong sense of Swiss patriotism. It is a country that prefers stability to change and its people are inculcated with the Protestant work ethic' of hard work, not opposing or digressing from the law and punctuality. It also prescribes to the theory of autonomy for individual bodies in preference to monolithic state control. This is evident in the number of different cantons, all with their own administrative and judicial power. The Swiss Confederation was founded on 1 August 1291 and comprises twenty six fiercely independent cantons each with its own folklore and traditions. These cantons not only speak their own dialects and sometimes languages, they appoint their own public holidays, raise their own taxes and run their own education systems. Switzerland is a country that possesses highly developed communication systems. There are presently 5,24 million telephones; 7 AM and 50 FM radio broadcast stations (of the FM stations, 10 are state-owned and 40 are private); and 15 television stations (5 are state-owned and 10 are private) (<http://www.about.ch>).

Switzerland also has the highest percentage of foreigners in Europe - approximately 18% (Bilton 1994 : 42), and many of these live in the French-speaking Geneva / Lausanne area, which are

two cities situated on the shore of Lake Geneva. This is the location of international or European headquarters for a large number of corporations such as Nestle, Tetra Pak, Philip Morris, Orange Communications and Proctor - Gamble to name a few; as well as many international organizations such as the United Nations, Red Cross society, World Health Organization, World Trade Organization and the Olympic Committee. Their reasons for choosing this location are two-fold: firstly, it is a convenient central point for both Europe and the world; and secondly, Switzerland is very active at encouraging companies to locate here with their attractive tax incentives. Here, the larger corporations can actually negotiate their tax percentage and payments.

The area is thus shaped by its unique expatriate population. Such a diverse community enriches the area by bringing a multitude of cultures, attitudes and beliefs to the fore. It also presents potential for conflict, not least of which is the internal conflict felt by the expatriates who are essentially displaced people in a new environment.

Research methodology: The research questionnaire.

The research questionnaire is included at this early stage because references will be made to the research data from the outset. Since personality and reaction to expatriate living are autonomous variables that differ from individual to individual and are not fully revealed by literature or any other source of data, they must be elicited through individual questioning. An initial attempt to interview expatriates failed because the respondents felt pressed for time and were unable to formulate complete answers immediately. It was for this reason that I decided to embark on a small scale study using the survey questionnaire which was both affordable and relatively easy to compile and arrange. The respondents were chosen according to specific criteria. They had to:

Be English-speaking expatriates (not necessarily from an English-speaking country of birth, but with a very good working knowledge of the English language);

❖ live in the Geneva / Lausanne area; and

°é- utilize the media.

Questionnaires were used as a survey method for investigation into the following areas: respondent demographics; the socio-cultural implications for expatriates living in Switzerland; their media consumption; their listenership habits, preferences and views on WRG; and finally whether WRG has helped with the integration and adaptation process into this society. The questionnaires were posted by myself and were accompanied by a covering letter explaining the purpose of the survey, who was conducting it and an assurance of the anonymity and confidentiality of the data being collected. The letter also made a point of thanking the respondents and included an address where the questionnaires could be returned to for analysis (see Appendix One).

Among the advantages sometimes claimed for questionnaires as research methods are "their accuracy, their access to a wide range or dispersal of respondents and their flexibility". Disadvantages include "problems of no return or delayed response, and difficulties or ambiguities in design and response" (O'Sullivan et al. 1998 : 335). Whilst the returned questionnaires were invaluable to this study, I did experience the usual problems mentioned above. For example, out of fifty five questionnaires posted, only thirty seven were returned and five were so incomplete that it rendered a final number of thirty two that were useable. My sample size was therefore fairly small and it must be noted that the answers I received do not guarantee absolute accuracy as they depend upon the reliability and attention to detail given by the respondents.

Developing the questionnaire involved a series of stages. After identifying the topic, a sequence of appropriate questions correlating to sections of the dissertation was formulated. In order to glean as much information as possible, I opted for open-ended questions which did not have predetermined options (the most common being yes/no tick boxes). The main purpose of open questions is to allow the respondent to express his/her own opinions on a given topic. It also allows for a much greater range of unpredictable responses which in turn makes for a greater degree of difficulty in the analysis of such answers. O'Sullivan et al (1998 : 343) suggest that researchers first familiarize themselves with the information, "immersing" themselves in the different accounts and then identify common themes and patterns . The above advice is how I

chose to deal with the task of analyzing the data and different sections of this dissertation will be supported with quotations and extracts from the questionnaires (these will be in italics).

Section one of the questionnaire relates to the respondent's demographics which include gender, age, country of origin, languages spoken, occupation and length of residence in Switzerland. Of the thirty two respondents, thirteen were men and nineteen women. Eleven were under the age of 35, fourteen between 36 and 45, and seven over 46. Most spoke English as a first language, while six were from European countries.

Number	Country
<i>English mother tongue.</i>	
8	United States of America
6	United Kingdom
6	South Africa
3	Australia
2	Canada
1	New Zealand
<i>Non - English mother tongue</i>	
5	Sweden
1	Germany

Table One : Respondents - Country of Origin

Source: The research questionnaire.

All thirty two respondents spoke English and the other languages spoken were as follows :

Number	Language
32	English
15	French
5	Swedish
4	Spanish
4	German
5	Other (Afrikaans, Zulu).

Table Two : Respondents - Languages spoken

Source : The research questionnaire.

The thirteen men were all professionally employed, as were six of the women. Of the remainder of the women, seven were housewives and six were presently housewives having given up professional careers in order to accommodate their husbands' overseas postings. The length of

residence in Switzerland varied with the majority of respondents having been here between one and two years, followed by ten expatriates who have stayed for five years and over.

Number	Years
4	0-1 year
11	1-2years
5	2-3years
2	3-4years
10	5+ years

Table Three : Respondents - Length of residence in Switzerland  
Source: The research questionnaire.

The utilization of the survey questionnaires was very useful for gaining empirical knowledge about a sample of English-speaking expatriates in this area. The answers and responses provided an effective tool for analyzing the socio-cultural implications of expatriate life and the uses and gratifications gained from expatriates' media consumption. The responses to the questions were varied but there was a structure to be found in this variety and the fact that we are all expatriates in a foreign country served as a basis for mutual commonalities. From comments by the respondents, it would seem that this questionnaire provided a positive way to reconsider their expatriate motivations by sharing their experiences and exploring their emotions. As both a researcher and an expatriate, I learnt how important it is to be open to new experiences and to realize that no prejudice is unalterable. These learnt attributes helped me to confront new beliefs and by doing so I was able to realize certain inadequacies and work towards improving them.

## THE SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPLICATIONS OF EXPATRIATISM.

Relocation and living in a foreign country results in changed socio-cultural conditions for expatriates and the purpose of this section is to show that expatriatism is a cultural practice, in that expatriatism and culture significantly overlap. Expatriatism as a cultural practice is highly significant within contemporary Western societies that are organized around mass mobility. This can be examined through the topics, theories and concepts of : relocation; cultural analysis; cultural differences; culture shock and especially by examining the current foci on the issue of identity. Here I shall attempt to relate identity specifically to expatriate identity - namely the loss of and reconstitution of identity.

### The issue of relocation and identity.

Expatriates who have travelled before relocation are at an advantage, but tourism is very different to living abroad. Tourism represents the most superficial form of intercultural encounter. On holiday, the traveller may spend time in a place without finding out anything about the local culture. Tourism can nevertheless be a starting point for more fundamental intercultural encounters. It breaks the isolation of cultural groups and creates an awareness that people exist who have other ways. Rojek and Urry (1997 : 16) note that : "tradition in travel literature casts the home as a blank and empty space and connotes travel experience with adventure and excitement. It is as if the home is the place of the mundane...but abroad is the place one looks for peak experience". This is true as initially the expatriate experience is filled with adventure and excitement, but soon the reality of living in a foreign country sets in.

*The initial phase was busy and exciting. We settled into our new home and had outings every weekend. After a few weeks the reality set in - we had no family and friends to support us and my horizons, both geographical and emotional, collapsed (female, aged 34).*

Two terms that are useful in the context of expatriate mobility and relocation are 'global nomad' and 'third culture'. The first, 'global nomad' was coined by Noinia McCaig. In 1986, she founded a non-profit organization called Global Nomads International (GNI) to provide a forum for

Global nomads to explore the impact of their nomadic existence. In 1992, GNI joined several hundred other non-government organizations from around the world to become accredited with the United Nations Department of Public Information (<http://www.globalnomads.association.com/>).

What is a 'global nomad'? It is a person whose individual experiences include many cultures and whose cultural identity is formed by these different cultures. As a result he/she may feel they belong to no culture and also appear to have no defined culture of their own. Interestingly, "there is a culture among people with this background, with valuable experience, insight, values and skills to share with a world struggling to manage diversity" (<http://www.globalnomads.association.com/>). The above relates well to expatriatism as many expatriates questioned for this study can be turned 'global nomads' due to their multiple international transfers and relocations. In speaking with them it would seem that they now have more in common with other expatriates, even those of different nationalities or cultures, than they do with people of their own country.

The founder of GNI describes the positive and negative aspects of being a 'global nomad' : "it underlies global awareness, skills of adaptation, appreciation of cultural diversity, adventuresome spirit and a willingness to risk change". On the downside there can be "the sense of belonging everywhere and nowhere, indecisiveness, uncertain cultural identity and difficulty with commitment which can be the legacy of high mobility" (<http://www.globalnomads.association.com/>). Personally I have found that a very negative aspect of leading a nomadic lifestyle is the unresolved grief stemming from constantly leaving friends, both at home in South Africa and newly found expatriate friends. This peripatetic lifestyle makes it difficult to form permanent relationships with others. What cannot be doubted is that the expatriate experience transforms a person in very deep ways.

This brings us to the second term. Since the 1950s, sociologists Drs. Ruth and John Useem have researched the 'third culture' experience. "TCK's or Third Culture Kids are children who have lived outside of their passport countries because of their parents' occupation". This term was coined by the Useems to focus on the experience of these children. They "are neither of their

parents' culture, nor the cultures in which they lived, but some combination, which forms the third culture" (<http://www.globalnomads.association.com/>).

It is also important to focus on the partners / spouses of expatriates. From research conducted for this study (both the literature survey and the questionnaires) it is evident that partners of expatriates are plunged into a new life in a different country, often without proper support.

*I have the support of my work environment and colleagues, but I worry for my wife at home alone. The children are at school, but she has lost all that is familiar including her family and many friends (male, aged 36).*

*I miss my family and friends and am very dependent on my husband for any emotional needs (female, aged 35).*

Frequently professionals marry professionals and when a working person gets transferred to another country, it is likely that he/she will have a partner who also has a career to consider. Findings from a recent Global Relocation Trends Report conclude that "nearly three-quarters of expatriates are married" (<http://www.transition-dynamics.com/>). The partner is asked to leave the work that she/he enjoys as well as the support of family and friends, often resulting in a loss of self-esteem. She/he must begin life in a foreign community without the support available to the employed transferee, and must seek a new, significant support system. According to the Employee Relocation Council it is expected that there will be a continuing increase in the percentage of accompanying partners who are male, but presently the majority are female (*Mobility*, May 1999: 8). These women are often referred to as "trailing spouses" and in Switzerland they face both cultural and language barriers(<http://www.transition-dynamics.com/>). Due to only a handful of countries allowing spouses access to work permits, many are relegated to the position of housewife'.

*I have experienced and am still experiencing culture shock, isolation and social dislocation. Not working is my biggest frustration. Here I am reduced to a 'homemaker and family co-ordinator' which is not satisfying (female, aged 43).*

This group, that is the housewives, forms an important part of the listenership profile of WRG and will be discussed later on in this study.

What is culture and how does it relate to expatriatism ?

Definitions of culture are many and varied but the one that seems fitting in relation to the expatriate experience is as follows:

Culture is described through the metaphor of 'mental software' - a usually unconscious conditioning which leaves individuals considerable freedom to think, feel, and act but within the constraints of what his or her social environment offers in terms of possible thoughts, feelings, and actions (Hofstede 1994: 235).

An increased consciousness of the constraints of our mental programmes versus those of others is essential for our common survival. Through my experience and those of other expatriates studied, it is evident that such a consciousness can be developed and while we will never all be the same, we can at least aspire to become more cosmopolitan in our thinking.

*Through being an expat I now have a greater tolerance for national differences than ever before. By realizing my constraints I can empathize with other people's cultural constraints (female, aged 37).*

The role of culture in this process is multi-faceted - it is simultaneously a resource, an experience and an outcome. Culture is fundamentally a tool for daily coping and interaction and provides a means to integrate into a particular environment. It :

enables people to create a distinctive world around themselves, to control their own destinies, and to grow in self-actualization. Sharing the legacy of diverse cultures advances our social, economic, technological and human development on this planet (Harris & Moran 1991 : 23).

### Travelling cultures and the formation of what I term 'expatriate culture'.

People and cultures migrate. With the increase in human mobility it is clear that "people tour cultures, and that cultures...themselves travel" (Rojek & Urry 1997: 1). Within cultural analysis, narratives of home and displacement have become common and a major reason for this significance of mobility is because cultures travel as well as people. "If cultures travel they cannot be closed-off from other cultures. The admixture of elements and the unintended production of new cultural values are an inevitable consequence of movement" (Rojek & Urry 1997: 11).

All cultures are constantly remade as a result of the flow of people and the kinds of culture, such as the expatriate culture, that result from such mobilities are more fragmented, complex and disjointed than conventional geographically stable cultures. For each individual or family, the expatriate culture is transitory and is being continually reinvented. It is not a pure culture in that cultures cannot be sealed off from each other and the Geneva / Lausanne area possesses a pastiche of cultures that are always shifting and being recontextualized into new provinces of meaning. Furthermore, expatriate participants do not simply adopt this culture. Evolving a new expatriate culture involves work, interpretation and reconstruction, and most significantly it involves travel and the crossing of international boundaries.

### Cultural marginality.

Cultural marginality describes an experience typical of expatriates and others who have been moulded by exposure to two or more cultures. Such people don't tend to fit perfectly into any one of the cultures to which they have been exposed but may fit comfortably on the edge, in the margins, of each.

*One of the implications of living here is that I don't seem to fit into any particular culture or group, but rather balance between a few. This is unsettling but does not make me unhappy (male, aged 39).*

Janet Bennett is co-director of the Intercultural Communication Institute in the United States of America. In her paper titled 'Cultural marginality : Identity issues in intercultural training' she discusses two possible responses to marginality - encapsulated and constructive. Encapsulated marginality refers to those who are trapped in their marginality and tend to be unsure of who they are. As Bennett (1993 : 113) puts it, they are "buffeted by conflicting cultural loyalties". They surrender their own opinions, their own concerns, to follow somewhat aimlessly the action of those around them. They may have difficulty making decisions, defining their boundaries and identifying personal truths. They often feel alienated, powerless and angry that life is devoid of meaning. Encapsulated marginals typically experience themselves as isolated and they cannot envision a peer group with whom they can relate. This situation may seem irresolvable to the individual and he/she "may report feeling inauthentic all the time, as if any engagement in society is simply role-playing, and there is no way to ever feel 'at home' (Bennett 1993 : 115).

*I definitely don't feel part of the Swiss community nor really the expat community which has the feeling of here today, gone tomorrow and it is therefore very superficial...Right now I feel very isolated (female, aged 41).*

People who are constructive in their marginality have also been buffeted by conflicting cultural loyalties. However, in struggling to understand themselves they have come to understand their cultural marginality. They have developed a strong sense of who they are. They have a clear commitment to personal truth and are able to "form clear boundaries in the face of multiple cultural perspectives" (Bennett 1993: 118). Bennett (1993 : 118) notes a term coined by Muneo Yoshikawa - "dynamic in-betweenness" which suggests that the constructive marginal is able to move easily between different cultural traditions, acting appropriately and feeling at home in each, and in doing so maintains an integrated, multi-cultural sense of self. Constructive marginals tend to put their multi-cultural experiences to good use. As 'global nomads' they recognize that the knowledge and skills they gain through their internationally mobile lifestyles

can further their personal and professional goals. They are never not at home and feel comfortable within the expatriate community where they don't need to explain themselves and where their expatriate experiences are understood and celebrated. So whether our cultural marginality hinders us or helps us depends on how we manage it.

*My sense of belonging is to and with the expat community because we have similar adjustments to make (female, aged 37).*

*I feel a sense of belonging to the international community...expats in general like to help each other settle. The expat community here is great to help newcomers fit in (female, aged 52).*

#### Cultural differences.

Given the location of this study, Switzerland and its peoples are the macroculture and the English-speaking expatriate community can be likened to a microculture. We are a subgrouping of people possessing certain traits (displacement, English-speaking) that set us apart and distinguish us from the macroculture. It is within such a setting that expatriates experience cultural differences. Harris and Moran (1991 : viii) remind us that "culture is like an iceberg - only part of it is seen, but most of it is not" and there is an "underbelly" of cultural differences that exists between the local Swiss and the expatriate community; and also between the different nationalities that make up the expatriate community. Expatriates arriving in a new country already possess a pre-interpreted world of meanings from their home country and culture. All cultures have myths and values which explain the origins of their people and their ideals. It is this enormous cultural bridge that expatriates have to cross.

In analyzing the questionnaires, it became obvious that one of the most critical factors that highlights cultural differences between the expatriate group from the Swiss hosts is tradition. This is a very important aspect of culture that is often expressed in unwritten customs and taboos. It can programme people as to what is proper behaviour, the correct procedures relative to dress, food etc., and what to value and avoid. Traditions provide people with a mindset and

have a powerful influence on their moral system for evaluating what is acceptable or unacceptable. Traditions express a particular culture, giving its members a sense of belonging and uniqueness so it is no wonder that so many expatriates feel peripheralized especially in a country rich in tradition with a large number of national and regional festivals and a very precise structure of behaviour.

*Initially I experienced a strong out-of-control feeling which could be described as uncertainty and insecurity. I certainly noticed a difference in culture and traditions, particularly the increased level of formality in work and social settings (male, aged 36).*

Through cross-cultural experiences, expatriates become more broadminded and tolerant of cultural peculiarities and gain new insights for improving their human relations. Cultural tolerance and understanding minimize the impact of culture shock (more on this later in the study) and maximizes intercultural experiences. Learning to manage cultural differences effectively is the first step in the process of increasing general cultural awareness and thereby aiding expatriates' adaptation to their environment and its changing conditions. Such then are some of the qualities that expatriates must cultivate if they are intent on creating cultural synergy which is "building upon the very differences in the world's people for mutual growth and accomplishment by cooperation...emphasizes similarities and common concerns, integrating differences to enrich human activities and systems" (Harris & Moran 1991 : 11).

*To be exposed to their cultures and languages is very enriching and living in another country opens up personal possibilities to see what is happening outside of the small environment I was in before (female, aged 39).*

*Moving away from your comfort zone - physically and emotionally - is a great aid to personal development. Through cross-cultural meetings you test and build your own skill sets and the cultural perspective gained makes you more understanding of others and aware of one's self (male, aged 39).*

The importance of language as a communication tool.

The difficulties encountered with foreign languages are one of the most important cultural differences for English-speaking expatriates living in Switzerland. This is because language is the means by which we select and organize our experiences, and it is the medium through which we learn how to behave, react and what to believe. We learn to find, explore and understand our own individuality and society's norms within the framework of language. Hans-Georg Gadamer is a German philosopher whose notion of understanding emphasizes the importance of language. According to Bleicher (1980) Gadamer regards language as the medium of understanding, that is, that all understanding ultimately takes place in language. Through language we all communicate, and it is this everyday communication that sustains existence. Gadamer thus sees language as being the medium through which all social life is conducted. English-speaking expatriates who live in Switzerland gain a new appreciation of the significance of language and readily elevate the importance of verbal communication. This is because through language we have a form of social control and moving to a foreign country where English is not spoken induces psychological illiteracy, it implants anxiety and insecurity and induces uncertainty and self-negation.

*The feeling I have for my own language, English, was not evident until I moved to Europe and encountered so many other languages which I don't understand (female, aged 28).*

*Not understanding French is daunting... any small issue magnifies due to the language barrier (male, aged 37).*

Language differences contribute to mistaken cultural perceptions and this is nowhere more evident than with the issue of humour. Without knowing the host language one misses a lot of the subtleties of a culture and is forced to remain a relative outsider. One of these subtleties is humour, and what is considered amusing is highly culture-specific. Some of the respondents noted that they considered the Swiss to have no sense of humour, but this probably means that they have a different sense of humour.

*I cannot mix with the locals... they are so dry and humourless (female, aged 41).*

Culture and language are inseparably related and the way in which we communicate is influenced by our cultural conditioning.

Each of us has been socialized in a unique environment... Culture poses communication problems because there are so many variables unknown to the communicators. As the cultural variables and differences increase, the number of communication misunderstandings increase (Harris & Moran 1991: 33).

### The English language.

Whilst it is true that "English is the international language of business, diplomacy and science" (Harris & Moran 1991 : 48) this cannot be considered as a cushion for expatriates living in the Swiss Romande, where knowledge of English cannot be expected. "The fact remains that the overwhelming majority of the world's population neither understands nor speaks English" (Harris & Moran : 49). From the questionnaire responses it is interesting to note that the average European speaks several languages and this is not true for expatriates from English-speaking countries. "Europeans are becoming ever more polyglottal. More than half the European Union's people say they speak at least one European language other than their mother tongue" (*The Economist*, October 1997 : 27). Of the fifteen questionnaire respondents who speak French as well as English, ten are European ( five Swedes, one Gelman, four British). Of other European languages spoken - the five Swedish nationals naturally speak Swedish; the four who speak Spanish comprise one Geinan, two Swedes and one American citizen; and of the four who speak German one is German by nationality, two are Swedish and one is British. From the research conducted there was a startling lack of European language competence amongst the American, Australian and South African contingent. One feels that this small survey bears out the truth on a larger scale and places the English-only nationalities at a disadvantage and renders them linguistically isolated in Switzerland.

*It's frustrating not being able to understand properly, not to be able to pick up a phone or communicate with people in shops. This makes you into an 'island' within the Swiss community (female, aged 39).*

Thus the most basic skill that expatriates should cultivate is foreign language competency. To establish a better intercultural understanding and to facilitate interactions with the host nationality, the expatriate should ideally learn the host language. For those who strive to be competent in global communications, cultural awareness and sensitivity are not always adequate and some foreign language skills are necessary.

#### Culture shock.

The number of people in today's world who have left their native country and moved to a completely different environment is larger than ever before in human history...The effect...is that people and entire families are parachuted into cultural environments vastly different from the ones in which they were mentally programmed, often without any preparation (Hofstede 1994: 222).

Questions one and two (from section two in the questionnaire) have been analyzed together. Of the thirty two respondents nineteen experienced / are experiencing culture shock; two did not experience any culture shock; five are uncertain; and six reported experiencing a sense of isolation and social dislocation, but not real culture shock.

Interestingly, the two who reported not experiencing any culture shock both speak fluent French, as do five out of the six who claimed a sense of isolation but no culture shock.

Leaving one's home country leads to a particular way of experiencing, interpreting and being in the world. Initially the expatriate's thoughts are in a rapid development phase and the encounter between the expatriate and the new cultural environment may lead to what is called "culture shock" (Oberg 1979 : 43). Grammatically, the term should be 'cultural shock' but it is popularly known as culture shock. This phenomenon often occurs during a major transitional experience. Upon arriving in Switzerland I experienced and identified three initial cultural encounters, all of which were sites for culture shock. The first encounter was with Switzerland itself, a country

very different to South Africa; the second encounter was with the Swiss people, few of whom spoke English; and the third with other expatriates who had different cultural frameworks to myself.

### What is culture shock ?

Dr Kalervo Oberg, an anthropologist, referred to culture shock as the "trauma one experiences in a new and different culture because of having to learn and cope with a vast array of new cultural cues and expectations, while discovering that your old ones probably do not fit or work". More precisely he notes : "culture shock is precipitated by the anxiety that results from losing all our familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse" (cf. in Harris & Moran 1991 : 223). Another definition is from Professor WJ. Redden (1975) who premises that "culture shock is a psychological disorientation caused by misunderstanding or not understanding the cues from another culture. It arises from such things as lack of knowledge, limited prior experience, and personal rigidity" (cf. in Harris & Moran 1991: 224). Oberg developed the well-known model of culture shock which is sometimes referred to as the "acculturation curve" (see Figure One). In this model, feelings (positive or negative) are plotted on the vertical axis and time on the horizontal axis.

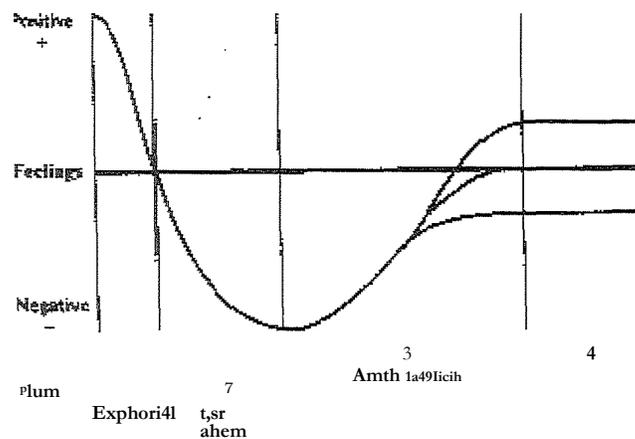


Figure One :The acculturation curve

Source : Hofstede 1994 : 210.

Phase 1 marks a period of euphoria, also known as the honeymoon' phase. This is usually a short phase in which the expatriate is fascinated by the new environment, the excitement of travelling and seeing new sights.

*It is so exciting to explore the unknown and live this adventure. I travel every weekend and am learning to ski (male, aged 36).*

Phase 2 is the period of culture shock experienced when real life starts in the new environment. The ideologies of your home country and those of the host country seem irreconcilable. The disorientation experienced can lead to disenchantment. The world temporarily loses its magic and homesickness is an overriding factor. This second stage is characterized by feelings of distress, helplessness and of hostility towards the new country and its people. This hostility arises from the genuine difficulty the expatriate experiences in the process of adjustment.

*Nothing can prepare you for the lonely and depressing first few months...after the initial excitement has worn off (female, aged 50).*

*I experienced real feelings of isolation, confusion, anger and depression at first as you are overwhelmed by trying to get your life in order whilst desperately trying to maintain an atmosphere of calm for the children (female, aged 41).*

Phase 3 acculturation, sets in when the expatriate has slowly learned to function under the new, but more familiar, conditions. The individual may have some knowledge of the new language, may have adopted some of the local values, and may have begun to open the way into the new cultural environment. A sense of humour may return to the expatriate who finds increased self-confidence and becomes integrated into a new social network.

*I am at the stage of feeling a little more happier and settled. I still get frustrated, especially with the teachers at my children's school, but I don't feel so alienated anymore and my French is improving (female, aged 38).*

Phase 4 is when a stable state of mind has been reached. The expatriate now accepts the customs of the host country as just another way of living and functions without feelings of overwhelming anxiety. Whilst retaining core identity, the expatriate has reached a stage of complete acculturation. (Hofstede 1994 : 209 - 11; Oberg 1979 : 43 - 5).

*My family and I have lived here for 2 years and are finally settled and have made friends...mainly from the expat society but a few Swiss too (male, aged 41).*

The length of the time scale in Figure One varies and it seems to adapt to the length of the expatriation period. People on short assignments of "up to three months have reported euphoria, culture shock and acculturation within this period; people on long assignments of several years have reported culture shock phases of a year or more before acculturation sets in". Interestingly, "culture shock problems of accompanying spouses, more often than those of the expatriated employees themselves, seem to be the reason for early return. The expatriate, after all, has the work environment which offers a cultural continuity with home" (Hofstede 1994: 210).

Companies responsible for relocating the expatriate and his/her family look for enthusiasm, acceptance and commitment. Individuals commit to change in varying degrees and at different levels and some struggle to respond positively to the shocks of relocation. This is when communication can break down, results will fall short and this is often due to "resistance to change", also known as the "RC factor" (*Harvard Business Review*, May-June 1996 : 42). From the small-scale research amongst expatriates that I conducted, it would appear that personality, intolerance, unwillingness to adjust and having a demeanor of superiority are the main causes for failure to integrate into the Swiss and/or expatriate community. An example of this attitude would be:

*I just cannot fit in to this country and get so annoyed at the lack of English language competence here. This is an international country and they should learn English too...This feeling of not belonging and not being accepted is leading to great personal unhappiness (female, aged 29).*

For expatriates there is a lack of precise information or criteria concerning the factors that are related to cross-cultural adaptation and the concomitant culture shock that often hinders its effectiveness. There is such literature available but in Switzerland it is difficult to source in the English language, and not all expatriates have access to the Internet. People who have been uprooted from their secure homebases need assistance in integrating into the new setting, especially when there are significant geographical and cultural differences between the two locations. Change is a reality for expatriates and this change must be managed if it is not to cause a disastrous dislocation effect in their lives. The phase of culture shock and the individual cultural reconstruction that each expatriate must accomplish can be likened to a necklace : "the cement of the culture was gone...Like beads from an old broken necklace, they were still usable - but only when threaded onto a new necklace, combined in a new pattern" (Tomaselli 1989 :60).

### Identity.

David Hooson (1994) in his introduction to 'Geography and National Identity' wrote : "The urge to express one's identity, and to have it recognized tangibly by others, is increasingly contagious and has to be recognized as an elemental force even in the shrunken, apparently homogenizing, high-tech world of the end of the twentieth century" (cf. in Castells 1997 : 28). My discussion of the socio-cultural implications for expatriates concludes with a section on identity which requires a measure of theoretical background. I have attempted to mobilize the most useful insights into the nature of identity and how it relates to expatriate identity from noted authors such as Stuart Hall (1996: 1-17; 1997 : 1-15); Paul du Gay (1996: 151-169); Lawrence Grossberg (1996 : 87107) and Manuel Castells (1997: 1-70).

Identity is a core concept of culture - as Paul du Gay (1996: 152) says : "the focus on culture...is intimately bound up with questions of identity". Identity gives people a sense of who they are, of belonging, of how they should behave, and of what they should be doing. It provides permanence, cohesion and recognition, and thereby allows one to negotiate a cultural space for oneself. Moving to a foreign country and the resulting cross-cultural transition threatens the expatriate's sense of identity. Relocation into a strange environment forces expatriates to rethink

and reevaluate the way they read meaning into their private world. Expatriates need to rediscover their social identities for without identity you cannot have agency, nor therefore a programme for social adjustment.

*Who am I ? I need to readjust my identity and find where I fit in ...it has to do with fitting in and belonging, .with my intent to be a part of society rather than apart from it. It has to do with finding integrity and direction in my experience as an American expatriate (female, aged 37). The construction, the loss and the reconstitution of expatriate identity.*

Lawrence Grossberg (1996 : 89) discusses two models pertaining to the production of identities. The first model is concerned with trying to find the 'authentic' and 'original' content of identity. The struggle over representations of identity here takes the form of offering one fully constituted, separate and distinct identity in place of another". The second model rejects the first one and emphasizes the impossibility of a separate, distinct and fully constituted identity. "It denies the existence of authentic and ordinary identities based on a universally shared origin or experience. Identities are always relational and incomplete, in process". As an expatriate myself, and from the respondents questionnaire answers, it is apparent that there is indeed no such thing as a static, integral and unified identity. Hall (1996: 4) comments :

identities are never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions. They... are constantly in the process of change and transfo\*ination.

Hall speaks about the processes of globalization and the coterminous migration movements which have become an accepted phenomenon of our modern world. So he speaks of the movements and the plurality of identities which, by implication, form the basis of expatriates' lives. What he omits to detail is how disruptive and unsettling these processes can be and how such pluralities are sources of stress and contradiction in both self-identity and social action.

*This feeling of not really knowing who I am and where I fit in is very stressful and having an expat identity is also disturbing because you are aware that it is temporary (male, aged 30). Identity is almost always constituted out of difference. Nowhere is this more evident than in expatriate identity as it is precisely due to one's location and relationship with 'others', here both the local Swiss and the multi-national expatriate community, that one's identity changes and becomes reconstructed in order to fit in with the new said community.*

Identities...are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion, than they are the sign of an identical, naturally-constituted unity...Above all, ...identities are constructed through, not outside, difference. This entails the...recognition that it is only through the relation to the Other, the relation to what it is not, to precisely what it lacks, that the positive meaning of 'identity' can be constructed (Hall 1996: 4-5).

*By meeting other nationalities I learn more readily who I do not want to become like...sadly, I seem to identify other people's (both Swiss and expats) faults before their good points (female, aged 39).*

*Yes, I identify most readily with an expat identity and like most expats I know I have followed the path of least resistance and developed a new identity as well as various coping skills and mechanisms to deal with this new life. This means seeking out familiar media as well as other expats who are different to me. In six months I have learnt more about who I am by being with people who are different from me (male, aged 36).*

As can be seen from the above extracts it is through coming into contact with other nationalities, races and creeds who bring a multitude of varying values and beliefs to our consciousness, that we become aware of who we are and what we stand for. As expatriates, we should acknowledge our identities in terms of these relationship experiences and this again validates the construction of identities as a dynamic ever-changing process.

Lawrence Grossberg (1996: 90) names five figures which "define the space within which cultural studies has theorized the problem of identity". In dealing with the loss of identity issue

Grossberg's "figure of fragmentation" is relevant. This places emphasis on the multiplicity of identities and is applicable to a newly arrived expatriate. In Switzerland, expatriates can be issued with a number of different permits, the most common being the 'permis B' which is renewable annually. The problem is that this legal status does not help with one's sense of self-identity. It tells you what you are, not who you are. Grossberg (1996 : 91) correctly emphasizes that identities are always contradictory, made up of partial fragments in a "kind of disassembled and reassembled unity".

Change implies the capacity to relinquish at least aspects of a given identity. However, this is likely to provoke feelings of anxiety and fear in the expatriate. From the research conducted it is clear that expatriates actually attempt to construct alternative identities in order to fit into their new location and way of living. This does not imply abandoning their sense of identity, nationality and heritage, but rather expanding it to embrace their expatriate lifestyle. It is a common mistake to lose your sense of identity and one that leads to much aggrievement and confusion. This was evident from a large number of responses in the questionnaires, for example:

*When I first arrived here I tried so hard to fit into both the Swiss and the international societies that I lost my own sense of who I was. This made me very unhappy (female, aged 33).*

Some feared losing their identity so much that they became over-zealous in their patriotism for their home country. Loss of identity threatened everything and their reaction involved the reassertion of origins and home traditions.

*The real problem is not how to build identity but how to preserve it. Living in a foreign country makes me feel even more American and I admit to craving all things American (like CNN news, food, music and TV) (male, aged 35).*

*I have lost my professional identity as I am now a housewife, but still feel very Swedish and proudly so (female, aged 43).*

*You become more parochial - I have never felt more Australian (female, aged 37).*

*I definitely feel more Canadian when living abroad. This unusual level of patriotism is I assume a reaction to being so out-numbered (male, aged 39).*

From learned experience, the basic skill for survival in a multi-cultural environment is firstly understanding one's own cultural values and limitations ( and that is why one needs a cultural identity of one's own), and next the cultural values of others. Progress in the area of identity reconstitution can only be achieved through cultural receptiveness and reciprocity. From the respondents, I learnt that expatriates who moved from thinking in terms of identity loss to considering the significance of cultural and identity exchange were able to move forward. Once these elements had shifted from the periphery to the core of their perception, they contributed to their sense of reconstituted identity.

*I'm learning from other people more about who I am than ever before in my life. This is a positive and satisfying aspect of being an expatriate and one I didn't expect (female, aged 44).*

Paul du Gay (1996 : 154) argues for persons to become more "entrepreneurial" in response to globalization and its dislocatory effects. For the expatriates in question, international moves have changed their "conditions of existence" (du Gay : 153) and this creates an environment that is characterized by massive uncertainty and identity challenges. Du Gay believes that this scenario calls for persons to be adaptable, flexible and creative because they will be constantly restructuring their identities. He sees this as a means to self-development and a way to both survive and flourish in the dislocated expatriate environment.

*Be open and honest and accept change and new ideas - it makes living here a hell of a lot easier (male, aged 38).*

The importance of the expatriate community for identity.

For the question 'Do you feel a sense of belonging in this community?' the respondents answered as follows:

Number	Response
20	Yes, in the expatriate community
8	In both the expatriate and local Swiss community
4	In neither the expatriate or local Swiss community

Table Four : Respondents - Sense of community belonging  
Source : The research questionnaire.

The majority of respondents felt a sense of belonging within the expatriate community :

*Here you never really have a sense of belonging to the country. The Swiss are very private people and it's hard to get to know them so you gravitate towards people in the same situation as you (female, aged 32).*

*I am an outsider to the Swiss and feel as if I'm invading their 'quiet'. Its also very difficult to feel a sense of Swiss community belonging when you are unable to vote... I feel at ease amongst the expatriate community... it is here I belong (male, aged 44).*

Eight respondents felt that they belonged to both the expatriate and the local Swiss community. Interestingly, two were single working men who had joined local sports clubs; three commented that they resided in small villages and also spoke French; two had lived in the area for over seven years and their children attended the local schools; and one had a Swiss wife.

Four respondents felt no sense of belonging to either community:

*Having moved so much I feel a reluctance to become involved with the Swiss or the expat community as soon we'll be moving again...and it's so hard to say goodbye (female, aged 40).*

*I don't feel part of the local or international communities although I do mix with both sometimes. However, I have been here for so long that the familiarity is enough to compensate for the lack of belonging (female, aged 28).*

It is also interesting to note that many of the male respondents commented on how important their work environment was for their expatriate identity. This highlights once again how much more difficult it is for the non-working spouses to integrate into the new society as they do not have the support and stimulation of this work environment.

*My expatriate identity stems from my work environment which I easily relate to (male, aged 35). My*

*sense of identity is derived from my professional work life (male, aged 41).*

*My sense of identity is based on one thing only and that is my job and position within the company (male, aged 61).*

From the respondents it can be learnt that next to an understanding of one's own cultural identity, the following most important aid for the reconstitution of expatriate identity is the sense of belonging to an expatriate community, be it in a social or work environment. The Geneva / Lausanne area is unique in that it has such a large expatriate community and because of this there are many opportunities to meet and socialize with persons in the same situation. "Identification is constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group...and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation" (Hall 1996: 2). Manuel Castells (1997 : 60) also recognizes both the need and the existence of such communities :

people...tend to cluster in community organizations that, over time, generate a feeling of belonging and ultimately...a communal, cultural identity...through which common interests are discovered, and defended, life is shared somehow, and new meaning is produced.

Castells (1997: 64) further expounds that such communities are specific sources of identities but these very identities are "defensive" in that they function as a refuge to protect against the unfamiliar and sometimes hostile world. These defensive reactions become sources of meaning and identity for the members of the expatriate community. Such a group's strength and its ability to provide social identity, refuge, cohesion and protection comes precisely from its communal character and from the expatriates' collective responsibility.

Hall too, whilst acknowledging the formation of such communities argues that such a shared experience is imaginary :

we don't actually know, we never actually know all the other people in communities. If we feel bound to a community, it is because we have taken an *imaginative identification* with other people like us...that is what identification means. It has much to do with what is in your imagination ( Hall 1997 : 13. Italics in original).

Imaginary or not, what cannot be denied is that for the expatriate, such a community makes a whole out of the fragmentary and allows a tangible sense of identity. This in turn provides the feeling of security from which one can encounter other cultures with renewed confidence.

### EXPATRIATE MEDIA CONSUMPTION.

Following are the results to section three of the questionnaire which indicates the respondents media habits and needs :

#### Television.

All thirty two respondents watch television. Twenty two out of thirty two subscribe to satellite television. This is for Sky satellite which originates from the United Kingdom. With satellite, expatriates feel that they can keep in touch with the English-speaking Western world. The immediacy of satellite television is important as it allows news stories and events to be instantly distributed from their sources all around the world, and in your mother tongue (English in this case). Out of twenty two satellite viewers seventeen watch only satellite television, and five watch both satellite and local cable television. Ten watch local cable television only, but most of them would mainly view the three English-speaking programmes - BBC Prime, BBC World and CNN.

#### Radio.

Twenty seven out of thirty two respondents listen regularly to the radio. **Eighteen listen to WRG** (eleven exclusively to WRG, seven to WRG and other stations). Other radio stations that were mentioned are:

Number of mentions	Radio station
10	Radio Framboise
6	Radio Lac
5	Radio 74
4	Lausanne FM
3	Radio Thollon
1	Espace 2
1	Coleurs 3

Table Five : Respondents - Radio listenership (excluding WRG)  
Source : The research questionnaire.

#### Newspapers.

Twenty five out of thirty two read a newspaper/s. Seventeen out of twenty five read only English language newspapers, and eight read both English and French newspapers.

The most read English newspapers (in descending order)
Herald Tribune (from USA)
Sunday Times ( from UK)
Weekly Telegraph (from UK)
Sunday Independent (from UK)
The most read French local newspapers (in descending order)
24 Heures
Lausanne Cite
Le Matin
Le Temps
La Presse

Table Six : Respondents - Newspaper readership  
Source : The research questionnaire.

#### Magazines.

Twenty eight out of thirty two respondents read a magazine/s. Twenty six read exclusively English language magazines, one reads both English and French magazines, and one reads Swedish magazines. Twenty five respondents subscribe to magazines from their home countries (or from the UK), and three read English magazines purchased or printed here (Swiss World and Lakestyle).

Predominant media consumption : twenty six mostly watch television, two mostly listen to radio, one reads newspapers most, and one reads magazines most ( two failed to indicate which medium they used most).

Other media used : Twenty three out of thirty two respondents have access to the Internet and to electronic mail (e-mail) and six out of thirty two go to the cinema.

The concept of 'redundancy' is closely related to information. Redundancy refers to that which is conventional or predictable in a message (highly predictable = highly redundant). Redundancy is not merely useful in communication, it is absolutely vital. Messages that are probable are determined by 'convention'. Convention is thus a major source of redundancy and thus of easy decoding (Fiske 1990). This bears out expatriates' obvious need for English media that is both

informative and comforting in its familiarity and ease of decoding. Many respondents reported back on their need to regularly communicate with family and friends from their home countries. This is accomplished by means of the telephone, letter or e-mail - and the most commonly used of these appears to be the e-mail which is easy to use, conveniently located in either home or workplace, instantaneous, and cheap to use. This type of communication is what is known as 'phatic' communication (Fiske 1990) and refers to acts of communication that contain nothing new but use existing channels simply to keep them open. It maintains and strengthens existing relationships which is so very important to the expatriate who feels alone and away from loved ones.

Media consumption by language.

Number	Language
22	respondents use mainly English language media
2	use mainly French language media
7	use both English and French language media
1	use mainly Swedish language media.

Table Seven : Respondents - media consumption by language

Source : The research questionnaire.

Do the respondents subscribe to any written material (magazines / newspapers) from their home countries? Twenty five respondents do, four do not and three did not answer. It is interesting to note that the majority do subscribe to written publications from home. Following is the number of mentions for the various publications which are listed in descending order. It should be noted that sixteen out of nineteen female respondents subscribe to women's magazines which is very high and shows the importance of this particular medium.

Number	Publication
16	Women's magazines
9	Newsweek
7	Sports magazines
5	Weekly Telegraph
5	Fortune magazine
4	Time magazine
3	SA Times UK
3	Svenska Dagbladet
2	Forbes magazine
2	The Economist magazine
1	Harvard Business Review
1	New York Times

Table Eight : Respondents - Readership of subscribed publications

Source : The research questionnaire. The 'uses and gratification's' approach.

In order to explain the limited power of the media to impose effects on people, some communication researchers during the 1970s focused on the uses audiences make of the media and the gratification's they receive in order to satisfy their needs. This became known as the 'uses and gratification's' approach. This perspective does not view audience members as passive receivers or victims of the mass media. Instead, it claims that people actively use the media to gratify certain human needs. One of the main proponents of this theory was Denis McQuaid (1987) and it provided an important and I believe, realistic counterbalance by emphasizing how audience members positively influenced their own media experiences.

James Lull (1995 : 98 - 101) further discusses the issue of gratifying needs. He emphasizes psychological needs such as social belongingness, self-esteem and social stability - all of which are pertinent to an expatriate's well-being. "The very term 'need' implies a state of deprivation" (Lull 1995 : 99) and how apt this is to the plight of the English-speaking expatriate in Switzerland. Their need for comforting and familiar English media was evident in their response to the question 'Why do you feel the need for familiar media?' Some respondents mentioned more than one need and the answers were as follows:

Number of	Need for familiar English media
14	don't speak French... so ease of comprehension / no effort required / more enjoyable / familiar and therefore comforting.
9	so as not to lose contact with home news (interesting that 8 of these came from Americans) and to provide topics of conversation with family and friends back home.
8	keep in contact with world news, events and sports.
3	familiar humour.

Table Nine : Respondents - Need for familiar media

Source : The research questionnaire.

What became clear from this research study is the complexity of expatriate audience members' involvements with the media. It would seem that listeners to WRG put themselves at ease socially, were informed and entertained. They thus advanced their personal and social interests. Lull explains how psychological needs can imply a deeper meaning. He writes:

McQuail and his colleagues (1972) discuss a need for information, diversion, and social integration. By talking about needs this way, the meaning of the concept shifts away from its...psychological origins. From a psychological perspective, a basic need cannot be for information. Instead, it could be a need for personal security, something that information may be perceived to provide...we must think of information or entertainment not as something needed by the person, but rather as something *used* to gratify a deep personal requirement or yearning (Lull 1995 : 100).

Hence, individuals create their own meanings from media texts in order to control certain aspects of the expatriate experience. From the sample studied, it was confirmed that expatriates need familiar English media for information, social integration and for gratifying deep personal yearnings. These needs are fundamental to an individual's well-being. The study also validates the idea that all groups, including expatriates, have the right to speak for themselves, in their own voice, wherever they are, and have that voice accepted as legitimate. The following section deals with the models of community and commercial radio stations.

### COMMUNITY AND COMMERCIAL RADIO MODELS.

Radio appears in many guises - commercial, public service and community, or a combination of these. It has been referred to as the "chameleon" of the mass media because of its ability to move with the times and with its audience (de Villiers 1993 : 125). It is a multi-faceted, personal and portable medium and has the ability to adapt and readily fill the gaps left by other media. Such is the role that WRG fulfills for the English-speaking expatriates in the Geneva / Lausanne area.

In Switzerland, the Federal Office of Communication, Transportation and Energy (OFCOM) is based in Bienne, just outside the capital city of Berne. It is the authority in charge of issuing licenses and supervising Swiss radio and television performances. About five years ago OFCOM set out to encourage a new tier of radio services which fits between national and regional radio stations and aims to target "communities identified through culture, language or location". OFCOM sees community broadcasting services as "geographically founded" or established due

"a specific common interest" - both of which are applicable to the expatriate community served by WRG (Ribi interview : August 1999). Interestingly, community radio in Switzerland depends largely on the same source of revenue as private commercial stations - advertising - since membership subscriptions have proved insufficient to keep the stations on air, and there is no subsidy mechanism to support community broadcasting.

To effectively deal with the models of community and commercial radio, the assignment requires a measure of theoretical and historical background. This includes a discussion on the 'Another Development' paradigm; a definition of community radio; a brief history of the origins of community radio; the characteristics of community radio (as seen by Robert White); a definition and brief history of commercial radio; the characteristics of commercial radio; and lastly the primary normative theories that underpin WRG.

'Another Development' paradigm.

Development priorities have changed over the last decade. The 1980s was a time for development and communication scholars and administrators to reassess the previous decades' attempts at development using the 'modernization' paradigm. The new paradigm of the late 1980s and 1990s is commonly called 'Another Development'. It is :

pluralistic and does not have the authoritarian characteristics of the earlier modernization paradigm. The new approaches focus on both human and economic concerns. Consequently, increased attention is being paid to basic needs of people...ecology, structural transfoiuiation, and participatory democracy (Melkote 1991 : 234).

In this new paradigm, priorities are more focused on the needs and problems of individual countries and the communities within them. Communities are expected to set their own priorities, goals and standards which are unique to themselves and will eventually lead to the solution of their own problems. Jan Servaes defines this as "multiplicity in one world" (cf. in Melkote 1991 : 234). The paradigm thus recognizes the social aspects of development (as opposed to the economic priorities of the modernization era), and this includes the issue of community participation. In order to meet the ideals of this new paradigm, new forms of communication have taken preference. Community radio is one of these as it is flexible and can be adapted to help a certain group of people, like the expatriates in this study, to prosper and develop.

Advocates of 'Another Development' have questioned mass communication for being vertical and unidirectional in its sending of messages. During the modernization paradigm of the 1950s, 60s and 70s, the mass media served mainly as vehicles of 'top-down' persuasion to convey information from experts or the authorities to the people. It generally demonstrated a lack of respect for local cultures and its objective was cultural, economic and political domination.

The paradigm of 'Another Development' considers participation as central and fundamental to the development process. One of the instigators of this way of thinking was the Brazilian teacher Paulo Freire. Through his pedagogy he was one of the initiators of participatory communication.

He especially "condemned the authoritarian, 'banking', vertical characteristics of traditional education and communication" (White 1990: 6). From Freire a new insight was gained on how people should be the initiators of their own development and destiny, and the creators of their own culture. Thus the role of a radio station is not to force a certain culture on to the people, but it should rather offer them an opportunity to express their own views and goals in "a spirit of participatory, dialogical communication" (White 1990 : 7). Community radio attempts to encourage people to reflect on their own reality and to express themselves through the media. It promotes participation at all levels, recognizes that the public has a voice and that it is important to listen to it, and thus makes the community the protagonists of their own communication. Participation is, after all, a basic human right and nobody should be denied the right to participate.

The need to : think, express oneself, belong to a group, be recognized as a person, appreciated and respected, have some say in crucial decisions affecting one's life, etc. are as essential to the development of an individual as eating, drinking, and sleeping ( Diaz-Bordenave cited in Melkote 1991 : 337).

A discussion on the paradigm of 'Another Development ' would not be complete without including another of its key concepts - the 'democratization of communication'. Both participation and democratization are principles that mark the alternative media theory from which community radio arises. A central problematic of 'Another Development' is how to enable citizens to have a <sup>g</sup>reater control over the process of public communication. The use of small and local media, which includes community radio, is believed to be the solution. The most fundamental objective of the democratization of communication is to provide information which is necessary for basic human needs such as education, personal development and participation in both local and national public decisions.

Democratization su<sup>g</sup>gests that communication systems should be reorganized to permit all sectors of a population to contribute to the pool of information that provides the basis for local or national decision-making and the basis for the allocation of resources in society. All sectors of a population should have the opportunity to contribute to the fomration of the cultures that define their social values...Audiences should have the opportunity collectively to criticize, analyze, and participate in the communication process (White 1995 : 96).

Helge Ronning (1997) expresses the position succinctly when he says that for their physical survival people need food, shelter and healthcare. For their social well-being, they need communication. For their human dignity people require reason, responsibility, mutual respect and freedom of expression - all of which are intrinsic to a genuine democracy and are mediated by communication. Therefore, he concludes, a prerequisite of democracy is the democratization of communication.

#### Definition of community radio.

It is difficult to give an exact definition of community radio since there are many different models of community broadcasting. One that is apt for the expatriate situation is provided by Sue Valentine:

In the 'Global Village' of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, access to the airwaves is vital to the basic human right to communicate. Community radio offers a forum in which ordinary people can exercise this fundamental human right. It is the modern means by which ordinary people discuss their worlds - the village square of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Community radio is an essential aspect of building a strong civil society, one in which citizens are encouraged to express themselves and to exercise control over their own lives and environment ( Valentine, 1992 cited in Rama & Louw 1993 : 71).

AMARC ( Association Mondiale des Artisans des Radios Communautaires) is an international non-government organization serving the community radio movement. Its goal is to support and contribute to the development of community and participatory radio along the principles of solidarity and international cooperation. AMARC defines a community radio station as one that offers a service to the community in which it is located, or to which it broadcasts, while promoting the participation of this community in the radio" (O'Sullivan et al 1998 : 213). Interestingly, the above definitions make no mention of the issue of self-funding and not being commercial in nature.

### The origins of community radio.

Robert White in his 1990 article 'Community radio as an alternative to traditional broadcasting' provides us with a history of the early origins of community radio. The United States of America has always had a strong belief in decentralization and has placed great importance on the local community. Thus the principle of a local radio station serving a local community was established. Ideally, but this is not always possible, the radio station should be owned and operated by people from the local community and it should emphasize the broadcasting of local news and events. White (1990) further points out that historians of community radio agree that Station KPFA in California, which began broadcasting in 1949, was one of the first stations that tried to implement the principles of community radio.

### The characteristics of community radio.

According to White (1990) community radio is generally considered to include all or some of the following characteristics:

It is an autonomous radio station serving no more than a single city with its immediate geographical hinterland, all with a distinct political-cultural identity.

- °s° The station avoids as much as possible commercial criteria and seeks support primarily from the contributions of users supplemented by grants from community organizations, foundations etc. ...with a board of management elected by the people of the community or by the users of the medium.

Community volunteers play an important role in the production of programming and distinctions between 'professional staff and ordinary users are played down. Every user is also a potential producer.

The major objectives are to encourage widespread community participation in broadcasting, provide an opportunity for horizontal communication between individuals and groups in the community, stimulate more free and open debate of community issues and reflect the cultural and social diversity of the community.

A special effort is made to provide an active voice for less powerful majorities of the community and to allow minorities a chance to make known their alternative views and styles of life (White 1990 : 4-5).

WRG does not conform to all the above principles, most notably the second principle that discusses the non-commercial nature of a community radio station and the third principle which relates to community volunteers. All of the other points are relevant to WRG.

#### Definition of commercial radio.

Commercial radio is "radio financed by advertising and sponsorship whose ultimate purpose is to make a profit" (Lewis & Booth 1989 : 5). Put another way : "commercial radio...operates for profit by providing advertisers with access to consumers" (Louw 1993 : 307).

#### The origins of commercial radio.

1922 in the United States of America marked a change in direction for radio broadcasting. The advent of commercial radio arrived as the result of increased pressure for an expansion in advertising. This expansion coincided with the financial interests of those who lobbied for the introduction of a commercial system. In America at the time the American Telephone and Telegraph Company (AT & T) owned both the rights and the cables for national and international telephone and telegraph services. "AT & T hit on the idea of what it called 'toll broadcasting' - the use of studio time in return for payment" (Lewis & Booth 1989 : 37). The first commercial programme was broadcast on 28 August 1922 from the AT & T station, WEAJ, based in New York. Anyone could use the station by paying a fee, and sponsoring a programme meant buying the entire time segment (Lewis & Booth 1989 : 37).

The characteristics of commercial radio.

"Commercial broadcasting operates on notions of individualism and free enterprise" (Lewis & Booth 1989: 1).

The major objective is to make a profit by selling airtime to advertisers.

"Radio for commercial purpose must acquire and transmit programmes which cost as little as possible, and maximise its profits by giving advertisers and sponsors access to as large a number of...consumers as possible" (Lewis & Booth 1989 : 5).

In a specialized niche market, such as the English-speaking expatriates targeted by WRG, the aim is to reach as large a number as possible of a particular sort of consumer.

Unlike the community radio model, it is not a criteria to have community participation in station policy-making decisions, programme selection and station operation.

The normative theories that underpin World Radio Geneva.

Normative theories lay down foundational conditions and values according to which media organizations ought to operate. They provide the criteria by which media performance should be judged in a given society. It is realistic that each organization offers its own distinctive mix of approaches, and this is true of WRG. I understand that the principle normative theory that WRG subscribes to is the 'Democratic - Participant ' media theory , and this is the one I will primarily concentrate on. However, it should be noted that there are also elements from both the 'Development ' and ' Social Responsibility ' media theories that are applicable to the station (McQuail 1987).

The 'Democratic - Participant' media theory is a later addition to the nonnative theories and mainly arises in developed, liberal societies - Switzerland being such an example. Media theorists saw the need to formulate a media theory that was in keeping with the move towards new focus of media found in the 'Another Development' paradigm. A primary reason for the formulation of this theory was as a reaction against the monopolization and commercialization of

both private and state-owned media, and the bureaucratic and uni-directional flow of information from public broadcasting institutions (such as the Swiss Broadcasting Corporation). These institutions were perceived to have become detached from community development and concerns, and were not meeting the needs that arose from the daily experience of citizens. The Democratic - Participant' media theory :

Has to do with the right to relevant information, the right to answer back, the right to use the means of communication for interaction in small scale settings of community...The theory rejects the necessity of uniform, centralized, high cost, highly professionalized, state-controlled media. It favours...smallness of scale, locality, horizontality of communication links at all levels of society, interaction. There is a mixture of theoretical elements, including libertarianism, utopianism, socialism, egalitarianism, localism (McQuail 1987 : 97).

The main principles of the Democratic - Participant ' theory are as follows :

- Individual citizens and minority groups have rights of access to media (rights to communicate) and rights to be served by media according to their own determination of need.

The organization and content of media should not be subject to centralized political or state bureaucratic control.

- + Media should exist primarily for their audiences and not for media organizations, professionals or the clients of media.

• Groups, organizations and local communities should have their own media.

- Small-scale, interactive and participative media forms are better than large-scale, one-way, professional media.

Certain social needs relating to mass media are not adequately expressed through individual consumer demands, nor through the state and its major institutions. (McQuail 1987 : 97).

It is also important to include the principles from the 'Social Responsibility' media theory as WRG

aims to provide such a role for the expatriate community : Media should accept and fulfill certain obligations to society.

These obligations are mainly to be met by setting high or professional standards of informativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance.

In accepting and applying these obligations, media should be self-regulating within the framework of law and established institutions.

The media should avoid whatever might lead to crime, violence or civil disorder or give offence to ethnic or religious minorities.

<sup>x94</sup>The media as a whole should be pluralist and reflect the diversity of their society, giving access to various points of view and to rights of reply.

Society and the public, following the first named principle, have the right to expect high standards of performance, and intervention can be justified to secure public good. (McQuail 1987 : 91-92).

#### World Radio Geneva - a combination of the community and commercial models.

WRG is an interesting case study in that it is both a community station and a small-scale commercial enterprise. While traditional community radio stations are ideally meant to be non-profit organizations, there are many examples in Europe of community stations that are funded by advertising - Radio LoRa in Zurich, Switzerland; Radio Popolare in Milan, Italy; Riviera Radio in Monte Carlo and Sunshine Radio in Luxembourg (Butcher interview : July 1999). It would seem that "the push for... community radio has been overtaken by commercial radio operating under the same label and indeed deliberately co-opting it" (Lewis & Booth 1989: 9).

In developing- countries community radio is seen as a powerful agent for social change and democratization. In the West, it is only one small actor in the wide media landscape but it often fulfills specific needs of community groups. This is true of WRG - it is very much a community radio station due to its small broadcast area and because it is aimed at a very distinct target community, that is, the English-speaking expatriates living and working in its reception area. For these listeners, WRG aims to provide a forum for community expression and a primary means of access to the broadcasting system. Whilst conforming to many community radio principles, WRG also subscribes to the commercial radio model as it is driven by its need for advertising income but also speaks of serving the community.

Switzerland needs integrative media institutions because of the high degree of cultural segmentation and linguistic pluralism within the country. Media organizations such as WRG cater for the different needs of a multicultural society. WRG illustrates the difficulties that can arise from mixing commercial with community radio principles. "A key difference is that, while the commercial...model...treats listeners as objects, to be captured for advertisers...community radio treats its listeners as subjects and participants" (Lewis & Booth 1989 : 8). Each of these models presupposes a different way of looking at the target audience and each comes with its own history, principles and mode of operation. The issue of whether WRG is more community or commercially orientated will be dealt with in the following section.

WORLD RADIO GENEVA AND AN EVALUATION OF THE ORGANIZATION. A

brief history of World Radio Geneva.

Pietro Ribi was appointed General Manager of WRG in March 1999 and was involved with the original licence application. He gives a brief account of the station's history : **"The idea came from Swiss Radio International (SRI) which belongs to the Swiss Broadcasting Corporation (SBC) in the mid 1980s. They recognized a need for an English-speaking radio station serving Geneva and the surrounding environment. They obtained a temporary licence to launch a station called 'Radio X-tra'. This broadcast for a few months and the trial was a big success"** (interview : August 1999). This launch coincided with the establishment of localized commercial and community radio stations in Switzerland. Despite Radio X-tra's' success, it was decided that there was no budget for such a station and the idea was shelved. Then in 1994, the new General Manager of SRI (Mr Felix Bollman) decided to implement the idea again. At the time Ribi was asked to conduct a full feasibility study to assess the need for a radio station in the area. It was confirmed that the number of affluent Englishspeaking expatriates would serve as a large enough audience to attract advertisers. The potential for a lucrative radio station was identified.

A number of the present management team were involved in the formation of WRG. In 1994, the present Operations and Production Manager, Paul English, was working in Berne for the SBC. He was approached to work on the WRG Project and did preparation work for the concession (licence) application. He worked specifically on the formation of the WRG Community Service Association that was one of the original investors (more on this later). He also collated population statistics from the Geneva Tourist Office and the Department of Home Affairs and together with the Arthur Andersen Group in Geneva, gathered figures for the number of Englishspeaking people in the area (Ribi & English interviews : 1999).

In February 1995, a concession request was submitted to OFCOM (see Appendix Two). In September of that year, OFCOM granted an eight year licence to WRG which is valid until December 31, 2004 (see Appendix Three). In the original request the WRG Project had asked for

a broadcast area stretching from Geneva, through Lausanne to Montreux. They were denied this, and instead were allocated the 88.4 FM frequency which extends from Geneva to Rolle, a much smaller area (see Appendix Four). The result is that not all of the city of Lausanne can receive WRG, but large portions of West and Central Lausanne can clearly pick up the frequency ( see Appendix Five for the exact coverage map). The type of private licence granted is **"a local commercial licence for a community area"** (Chevaillier interview : August 1999). WRG thus combines the principles of both a commercial and a community radio station. The actual date of the first broadcast transmission was 25<sup>th</sup> May 1996, although strangely the station celebrates its birthday in September of each year. The reasons for this are practical - the weather is generally better in September which suits the annual WRG birthday street party held in Geneva; and Spring is also a very busy time of the year because the annual two week Fete de Geneve is held. **"WRG always have an outside broadcast unit at this festival and we have no time to concentrate on birthday celebrations too"** (Chevaillier interview : August 1999).

The limitations of the licence are few but these must be strictly adhered to. They primarily concern the advertising regulations. WRG is not allowed more than nine minutes per hour of advertising and is not allowed to advertise cigarettes, alcohol or scheduled prescription medicines. Unlike other state-owned radio stations, it is permitted to advertise feminine sanitary products and contraceptives. Also, no company is allowed to sponsor the news because this client could then be seen to influence news selection. However, companies are permitted to reserve the advertising slots before and after the news. Presently CrossAir advertise before and after the BBC News which is broadcast three times a day (Coletti interview : September 1999). OFCOM have also stated that all air time must be kept on tape for a period of ninety days. Within the daily broadcast content WRG is allowed to change up to fifteen percent of anything (except advertising). For example, they can add fifteen per cent more news or take away fifteen percent music air time etc. More than this requires permission from OFCOM (Chevaillier interview : August 1999).

There are three levels of radio in Switzerland - national, local (commercial, community or a combination of these like WRG), and international (SRI). Pietro Ribbi explained who WRG's main competitors are :

There are four SBC stations available in the Swiss Romande (the French-speaking area)

- La Premiere (a general talk radio station)
- Espace 2 (classical music)
- Coleurs 3 (rock and alternative music)
- Option Musique (a mix of music styles).

The competitive local commercial stations (all French-speaking) are Radio 1, Radio Lac, Radio Cite, Radio Framboise and Lausanne FM. Radio 1, Radio Lac and Radio Framboise are very similar to WRG in that they are adult contemporary stations offering a mix of music and talk. The first two are broadcast from Geneva and Radio Framboise from Lausanne. Radio Cite is a predominantly religious station operating from Lausanne, and Lausanne FM is a talk radio station. Radio 74 is an English-speaking religious community station that broadcasts from just over the border in France, but it can be received in Geneva and Lausanne.

Swiss Radio International is owned by the SBC and broadcasts from the capital city of Berne in mainly the English language, but also in German, French, Italian, Spanish and Arabic (Ribi interview : August 1999).

Other English media that compete with WRG : there are three English stations on Swiss cable television - BBC Prime, BBC World and CNN. Two local English language magazines are published - Swiss World (monthly) and Lakestyle (quarterly). There used to be an English newspaper called the 'Geneva Post' but its publishing house went bankrupt four years ago.

#### Mission statement.

From the interviews I conducted with the WRG General Manager, the management team and staff, it became apparent that there is no clearly defined mission statement. The interviewees gave me what they thought to be the station's mission statement and all were similar in content: **"To produce a radio mix to help the expatriate community"** (Ribi interview : August 1999). **"To provide a full service radio station for the Anglo-professional expatriate community"** (Butcher interview : July 1999).

**"To keep the public informed and link the Geneva local community with the expat community. To allow the international community to partake in local Swiss activities"** (Chevaillier interview : August 1999).

**"To provide a link between the different communities. Not just between the local Swiss and expats, but also between the various international communities"** (McMullen interview : July 1999).

#### The objectives of World Radio Geneva.

The objectives listed in the concession request are as follows:

- °Q° To broadcast news and animation allowing a better integration of the international community into the social, cultural and economic life of Geneva and its surroundings.
- To throw a bridge between the various communities.
- To offer a very high level of economic news at set hours and spontaneously when required by markets.
- To broadcast information about helpful services to the guests and tourists. To explain the Swiss institutions to the foreign guests.
- To promote and consolidate the international position of Switzerland in general and of Geneva in particular.

WRG -FM will be the forum, the meeting point between communities as well as a place for dialogue between the various economic or political decision-makers and the Swiss or foreign public in the area (concession request : February 1995).

As Louise McMullen stated : **"ideally we are working towards a radio station based on community participation, access and dialogue"** (interview : July 1999).

#### The structure and operation of World Radio Geneva.

World Radio Geneva is an adult contemporary music station to be found on the 88.4 FM band, and it broadcasts to its coverage area twenty four hours a day. The adult contemporary format is : "very strong in the 25-49 age group, which makes it particularly attractive to advertisers. The

emphasis is on music, commonly presented in uninterrupted sweeps, with commercials clustered at predetein ined times" (de Villiers 1993 : 141). The station is located in Passage de la Radio 1 in Geneva, Switzerland, and its financial year runs from 1 January to 31 December. WRG is officially a semi-automated station and its geographic broadcast limits are set by the wattage (500W) of its transmitter. It is a utilitarian enterprise because all of the full-time staff are paid set salaries. WRG is a small-scale operation and following is an organogram showing the station's personnel and their functions :

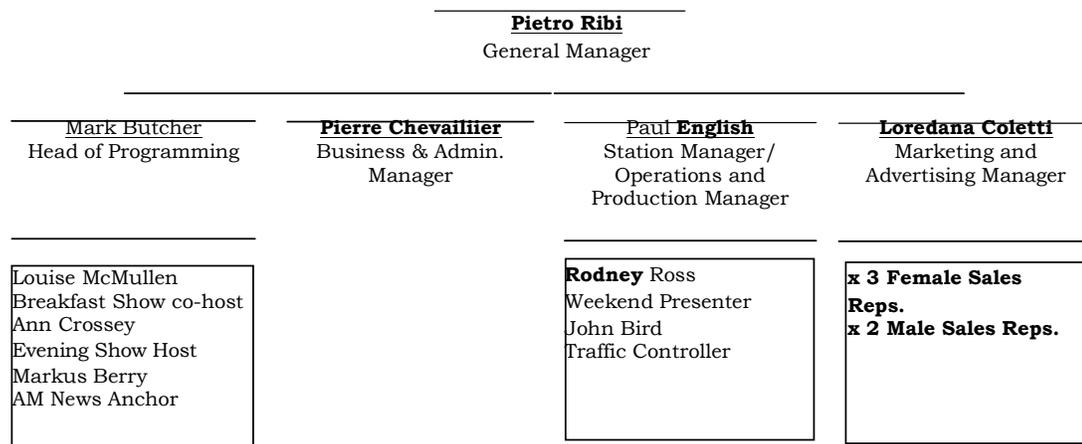


Figure Two : WRG Organogram.  
Source : Butcher interview, July 1999.

### Employee profiles and their short and long term goals.

**Pietro Ribì** is a Swiss German who was appointed as WRG's General Manager in March 1999 after the previous General Manager, Mr Michael Hedges (British) was asked to resign due to the station's audience decline and concurrent financial difficulties. Mr Ribì brings with him a wealth of media experience which is helpful for the rigorous reassessment that is in progress. He has worked in radio for twenty five years - thirteen years as a radio journalist for SRI (he speaks fluent German, French, Italian and English); he was also head of the Swiss Cable Radio Network for ten years; and presently has dual job positions. He is the General Manager of WRG and works at the station two full days a week, and is also the head of Swiss Satellite Radio based in

Berne. He refers to his position of General Manager as a "**strategic position**" and describes his job as "**implementing the agreed upon format of the radio station, ensuring WRG maintains the correct mix of music, talk and news**". His goals for WRG are : "**to be the number one radio station in the expatriate community. To cover our costs, we aim to be self-sufficient by next year...we won't ever be a huge and massively profitable business, but we must provide for our own overheads and expenses**" (Ribi interview : August 1999).

Paul English is an Australian and originally a teacher by profession. He has lived in Switzerland since 1992 and has been involved with radio since 1994. He has been with WRG since its inception and has recently been appointed Station Manager and is effectively second-in-charge after the General Manager. He also holds the specific designation of Operations and Production Manager; In 1996 he started as the afternoon and evening talk show host , before moving into the technical function he now holds. He has however kept the weekly Friday "classifieds" programme slot. His job functions include : responsibility for the functioning of technical equipment; updating the studio and broadcast equipment; responsibility for the weekend and contract staff; overall responsibility of commercial scheduling (John Bird does the traffic function); production of the station's identity jingles and promotional material; and copywriting and production for "**99 percent of all commercials aired**".

He lists his short term goals as upgrading the production facilities and the studio design, acoustics and soundproofing. Long term goals include enlarging WRG's broadcast area. He would like to see the station "**go national throughout Switzerland and eventually go onto satellite...but getting reception to Montreux is the first step**" (English interview : September 1999).

English explained that there is not one technical system that WRG use, but rather a number of different systems that work together. From a technical point of view, the station has an almost fully digitized studio, although staff still use an analogue mixing desk.<sup>2</sup>

Mark Butcher is British and has lived in Switzerland for seven years. He worked previously at SRI and has been with WRG since its first broadcast in May 1996. He is the Head of Programming and is thus responsible for all on-air time as well as policies regarding the programme content. He is also a co-host of the weekday Breakfast Show and is in charge of the radio presenters and news anchors. His goals include extending the amount of live' radio broadcasting to have a new early afternoon show and to reinstate the evening talk show (Butcher interview : July 1999).

Loredana Coletti is Swiss, the only female on the management team, and was employed in March 1996 as the Marketing and Advertising Manager. Loredana explained that it is best to have a native Swiss in this position as it requires dealing with mainly Swiss advertising clients on a daily basis. Her job description is divided into two functions - marketing WRG and sales. This includes : responsibility for the sales team (three females - two French and one Italian; and two males - one British and one Canadian). They are in the process of employing one additional sales representative. Loredana is responsible for their employment, training and motivation; identifying the objectives and setting targets for each sales person; liaison with all clients; increasing the client base; and initiating and maintaining promotional events for WRG in order to increase the visibility of the station. She also has overall responsibility for producing the WRG Guide (summer and winter editions) with a print number of one hundred thousand. This is an effective marketing tool used by WRG and is a very comprehensive information guide to events in the area. It is published twice yearly and is distributed to tourist offices, airlines, international and local businesses, hotels and as a newspaper insert in Le Temps. According to Coletti, WRG must strive to be "**the biggest success story of an English-speaking radio station in Europe**". Her internal goals include doubling the size of the sales team and becoming totally self-sufficient (Coletti interview : September 1999).

Pierre Chevaillier is Swiss by nationality and is the newest member of the management team. He started at WRG in August 1997. His job description is the overall responsibility for all administrative functions at the station. He looks after staff needs (not recruitment), but medical aid, work permits etc., and deals with authorities such as OFCOM and the Department of Internal

Revenue. He is also responsible for finalizing budgets and for submitting all financial reports. Both Chevaillier and Ribí would not allow me access to any financial statements or operating costs, but agreed to give me the following percentage breakdown of the monthly internal budget which reveals that the major expenditures are for staff salaries, office and studio rental costs and for programme purchase and production costs.

%	WRG - Internal Budget
67,0 %	spent on staff salaries
12,8 %	overheads (renting office and studio space)
9,6 %	programme and production costs
4,6 %	office maintenance and purchases
3,3 %	service fees (lawyer and accountant)
2,7 %	research costs.

Table Ten : WRG - internal budget

Source : Chevaillier interview, August 1999.

He listed three goals for WRG - to have an increased concession area; have more on-air programming; and to be self-sufficient in financial terms (Chevaillier interview : August 1999).

Louise McMullen is British but was schooled in Geneva and has lived here for over ten years. She holds a Masters degree in Broadcast Journalism. In 1998, she was retrenched in an effort to cut costs but was re-employed in March 1999. Her job description is Breakfast Show co-host and journalist. As a journalist she researches stories; organizes, produces and edits pre-recorded interviews; and researches and conducts live interviews. As a presenter she researches the latest stock market figures, business news and information on daily events. To show how limited and stretched human resources are at WRG, at the time of the interview Mark Butcher was on leave and Louise had to produce and host the Breakfast Show for three weeks by herself. McMullen outlines the station's goals as being : **"to provide an improved link between the different communities and between the locals and expatriates, and to expand more and include more 'live' programming"** (McMullen interview : July 1999).

The issue of training.

I asked all of the interviewees about the status of training and from the responses it is evident that little or no external training takes place. This is largely due to budget constraints and Ribi's comment was : **"no, we do not provide training but we already have an experienced management team and journalists"** (interview : August 1999). The majority did not seem too concerned except for Paul English who said he'd like to see more staff attend training courses - **"there is a lot of in-house training, myself and Mark do all the technical training, but there is not enough time and the existing staff are too pressed and already do too much...so training takes a backseat and what is done could be done better"** (English interview : September 1999).

An evaluation of human resources and training.

Due to limited finances WRG is in need of additional human resources. The present employees are dedicated and hard-working but are stretched beyond their means. This can result in certain aspects of their jobs not being given the proper time and attention resulting in poor effectiveness. I believe that there is a vast pool of untapped potential to be found within the expatriate population, especially in the unemployed 'housewife' sector. Many female expatriates are what they term 'trailing spouses', having given up careers in their home countries in order to accommodate their husbands' transfers. Generally, as expatriates, their family incomes would be favourable and some might be happy to give their time as volunteers. The presence of volunteers would help alleviate the work load and allow the employed WRG staff to concentrate on their areas of expertise. Importantly, it would not only be a cost-saving device but would also provide an essential and much needed means of contact with the community. This would ensure that the expatriate community are represented in the daily operation of the station.

Over weekends WRG could engage the help of expatriate teenagers of a school-leaving age. For some of these volunteers, it may be an opportunity to gain experience, especially if they are interested in pursuing media careers. It is understood that the use of volunteers would require

some training and supervision time from present WRG staff, but I feel that this would be worth it in order to gain additional free help. Another idea would be for WRG to become a member of the "Community Radio Webring" (<http://www.cnt.org/tnw/19/192radio.htm>). This is a free and voluntary membership organization that connects radio stations around the world with one another. Members share computer software, exchange compact discs and more importantly exchange personnel. This would provide opportunities to increase WRG's human resources, even for a limited period, and to obtain working knowledge of how other radio stations operate.

The issue of staff training at WRG requires improvement because there is a lack of organized formal training courses with most training taking place in-house on an ad hoc basis. As soon as funds become available, it is suggested that the General Manager allocate a budget for training because the more knowledgeable the employees, the more productive they will be. I identified two areas in particular that require urgent external training - to improve the marketing and sales skills of the five sales representatives and also in the area of cross-cultural communication skills. The latter would be valuable for all of the employees but especially useful for the presenters in order to identify and function more effectively with their target market.

#### The political economy of World Radio Geneva.

The media provide us with accounts of the contemporary world. They play a pivotal role in shaping social consciousness, and it is this special relationship between economic and cultural power that has made the issue of their control a continuing focus of academic concern. All media have their own purpose and function, intended audience, type of content, relation to society and state and lastly economic basis. WRG clearly serves two audiences - the listener market and the advertising market. According to Ribi, if WRG wants to **"continue offering a permanent service then commercial viability is necessary to guarantee regular income and support a nucleus of full-time staff"** (interview : August 1999).

Who owns WRG ? The present ownership is as follows:

%	Ownership
42%	Reuters
42%	Swiss Broadcasting Corporation
9%	Journal de Geneve / Journal de Lausanne
4%	Fondation de Geneve Place Financiere *
3%	WRG-FM Community Service Association**

Foundation of Geneva Banks

An association created by the WRG Project so as to have a direct involvement in the expatriate community.

Table Eleven : WRG - present ownership

Source : Ribí interview, August 1999.

It is important to note that this ownership percentage breakdown is soon to change. The Board of Directors has already recently changed in preparation for the following adjustment:

%	Ownership
25%	Reuters
51%	Swiss Broadcasting Corporation
17%	Journal de Geneve / Journal de Lausanne
4%	Fondation de Geneve Place Financiere
3%	WRG-FM Community Service Association

Table Twelve : WRG - future ownership

Source : Ribí interview, August 1999.

As can be seen, Reuters have relinquished a large proportion of ownership and SBC now owns the controlling shares. The Journals have also increased their share percentage with the last two remaining the same. The operational money for WRG still comes from the SBC and Reuters (Ribí interview : August 1999).

#### An evaluation of World Radio Geneva's ownership.

The major shareholders of WRG are the SBC (51%) and Reuters (25%). The station is thus ultimately governed by a group that is not representative of the community, and whose overriding motive is profit maximization. The SBC being the majority shareholder represents a clear example of "horizontal" integration or expansion, which refers to the merging / acquisition of the same type of media in a market. This is one of the more insidious forms of integration as it restricts free competition (Sanchez-Taberno 1993 : 6).

The recent change in ownership shareholding indicates a shift in the locus of control over resource allocation and policy. It should be noted that Reuters and especially the SBC, who allocate the operational budget to WRG, are in a position to exercise a great deal of influence because of this financial assistance. They also wield the power to appoint or terminate the services of employees, as seen by the dismissal of the former General Manager earlier this year and the appointment of the SBC's Pietro Ribi in his place. The majority shareholders are also in control of the degree of autonomy they allow Ribi to hold. He admits : **"I have a clearly defined business plan as agreed by the Board, and inside this plan I am free to do as I want...they (the Board) want me to achieve their goals...and that is to be the number one radio station in this niche market"** (interview : August 1999) .

#### 'Allocative' and 'operational' control of WRG.

Graham Murdock (1982 : 122) distinguishes the basic levels of control - "allocative and operational". WRG use both of these levels in their operation, but ultimately it must be said that the major financial and economically-driven decisions are made at the 'allocative' level, which is the most influential level of control..Allocative control consists of the power to define the overall goals of the corporation and determines the general way it deploys its productive resources. It entails four main areas of activity:

- (1) The formulation of overall policy and strategy.
- (2) Decisions on whether and where to expand (through mergers and acquisitions or the development of new markets) and when and how to cut back by selling off parts of the enterprise or laying off labourers.
- (3) The development of basic financial policy...whether to seek a major loan, from whom and on what terms.
- (4) Control over the distribution of profits...and the level of remuneration paid to directors and key executives. (Murdock 1982: 122) .

The most powerful allocative control stems from the Board of Directors of WRG. These are:

Name	Position Held
Nick Lombard	President of SRI (owned by SBC)
Daniel Jorio	Financial manager of SRI (owned by SBC)
Gerard Tschopp	Director of Swiss Radio Romande (owned by SBC)
Marcus Ferrar	Vice - President of Reuters
Gilbert Coutau	Representing the two journals and the Foundation of Geneva banks
Michael Type	President of the WRG Community Service Association

Table Thirteen : WRG - Board of Directors

Source: Chevaillier interview, August 1999.

The above Board was appointed in July 1999. Previously Reuters had two representatives and now have only one. The SBC, in line with their increased shareholding, have an extra member and now have three representatives on the Board. According to Ribi it is still fairly balanced as there are three SBC members and three non-SBC members. It is these above members who are WRG's 'economic' owners.

Operational control on the other hand, "works at a lower level and is confined to decisions about the effective use of resources already allocated and the implementation of policies already decided upon at the allocative level" (Murdock 1982 : 122). In the WRG scenario, this operational control falls mainly to the management team and senior employees such as Ann Crossey and Louise McMullen. Even though operational controllers work at a lower level to allocative controllers, they are still responsible for making important and effective choices and decisions. In fact, "at the level of control over immediate production they are likely to have a good deal of autonomy" (Murdock 1982 : 123). It would also be true to say that this same management team are in a full-time position to keep track of developments and it is they who control the flow of information to the Board of WRG. They can thus present the available options in ways that favour the policies they would like to see implemented. Also, while their primary imperative is profit maximization, personal motivations must come into the picture. These motivations revolve around career and promotion, not only profit. Concerns can also include building up the autonomy of their departments and thus gaining added prestige and status.

The WRG-FM Community Service Association.

The Association was created in January 1995 by members of the international community in order to acquire an equity shareholding in WRG. The purpose of the Association is to enable non-profit organizations and individuals in Switzerland to collectively participate in and support the radio station. What can the Association offer members ?

- privileged access to air time;
- + programme time can be made available for special events;
- \*.4 members are offered free publicity for activities of a non-profitmaking nature;
- o<sup>p</sup>.4 the Association publishes a regular newsletter about its activities and developments and those of the radio station; and
- <sup>4</sup>) the Association promotes social activities with WRG staff to develop mutual communication.

There are two membership categories - individual and collective. Collective membership is open to groups of at least ten members and these must be non-profit organizations operating under Swiss law. There is a one time capital contribution of 1200 Swiss francs plus an annual due of 100 Swiss francs. Individual members pay a capital contribution of 125 Swiss francs plus an annual due of 50 Swiss francs. The capital contribution is refundable in the event of retirement from the Association (<http://www.wrg-fm.com>).

Mr Michael Type (British) has been the President of the WRG Community Service Association for the past three years. In a telephonic interview I asked him what benefits the Association and WRG gained from the arrangement. He said that it was a mutually beneficial relationship. The Association's benefits have been already listed but he elaborated saying that in theory there is no limit to the number of announcements a client can put forward. These are free and on average clients use the station eight times per year, although the American Women's Clubs of Geneva and Lausanne tend to use it more because of their numerous events. Members can also have onair interviews to promote their or<sup>g</sup>anizations and results from these seemed very favourable and proved to be an effective means to advertise their services. He stated that ultimately it is the expatriate community that benefits as they are kept well informed about events and groups that are specifically designed to meet their needs.

The Association benefits WRG as the station gets good coverage at clients' functions and meetings and is provided with feedback on expatriate activities. "The Association acts as a filter, we know what can and can't be done and feed this information to the station manager. We act as a go-between for the station and its listeners, a kind of listener panel". Importantly, Hedges also mentioned that "without the creation of the Association I am ninety nine percent sure that the station would not have got its licence. OFCOM saw this as a crucial community factor as it conffilled the station's support from the English-speaking expatriate sector" (Hedges interview : October 1999).

The issue of autonomy : internal and external constraints.

In her well-known article, 'Negotiation of control in media organizations and occupations', Margaret Gallagher (1982 : 154-171) stresses the importance of understanding the nature of control in the media. Here, 'control' refers to the extent to which communicators are able to shape output. These controls are divided into 'external' and 'internal' constraints. In the case study of WRG, external constraints would include the majority shareholders of the station (SBC and Reuters); the licencing authority (OFCOM); the advertising clients and lastly the listeners. Hence external constraints are both commercial and political in nature.

Although ownership of the media implies possible power over production by the supposed omnipotent owners, the daily operational management of media organizations such as WRG lies with the employed media professionals. According to O'Sullivan et al (1998) the ability of media professionals to achieve autonomy is subject to two key restraints:

*Profitability...Few owners of the media are content to maintain a 'hands-off policy if there is not a healthy flow of profit or at least the prospect of one ...Regulation...media professionals operate within codes of practice designed to prevent unacceptable, standards of production or irresponsible behaviour. If members adhere to such codes, then there are less likely to be attempts made to impose conditions from outside the industry (O'Sullivan et al 1998 : 169 -171. Italics in original).*

The majority shareholder of WRG is the SBC which is state-owned. The relationship with SBC means that even if not directly, WRG are under constant review, at times under direct scrutiny, and occasionally under threat. In 1998 WRG was under direct threat as they were experiencing serious financial difficulties, audience numbers were rapidly declining and a new General Manager was appointed. Under Pietro Ribì, WRG is in the process of turning this situation around, and they hope to be financially independent by the year 2000. Nowadays, it would seem that the SBC and other owners rarely intervene directly as this would be perceived to be antidemocratic. No doubt they are observing closely but are allowing Ribì the freedom to continue the upward financial fortunes of the station. He meets with the Board three times a year, but sends them information from the weekly management meetings and regular monthly financial reports. Also, it must be observed that having worked for the SBC for twenty five years, he is a well known, respected and trusted figure. As Paul English noted : "**Due to Pietro's career in radio and his experience at the SBC, the Board is probably a little less autocratic and a little more lenient**" (interview : September 1999).

*The licencing authority. OFCOM,* monitors the broadcasting of all radio stations including WRG who are required to log all their output and keep this record for a period of ninety days. This is a means of control to ensure that each presenter is aware of his/her programme content as well as conforming to other legal constraints such as the avoidance of slander and racism. It also allows OFCOM a means to check if the strict advertising regulations are being adhered to. The media operate relatively freely in Western European countries like Switzerland, compared to those under repressive regimes. Nevertheless, there are laws and regulations in place which act as effective constraints on media output. It would seem that in the WRG - OFCOM relationship, these regulations are kept in reserve for when and if WRG digress from the rules. "**OFCOM won't intervene unless things got very bad, we stepped out of line and they received complaints from the public**" (Butcher interview : July 1999). All the WRG personnel agreed that the station, as is the noun in Switzerland, observes the rules and hence OFCOM keeps its distance and is largely a non-interventionist association. When necessary OFCOM will send new regulations via the post, and a representative has visited the WRG premises a few times, but never unannounced. Pierre Chevaillier believes they have a "**good, open and trusting**

**relationship"** (interview : August 1999). After further research I believe that WRG are fortunate in this relationship for two reasons. Firstly, their licence is valid for eight years, this is quite a long period for a local radio station and it frees them from continual checking and the feeling of constantly having to impress the licencing authority in order to renew their concession. Secondly, the Head of OFCOM is Dr Mark Furrer and he is a close personal friend of Mark Butcher. This must aid the relationship and keep the lines of communication open.

The advertisers are also a source of external constraint as it is in their interest to reach as large an audience as possible. According to WRG personnel, the advertisers want a bigger audience and **"are pushing for a wider reception area"** (Ribi interview : August 1999). The relationship WRG has with its advertisers appears to be a strong and friendly one. Ms. Coletti and her sales team seem determined to service their existing clients well in addition to broadening their client base. The listeners of WRG are also putting pressure on the station to increase and improve their reception ability. Ribi also revealed another area of listener constraint : **"WRG is a niche radio and appeals to a very specific audience. They are English-speaking, so in a way language becomes a barrier because it is limiting as the number of English-speaking residents in the area is not necessarily increasing. This can definitely be seen as a constraint for the station"** (interview : August 1999).

The internal constraints include the autonomy of the employees, human resources, financial restrictions and technical limitations (station set-up: space, studio and equipment). Starting with employee autonomy, all the staff interviewed stated that they are happy within their working environments and have a sense of independence which enables them to operate relatively freely. Some comments are as follows:

**"very high degree of autonomy which gives me tremendous job satisfaction...I am able to implement tasks and goals with relative ease"** (English interview : September 1999).

**"I feel I have „almost complete independence in managing the sales team but I do work very closely with Paul and Mark from a promotional and programming point of view"** (Coletti interview : September 1999).

**"WRG doesn't have the feel of a hierarchical institution and I feel I have lots of freedom from both Mark and Pietro. However, I do observe legal restrictions and the set format of**

**the show...but use my own discretion in choosing topics for discussion and for interviews"**

(McMullen interview : July 1999).

It is obvious that despite their perceived sense of autonomy, WRG employees definitely work within set boundaries as confiited by the General Manager : **"The managers are free to operate within their schedules, each person has clear responsibilities but these are defined by myself "**

(Ribi interview : August 1999).

WRG is a small scale operation and it is still in the process of becoming financially independent. This leads to strict *financial constraints* and internal budgets are extremely limited and adhered to. Mark Butcher comments : **"Yes, we are a small station which has its frustrations. We work on a limited budget, with limited staff and do have technical restraints"** (interview : July 1999). For Ribi, the most crucial internal constraint is *human resources* - **"I have a small team and they are pushed to their limits"** (interview : August 1999).

#### Advertising.

According to Pietro Ribi, Switzerland is in an interesting predicament regarding radio advertising. Despite it being such a well-developed market, the share of radio advertising in the total media advertising pie is only 2,9 percent. In France for example, radio advertising accounts for 10 percent of all media spend and this figure is consistent with most developed European markets. The reason for this situation is two-fold : (1) local commercial radio stations were not initially professional and newspapers brought majority shares in these fledgling stations so as to avoid competition. (2) the SBC is the main player in the Swiss radio market as it owns about 50 percent of all stations. The SBC radio stations are not allowed to carry advertising. This archaic law was made ten years ago to protect the newspaper industry and it is still in existence today. Although the SBC is the majority shareholder of WRG , it holds a private radio station licence and this is how the SBC has gained entry into the radio advertising market. There is still a huge potential for increased radio spend in Switzerland (Ribi interview : August 1999).

Radio stations such as WRG, that hold a 'commercial licence for a specific community', are allowed up to 80 percent of revenue from advertising, and not more than 10 percent from any one client. Thus they have a "**nixed funding status**" (Coletti interview : September 1999). The other 20 percent of funding is obtained through sponsorships, community donations and fundraising activities. From a commercial perspective, the function of WRG is to capture the audience which it sells to the advertisers. Some products simply need to be advertised to the largest number of people possible, but there is a vast range of products and services where the market is more accurately defined. In WRG, advertisers find a niche market of professional expatriates who are high income earners and have the discretionary income to spend (for a list of WRG's advertising clients see Appendix Six). The station's policy is that they do accept competitive advertising, for example they have a number of hotels, airlines, telephone companies and banks that are in competition with one another. They do have an agreement to ensure that there is a minimum of twenty minutes between competitive advertising slots. This is the function of John Bird who is the traffic controller at the station. If a client requests exclusivity this can be arranged but they must obviously pay a premium for this service. Most advertising slots are either thirty or sixty seconds, and the rates differ throughout the day depending on the number of listeners (for the advertising rate card see Appendix Seven). WRG is happy to accommodate advertisers who wish to run twenty or ten second advertising spots and are always available to discuss promotional packages in accordance with their clients' marketing strategies (Coletti interview : September 1999).

An interesting facet to WRG's business is the production of radio commercials. Ninety nine percent of all commercials broadcast on WRG are produced in-house by Paul English, the Operations and Production Manager. He does both the copywriting and the production and on average the cost is 500 Swiss francs (R2000) per commercial. This is broken down into approximately 100 Swiss francs for copywriting, 150 for studio costs and 250 for the voice over/s. For their clients, the use of local advertising agencies is difficult - the production costs would be exorbitant and thus prohibitive for many of the smaller clients, and also most local agencies do not have the resources or the experience to produce English language commercials. WRG has a library of sound effects and music and Paul English himself operates a voice agency business. When questioned, he stated that his voice is used in "**perhaps five percent of all**

**commercials produced"**. This production package is offered to advertisers as an attractive drawcard. The commercials are professionally produced at a reasonable cost to the client, and WRG manages to cover their costs and make a small profit too (English interview : September 1999).

An evaluation of World Radio Geneva's advertising function.

WRG obtain 80 percent of their income and profits from their advertisers and not from their audience. This could arguably make the advertisers the real figures of power.

However, the advertiser's dominant role in financing the core commercial media need not necessarily mean that audience wants are secondary or insignificant. On the contrary... since advertisers are interested in reaching as many of their target audience as possible, consumer preferences are still the most important factor in the situation (Murdock 1982: 145).

Commitment to 'social responsibility' in their advertising is evident in that WRG flight an unusually high percentage of non-commercial advertisements which originate primarily from members of the WRG-FM Community Service Association. This makes their advertising mix more community orientated.

I believe an area for concern is WRG's production of '99 percent of all commercials aired'. Whilst this is a good service to provide their clients and the quality of the commercials is certainly good, it must be stated that the similarity and familiar tone of many of the advertisements is evident. A suggestion would be for Paul English to relinquish some of the copywriting duties and let another member of staff ( for example, Louise McMullen who holds a Masters degree in broadcast journalism and is also creative) share this function. This would also be an ideal opportunity to use a freelancer from the community.

As part of the political economy evaluation, a discussion on the commercial versus community issue would be appropriate. One of the set questions I asked all the WRG interviewees was 'Whether WRG is more of a community or a commercial radio station ?' The responses were

varied which shows that there is a certain amount of confusion, although the commercial aspect does seem to be the primary determinant.

**"it has an odd combination of a commercial and a community licence but it primarily has to earn its money. It broadcasts to a highly specific, heavily differentiated community and the main market from a revenue point of view is the expatriate sector - we need these listeners to help us survive financially"**

(Ribi interview : August 1999).

**"commercial, primarily because WRG exists from *air-time sold*, but we never forget our community of listeners and it is for them that our programmes are geared"** (English interview : September 1999).

**"we have a clearly defined community but we are a commercially driven community radio station"** (Butcher interview : July 1999).

**"definitely commercially biased, but we would not exist if it wasn't for the expatriate and other English-speaking communities in the Canton Geneve and Canton Vaud"** (Coletti interview : September).

"both really, I feel both carry **an** equal weight of importance - **without our** community links we would **have** no station" (Chevaillier interview : August 1999).

**"it is definitely both a community and a commercial radio station...the *commercial* aspect is the driving force, but this does not determine the editorial content in any way, our community goals and objectives do not suffer"** (McMullen interview : July 1999).

An almost total reliance on advertising revenue has forced WRG towards the conventional commercial model. A central feature of media organizations such as WRG is their relationship to other sources of power in society. However, as was evident from speaking with Ribi and the management team, overriding all of these external and internal demands is the issue of

commercial survival. WRG's main concern is to stay in business. Their aim is to become financially independent as soon as possible. Thereafter they will be able to generate substantial profits, as is the objective of all commercial operations.

A determinin<sup>g</sup> factor in the commercial versus community debate depends on whether or not the community-based approach is represented at all levels of the station and within the management structure - from links with the community, recruiting policy, training resources, and to top management and policy making. In the study of WRG, this is clearly not the case. Community intentions, whilst evident, have been overtaken by the logic of the marketing and commercial dynamic.

Whilst it may be true that to describe WRG as a community radio station is rather a misnomer, it is also true to say that they cater to a small, local and very distinct community of people, they are distinguished by their community support and are committed to localism. It is my opinion that it is possible to be both profit-driven and retain a sense of social responsibility. Even though WRG is at the commercial end of a community radio station, their broadcasting invigorates the local community and adds a local voice to the media environment. The programming on WRG attempts to reflect and serve the community and they do retain an element of community control in the form of the WRG-FM Community Service Association, who own three percent of the station.

WRG would do well to define their mission statement as much of the idealism behind community radio is in its goal to produce worthy programmes aimed at a minority audience. This is often limited by external constraints such as the need for commercial viability. WRG is neither owned nor ultimately controlled by the community and is thus more of a radio station for the community rather than by the community. This is an area that needs to be urgently addressed and I believe that it is possible to allow the community greater access to the station in order for them to play a more participative role in its functioning. Finally, it must be mentioned that WRG does provide an alternative to the wholly state-owned and larger stations such as Swiss Radio International, and it does provide a much-needed friendly English' voice.

### The audience.

WRG is shaped by its unique audience - thousands of English-speaking international professionals and their families living in the Geneva / Lausanne area. In the reception area of WRG there are a total of 710,000 radio listeners:

Number	Listeners
160,000 expatriates	76,000 : have English as their mother tongue. 84,000 : are 'Anglo professionals' - Europeans, South Americans etc. who speak and understand the English language.
100,000	Swiss locals who speak and understand English.
450,000	Swiss locals who do not speak English.

Table Fourteen : Total number of radio listeners in WRG reception area

Source : Publicadata / M.I.S. Trend : 1998.

WRG claims a regular audience of 58,200 and a daily audience of 32,500. The listenership figures for the different time periods of the day are as follows:

Time	Listenership
6 - 9 am	13,400
9 - 11 am	5,700
11 - 2 pm	6,000
2 - 4 pm	3,000
4 - 7 pm	10,700
7 - 12 pm	3,300

Table Fifteen : WRG - listenership breakdown per time period

Source : Publicadata / M.I.S. Trend : 1998.

WRG enjoys its highest listenership during the Breakfast Show and the evening drive-time show (see Appendix Eight). The demographic profile for the audience is : 48 percent male and 52 percent female, and their core market is drawn from the 25-45 age group (Coletti interview : September 1999). Further research data reveals that the Anglophones in the Swiss Romande area have an above average education (see Appendix Nine) and are likely to hold professional and managerial positions. Hence, their earning power is primarily between 5,800 - 7,800 Swiss francs per month (27% of all Anglophones in the area earn this) and upwards of 7,800 Swiss francs per month (46% earn this per month) (see Appendix Ten). Of this last group of high

earners, 39,2% regularly listen to WRG which has obvious advantages for advertisers due to the large discretionary income available (see Appendix Eleven) (Publicadata : 1998). Considered in terms of listeners' diverse nationalities, the target market is fractured; however it is homogeneous in that the majority are well educated professionals, high income earners and they bring with them a wide provision of skills to the area.

Of the thirty two respondents who answered the questionnaire, **twenty one** claimed to be familiar with WRG, and eleven were not. In answer to the question 'how frequently do you listen to WRG ?' out of twenty one respondents : eleven listened frequently (almost daily); six fairly frequently (approximately four times per week); and four listened rarely (however, three of the four commented that this was due to the poor reception signal in their area).

Interestingly, twelve respondents made specific mention of listening to WRG whilst driving, and this brings us to a brief discussion of audience reception. The assumption that full undivided attention is given whilst listening to the radio has been discarded in favour of theories which differentiate between levels of attention. One example is Jeremy Tunstall's (1983) definition of levels as "*primary* (close attention), *secondary* (the medium in question is relegated to the background) and *tertiary* (although the medium is present, no conscious monitoring of it is taking place)" (cf. in O' Sullivan et al 1998 : 149. Italics in original). Andrew Crisell (1994) agrees with the above and argues that the defining characteristic of radio is the "flow" that comes from a lack of clear programme boundaries. This allows listeners to concentrate solely on the radio programme or to be free to perform other activities whilst listening. This flexibility means that listeners can dress, make meals, drive the car etc. simultaneously and these actions clearly relegate radio to a "secondary or background medium" that is used to "structure their day and as a companion" (Crisell 1994 : 212).

Programming at World Radio Geneva.

WRG addresses a broad international and multi-cultural audience and has attempted to design programming<sup>8</sup> which they believe will appeal to their target listeners. Butcher, Head of Programming comments : "**the content should reflect a positive and unifying view of the expatriate community**" (interview : July 1999). Due to severe budget limitations they are not a strongly speech-oriented station and a large proportion of broadcast hours is occupied with semi-automated music as this is much cheaper to programme. Partly to meet the expectations of their listening public, and partly due to their financial restrictions; **WRG's** schedule replicates those of mainstream media with 'live' drive-time shows in the morning and evening, and 'soft adult contemporary' music in between and throughout the night.

The regular programme schedule is as follows:

Monday to Friday.

Time	Programme
24.00 - 06.30	Music
06.30 - 10.00	The Breakfast Show
10.00 - 13.00	Music
13.00 - 13.30	BBC World Service News
13.30 - 16.00	Music
16.00 - 19.00	The Evening drive-time Show
19.00 - 19.30	BBC World Service News
19.30 - 24.00	Music

Table Sixteen : WRG - Weekday programme schedule

Source : Butcher interview, July 1999.

The Breakfast Show is hosted by Mark Butcher and Louise McMullen. It features international, business and local news; current affairs; music; sports and chat with local news from Markus Berry. There are generally two interviews daily, one pre-recorded and one live. At 9am is 'What's On' which is written by a freelancer from the community, Jennifer McDermott, and e-mailed to the station daily. At 9.20 am there is 'Health Minute' which is sponsored by a private hospital. There are numerous weather and traffic reports too. On Friday mornings the schedule is a little different - between 9 - 10am Paul English hosts 'The Classifieds' which involves the buying and selling of goods and services in the community. Listeners can call in and have their classifieds

announced on air. Also on a Friday there is a live phone link with New York for the 'Gabby Cabby' featuring American news. Often on a Friday in the second interview slot, Louise McMullen will interview a local band who will play in the studio.

The Evening drive-time Show is hosted by Ann Crossey. It features international and local news, current affairs, sports and music as well as regular weather and traffic reports.

#### Saturday.

Time	Programme
24.00 - 09.00	Music
09.00 - 14.00	'Saturdays' hosted by Rodney Ross. International news plus a light round-up of sports and weather
14.00 - 18.00	Music
18.00 - 20.00	Pure Country' hosted by Martha Martinez. This is a solid two hours of country music 'live' from Dallas, Texas.
20.00 - 24.00	Music

#### Sunday.

Time	Programme
24.00 - 09.00	Music
09.00 - 12.00	'Sundays' hosted by Rodney Ross, the same format as his Saturday show.
12.00 - 14.00	'A Prairie Home Companion' hosted by Garrison Keillor. Two hours of pre-recorded music, sketches and a look at what's happening from Minnesota, United States of America.
14.00 - 24.00	Music

Table Seventeen : WRG - Weekend programme schedule

Source : Butcher interview, July 1999.

The questionnaire respondents were asked to name their 'preferred programmes'. The most popular programme is undoubtedly the Breakfast Show for which there were fourteen responses. The news broadcasts were the next most mentioned with eight responses.

Responses	Programme
14	The Breakfast Show
8	News
7	What's On
6	The Evening Show
5	Special interviews
4	Weekend shows
3	Music
3	Prairie Home Companion
2	Classifieds

Table Eighteen : Respondents - Preferred WRG programmes

Source : The research questionnaire.

I believe that the popularity of the Breakfast Show has much to do with its two presenters who are professional, witty and friendly. It is also aimed very much at the community and discusses real community issues which imparts a warm societal feeling. There is a fair amount of 'live' interaction with the listeners, for example, phone-ins regarding competitions; views on certain issues; callers to the station who report a traffic jam get a free bottle of jam as a gift, and music requests. Localized community stations seem to use the phone-in more extensively than national networks and this is an example of **"the community talking to itself and with each other"** (McMullen interview : July 1999). Lewis and Booth (1989) have the following to say about phone-ins:

Phone-ins are the most economical form of broadcasting since all they require is a presenter who is prepared to guide the discussion and deal with whoever wishes to call. The phone-in is perhaps the closest most stations to...allowing...public expression of no[n]ially private concerns...The 'intimacy' of the phone-in is part of its appeal...This sense of eavesdropping is an essential part of the entertainment for many listeners...they have two aims: firstly to foster a sense of personal interaction with the caller and secondly to make the programme entertaining for the audience (Lewis & Booth 1989 : 102).

Each morning on the Breakfast show Louise McMullen features two interviews. The first broadcasts in the 7.10am time slot and is usually pre-recorded. It is often a serious interview regarding business, technical or financial topics so as to appeal to the predominantly male audience. The second interview at 8.40am is no[n]ially 'live' with a studio guest. This interview is geared to appeal to the 'housewife' which is a very important sector of the listenership profile. "In

a study of housewives and radio (Hobson 1980) it was stressed that radio gives the isolated listener a feeling of community not simply with the broadcasters but with other isolated listeners too" (cf. in Crisell 1994: 212). These special guest interviews rated highly amongst WRG listeners, especially housewives, who at 8.40am are alone because the husbands are at work and the children at school.

News acts primarily as a source of factual information, but it also provides social and entertaining information. This aids the listeners as it allows them to participate in society. News as a genre is a commodity and is a very important part of WRG's programme schedule. It is expensive to gather and distribute and should produce an audience that is of the right size and composition to be sold to advertisers. Following is a breakdown of the news format and schedules broadcast on WRG :

International News and weather.

From the BBC World Service. This is a 'live' feed Monday to Friday at 8.00 (15 minutes), 13.00 (30 minutes) and at 19.00 (30 minutes). WRG pay for this service.

National News and weather.

From Swiss Radio International. This is a 'live' feed from Berne with an English-speaking newsreader at 7.00, 9.00, 10.00, 12.00, 16.00, 17.00 and 18.00 on Mondays to Fridays; and from 9.00 - 14.00 every hour on Saturday and Sunday. Each broadcast lasts approximately four minutes and this is a free service to WRG as SRI is owned by the SBC, who are also majority shareholders in WRG.

Local News.

This is compiled and presented by Markus Berry at 6.30, 7.30 and 8.30 on Mondays to Fridays. It is sourced from computer information, newspapers and local organizations and institutions - WRG is on the press release list of the United Nations, the World Health Organization, local businesses, Geneva University and the Geneva and Lausanne police headquarters.

(Butcher interview : July 1999; <http://www.wrg-fm.com>).

Lastly in this section on programming - one telling clue to a station's sense of identity is its choice of signature jingles, which are repetitively broadcast between programmes or segments within programmes. These jingles are often given as much thought and attention as the rest of the station's schedule. WRG have five pre-recorded jingles that are rotated on a daily basis:

- Lock us in at number one - WRG : 88.4 FM.
- 88.4 is World Radio Geneva.
- Don't forget - 88.4 means WRG FM.
- Smooth music, sharp news - WRG 88.4 FM.
- Your kind of station - World Radio Geneva 88.4 FM.

(English interview : September 1999).

#### An evaluation of programming at World Radio Geneva.

The issue of audience research is of primary importance. According to Ribi, the last audience 'likes and dislikes' research was conducted in 1996, prior to the opening of the station. This was overseen by Colman Research (an American company with offices in Europe) and proved invaluable at the time (interview : August 1999). Radio stations can no longer take their audiences for granted as they will ultimately fail if they get cut off from the needs and aspirations of their listeners. As McMullen comments : "**we desperately need more research done so we can have a better idea of who our listeners are, what problems they experience and what exactly they like or dislike about the station**" (interview : July 1999). WRG's website has a 'guest page' where members of the public are free to comment on various topics of their choice. I reviewed this for eight months, and it would seem that the comments are either praiseworthy or critical but they do not provide actual suggestions. Due to financial restraints, I would recommend that WRG conduct their own audience research. Using current resources this can be done for an affordable amount and the cost factor would not compromise its effectiveness. For example, the presenters (or even the General Manager / Station Manager) could announce the need for audience research and explain their need for audience participation in order to ultimately improve their service to the public. They could request that listeners phone in / fax / email their addresses to the station and pre-designed likes and dislikes' questionnaires and

prepaid envelopes could be mailed to the respondents. Phone-ins could also be arranged to allow members of the public to air their views on programmes, music played etc. Twice yearly, WRG produces a magazine called the WRG Guide'. The Guide has a distribution of 100,000 and a similar questionnaire could be inserted into this publication. Return rates for this type of research are normally low but a return rate of one percent would guarantee 1000 questionnaires and a five percent return rate would produce 5000 replies. This information would be invaluable to WRG and would enable them to obtain a clearer understanding of their listener market as well as allow the community to participate in possible changes and improvements at the station.

For some idea on audience 'likes and dislikes', let us review the respondents' answers to the question 'Is there anything you would like to have changed / included in the programming format?' Remembering that twenty one out of thirty two respondents listen to WRG, the most requests were for more 'live' programmes, followed by a call for more information on culture shock.

Number	Requests
14	more 'live' programmes with presenters.
11	more information specifically for expatriates coping with culture shock.
6	more updated modern music.
5	more information on the Lausanne area, not only for Geneva.
Number	Respondents
5	do not wish anything to be changed.
5	requested a better reception signal.
2	said that they were not familiar enough with the programming to comment.

Table Nineteen : Respondents - likes and dislikes of WRG programme format  
Source : The research questionnaire.

Due to the high music content WRG is an entertainment station, but it also provides some information which supports and aids the community, and this is essentially part of the 'social responsibility' requirement. There are daily weather reports, traffic updates and the What's On feature. WRG attempts to carry out its mission of integrating the expatriate community into Swiss society through this What's On programme. It provides free publicity to non-profit organizations and in turn provides information in the English language to the community. The programme has become part of the fabric of the expatriate audience and this "**free noticeboard to the area**" is part of **WRG's** social commitment policy (Ribi interview : August 1999). 'Info-

ment' can work both ways. It provides an essential community service but at the same time serves WRG's commercial interests - by providing essential information you ensure goodwill, which provides the station with loyal listeners, which in turn attracts advertisers.

WRG's cover of international, national and local news is fairly complete and comprehensive. They provide daily newscasts from three different sources which is excellent for such a small radio station. A small area of concern relates to the production of the local news broadcasts. Local news is one of the primary platforms on which the 'localness' of local radio is based, and the local news journalist (Markus Berry) is close to the sources he uses such as the Geneva police, United Nations etc. This can be a disadvantage because he is dealing with more-or-less the same local authority officers / public relations personnel all the time. Berry cannot afford to offend these sources but should guard against the possible monotony and sometimes bland coverage that can result from using the same sources on a regular basis.

Cross-cultural communication is an important area that needs to be addressed . I have identified a need (confirmed by the questionnaire survey) for programmes to be designed to meet the special requirements of the expatriate society - most specifically to address the culture shock that almost every newcomer experiences. The following section will be dealt with in some detail for a number of reasons : firstly, these programmes will be immensely beneficial to expatriates and will help them overcome the issues discussed in the first section of this dissertation on the 'Socio-cultural implications for expatriates'. Secondly, these programmes if implemented, will serve to function symbiotically as the personnel of WRG will become familiar with the problems experienced by their target market which will in turn allow them to be more focused and effective in their presentation. This will result in increased awareness and listener loyalty for WRG which can only improve their financial situation.

There is a need for cross-cultural orientation programmes that would prepare listeners to respond to unfamiliar situations and provide them with both the information and the reassurance they need. These programmes should be designed to expose members of the expatriate community to the basic concepts, attitudes, role perceptions, taboos and customs of the Swiss host culture. They can take many forms : expert guest speakers discussing topics such as culture shock and the

various stages one can expect; interactive phone-ins where listeners could share their experiences and ask for advice; and suggestions made by WRG about the various titles and useful websites available. These programmes can also be validated and made more interesting by inviting persons of the host Swiss culture to respond to certain situations. Ideally I envision these programmes appealing to all expatriates but perhaps they would be of greater interest to the 'housewife' sector who do not have the support of a work environment. International exposure also has a particularly deep impact on children whose sense of core identity is still in development. A suggestion is to design programmes geared towards adolescents / teenagers and have them broadcast in the evening when they are home from school. A different programme for parents of small children (3 - 10 years) , dealing with how to help them build a sense of confidence and belonging, would also be useful.

In order to develop programmes with a cross-cultural orientation, some empirical research by WRG needs to be undertaken. This will determine the major dimensions of social perception and cognition that are used in Swiss culture. Culturally determined viewpoints could then be isolated as representative generalizations about the varying cultures. For example: generally the Swiss are respectful of authority, not all expatriates are; generally the Swiss aim to be punctual, not all expatriates do; generally the Swiss are more formal and introverted, and expatriates are less formal and more extroverted. The programmes should aim to be flexible, experimental and participative and would help to integrate the expatriate and the Swiss culture.

I have formulated some possible topics for the cross-cultural orientation programmes:

1. The history of Switzerland - its social systems, politics, demographics, climate etc.
2. The history of the surrounding countries that are so accessible from Switzerland.
3. Cultural issues - Swiss culture, myths and taboos.
4. Customs and information about the people and areas of Geneva and Lausanne.
5. The importance of language and specifically the French language and information about courses to attend, prices, length of courses etc.
6. Family concerns - medical care, medical insurance, house insurance, civil benefits insurance, taxes , housing, rules and regulations pertaining to rental.
7. Education - information on the local schools, the education system, International schools etc.

8. Leisure and recreation, especially for family entertainment.
9. Local transport.
10. Shopping, banking and currency issues.
11. Travel prospects from Switzerland (to Italy, Germany, France and Austria - the countries that surround Switzerland).
12. Travel prospects in Switzerland. These travel programmes lend themselves to becoming a regular feature.
13. Law enforcement.
14. Rules of the road, information on applying for local licences, motorway taxes etc.
15. Currency restrictions between countries, custom limits and policies, visa and passport requirements.

Such programmes broadcast by WRG would prove useful in decreasing adjustment problems for expatriates as well as reducing personal trauma caused by lack of knowledge and information. They would also encourage expatriates to play a more participative role as I believe WRG must invite more members of the community to participate in programmes already selected. WRG must aim to broaden its objectives and programming so that the community will fulfill the role of truly active participants.

#### An evaluation of the marketing and future plans of WRG.

WRG must place more emphasis on improving their signal and enlarging their reception area. Whilst the General Manager and management team are adamant that this is one of the station's main goals, there is a lack of priority and action being afforded to the issue. An increased reception area would unleash a large untapped potential for spreading understanding about common problems experienced by expatriates because of differences in cultural values and practices. Also, an increased listenership base would result in a concomitant increase in advertising interest and spend, which would ultimately benefit WRG.

Radio services, large and small, are predicted to expand dramatically in the future as a result of the advent of digital audio broadcasting (DAB) and through the Internet with the creation of 'Netcasting' (<http://www.rnw.nl>). There is also a growing awareness of the possibilities of radio distribution via satellite. The expansion of radio provides opportunities for an increased number of stations and for a wider range of programming shaped to meet the needs of specific groups, like the expatriate community in this area. An overwhelming twenty five out of thirty two respondents believed that the English language media have a function to fulfill in Switzerland. So, in a Europe whose frontiers are fast disappearing under the satellite gaze, WRG would do well to continue to consolidate their audience and prepare for future changes.

### The Problematic.

The final section deals with the study's overall problematic which is : WHETHER THE EXISTENCE OF AN ENGLISH LANGUAGE RADIO STATION PLAYS A PART IN THE LNTEGRATION AND ADAPTATION PROCESS OF EXPATRIATES INTO A FOREIGN EUROPEAN SOCK F"-TY ?

We begin by analyzing the respondents answers to the questions 'Has WRG helped you to adjust to your new society / community? If so, how?' and 'Do you think the existence of an English language radio station plays a part in the integration and adaptation process of expatriates into this society?'

In the first question, out of twenty one WRG listeners, twelve said yes WRG had definitely helped; three replied that it hadn't and six were undecided. Following are extracts from the questionnaire :

#### Yes - WRG has helped.

*Yes it's definitely provided a familiar platform to launch me into the Swiss way of living by providing me with information on places, people and events in my own language (female, aged 36).*

*Yes, it makes you realize that there are a great number of other English expats out there and this has helped me to adjust (female, aged 34).*

*It helps inform you of Swiss events and news and helps the expat to penetrate the Swiss culture (male, aged 36).*

*It bridges the gap between the communities and this has helped me to fit in here (female, aged 41).*

No - WRG has not helped.

*No because I lived here for four years prior to it setting up (female, 43).*

*No, I arrived here before it began, but was glad when I found it (male, 49).*

Of particular concern to WRG management should be the respondents who were undecided in answering this question. Their indifference is something that WRG must try to address :

Undecided on whether WRG helped.

*Perhaps in a way - hearing English was very comforting but if it had specifically provided more programmes geared to expat adjustment it would have helped more (female, aged 31).*

*Yes and no. Yes because the presence of English radio was familiar and nice. No because it didn't necessarily provide information for expats (male, aged 47).*

*In a way WRG helped me but more info on culture shock would have helped me adjust more quickly (female, aged 35).*

*Not really although the info re. events was useful. Perhaps WRG could put together some social expat functions which would bring English speakers together. This would help us adjust (female, aged 38).*

The above responses correlated to the second similar question. Here, eleven said an English language station does play a part in the integration and adaptation process; two said no and eight said its role was limited.

Overall, WRG does play a significant role in the adaptation process of English-speaking expatriates into a foreign society. Withdrawal, alienation and hostility can be countered by increasing awareness and information and providing an enjoyable intercultural experience. WRG provides not only local and international news that aids the adjustment process, it is above all comforting and gives a section of the community a sense of belonging in an initially strange and foreign environment. It serves to render some new and unfamiliar occurrences intelligible and it is seen by many as helping to overcome anomie. WRG makes an acceptable but by no means solid contribution to the understanding of Switzerland's social and cultural spheres of society. As discussed in the programme evaluation, this area of cross-cultural awareness can be greatly improved. For this reason, I believe that the station only provides a framework for cultural syncretism between its listeners and their new environment. WRG should strive to be a more effective bridge builder between the different expatriate cultures and between the expatriate and host communities.

The affirmation of relatedness (something we understand, can relate and subscribe to) is a central function of WRG. By being a familiar and friendly English voice, WRG provides comfort and helps to facilitate the integration process of expatriates. This is probably one of the most important reasons why it is appreciated by its target audience, and one of the most important reasons it must continue to strive to fulfill its already pivotal position in this community.

## CONCLUSION.

So ends an academic journey that has explored the socio-cultural implications and experiences of expatriates living in Switzerland, and has established how an English-speaking radio station has helped with their integration and adaptation into a foreign European society.

The study of the expatriate experience and the need for a 'familiar voice' has allowed us to understand aspects of expatriatism in a clearer light and has alerted us to the enduring ties experienced by members of the Geneva / Lausanne expatriate community. Our sense of belonging springs more from common problems and overarching aims than from geographical proximity. Although in varying degrees for each individual, all thirty two questionnaire respondents, without exception, were of the opinion that being an expatriate had helped with their personal development.<sup>3</sup> WRG is a vital part of the radio landscape in that it provides a voice for the diverse English-speaking community it serves. Listeners depend on WRG for information, comfort, knowAedge and entertainment and now we can include-another-function and that is to help us adapt to new, ever-changing and often transitional environments.

**ADDENDUM.**

For the time I find myself living in tranquil Switzerland which is a far cry from the often turbulent and violent environment of South Africa. At times I feel like a seedling - slowly putting down roots and European soil is very different to African soil. Expatriates have to acquire a new 'globally nomadic' culture which requires us not only to be receptive to change, but to build it into our social systems. This change begins with one's self and the single most important ingredient when building a constructive experience of cultural marginality is developing a sense of one's own truth; so that regardless of the cultural context in which expatriates find themselves, their inner truth and identity remains.

We owe it to ourselves and to one another to encourage the constructive experience of cultural marginality. There is so much power and so much to celebrate in the positive expression of the expatriate experience, and I marvel at the contradictions, frustrations and the possibilities that expatriatism holds.

## Notes

1 Further extracts on culture shock from the research survey :

Experienced culture shock.

*Yes I experienced the whole gamut of emotions. Moving to a foreign country demands redefining oneself as well as dealing with the emotions one has left behind (female, aged 30).*

*I feel isolated due to my lack of French language proficiency, the culture shock aspect is lessening but I am still completely socially dislocated (female, aged 37).*

Experienced no culture shock.

*No, the circumstances have been very favourable. Already before I arrived in Switzerland I knew where to live and had a job organized (female, aged 56).*

*Having lived and worked in four other countries before I moved here made it easy to fit in. Speaking French is definitely an added advantage (female, aged 34).*

Uncertain.

*No, not really culture shock The hardest part was building up a new social life - it took time and effort (female, aged 46).*

*Maybe a little initially but don't think so... am single and joined sports and social clubs quickly so made friends. Plus the new and exciting job which helped (male, aged 28).*

*Did not really experience culture shock-, maybe culture 'uncertainty' (female, aged 34).*

Experienced only a sense of isolation and dislocation. not culture shock.

*Culture shock no. Sense of isolation, yes - because of the language problem and social dislocation too because of loss of friends and family (male, aged 52).*

2 Further information about the technical equipment used by World Radio Geneva :

Music Master - This is the system that schedules the music. You put in the criteria, for example, slow ballad, male, country and western, 1970s, American etc, and Music master will choose a song to fit the requirements.

Approximately eight to twelve songs are scheduled per hour. You also put in where you want the station identity jingles, commercials etc. Interestingly, it is an offence if you change the music that Music Master has scheduled.

UDS - Universal Digital System - This system was developed between German and American companies. It is the software that takes the music scheduling system and allows the programme to be broadcast.

DCS - Digital Commercial System - This has two functions:

- a) all commercials are entered into the DCS system. When merged with the UDS system, it permits these commercials to be played.
- b) It is a basic news editing system as well, so journalists can select, cut, edit and enter their news bytes.

Ukimedia Traffic System - This is the software programme that allows the scheduling of the commercials.

SAW - Sound Audio Workshop - This is the software package that allows all major production work to be done, for example, the station identity jingles and commercials. It is a multi-functional and multi-tracking system. (English interview : September 1999).

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3 Further extracts on expatriate personal development from the research survey :

*I learnt to get on with life and not wait for someone to help me or do it for me (female, aged 34). It has widened my perspective both socially and in the work environment (female, aged 56). I am more self-confident and now enjoy change in my life (female, aged 40).*

*It forces you to make more effort to get to know people and broadens your horizons (female, aged 39).*

*Absolutely, you gain a greater insight into the world and its people (male, aged 49).*

*Yes, there must be a positive outcome when one moves away from one's comfortzone and has to start again (female, aged 27).*

*Because you now understand the frustrations of being a 'foreigner'-you learn compassion for foreigners living in your own home country (female, aged 33).*

*The confidence to handle change and feel comfortable with it (male, aged 36).*

*I am much more aware of the complexities in a multi-cultural environment (male, aged 43).*

*It has brought our family and teenage children closer together as we depend on each other more (female, aged 46).*

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REACHING OUT FOR A FAMILIAR VOICE.

A CASE STUDY OF WORLD RADIO GENEVA, AND HOW EXPATRIATES  
USE AN ENGLISH-SPEAKING MEDIUM TO ADJUST TO THEIR NEW  
ENVIRONMENT.

By  
R. Bronwyn Allan-Reynolds.

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