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Oscillations, Interruptions and Interphonic Gearings
On Music in Studio-Based Sports Radio

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A chance encounter sparked the interest of this chapter. I was driving in my car a Sunday afternoon listening to the programme Sport på 3'eren (Sport on Channel 3) on DR (the Danish Broadcasting Corporation). The track ‘Right Now (Na-na-na-na)’ (2008) by Akon was playing. Then, suddenly, in the middle of the second chorus the hosts abruptly interrupted the track:

Host 1 (Maja Rosager): ‘Well, okay, Panum. This simply doesn’t hold up’.
Host 2 (Jacob Panum): ‘You are right, it really doesn’t’.
Host 1 (Maja Rosager): ‘We just tried to cheer you up, Hausborg [a field reporter situated at a football stadium] by offering you a bit of Akon’.

At first, I was intrigued to learn more about the circumstances of the track’s appearance, which seemed unusual to me (a casual listener of the programme for more than 10 years). I then decided to approach the track’s appearance through an examination of the assortment, placement and functions of music in the entire programme from 2 to 9 p.m. on that particular day, 23 February 2014.¹

The selection of the case nearest at hand (or ear) – that is, the issue of the programme I had stumbled upon – illustrates a process of convenience sampling (cf. e.g. Jensen 2012, 269). Whereas the interruption of the music seemed unusual to

¹ The programme was accessed via http://www2.statsbiblioteket.dk/media-stream/
me, there was nothing else to indicate that the programme as a whole presented an unusual or extreme case; for example, no other (placement and function of) tracks seemed unusual, and the programme did not include coverage of rare or extraordinary sports events. Therefore, I expect the programme to be prototypical and hence paradigmatic (Flyvbjerg 2006) of current issues of *Sport pd 3'eren* and possibly of other examples of sports radio (see more below). By presenting an exploratory case study, this examination aims for analytical generalisation in the sense that the chapter will use the case to assess available theoretical concepts and develop new ones where relevant ‘at a conceptual level higher than that of the specific case’ (Yin 2014, 41). As will become apparent below, sports radio comes in various forms, and the present examination is, of course, particularly relevant to forms that include recorded playlist tracks and could be coined studio-based sports radio. Even though it is not unusual for sports programmes to include music – as it turns out, the majority of the selected case programme’s airtime is devoted to playlist tracks – currently, there exists no systematic examination of the assortment, placement and functions of it.

This chapter intends to remedy this situation by examining how playlist tracks might contribute distinctively to the structure and address of sports radio. As a response to the (very) broad question, ‘by what rules, what means, what customs, what criteria is music integrated into radio’ (Hennion and Méadel 1986, 286), the chapter thus proposes answers from the perspective of (a case of) sports radio programming. Following the convention of differentiating between production, text and reception studies (Hendy 2000, 7) or, in a similar vein, institution, text and audience studies (Wenner 1998, 8ff), the chapter focuses on the textual structure of the programme. The chapter will examine aspects of the structure that arguably correlate with addressees’ modes of listening (inspired by Truax 2001, 182), as they can be assumed based on my own experiences and the implied characterisations in the literature on sports radio (more on that below). Consequently, I will not include an empirical examination of actual listeners’ experiences (to my knowledge, no such examination currently exists); also, I will not examine the intentions of hosts or the actual strategies and processes of production prior to the airing of the programme.

In examining the structure and address of a case of sports radio, the chapter aims to advance the understanding of, primarily, the genre of sports radio and, secondarily, the appearance of playlist tracks in radio programmes more generally. Although the focus is on ‘music’ and not ‘(music in sports) radio’, the perspective offered in Fabbri (1999) can perhaps help to specify the present approach further. Thus, if ‘genre is a kind of music [or radio programme], as it is acknowledged by a community for any reason or purpose or criteria, i.e., a set of musical [or programme] events whose course is governed by rules (of any kind) accepted by a community’ (Fabbri 1999, 7), then a genre of ‘sports radio’ is referred to in the following based on labels, announcements, definitions and descriptions provided in the included literature by researche sports rac cas es on: [or progr group of 2001 for refer ence textual ot the prem no: exha m ates as a stylis The t on the mi list). I 'p o lar s in 'th e int This part of the pla habitat (it tional, pe the partic the playlis part, incl it focuses or 'ess im this two-
researchers, producers and distributors. Whereas an examination of the genre of sports radio would ideally include 'rules (of any kind)', the present examination focuses on aspects of 'style' defined as 'a recurring arrangement of features in musical [or programme] events which is typical of an individual (a composer, performer), a group of musicians, a genre, a place, a period of time' (Fabbri 1999, 8; see Moore 2001 for more on the possible relations between style and genre). Inspired by the reference to 'arrangement of features in', I suggest that 'style' here refers to the textual organisation of 'events', and the following examination is hence based on the premise that a consideration of textual organisation is a necessary — although not exhaustive — approach when examining (a) genre. In light of this, the chapter examines the arrangement (i.e. the assortment, placement and functions) of music as a stylistic feature possibly typical of the genre of sports radio.

The textual examination of the case progresses in two parts. First, the focus is on the music on the programme playlist (see Appendix for the programme’s entire playlist). From this perspective, the music in focus consists of tracks — or recorded ‘popular songs’, of which a defining feature, relevant to the current examination, lies in ‘the interaction of everyday words and music’ (Moore 2012, 3; see more below). This part of the examination is contextual in the sense that it considers chosen aspects of the playlist tracks seen from the perspective of the music’s wider conventional habitat (inspired by Mey 1993, 181; see also Barnard 2000, 3), for example, its national, periodical and stylistic origin and affiliation as well as its distribution outside the particular programme. Second, the focus is on the placement and functions of the playlist tracks in relation to the other programme elements, which may, for their part, include additional forms of music. This part of the examination is co-textual, as it focuses on how the playlist tracks relate to the other textual elements ‘which (more or less immediately) surround’ it in the programme (Mey 1993, 184). In approaching this two-part textual examination, the chapter will begin by addressing the relevance
of examining the assortment, placement and functions of playlist tracks in sports radio.

Sports, Radio and Music

The combination of sports and radio has a long history. Sports events were among the first live events to be broadcasted on the radio in the 1920s, and sports programming generated large and engaged audiences as well as significant sales of radio equipment (Catsis 1996; Douglas 2004, 205; Owens 2006, 119f; Huggins 2007, 491). On DR, sports were also part of the beginning of broadcast in 1925 when the station was officially established, and in 1927 the coverage of sports included transmissions from international football matches (Den danske kulturarv 2017).

Arguably, sports and radio present a robust, synergistic relationship that epitomises the 'three defining tasks in radio production', that is, actuality, narrative and liveness (Hendy 2000, 73ff). Sports offer 'live and unpredictable' experiences (Booth 2008, 231; see also Clarke and Clarke 1982, 73), including the opportunity to identify with individuals, teams and localities (Wilby and Conroy 1994, 198) in the course of recurring events, for example league baseball and football, or rarer spectacles such as boxing fixtures (Whannel 2009, 205). Furthermore, sports arguably present 'one of the most powerful forms of human drama [...] inviting an intense emotional involvement from its audience' (Brookes 2002, 27). Radio provides the basis for a distinctive experience of sports. For example, '[r]adio is a great medium for sport [...] It's much more intimate than television' (Blacker in Fleming 2010, 164), and '[w]hereas TV offers its viewer a position of ideal spectatorship, radio offers its listeners an imaginary identification with ideal spectators [...] It also makes sport on the radio a more excited, collective experience by comparison with the more cerebral, analytical approach of TV' (Tolson 2006, 112; see also Carroll-Smith 2015). Even compared to the experience of actually attending the sports event, radio appears advantaged.

Although radio sports commentary was initially considered problematic, as listeners were thought to require visual aids to help them appreciate the match (Street 2006, 258), radio commentary can actually positively 'appeal to the imagination' (Crisell [1986] 1994, 7), while providing qualified information. For example, '[i]t is probable that the millions who listened to the match at home knew a good deal more about the subtleties of what was taking place than the thousands who were actually able to see the game [the FA cup final at Wembley in 1928, Blackburn Rovers versus Huddersfield Town]' (Booth 2008, 230). Moreover, with the advent and spread of portable radio transmitters, even 'spectators at the venues themselves can tune into a clearly delivered and well-informed commentary while watching' (Wilby and Conroy 1994, 198).
Today sports radio continues to represent a significant radio genre, for example: ‘The combination of highly skilled, virtuoso sports announcers and the enthusiasm of sports fans (some listening over the web) means that this radio genre appears to have a healthy future’ (Chignell 2009, 56; see also Dempsey 2010, 190). The significance of sports is indicated by the fact that sports’ share of the total airtime of DR’s P3 was 16 per cent in 2014. Moreover, the case issue of Sport på 3’eren had a share of 20.1 per cent and a reach of 13.3 per cent/636,000 listeners (Christensen in Frost 2016).\(^3\)

In light of the existing research, music does not seem to contribute significantly to sports radio. Radio is virtually absent from scholarly contributions in the neighbouring fields of music and sports (see e.g. Bateman and Bale 2009; McLeod 2011) as well as sports and media, where television has received the most interest (Kinkeman and Harris 1998, 27; Owens 2006, 125; Kennedy and Hills 2009; Milne 2016). Also, music is virtually absent from studies on sports radio, where interests primarily include the rhetoric and discourses of hosts, reporters and listeners phoning in (e.g. Smith 1992; Marriott 1996; Barnard 2000, 179f; Douglas 2004, 199ff; Zagacki and Grano 2005; Owens 2006; Tolson 2006, 103f; Chignell 2009, 82ff; Fleming 2010, 163ff). A predominant concern of this research is representations and ideologies of gender and ethnicity (e.g. Goldberg 1998; Tremblay and Tremblay 2001; Nylund 2004; 2007; Dempsey 2008; Raffel 2008; Adams et al. 2014).

One apparent reason for the lack of interest in music could be the actual non-existence of recorded music such as playlist tracks during samples of sports radio programming. Of course, in the early history of sports radio music was likely to appear only incidentally as music from the live setting. Not until DR accepted records as an integral part of radio programming could pre-recorded and ‘foreign’ (see more below) music appear during the programme. Also, more recent examples of sports radio might exclude recorded music, as the emergence in the late 1980s of so-called sports talk radio (e.g. Tremblay and Tremblay 2001; Dempsey 2008) or all-sports radio – occasionally described as a ‘non-music format’ (Gullifor and Thurwanger 2008, 210) – seems to indicate. However, apparently, recorded music may also appear in so-called sports talk radio. For example, in the introduction to a critical,  

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3 In preparing for this chapter I approached DR via email to obtain some background information on the spread of sports programming (and aspects of music herein) on DR. Henrik Frost, a librarian at DR Arkiv og Proces (DR Archive and Process), replied to my request, which was designed as an email interview (Flick 2009, 266ff). In preparing the reply to my questions Frost contacted and gathered further information from the following colleagues: journalist on DR Sport (DR Sports) Henrik Brandt, media researcher at DR Medieforskning (DR Media Research) Dennis Christensen and head of music at DR Kultur (DR Culture) Lars Trillinggaard (see more below). As an interviewee, I approached Frost as a well-placed informant source of information (rather than a respondent; see Jensen 2012, 268) within DR.
linguistic analysis of the Jim Rome Show (a sports radio programme aired in North America since 1996 and hosted by Jim Rome) the author observes – without further consideration of (the) music – how tuning into the local sports radio station one day included an exposition of ‘the loud, rhythmic guitar riffs from the Guns ‘N’ Roses track, “Welcome to the Jungle” (Nylund 2004, 136). And during an attempt to show how sports radio articulates an ideology of ’White maleness’, the author observes in passing – without further consideration and empirical underpinning – that ‘the Whiteness of sports talk radio is reflected in the music it advertises: Clapton, The Eagles, country’ (Goldberg 1998, 221). More clear indications of the existence of programmes mixing sports with music do exist: ‘Sports have been a major part of Buffalo radio for many years. In the 1970s, three of Buffalo’s full-service AM stations, VBEN, WGR, and WKBW (now WWKB) blended talk shows and broadcasts of games with news and music’ (Raffel 2006, 130).

A reason why for not examining the possibly present recorded music could be that researchers simply find it irrelevant. Indeed, recorded music in sports radio is not a defining feature around which, for example, a DJ will have to develop strategies for ‘filling the spaces’ (Montgomery 1986, 421). Rather, on the face of it, music could seem to function as a pause or space filler that can be added, subtracted or reordered without discernible damage to the whole’ (Crisell 1986) 1994, 72). From this perspective, verbal discourse of a particular kind (that is, passionate and partisan; see e.g. Wilby and Conroy 1994, 198) focusing on sports and not music is central and distinct to this radio genre. Indeed, definitions of sports radio do not routinely include music, for example: ‘Sport radio is a genre and a format based on live coverage of sporting events and follow-up discussions, analysis and phone-ins’ (Chignell 2009, 52). Also, the announcement of the case programme excludes music, although playlist tracks take up a fair proportion of the airtime, as already mentioned: ‘Live sports radio including reporting, interviews and background stories from the most important sporting events of the week. Host: Maja Rosager’ (Sport på 3’eren 2014).4

However, at least two contributions refer to recorded music when defining a variant of sports radio that has developed, as far as can be assessed, in the same period as sports talk radio mentioned previously. Dahlén and Thomsen (2003, 121) identify

4 This announcement (as well as the content of the programme) seems similar to that of 5 Live Sport (previously identified as Sport on 2 and Sport on 3) on BBC Radio 5 Live: ‘The latest sport with coverage and debate, featuring commentaries on the big games and sporting events’ (5 Live Sport 2016; see also Starkey 2003). Indeed, sports programming on BBC has served as a significant source of inspiration for the development of Sport på 3’eren, as programme forerunners emerged on P3 from the establishment of a sports editorial staff in the late 1960s (P3 itself was launched in 1969) and as Sport på 3’eren was introduced in 1988; since 2015 the programme has been referred to as Liga (Henrik Brandt in Frost 2016).
a form of sports broadcasting that 'contain[s] a mix of music, small talk, and short features from the arena', while Wilby and Conroy (1994, 199) suggest a typology of four types of sports broadcasting, that is, 'bulletins, studio-based programmes, live coverage of an event and the sports round-up'. Although the four types can appear in combination, music features as a possible ingredient of the studio-based programme. This type of programme – 'usually scheduled for weekend afternoons' and including a number of reporters 'located strategically across the editorial area' – thus 'range[s] from 100 per cent sport to a mixture of sport and music – in some cases with greater emphasis on the latter' (Wilby and Conroy 1994, 200). The two contributions do not specify, let alone examine, the music. Nevertheless, the definitions are useful as they are applicable to the present case and hence indicate that the results of the following examination can have direct relevance to other examples of sports radio.

**The Assortment of Playlist Tracks**

Overall, the case programme includes a total number of 68 playlist tracks. Three of the tracks appear twice, whereas one artist features with two different tracks. The reappearance of specific tracks indicates a production principle of rotation. Indeed, from the mid-1990s the process of music selection on P3 has been subject to automated rotation or computer-based music scheduling (Trillingsgaard in Frost 2016; see also Hendy 2000, 99ff; Starkey 2014, 93ff), as centralised gatekeepers have fed computer systems with a range of tracks which in turn, based on specific criteria, have been automatically selected for rotation in particular programmes. During this process, the tracks are shuffled in such a manner as to avoid that the same track is played at too short (or long) intervals. As an indication, at least four hours separate the first from the second appearance of each of the three recurring tracks, that is, 4h 11', 4h 22' and 6h 13', respectively (see more below on the placements of playlist tracks). Furthermore, a process of rotation is indicated by the fact that in the period from January 2010 to December 2014 all tracks, with the exception of one, have been aired more than 100 times on DR’s P3 (see Appendix). The exception is the above Akon track, which, in the stated period, has not been aired anywhere else on DR. Given that the process of rotation implies that tracks appear more than once, the single airing of this track further indicates that selections made by the current hosts occasionally supplement the automated selection, which illustrates a practice of 'live assisted' music selection (Hendy 2000, 102; see also Ottenheim 2016).

The playlist tracks appear in the programme at different stages of rotation regarding the number of airings per week on DR. On average the tracks have aired approximately 22 times per week on DR, including the programme (week 8, 2014). Some tracks appear only rarely on DR in and around week 8. Apparently, these
tracks have peaked or are about to peak. For example, four tracks are aired only once in week 8, although, except for the Akon track, these tracks are aired at least once in the previous or following week on DR. Other tracks appear more often and appear to (be about to) peak in week 8. For example, the track ‘Det er Knud som er død’ (‘Knud is the one who died’) by The Minds of 99 appears 41 times in week 8 compared to 18 and 14 times in the weeks before and after, respectively. This particular track was released recently (in 2014), it was produced in Denmark with Danish lyrics, and it is appointed ‘This Week’s Unavoidable’ – that is, tracks, usually by up-and-coming artists, selected for high rotation during that particular week – on P3. The track thereby exemplifies general features of the playlist: No track has been released before 2004, and 76 per cent of the tracks have been released within the last three years (2012–2014). Moreover, 44 per cent of the tracks are produced in Denmark, while 19 per cent include lyrics in Danish (Playlist 2014), and, finally, 26 per cent have been appointed ‘This Week’s Unavoidable’ during the last three years (Ugens Uundgælægelse 2014; see also Appendix).

These features are the more or less direct result of conditions and initiatives concerning the operation of DR and P3. For example, political agreements at the parliamentary level are likely to have influenced the relatively high proportion of Danish music on the playlist compared to coexisting commercial channels in Denmark (e.g. Nova FM and Radio 100 FM; see Koda 2011). According to the current parliamentary agreement, DR, as a public service institution, must ‘promote Danish music in particular’ and uphold a proportion of Danish music of no less than 40 per cent (Ministry of Culture 2014, 3; see Fleming 2010 and Pietrzak 2014 for examples of similar conditions in the UK and Poland, respectively). In addition, corporate policies and managers responsible for the appointment of ‘This Week’s Unavoidable’ have influenced the (re)application of specific tracks.

While it seems likely that the playlist is influenced by policies concerning DR and P3, it is less clear to what extent the specific (type of) programme has influenced the selection of tracks. For one thing, the programme’s playlist tracks do not overtly refer to sports. The non-exclusivity of the programme’s playlist already hints at that, and it is further indicated by, for example, the absence of sports in the titles, lyrics and significant conventions of use of the tracks. The most obvious candidate to refer to sports on the playlist is the track ‘Hall of Fame’ (2012) by The Script, but even this track does not clearly conform to any of the three types of music associated with sports suggested by McLeod: ‘Music used to enhance sporting events (anthems, chants or cheers, and intermission entertainment), music that is used as an active part of the athletic event (as in figure skating, exercise classes, and gymnastic routines), and music that has been written about or that is associated with sports; for example, the “Hockey Night in Canada theme” or “Take me Out on the Ball Game”’ (2011, 1). Tracks with a conventional association with sports include Queen’s ‘We Will Rock You’, ‘We Are the Tiger’, Bl Dogs Out’ (A in the current handball n time 4h 05’.

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(e.g. 'speech'); Shingler and Wieringa

1989, 31), can ideally contribute to branding in a context of a wide variety of external (i.e. other stations) as well as internal (i.e. other DR channels) competitors. For example, 'music
selection [...] help[s] determine the tone, image, and personality of the station – a crucial factor in a competitive and saturated market’ (Barnard 2000, 124). While it shows most distinctly in the context of commercial radio broadcasting (see e.g. Hennion and Méadel 1986, 289f; Berland 1990, 183), public service radio is also in the competitive business of selling listeners to the political system thus legitimising money spent on maintaining and developing broadcasting services (Barnard 2000, 202ff). A particular selection of music therefore has the potential to produce specific tastes, modes of listening and, in effect, a particular audience. From this perspective, it is conceivable that the programme playlist in its entirety appears distinctive of DR and P3, even though the specific tracks also appear in various other (radio) settings. However, there is nothing from the assortment of playlist tracks to indicate that it originates from Sport på 3’er or a sports programme.

The Placements of Playlist Tracks

The playlist tracks embody one type of programme element. The term element here refers to types of radio output that may either be broadcasted live or pre-recorded. The live elements in the current programme include three subtypes based on differences in subject and location: hosting from the studio, channel news from the studio and reporting from various sports venues. Pre-recorded elements include two subtypes based on differences in distribution. From this viewpoint, promos – that is, the advertisements that present and promote the current programme, channel and station – exemplify a ‘domestic’ element. In terms of intention of production and actual distribution, the ‘home’ of the promos is the current programme, channel and station. By contrast, playlist tracks exemplify a ‘foreign’ element with no specific ‘home’, and which is intended for wide-ranging distribution not restricted to the current programme, channel and station, even though it is conceivable that the general prospect of radio outlet has influenced the production of the playlist tracks to some extent (Percival 2011).

As indicated above, this particular range of textual elements helps identify the current programme as a specific type or genre of (sports) radio programming. With

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5 Channel news refers to the hourly news on the channel presented by hosts other than Maja Rosager and Jacob Panum. This particular element is not unambiguously part of the programme, since it is produced in another studio setting and has no thematic relation to the programme. Nevertheless, inspired by the fact that the programme list did not specify channel news as a self-contained programme element, and as the following examination will include observations on the relations between channel news and other programme elements, channel news is here considered part of the programme.
regard to the use of (recorded) music, the current programme does not include all the features reported or implied in the cited literature. For example, it does not include pre-existing, recorded music as a programme promo, which the example of ‘Welcome to the Jungle’ illustrates, as it served as a signature or title tune for the Jim Rome Show (mentioned above). Instead, the current programme’s promos are distinct by way of the spoken word. The channel slogan or strapline goes ‘You are what you hear’ (arguably suggesting the importance and impact of the channel’s music), and the programme’s promo simply assures ‘You are listening to Sport på 3’eren’. Mixing and sound effects mark the voice quality of the promos, and this clearly distinguishes the voices from the hosts and reporters; for example, syllables are occasionally sampled and organised in a temporal pattern not characteristic of normal speech. Also, the programme does not include pre-existing music such as musical accompaniment during news or periods of hosting as exemplified by the use of a ‘kitschy 1960s tune’ accommodating a specific feature in The Dunham and Miller Show (Dempsey 2008, 190). Instead, during news and updates, the current programme includes a generic musical accompaniment or ‘bed’ – that is, ‘an instrumental musical track used under a talkover’ (Starkey 2014, 234) – in a style comparable to the playlist tracks.

Table 1 lists aspects of the prevalence – that is, how much and how many – of the five main elements that constitute the current programme. The proportion of airtime and the average duration of programme elements present a somewhat crude perspective since programme elements, especially hosting, reporting and playlist tracks,
usually overlap. Confronted with this type of structure, the enumerations take into consideration which element appears in the auditory foreground: Hosting (with or without a musical bed) always appears in the foreground, whereas reporting appears in the foreground to playlist tracks. Although the programme typically includes the whole track, the beginning and end of each track thus regularly function as an accompaniment to either hosting or reporting. The latter implies that the proportion of airtime including playlist tracks is more than 60 per cent. Moreover, as music infuses other programme elements – for example, jingles in promos, musical beds during channel news and incidental music from the live settings in the background of reporting – the proportion of airtime including some kind of music exceeds 80 per cent.

Similar proportions of music are reported for comparable examples of sports programming in Dahlén and Thomsen (2003), and a proportion of music between 40 and 60 per cent is not uncommon for other types of studio-based programming (see e.g. Hennion and Méadel 1986, 285; Hendy 2000, 97; Schramm 2008, 157; Pietrzak 2014, 133). At any rate, it seems remarkable that the present programme – not devoted to music and not including music as part of its announcement – includes so much music. Furthermore, the proportion of playlist tracks implies that most of the programme’s airtime is in fact not live, a condition to which the appearances of promos also contribute (see Marriott 1996 for more on ‘live’ coverage during sports programming). On this basis, the programme’s defining features, that is, studio hosting and field reporting, occupy slightly more than 40 per cent of the programme’s airtime.

Table 1 also shows how often a particular programme element occurs. From this perspective, reporting and hosting make up 60 per cent of the occurrences (see the column ‘proportion of occurrences’). Hosting stands out, as it is the most common programme element as well as the one with the shortest average duration compared to field reports and playlist tracks. Consequently, although playlist tracks make up most of the programme’s airtime, hosting is predominant in terms of frequency of occurrence, which seems to hint at the significance of this particular element.

The syntagmatic structure of the programme, that is, the organisation of the programme’s elements, conveys a relative degree of regularity. Most likely, this is the result of some sort of production schedule or template (see e.g. Hendy 2000, 94ff for an introduction to the so-called clock format) which allows for the production of ‘at one and the same time, rigidity and freedom’ (Hennion and Méadel 1986, 293). Regularity seems to be most significant as evident from the fact that the channel news, lasting roughly three minutes on each occurrence, appear exclusively at the beginning of every clock hour during the programme. In addition, promos and a playlist track succeed each occurrence of the channel news before hosting, as exemplified in table 2.
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<th>Hosting</th>
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Table 2: Arrangement of elements in an excerpt from the programme Sport på 3’eren (23 February 2014).
Apart from these regularities, there is no consistent or absolute position of music across the clock hours of the programme, although tendencies emerge as regards the relative position of tracks (see more below).

The arrangement of programme elements presents a specific type of radio output. Assessed against the typology suggested in Åberg (1997), the programme is closest to qualifying as a 'sequential radio programme' characterised by 'topically coherent sequences in turn connected by a host, a super-theme or just a programme name. It [...] subsumes call-ins, quizzes, sports, newscasts and magazines' (Åberg 1997, 221f). However, the current programme does not include elements that are all 'topically coherent', illustrated most significantly by the playlist tracks which clearly are not connected topically with the subject matters of hosting and reporting. Moreover, 'sequential' seems to indicate a linear progression of elements from the perspective of mono-directional clock time (Schechner 2003, 8) – this is the viewpoint illustrated so far by the layout of table 2. Consequently, the term does not entirely reflect the programme's cyclical character of recurring elements (repeats and reprises) which typically overlap and develop in different places and 'time zones'.

To reflect these features more closely, perhaps a more appropriate label is 'oscillating radio programme', where hosting represents the recurrent point of 'equilibrium' around which the programme 'sways' back and forth from various states exemplified most significantly by playlist tracks and reporting. Whereas hosting represents a domestic studio feature unfolding in 'clock time' (which is verbally referred to during the programme), playlist tracks and reporting arguably embody different places and 'time zones'. That is to say; reporting is a live field element unfolding outside the studio and in 'set time' which emerges when an 'arbitrary time pattern is imposed on events' (Schechner 2003, 8). For example, the two halves of 45 minutes, divided by a pause of 15 minutes and possibly supplemented with stoppage time, exemplify an arbitrary time pattern imposed on football matches. During its seven hours, the programme comprises five different 'set times' of which some overlap, that is, three football matches and two handball matches. Playlist tracks, for their part, represent a recorded, foreign element not confined to a particular position and unfolding in a timeframe of approximately three minutes.

Figure 1 illustrates the three main programme elements from the perspective of an oscillating radio programme. Whereas table 2 exemplifies the progress of specific elements in mono-directional time, figure 1 supplements this perspective by highlighting how the progress of types of programme elements is marked by overlap and recurrence. Tagg (2013, 392ff) makes a similar argument concerning the problem of chronological visualisations of narrative processes in popular music, and the figure is inspired by his suggestions to conceptualise processes cyclically. The overlaps between circles indicate 'passing positions'. The shades of blue specify the typical
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foreground-background relation of elements (as indicated above) during overlaps, while the full arrows indicate the main directions of oscillation.

As announced, trends emerge as regards the relative position of playlist tracks. First, every track on the playlist is surrounded by non-track elements (for examples of tracks succeeding tracks on playlists see Pietrzak 2014, 130).6 Second, 49 per cent of the time playlist tracks emerge as the result of oscillation from reporting (hosting and promos account for 29 per cent and 22 per cent, respectively), and 79 per cent of the time playlist tracks oscillate towards hosting (promos account for the remaining 21 per cent). A predominant trend of oscillation between programme elements is therefore 'hosting, reporting, track, hosting, reporting, track' (for a specific example see the progress from element 5 to element 10 in table 2).

However, on four occasions during the programme some of the trends concerning the relative position of music are expressively broken, when a reporter suddenly interrupts a playlist track for a few seconds to announce a goal at one of the attended football matches (for example see elements 10 to 12 in table 2). This exemplifies how

Figure 1: Overview of the relations and typical direction of oscillation of the three main programme elements of Sport på 3'eren (23 February 2014).

6 A rather bizarre example emerged on 12 August 1994, when US Major League Baseball players went on strike. The sports channel WJMP-AM in Kent, Ohio then began to air the track 'Take Me Out to the Ball Game' exclusively (mentioned above), and it was played continuously until 19 October 1994, allegedly amounting to a total of 57,161 airings during that period (Catsis 1996, 26).
the 'set time' of matches impinges on the programme so that the dominant trend of oscillation from hosting to reporting is 'bypassed', while the trend of playing tracks uninterruptedly in their (almost) entirety is suspended. To flesh out further the position of the playlist tracks I will now focus on the introduction, interruption and ending of playlist tracks.

The Introduction, Interruption and Ending of Playlist Tracks

There is usually no verbal announcement of an upcoming playlist track during the programme. This is most evident when a track emerges as the result of oscillation from promos and reporting, and only on a few occasions do hosts refer to (the) upcoming music, artist or title. While this could seem to mirror the exclusion of playlist tracks from the programme announcement, actually hosts routinely mention the artist and title at the end of each track (see more below). Perhaps the automated selection of tracks predisposes this formula; however, regardless of the intentions of production, the absence of verbal introductions has consequences for the textual organisation.

First, from the perspective of the above economic functions, the playlist tracks, seen as advertisements, appear without a bumper or 'warning' of an approaching 'commercial break'. Listeners are not encouraged to consider changing channels because of a track they may not want to hear, and should the track turn out to be interesting and unknown, the listeners will have to hear the track to the end to learn more about the product. Second, from the perspective of the origin of elements, as playlist tracks are not announced, their potential 'foreignness' — which could cause some listeners interested in sports to lose interest — is not emphasised. Figuratively speaking there is no 'and-now-for-something-completely-different' message before the playlist tracks. Third, from the perspective of the texture of the radio output, the lack of verbal introductions allows the tracks to intersect directly with the sounds from (the live setting of) reporting. This particular example of intersection between playlist tracks and other programme elements shows how the track lists play a rhythmic role (Hennion and Méadel 1986, 294) that contributes to the construction of a dense texture (Tagg 2013, 420f). Diachronically, impulses appear en masse following each other closely. For example, musical impulses add to the pulsation of promos, channel news and reporting, and the apparently unscripted speech of hosts and reporters is generally fast-paced and occasionally even pressurised. As the oscillation between elements usually involves overlap, there are no significant moments of silence or 'auditory loopholes' for listeners to leave through during the radio output. Synchronically, a layered structure shows both during overlaps and during particular elements. For example, playlist tracks inherently include numerous
layers, and music accompanies the spoken discourse of channel news, promos and reporting. In fact, on occasions three elements overlap, as indicated by the middle, triple intersection in figure 1.

The specific oscillation from reporting to playlist tracks illustrates the potential of a distinctive type of intersection made possible by the advent of musical expressions accompanying the reporter. Regularly, during the coverage of football and handball matches supporter-generated music in the form of rhythmic clapping, drumming and chants will appear in the background. Moreover, during the coverage of handball matches speaker-mediated, recorded music supplements the music produced by the supporters. The recorded music, often emerging during actual playtime, generally serves to energise the players and spectators at the venue, but also requires the reporter to overpower the total, resonating soundscape of the indoor arena. On occasion the overlap between music from the venue and playlist music results in what I will term 'interphonic gearing' inspired by the term interphonic knots proposed by Jean-Paul Thibaud (2003). Whereas Thibaud’s term accounts for ‘the point of convergence between two sonic spaces of a different nature’ (2003, 335), interphonic gearing suggests that the two sonic spaces ‘click into place’ over an extended period of time, which the references to ‘point’ and ‘knot’ do not seem to imply. For example, during an oscillation from handball reporting to the playlist track ‘You Belong with Me’ (2008) by Taylor Swift the rhythmic clapping of supporters at the venue is gradually moved to the background, while the musical beat appears synchronised with the clapping for several seconds (at programme time 5h 8’ 28’’). This type of convergence stands out because of an otherwise amorphous rhythmic density including isolated and inconspicuous forms of co-occurrences of, for example, a musical beat and a verbal accentuation. The beats from the venue and the playlist music are in a sense ‘cogwheels’ that interact with mutual influence. The music from the venue propels the launch of the playlist music with verve, while the playlist music invigorates and enhances the experience of ‘frequenting’ the live venue during the programme. From the perspective of different time zones, these interactions show how dimensions of musical time can ‘click’ with aspects from the set time of a match. As the musical beat presents a continuation of the live beat of the (supporters’ performance at the) match, the musical time and beat suggest that ‘the match is still on’ when the playlist music takes over from reporting. On some occasions the musical beat seems to echo, imitate or emulate the sounds from reporting, as when the distinctive clapping throughout ‘Happy’ (2013) by Pharell resembles the rhythmical clapping during the preceeding live broadcast (3h 16’ 22’’).

The interruption of playlist tracks incarnates the here-and-now spontaneity of live radio. Irregularly the news of a goal will interrupt the playlist music without prior notice, and the interruption gives way for clearly unscripted speech by the reporter. A densely layered texture further fuels the excitement of the interruption.
As the playlist music appears shortly in the background, the sound of supporters celebrating accompanies the highly exited speech of the reporter. The vigorousness of the supporters' celebration varies, among other factors, according to whether it is the home or visiting team that has scored. A relatively powerful celebration indicates that a majority of the spectators is involved and that the home team has scored. The scale of celebration thus hints at the quality of the 'breaking news' incident in those few flashes of uncertainty between the interruption of the music and the reporter's confirmation. The reporter's excited announcement of the scorer and new score in turn functions as a promotion of the upcoming, more elaborated report after the playlist track has ended and a couple of transitional remarks by the hosts; for an example see element 11 in table 2 where the reporter almost sings with quivering enthusiasm: 'Goooaal in Viborg! Who else? Thomas Dalgaard!'

The close of playlist tracks typically includes an overlap during the oscillation towards hosting and the identification of music artist and title. From the perspective of the origin of elements, the recognisable voices of the hosts indicate that the programme is about to return to the domestic domain of sports. As such, the identification of the music summons attention more gradually and smoothly compared to the occasional, arresting interruption described above. On occasion, hosts will supplement the mere reference to track title and artist with comments on the music. For example, after having presented 'Easter Island' (2012) by The Eclectic Moniker, a host notices, 'You cannot listen to this track without being happy' (1h 21' 40''); after having presented 'Lonesome Rider' (2012) by Volbeat a host sets the stage for a reporter by saying, 'This is also an appropriate name for the man we are going to listen to now' (2h 16' 41''); and finally after a host has presented 'Endeløst' (Endless) (2012) by Rasmus Walter, the reporter picks up the thread by saying, 'Endless! That describes the atmosphere here well' (3h 44' 34'').

The examples illustrate that the hosts do not just act as music announcers. They are also (occasionally) listeners to and, in effect, promoters of the music. Moreover, the examples indicate that hosts will sometimes bridge the transition from the foreign domain of playlist music to the domestic domain of sports not merely by way of voice quality, but also via verbal reference motivated by the lyrics' possible meanings (e.g. metaphorical or literal). The hosts' and reporters' more or less imaginative (or cheesy; see Dempsey 2008, 187) play with the unpredictable elements -- that is, the automatically selected playlist tracks and the unforeseeable developments of the sports activities -- might lead listeners to experience a little jolt of pleasure from appreciating the symbolic bridging (inspired by Rutherford 1994, 69). Moreover, listeners might even be stimulated to play with the available elements themselves.

The introductory Akon example shows that, on rare occasions, the hosts' and reporters' (inter)play includes material of their own choosing. The hosts' incentive to suspend the automated selection of tracks sometimes surfaces prior to the actual airing of t}

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The above examination indicates that the programme's assortment of playlist tracks does not appear characteristic of the programme. Arguably, a similar playlist could appear in other programmes on P3, and each track, not associated with sports in particular, has also appeared in other contexts. Also, alternative pieces of music conforming to the same, overall stylistic features of the current playlist – which would not include, for example, continental jazz, heavy metal and Vienna classicism – could substitute each track on the playlist without significantly altering the programme as a whole (to paraphrase the above quote from Crisell [1986] 1994, 72). Of course, the specific examples of interruptions and interactions between programme elements would change as a result of such (hypothetical) substitutions of the playlist tracks.
However, chances are high that similar types of interruptions and interactions would occur. This would, in turn, indicate that what may distinguish the music of sports radio programming from the music of other types of radio programming is not so much the selection of playlist tracks, but the way in which they are positioned, which might in turn incite a stylistic feature possibly typical of the genre of sports radio.

When considering the suggestion that ‘a programme’s identity, although clearly shaped by the voice of its presenter and choice of its music, is [...] also to be found in the way it orders its content’ (Hendy 2000, 178), the oscillation between elements in different time zones contributes to distinguishing the programme as a distinct type. The typical oscillation between elements, that is, ‘hosting, reporting, track, hosting’, could be considered an aspect of the convention of combination or ‘grammar’ (inspired by Chandler 2007, 110) of Sport på 3’eren. The overlaps in connection with the introduction and ending of playlist tracks specifically illustrate how the programme integrates or ‘domesticates’ this ‘foreign’ element in a distinct way. The playlist tracks are indeed not about sports, but the programme associates the tracks with sports in different ways. First, from the perspective of the semantics of the lyrics, tracks sometimes function as a symbolic resource. Not only do the hosts and reporters play a role similar to that of a music radio DJ who ‘frames the music and adds meaning or significance to it’ (Chignell 2009, 33); they also use playlist tracks to frame and add significance to the sports. Second, from the perspective of the syntactical structure, tracks often function as an energising resource that contributes markedly to the invigoration of reporting occasionally propelled by actual interphonic gearings between playlist tracks and event-enhancing music from the live venue.

The programme represents ‘specific circumstances’ (see above) that accentuate aspects of the playlist tracks’ potential to signify and hence produce particular versions of the tracks – versions that generally gravitate towards ‘fortification’ or aspects of life associable with sports. Not only do the tracks influence the programme, the programme also influences the tracks, as suggested by the following question: ‘Does it remain the same music, even though it is a selection, when the other ingredients of radio are added to it; advertising, games, stories, news?’ (Hennion and Méadel 1986, 286). Although music could never actually ‘remain the same’ – music is always situated and ‘never alone’ (Cook 1998, 265) – it seems fair to suggest that the current programme generates musical potential of signification distinctive from other programmes and radio genres.

The use of tracks as a symbolic resource may not be restricted to the hosting of sports programmes – for example, presenters’ chatting can invest ‘weather and travel information with the glamour and excitement of the music’ (Crisell [1986] 1994, 72). By comparison, interphonic gearings seem to present a feature more unique to sports programming due to the frequent and dynamic presence of ambient music during live reports. Perhaps the single most distinctive feature of the programme, though, is that it can entirely event of gr better suite
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though, is the occasional interruption of playlist tracks. Of course, rare occurrences can entirely suspend a playlist; for instance: ‘When there is a “sudden death” or news event of great importance, the normal playlist [...] may be replaced by something better suited to the public’s response to what has happened’ (Starkey 2003, 99). Also, local radio may include an interruption of a playlist track to announce a traffic incident during rush hour. However, the recurrent and expected interruption of playlist tracks due to happenings in a different ‘time zone’ – that is, the set time of a play – seems distinctive as a stylistic feature of the current (type of) programme. Accordingly, the programme seems to offer a number of modes of listening, that is, the forms of attention and use allowed for or even encouraged by the structure of the programme.

In general, the length of the programme and the continuous oscillation between elements encourage addressees to listen with ‘momentarily variable attention’ (Björnberg 2009, 234; see also Crisell [1988] 1994, 14ff; Barnard 2000, 188). Listeners can thus fluently adjust their attention according to the oscillations and overlaps between elements. Incidentally, the high proportion of airtime devoted to playlist tracks makes the programme accessible also to listeners not particularly interested in sports, which allows for ‘family listening’. For example, as one producer explains the practice of mixing music and short sports features: ‘They [the listeners] can remain friends with their wife without missing something’ (Janssen in Dahlén and Thomsen 2003, 122, original emphasis).

Whether predominantly interested in sports or playlist tracks, the absence of auditory lacunae makes the programming useful as an energising background for monotonous activities (e.g. housework or travelling). Also, the densely layered structure of – and overlaps between – elements allow listeners to direct their attention not only ‘to and fro’ the programme, but also ‘up and down’ during the programme. For example, listeners can focus on different layers and aspects of the playlist tracks, as exemplified by the above distinction between the semantics of the lyrics and the syntactical structure (for more on the listening modes or strategies see Moore 2012, 121ff). Also, listeners can direct their attention to the background cheering during the reporter’s announcement of a goal.

The latter example exemplifies a kind of causal listening (Chion 1994, 25ff) or, stressing the communicative implication of identifying the source of the cheering, listening-in-search (Truax 2001, 21ff). This mode of listening follows from the sudden interruption of the music just prior to the cheering and announcement. The interruption arrests the attention of the listeners whose response will depend on their emotional interest and investment in the match, the scoring team and the interrupted track. Their response, in turn, influences their mode of listening during the resumed playlist track. For example, listeners can use the music to stimulate happiness by aligning their bodily movements with recurring musical accents – as a...
form rhythmic entrainment (see Phillips-Silver et al. 2010) – while waiting for the music to end and the announcer to specify the circumstances of the goal.

In light of the ever-present prospect of interruption, the playlist music generally invites addressees to adopt a particular mode of listening which can be seen as a variant of the mode associated above with ‘momentarily variable attention’. This particular mode could be termed ‘standby listening’ or, as coined by Barry Truax (2001, 22), ‘listening-in-readiness’. It is ‘an intermediate kind of listening, that in which the attention is in readiness to receive significant information, but where the focus of one’s attention is probably directed elsewhere’ (Truax 2001, 22). In this mode, listeners are constantly prepared to pay immediate and full attention to possible ‘breaking news’ from the fields of reporting. The playlist tracks do not function merely to energise the rhythmic flow and prevent ‘loopholes’ and (musical) dislikes, although this in itself is a remarkable feature of the programme: The fact that the proportion of airtime including some kind of music (i.e. jingles, beds and incidental music in addition to the playlist tracks) exceeds 80 per cent suggests that the programme can be approached by listeners as a ‘music(al) programme’ though not formally presented as such. The playlist tracks also have a referential function, as they provide information on what is (not) happening in a specific part of the outside world. The music is an active indicator of the narrative pertinence of developments during a match, and the textual code goes something like this: When playlist tracks are playing, nothing has changed. The code is operational when the programme includes reporting from sports with anticipated, but not necessarily occurring crucial incidents, for example, a goal during a football match, as exemplified by the four interruptions of playlist tracks during the current programme. Indeed, from the perspective of production, the tracks are not live. However, from the perspective of distribution and in ways distinct from any other radio genre, the playlist tracks’ convergence with the sounds from reporting seems to bring the tracks alive.

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