THE POWER OF GLOBAL COMMUNITY MEDIA

Edited by Linda K. Fuller

The Power of Global Community Media

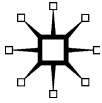# The Power of Global Community Media

Edited by
Linda K. Fuller

palgrave
macmillan

To my fellow volunteers at
Wilbraham Public Access

Little Red Schoolhouse
Wilbraham, Massachusetts

Contents

I Aboriginal/Indigenous Experiences

II Current Case Studies

III   Virtual Community Visions

List of Illustrations

Figures

Graphs

Tables

Preface to the Paperback Edition

Although unable to attend, I was thrilled recently to be invited to a 95th birthday party for George Stoney, sponsored by the Downtown Community Television Center (DCTV). Listed in my acknowledgments as the "grandfather" of the public access movement, Stoney has been the Paulette Goddard Professor of Film at New York University. A legendary documentarian, his interest in community media began in 1968, as executive producer of the National Film Board of Canada's Challenge for Change; in 1970, he headed up NYU's film program and helped co-found the Alternate Media Center—which lead to the establishment of the National Federation of Local Cable Programmers (NFLCP), later renamed the Alliance for Community Media. ACM presents an annual George Stoney award to "an individual or organization that has made an outstanding contribution to championing the growth and experience of humanistic community communications." Working Films provides a George Stoney Fellowship for "candidates with a demonstrated commitment to social justice and an interest in documentary film and social media." For me, Stoney provided motivation for my plunge into social activism. How well I recall our lunch in the NYU cafeteria in 1982, me sharing a survey I'd constructed for my dissertation comparing an affluent community's television usage before and after the introduction of a public access cable channel (Fuller, 1984). Encouraging, if hesitant, he nearly fell off his chair when I reported having 400+ telephone surveys already completed and since then he has supported my methodology for other studies.

Somehow it seemed imperative to begin this preface by profiling George Stoney as a pioneer in the field of community media. Keeping an historical perspective, we all agree that even our definition(s) of community media keep changing. In his introduction to *Encyclopedia of Social Movement Media*, John D.H. Downing (2011: xxv) cites many terms denoting its range of communication formats: "alternative media, citizens' media, community media, counter-information media, grassroots media, independent media, nano-media, participatory media, social movement media, and underground." In that same publication, Stuart Allan (2011: 97) of the Institute of Media Communication Research, Bournemouth University, states that, "the phrase 'citizen journalism' entered the journalistic lexicon in the immediate aftermath of the South Asian tsunami of December 2004. The remarkable

range of first-person accounts, camcorder video footage, mobile and digital camera snapshots generated by ordinary citizens on the scene (often people on vacation)—many posted through blogs and personal WebPages—was widely heralded for making a unique contribution to mainstream journalism's coverage." A number of contributors to the first edition of this volume also participated in my 2010 book, *Tsunami Communication*, underscoring journalistic concern for social justice and telling stories that might otherwise not be known.

The term "citizens' media" was coined in 2001 by longtime community media activist Clemencia Rodriguez, professor of Communication at the University of Oklahoma, in *Fissures in the Mediascape: An International Study of Citizens' Media* (2001); according to her website (http://faculty-staff.ou.edu/R/Clemencia.Rodriguez-1/narrative%20bio.html), she sees citizens' media "as a way out of the binary thinking and essentializing categories characteristic of traditional theories of alternative media."

Alternative media, according to Atton and Hamilton's 2008 book with that title, "proceeds from dissatisfaction not only with mainstream coverage of certain issues and topics, but also with the epistemology of news" (Introduction, 1). As citizens around the world launch strategic alliances to protest dominant political, cultural, and corporate practices, we cheer those efforts.

Clearly, as community media evolves, along with technological advances facilitating the creation, production (think Skype), and distribution of messages and material by multi-platform formats, notions of participation abound. Participatory media, which draw on theories and practices of development, social change, and idealism, depend upon decision-making by the intended population—offering an open-ness with limitless potential for socio-political expression(s). At its heart is access, with applications on web sites such as MediaChannel.org, the Our Media/Nuestros Medios network, the Independent Media Center ("indymedia"), the Alternative Media Global Project, the World Summit on the Information Society, conferences of the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR), and any number of alternative, even guerilla media.

We have entered the twenty-first century, I have argued (Fuller, 2011: 426) with entirely new means of communication and (cyber)activism demanding access for the public. "Public spheres, neither unitary nor haphazardly multiple," Breese (2011: 146) has posited, "are more or less face-to-face or mediated and they are more or less oriented toward the state, politics, and political change or toward the civic realm of community and social affinities and attitudes."

Johnson and Menechelli (2007: 3–4) list the following as defining characteristics of community media: Localism, diverse participation, storytelling and deliberation, and empowerment—provided over platforms ranging from radio or cable access to video or online. Still, those of us deeply involved in community media continue to question its definition, as we know so many disparate examples.

While we applaud the fact that feminists, environmentalists, laborers, gays and lesbians, underground protestors, and/or any number of individuals and groups have access to blogging/vlogging, podcasting and iPoding, texting, wiki-ing, social networking sites such as Facebook, MySpace, LinkedIn, Twitter, YouTube, and numerous other venues, it behooves us to continue monitoring what happens when videos go viral. We might also wonder has been happening to notions of a sense of community (SOC), and where blogs belong in the model—such as, Do they work best if interactive, or maybe interlinked? Is the blogosphere best left imagined, or will audiences around the world find shared experiences?

Although mobile phones first drew attention for media activists at the 1999 World Trade Organization (WTO) demonstrations by some 70,000 protestors in the "Battle of Seattle," in fact the United States has stood in the shadow of Asia and Africa in terms of penetration, and we know they played a key role in the Arab Spring. When we first solicited calls about community media, we hardly would have imagined that technology as old as the telephone could be applicable.

"Some years ago the notion of a business model for community media would have brought responses ranging from dismay to ridicule," Jean Fairbairn (2009: 1) has noted. "Community media's origins in political struggle, its community ownership structures, its participatory production processes, and its whole purpose—to give voice to the voiceless, to provide an alternative to mainstream media, to place control of media in the hands of ordinary people—seem fundamentally to contradict the notions of both 'business' and 'model.'" Yet, she continues, many groups and governments are seeing its value for development—economics, education, health, and overall empowerment.

Virtual communities (VCs), which might include groups involved in computer-mediated communication (CMC), consumers vying on EBay, television series fan clubs, sporting fantasies, chat groups arguing about legal cases, and other arenas for those sharing common interests.

Community, we see, can be based on concrete social relationships or virtual social networks as users manage their messages and meanings in convergent cultures. Whether defined by geographical proximity or common interest(s), media-wise it inevitably refers to a blurring of difference in favor of similar communication concerns.

When all is said and done, you are the one who can decide whether, in fact, domains of social, economic, and political debate are managed more by individuals or communities of individuals. Do you see more democratic dialogues, or do you agree with Matthew Hindman (2009) that the Internet has simply empowered certain elites—some old, few new?

While it is beyond the scope of this brief retro/prospective to review the role of social media in the history of community media, let me at least have you check out the many references in Appendix II: Community Media Bibliography. That same thing could be pointed out for topics touching on areas from alternative to online media and beyond.

Contributors to *Community Media: International Perspectives* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) were thrilled to learn that, since its sales have been so robust, our edited volume would be re-issued in paperback at an affordable rate so that the many organizations who represent and need it most can order bulk copies for their staffs, boards, volunteers, and potential funders. Thanks to an initiative by Samantha Hasey, Film/Media and Cultural Studies editor at Palgrave Macmillan, who contacted me last spring about this possibility, you hold that result in your hands.

While the original chapters remain intact, contributor bios have been updated, and we realize that much of what is presented here have already become classics. Drawing on both theoretical and practical case studies, it moves from developing attempts at local media to case studies and on to cyber-examples. Alphabetically, its more than two dozen examples include reports on the Asian Pacific region, Australia, Bangladesh, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Ghana, India, Israel, Kazakhstan, Latin America, Singapore, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States, as well as a number of other perspectives.

The contributors, all distinguished international communications scholars, present a range of perspectives on the ever-burgeoning area of grassroots, local media by the people, for the people, their research representing participant observation, hands-on community involvement, serving on international boards of directors, content analysis, and ethical inquiries. Their chapters fell naturally into the following sections: 1.) Aboriginal/indigenous experiences: as First Peoples throughout the world are still being introduced to notions of producing their own media messages, it stops us in our tracks to review reportage here from Australia, Canada, India, and even on a Native American reservation; 2.) Current case studies include farmers' use of television in Bangladesh, restrictions on community broadcasting in Belgium, citizenship construction in Brazil, Ghana's globalization by means of local media, how community television has evolved in Israel, Kazakhstan as an Asian model, top-down community media in Singapore, the Basque language's role in Spanish community television, participatory community in Bangkok, Thailand, and the civic adventure of "Radio Democracy" in Turkey; and 3.) Virtual community visions: architectures of cyberdating, a review of "free speech" relative to public access producers, an analysis of participatory communication, the People's Communication Charter (PCC), multi-theoretical approaches to community media, and implications for its policymaking in our cyberage. When our book was published in 2007, it received some outstanding reviews:

- "For years, Fuller has been researching community media. Her collection of studies in Community Media draws on top researchers from across the globe to present cutting-edge analyses of what various communities and activists are doing with a wide range of community media. The collection is a valuable research tool that will be of use to all of us involved in community media and social change."—Douglas Kellner, Graduate School of Education and Information Studies, UCLA

- "This collection of writing on community media describes attempts at local media development and case studies of functioning projects. It presents a range of perspectives on: grassroots media originating from community groups; research representing participant observation; hands-on community involvement; service on international boards of directors; content analysis; and ethical inquiries."—ICT for Development
- "*Community Media: International Perspectives* represents the first time that both communications scholars and practitioners have come together in a single volume for reportage on global efforts toward understanding and acting on media access at the local, grassroots level. While many perspectives are included, the overall concern is with individual rights and responsibilities toward indigenous, participatory communities. As growing disappointment and disillusionment with commercial media and its centralization by key multinational corporations combines with increasing concern over conglomeration in general, it behooves us to understand, appreciate, delineate, and be involved in our own local means of communication."—The Media Research Hub, Social Science Research Council

The fun part has been that contributors participated in several conferences where panels were held relative to our book: "Community media: An active means of social impact," for the International Communication Association (ICA), Montreal, Canada; "Community media: An alternative to global divides," for the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR), Stockholm, Sweden; "Community media in Africa: An alternative voice in the HIV/AIDS pandemic," for Our Media 7, Accra, Ghana; and "Community-building and combating HIV/AIDS in Africa through community media" for the World Association of Christian Communication (WACC), Cape Town, South Africa. We hope to do more, spreading the word.

Appealing to a range of academic disciplines, community media groups, and the thousands of people who work in their local cable television centers to provide an alternative voice to mainstream media, we have had tremendous feedback from many different target niches. From these 20 chapters, representing groundbreaking scholarship in the ever-changing/evolving field of community communication, we hope you will appreciate the addition of two appendices in this edition, *The Power of Global Community Media*:

1. Appendix I: Community Media Websites
2. Appendix II: Community Media Bibliography

While we welcome your feedback relative to both appendices, we want you to know that their construction has been a work-in-progress for some time. This is clearly a changing mediascape, and organizations and resources relative to community media continue to grow. Together, we continue to work toward access for all—for empowerment.

L. Fuller
July 14, 2011

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Acknowledgments

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Of course it goes without saying that I am highly indebted to the contributors of this volume, who have stayed the course and worked hard to keep their chapters up to date and relevant on many levels. One of the best parts of editing a book is getting to know one another (better); throughout, we have shared both intellectual and personal stories.

In addition, let me acknowledge the high professionalism of Farideh Koohi-Kamali and her assistant, Julia Cohen, at Palgrave Macmillan and the fun I had working with them. It was a special treat for me to realize, when we met for lunch in New York City, that they are located in the famous Flatiron Building (Fifth Avenue, between 22nd and 23rd streets), designed in 1902 by architect David Burnham. They published my edited book *Sport, Rhetoric, and Gender: Historical Perspectives and Media Representations* (2006), and I happily anticipate more collaboration with them in the future.

Quite frankly, there is so much interest in the field of community media around the world that I have already been approached about future volumes relative to the subject. It reminds me of a slogan that a community access television center uses: "Empowering Community Voices and Visions"—how satisfying it is, to realize we are part of a wider world movement.

Linda K. Fuller
Wilbraham, MA

Introduction

Linda K. Fuller

Historically, it has been argued that ever since the Bible was translated into the vernacular a clamor began for access to message-making; now, in the current era of revolutionary changes in the field of technology throughout the world—when we are dealing with bloggers, map-makers, podcasters, wikis, YouTubers, EBay users, NetFlixers, text message senders and receivers, and any number of cyber-dissidents—it is critical to consider the role of community media toward that process. *Media Development* ("What is the special significance of community media to civil society?" 2002) may say it best:

> Community media provide a vital alternative to the profit-oriented agenda of corporate media. They are driven by social objectives rather than the private, profit motive. They empower people rather than treat them as passive consumers, and they nurture local knowledge rather than replace it with standard solutions. Ownership and control of community media is rooted in, and responsible to, the communities they serve. And they are committed to human rights, social justice, the environment and sustainable approaches to development. (p. 1)

The definitions may have been altered, but the aim remains the same. Media might be mainstream, alternative (cf. Lewis, 1993; Atton, 2002; Chitty and Rattikalchalakorn, 2007), radical (cf. Downing et al., 2000), citizens' (cf. Rodriguez, 2001), guerilla (cf. Boyle, 1996; Hoffer, 2000; Johnston and Noakes, 2005), and/or any number of combinations (Keeble and Loader, 2001), but its key characteristic is that it is so powerful (Couldry, 2000, 2006). Access might refer to cable television programming that is public, educational, and/or governmental (PEG), prepared and delivered by private citizens or nonprofit groups and institutions on a first come first served basis. Or it might refer to ideological, cultural, even physical individual or group involvement in media that could include print, broadcasting, and/or any number of existing or emerging technologies. Van Cuilenburg (1999, p. 185) supplies this definition of access to communications: "The possibility for individuals, groups of individuals, organizations and institutions to share society's communications resources, that is, to participate in the market of communications infrastructure and

distribution (message delivery) services, and in the market of content and communication services."

Public access in its purest form operates nonhierarchically, produced by artistic, advocacy-oriented volunteers. Analogies have been drawn between Gutenberg's invention of the printing press in the fifteenth century and the innovation of community media in the twentieth in terms of citizen access. Now, with Web sites such as MediaChannel.org (see Dichter, 2003) and conferences like the World Summit on the Information Society (see Fleming, 2003), we have entered the twenty-first century with entirely new means of communication and activism.

Describing *Public Access to the Internet*, Kahin and Keller (1996, pp. 34–35) point out how it is "entwined in matters of technology, law, economics and, increasingly, sociology and organizational behavior. By public access we mean not only establishing physical connections to the network, but also ensuring that those connections are easy to use, affordable, and provide access to a minimum set of information resources." King and Mele (1999, p. 604), redefining traditional notions of the public sphere such that local citizens, from various backgrounds, are included, state:

> In a medium otherwise dominated by advertisements, canned programming and audience-tested newscasting, public access offers possibilities to probe and address topics and concerns underrepresented in mainstream media. Most media activists envision public access channels as electronic public spaces where issues and concerns central to local communities are brought to the fore and democratically resolved through discussion and dissemination. They see public access as not only critiquing commercial television but challenging it.

Considering mass communication as public, Hollander and Stappers (1992, p. 19) decide, "Community communication is then a form of public communication, of making public and creating a public within the context of a specific community (geographical and/or community of interest)." They identify three empirical research approaches: localism-cosmopolitism, integration or community ties approach, and community structure; then, they call for an integrated model that allows for the dynamics of local media interacting with local people in a community context (see also Janknowski, 2003). Kevin Howley (2005, p. 2) argues that "Community media are popular and strategic interventions into contemporary media culture committed to the democratization of media structures, forms, and practices," while Dov Shinar (1994, p. 1) offers the following conception of spatial maps for local and community media:

1. "Economic/civil space," *between*, rather than in, the traditional state/market borders;
2. "Social space," *between*, rather than in, social networks defined by newer technologies, that are too big or too small and thus socially irrelevant;
3. "Political space," *between*, rather than in, the current tribal "Jihad" and global "McWorld."

Participatory action, which focuses on the social scientific method of observation and insight, can inform the process of change (see Couldry, 2000; Dagron, 2001; Halleck, 2001; Faber, 2002). Historically extended to Aristotelian notions of self-reflection, it relates to Greek "praxis," and hence is equated with the idea of critically informed practice. Philosophically, the roots for community media are grounded in John Stuart Mill's social libertarian theory; practically, the skills accrued from involvement with one's media are critical to accomplishments toward media literacy, even to empowerment (Higgins, 1999; VeneKlasen and Miller, 2007). Today, as we are moving exponentially toward user-driven content in any number of technologies, it is imperative to examine media forms.

Community communications/media as a concept referring to how individuals and organizations involve publics in participatory means of airing issues takes various forms, depending on time and place. Lauding its provision of access and opportunity so that citizens can help determine community development, Maslog (1997, p. 3) cites the following characteristics of community media:

1. Owned and controlled by people in the community;
2. Usually smaller and low-cost;
3. Provides interactive two-way communication;
4. Nonprofit and autonomous, therefore, noncommercial;
5. Has limited coverage or reach;
6. Utilizes appropriate, indigenous materials and resources;
7. Reflects community needs and interests;
8. Its programs or content support community development.

While it may be difficult to pinpoint when and where the notion of community media began, the phenomenon in North America, notably Canada[1] and the United States, started in the 1970s[2] (Pool, 1973; Gillespie, 1975; Kellner, 1992; Fuller, 1984, 1993; Engelman, 1996; Linder, 1999; Starr, 2000; Fairchild, 2001). It soon caught on in Europe (Jankowski, Prehn, and Stappers, 1992; Lundby, 1992; Rushton, 1993; Spa, Garitaonandia, and Lopez, 1999) and other pockets around the world, but is still in the process of being introduced in developing countries. Models may vary from emphasis on access, as in the United States, to community channels, in Canada and parts of Europe, or open channels that encourage/allow special programming, and/or what might be considered alternative media; the picture, in other words, is multifarious.

Most of the research on community media is related to television (Avery, 1993; Fuller, 1994; Dahlgren, 1995), in addition, there are other global programming efforts that deal with radio (Girard, 1992; Hochheimer, 1992; Land, 1999), video (Alvarado, 1988; Aufderheide, 1993, 2000; Renov and Suderburg, 1995; Fontes, 1996; Ross, 1999), and other forms for delivering messages that can help develop community identity (Ramirez, 1986; Riano, 1994). At root is advocacy and activism, dating to a legacy from the 1960s that continues to the present (e.g., Bobo, Kendall, and Max, 1991;

ROAR, 1991; Ryan, 1991; Boyle, 1996; Hazen and Winokur, 1997; Wayne, 2000). Clemencia Rodriguez (2001) offers this valuable insight:

> There is no neat model or formula of citizens' media. Citizens have invented a multiplicity of formulas to bring into existence their media communication practices. Every crevice in the legal, economic, and political infrastructures has been milked for financial and legal resources . . . each newly found formula becomes a historical venture, changing and fluctuating over time. (p. 64)

It seems appropriate to provide some background as to how this book evolved. As the author of *Community Television in the United States* (Fuller, 1994), I had long wanted to extend that study to include wider efforts. When Carlos Fontes, who had done his dissertation on the topic of alternative media, joined the faculty at Worcester State College, I suggested collaboration; although he was unable to continue as coeditor, his early ideas were invaluable. Feeling strongly about sharing this expertise at local levels, I helped launch a public access television station in my hometown in the 1980s, and was thrilled to facilitate my friend Sonia Marcus's work with Radio Oxy-Jeunes outside of Dakar, Senegal when I was living there in 2002.

The study of alternative media, which many scholars trace to the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) debates dating from the early 1980s, continues to evolve and draw both academic and grassroots interest (see Lewis, 1993, Atton, 2002). This is best delineated by John D. H. Downing, (1984, 2001), director of the Global Media Research Centre at Southern Illinois University, whose working definition of radical alternative media is intricate, but overall claims that they "Constitute the most active form of the active audience and express oppositional strands, overt and covert, within popular cultures" (2001, p. 3). Downing, who advocates independent media centers as appropriate challenges to global neoliberalism, sees the term "alternative media" embracing the following: "webzines, small-circulation religious bulletins, hobby listservs, cell-phone use in the demonstrations that brought down Philippines president Estrada in 2001, graffiti, as well as politically oriented national and international examples, such as 'Il Manifesto,' global labor media, the Indymedia network and—at a radically different political location—neo-Nazi rock music or jihadist communiqués" (cited in Gutierrez, 2004; see also Pickard, 2006).

Cooperation also has come from members of the many people and organizations cited in my preface. Potential contributors were encouraged to delineate the phenomenon of grassroots broadcasting/narrowcasting and video efforts in their areas, incorporating examples that included historical, economic, political, ideological, sociocultural, and/or anecdotal case study reportage where available. Audience, advocacy, producer, and administrative considerations were also encouraged.

Best of all, the "Our Media, Not Theirs" group that first met in Washington, DC (see Fuller, 2001), has since convened in Barcelona, Spain (2002), Barranquilla, Columbia (2003), Porto Alegre, Brazil (2004), Taipei,

Taiwan (2005), and Bangalore, India (2005), "to collectively consider, debate, and find new ways to reaffirm and expand spaces for community participation and effective use of communication media in the context of an increasingly market-oriented and corporatized media and communication terrain globally." Recently, the title has been altered, to allow for its wide Spanish-speaking members, and is now known as Our Media/Nuestros Medios (Official Web site www.ourmedianet.org). It is founded on these core principles:

1. All communities and collectives need to communicate, to express themselves, to inform and be informed, to dialogue with others, and to network. To have these communication needs met is the right of every community and collective. Every community and collective is entitled to the appropriate communication and information technologies and know-how to meet their historical communication needs.
2. The need to support people's struggle to reduce inequality and to broaden participation in the production and dissemination of information.
3. The need for a process whereby scholars and practitioners can exchange information and ideas, collaborate on research studies, and develop recommendations to the global policy arena on communication, information, and media.

Responses to my Call for Participation in this project yielded a wide range of interpretations and examples that, in the end, became an editor's dream. By their very nature, they divided themselves into the following divisions: aboriginal/indigenous experiences, current case studies, and virtual community visions. It soon became clear that the state of community media around the world is in some instances in a process of evolution, in others more like revolution.

Labeled "neo-Habermasian," the notion of commitment to communications applications in the public sphere guides my scholarship, and many of the contributors to this book also agree on the need for access to and education about information that affects the public good. Public service broadcasting, we contend, should be an institutional guarantor; it is why we fear and fight against the trend toward media ownership by a handful of moguls who want to mediate our messages.

What follows is a brief description of the chapters of this book, divided into three parts: (I) Aboriginal/Indigenous Experiences, (II) Current Case Studies, and (III) Virtual Community Visions.

Part I   Aboriginal/Indigenous Experiences

As we enter the new millennium, replete with sophisticated technological advances that continue to dazzle us on a daily basis, we may be oblivious about communities that are just beginning to learn how to use their own media to communicate within and amongst themselves. Distinguishing between indigenous and ethnic media, the former characterized by having

inhibited an area or region and having sovereignty over it long before anyone else, Browne (1996) makes a striking argument about how the dominant media distort rather than preserve them. Varghese (1995, p. 144) argues that community access to channel space on (often state-owned) broadcast networks in developing countries can provide a sustainable alternative for community communication needs: "The emergence of the alternative paradigm and its emphasis on indigenous media, along with the associated criticism of mass media as one-way, centralized and expensive, have contributed to a virtual delegitimatization of the potential of mass media in participative development." Although the literature on aboriginal and indigenous peoples working with their media is limited (Browne, 1996; Cooper, 1998; Daley and James, 1998; Alia, 1999), chapters in this book—on Australia, Canada, India, and Native Americans—represent groundbreaking resistances to mainstream media hegemony.

Australia: When the country began digital television transmission in 2001, community television was less than a decade old, still in its trial phase, Ellie Rennie tells us in "Remote Beginnings, Metropolitan Developments: Community and Indigenous Television in Australia." Indigenous television, which had existed in a dispersed fashion in remote areas since the 1980s, was lobbying for nationally available television service, and digital technology promised new possibilities for the free-to-air television environment, including new channels and content forms. However, the policy regime that was put in place for the transition phase worked only to marginalize existing community stations. Yet, she offers some thoughts toward the development of a third sector of digital broadcasting.

Canada: In 1991, the Canadian federal government passed the Broadcasting Act in which multiculturalism, multiracialism, and aboriginal broadcasting were enshrined as collective communication rights. Lorna Roth's "(re)Coloring the Public Broadcasting System in Canada: A Case Study of the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network" focuses on the construction of cultural and racial diversity in the apparatus of broadcasting using the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN), a multination Canada-wide channel that went on air on September 1, 1999, as an illustrative example.

After placing its history in phases, she reflects on the positive and negative significance of APTN in Canadian society. As a minority Canadian constituency group, aboriginal peoples have more than symbolically gained their broadcasting rights and are rapidly becoming an international model of a new type of transnational public service programming. On the more cynical side, APTN can be considered a channel designated to perform the function of balance within the Canadian broadcasting system by increasing ethnocultural content and "color" on dominantly black and white television.

India: Yesudhasan Thomas Jayaprakash and Brian Shoesmith's "Community Radio and Development: Tribal Audiences in South India" explores the manner in which radio has been used by tribal communities

in the Nilgiris, in southern India, to promote development, and create an indigenous public sphere based on tribal culture. In 1997, after a long struggle for media autonomy, India became the first country in Asia to grant autonomous status to electronic media. Radio, with its expanded network of nearly 200 stations, has a wider reach, is located in the smaller towns, and provides better access to the rural population; yet, independent community radio stations owned by rural communities are yet to be permitted by the Government of India. Ooty Radio Station (ORS) is the only low power regional radio station in All India Radio (AIR) located near the tribal communities in the Nilgiris and serves distinctively like community radio. In order to explore how tribal audiences use radio in their everyday life, qualitative audience research methodology was adopted and data were collected through participant observation, field notes, ethnographic interviews, focus groups, and documents. Based on the fieldwork, they argue that recent exposure to satellite and cable television has altered the way remote tribal communities use radio for development and necessitates some important changes in programming and scheduling of development.

Native Americans: Ritva Levo-Henriksson's "Media as a Constructor of Ethnic Minority Identity: A Native American Case Study" provides an introduction to representations of Native Americans created by U.S. mainstream media, and reactions of Native Americans to them. Following an overview, the focus is on the possibilities that Native Americans have to promote their own ethnic identity through the media. Through an examination of the literature and empirical research, including personal observations among some southwestern Native American groups, she discusses media representations that weaken rather than strengthen the self-esteem of its targets. Approaching the subject in the context of intercultural communication—native language, media technology, and the publicity of information—she concludes that, to narrow the gaps in their own communities and to develop understanding between Native communities and the majority mainstream culture, Native media must find cultural interpreters and media professionals in both cultures who understand the nature of technology, the cultures, and aims of the people of Native communities.

Part II   Current Case Studies

At the heart of interest in community media are lessons learned and models for success that might help us progress from theoretical to practical applications. The following examples from Bangladesh, Belgium, Brazil, Ghana, Israel, Kazakhstan, Singapore, Spain, Thailand, and Turkey display both similarities and discrepancies.

Bangladesh: Focusing to understand how agricultural information is received by farmers who view the television program *Mati-O-Manush* ("Soil and Man") on Bangladesh Television (BTV), M. Abul Kashem has attempted

to determine their preferences of selected agricultural information. His "Usefulness of Television as an Agricultural Information Medium among Farmers: An Empirical Study from Bangladesh" reports how relationships between 11 characteristics of farmers who view television and the use of television as an agricultural information medium were explored. Data were collected through semistructured interviews, the findings revealing almost all the respondents (93 percent) mention medium to high use of television as an agricultural information source. Of 15 selected information media preferences, "vegetable gardening" ranked first, followed by "tree planting" and "pond fish culture" respectively. The correlation analysis between the selected characteristics of television-viewing farmers and their use of television shows that annual income, innovativeness, and access to media had significant positive relationships with use of television as an agricultural information medium.

Belgium: Frieda Saeys and Tomas Coppens tell quite a story in "Restricted Opportunities for Community Broadcasting in Belgium," discussing the history of both community radio and television in Belgium and how they have developed differently in the country's two main linguistic regions. In spite of initial pressure from the authorities and monopolistic national broadcasting stations, community radio flourished in the 1970s; soon afterward, however, it faced extinction. Quite a number of initiatives were merged into larger commercial networks or lost their character of community broadcasters. Early experiments with community television proved unsuccessful in Flanders though they were moderately successful in Wallonia, where a sort of community television is still available. In Flanders, the local television broadcasters, though quite small-scale, cannot be really called community driven. They demonstrate that, mainly due to commercial pressures and the inadequacy of the authorities in setting up a stable legal framework, community broadcasting has quietly faded out and is now a marginal phenomenon within the Belgian media system. The main question is whether community broadcasting really ever got a fair chance of survival and if the answer is yes, there is still some hope left for the future.

Brazil: Street television is a community video strategy created by Brazilian NGOs to change the illegal situation of community media in Brazil. Rogerio Santana Lourenco's case study of "Repórteres de Bairro" (Neighborhood Reporters), a project on youth media literacy in Rio de Janeiro, provides a description of how audiovisual communication can strengthen collective and individual identities. By describing the individual organization of social experience, developing the hypothesis of video use as a cognitive tool, he suggests, in "Video-Identity: Images and Sounds of Citizenship Construction in Brazil," that street television can be given as an example of how culture and cognition are mutually active in community development.

Ghana: Community broadcasting in the Ghanaian context is hampered by globalization or excessive foreign influence by which broadcasting structures, processes, and content pregnant with foreign values are

transplanted for replication in the Ghanaian milieu. Programming and programs are driven by internationally imposed market forces, argues Kwasi Ansu-Kyeremeh in "Implications of Globalization for Community Broadcasting in Ghana." Private television stations mimic foreign programming and are packed with externally originating programs. These foreign influences have implications for community broadcasting in terms of definition, content relevance, inclusiveness, and participation. The "foreignized" conditions notwithstanding, *Radio Ada* and *Radio Peace*, the closest to community radio stations, have been adopting principles that guide indigenous communication. Contextual congruence is being achieved by reflecting the characteristics of the less Westernized segments of society in their broadcasting. An example is the promotion of *Dangme* and *Efutu*, the local languages of their respective proximal audiences. Through such approaches, local elements are strengthened and foreignization is checked. The audience is empowered by the two-way broadcast format with which foreignization is resisted, for example, by insisting on the use of local languages. Market forces also seem to favor local culture-based programs. With this background, he proposes greater recognition of the format and flow pattern of the indigenous communication systems to help accelerate culturally sensitive and relevant "communitized" broadcasting.

Israel: The question Hillel Nossek raises in "*Vox Populi*, or Lonely Voices in the Wasteland of the Ionosphere: The Case of Israeli Community Television" is whether community television in Israel conforms to the recognized model, or represents a unique and idiosyncratic model with lessons of its own to teach. Cable came into Israeli homes in 1990, spreading swiftly such that by 1999 more than 70 percent of households were subscribers. Approximately 200 groups affiliated with different organizations, community centers, and senior citizen groups produce community broadcast programs.

Kazakhstan: Saule Barlybayeva and Alma Rustemova of Kazakstan apply an important overview of "Asian Models of Community Communications, with Kazakstan as a Case Study" particularly as they relate to emerging technologies like cable television and satellites and what all this means in terms of a lessening of censorship and increasing citizen involvement in media.

Singapore: Reportage is given here on what is undoubtedly a unique case study of community media. It begins with cautionary beginnings in 1996, when Linda K. Fuller worked with local authorities to encourage the development of community television in the Republic of Singapore—a multiracial, multiethnic, multireligious, and multilingual population of some 3 million people. Fortunately, the story of "Top-Down Community Media: A Participant Observation from Singapore" continues into the twenty-first century, posing as a fascinating writing for scholars interested in grassroots media participation.

Spain: Created in 1982, Radio Television of the Basque Country (EITB) serves a population of over two million in the Basque Country (Spain). Of the total population, 28 percent speak Basque ("euskara"). Basque Radio

Television has two television channels on the air: ETB-1, which broadcasts in Basque, and ETB-2, in Spanish. Moreover, there are two satellite channels, ETB SAT and CANAL VASCO. The Basque media, Carmelo Garitaonandia and Miguel Angel Casado tell us in "Television to Save a Language and a Culture: The Basque Case," have played a key role in normalizing the use of the language in all areas of life (sports, culture, politics, and so on), which had previously only been spoken at home until the end of Franco's regime (1975). EITB has been a driving force behind all types of cultural, musical, artistic and theatrical activities, and undertakings. It has specifically led to the creation and development of an audiovisual production industry, which did not exist prior to Basque autonomy.

Thailand: Based on the belief that communication leads to healthy community, Parichart Sthapitanonda and Chaiwat Thirapantu have applied communication concepts into practical activities in "The Power of Participatory Community: Lessons Learned from Bangkokian Experience." By conducting participatory action research at the Prang Community, in the heart of Bangkok—the capital city of Thailand—they learned a number of lessons in terms of community and communication.

Turkey: TOSAM, or the Center for the Research of Societal Problems, came into being as the first conflict resolution institution in Turkey in the second part of the 1990, reports Dogu Ergil in "Civic Adventure in Turkey: Creation and Evolution of TOSAM and the 'Radio Democracy' Project."

Founded as an NGO, it was looked upon with suspicion by two warring sides: the Turkish politico-military establishment and the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK), an armed paramilitary force that led the Kurdish insurgence against the state. It tried to create a middle ground, where conflicting sides could communicate indirectly rather than shoot at each other; meetings, get-togethers, and conferences were useful but not sufficient. Rallying the democrats of Turkey to a peaceful cause was imperative, so the organization put together a radio program in which opinions would be aired freely, differences would be discussed and reconciled, mute social groups would find a voice. Its call-in format rendered the programs interactive. Experts of each weekly subject would open up the discussion, share their knowledge with the audience, and calls from the audience were expected. TOSAM's Radio Democracy became a much sought after program a year after it began broadcasting and established a new political language that was neither formal nor authoritarian but rather consensual and conciliatory. The initiative became an exemplary vanguard that was later emulated by other organizations and institutions.

Part III   Virtual Community Visions

Inspired by the work of Benedict Anderson's 1983 book *Imagined Communities*, interest has escalated with the introduction of the Internet and its capabilities for actually bringing together people with mutual interests,

despite geographic limitations. Appropriately, most of that literature is quite recent (e.g., Kahin and Keller, 1996; Shields, 1996; Fuller, 1997, forthcoming; Hauben and Hauben, 1997; Jones, 1998; Sudweeks, McLaughlin, and Rafaeli, 1998; Smith and Kollock, 1999; Silver, 2000). Audience(s) and source(s) have become empowered as both producers and publishers (Seelye, 2006, p. C1), enabled in the "printing of transcripts, e-mail messages and conversations, and the ability to pull up information from search engines like Google" (see also Meikle, 2002; Van de Dork et al., 2004).

A subset of this notion is the idea of community communication centers, bridging local educational, political, and social services (Bushong, 1995; Maslog et al., 1997; Chow et al., 1998). Both governments and educational institutions are learning the importance of investing not only in telecommunications infrastructure but also in citizen teleliteracy. Knut Lundby (1992, p. 1) calls it a communication environment: "A socio-material and symbolic setting for communicating people."

Because this section is so wide-ranging, my decision was to structure these alphabetically by theme: cyberdating, "free speech," participatory communication, the People's Communication Charter, theory, and virtual communities.

Cyberdating: The focus of Eric Freedman's "The Architecture of Cyberdating: Personal Advertisement Photography and the Unworking of Community" is the contemporary architectures that frame personal advertisement photography on the Internet, and the discourses (both utopic and dystopic) that attempt to read them as contemporary manifestations of community. In particular, it examines two sites of such activity: Match.com and an independently owned and operated site catering to a more focused demographic: Barebackcity.com. Both sites conform personal information to a predesigned template, subjecting the personal to a conventional layout, policed by particular rules, regulations, and codes of conduct, thus making personals safely public and consumable. Multiple architectures of the personal advertisement are examined, as well as the particular strategies of containment deployed in the manufacture and distribution of images. This study considers the assumptions that underpin this particular use of photography, its alignment with other textual markers, and the position of such Web sites with regard to more fundamental questions and indices of community and its shifting parameters.

"Free Speech": Community video cable television facilities in the United States, "public access," share basic tenets with global community media, including the desirability of a diversity of ideas and freedom of expression, according to John Higgins' "Free Speech" and U.S. Public Access Producers. Early access ideology typically drew from unproblematic notions of individual rights to "free speech"; later approaches within the public access movement have included more complex traditional or critical interpretations of freedom of speech as a social good. Participants in public access typically draw from one-dimensional individualist concepts of free speech. Simple notions of individual rights allow volunteer community producers a

mechanism by which they can tolerate deep ideological divisions, as drawn from a study of volunteer access producers. An overemphasis on individual rights also poses problems for public access, as reflected in problematic practices such as "first come, first served." His discussion holds significance for global participants in community media.

Participatory communication: Reviewing various global and academic forms of participatory communication, Alfonso Gumucio Dagron's "Call Me Impure: Myths and Paradigms of Participatory Communication" zeroes in on examples from Mexico, Lima, Guatemala, Bolivia, Chile, Brazil, Cuba, Columbia, and other Latin American countries to argue that images of alternative media as isolated and pure no longer correspond to reality—and maybe never did. Framed with a perspective of the role of religion, specifically the Catholic Church, it traces "ownership" patterns and practices that help us understand better social, political, and economic contexts for community media in an era of globalization.

The People's Communication Charter: The People's Communication Charter (PCC) is an inspirational document for a global movement of citizens who are concerned about the quality of their cultural environment. Eventually this movement could create an international Independent Ombuds-Office for the protection of communication and cultural rights. Cees J. Hamelink, founder and cocreator of PCC, in "The People's Communication Charter: Global Communications and People's Rights," points out how community media could benefit in important ways from the services of this office, which includes a reprint of the actual document.

Theories of community media: The concept of "community media" has proven to be highly resistant toward monotheoretical approaches that usually failed to capture both the diversity of the media organizations that choose to carry this name and the specificity of these organizations that makes them distinguishable from other types of media organizations. For this reason, Nico Carpentier, Rico Lie, and Jan Servaes argue, a multitheoretical approach is proposed, combining essentialist, relationalist, media-centered and society-centered theoretical frameworks. The combination of these frameworks will not only result in a more elaborate analysis of the identity of community media, but will also allow highlighting the importance and the vulnerability of these community media organizations. Their chapter, "Multitheoretical Approaches to Community Media: Capturing Specificity and Diversity," offers a series of potential strategies that will allow remedying some of the vulnerabilities and threats with which community media have to cope.

Virtual communities: In 1994, then U.S. vice president Al Gore called on world leaders to adopt a global vision for an information "superhighway" to foster economic growth and development as well as to generate political stability, social improvement, and the spread of democracy. Now better known as the Internet, the superhighway metaphor still underlies common perception of the Internet as an instrument of commerce as well as

transport. At issue is not just a matter of what the metaphor includes, Concetta M. Stewart and Mairi Innes Pileggi contend in "Conceptualizing Community: Implications for Policymaking in a Cyberage," but what it leaves out. For instance, Gore elected not to foreground issues of control, of limitation of options, and of isolating and splitting community; in fact, he has since restated his position independently of the information of his metaphor, privileging the U.S. driven capitalist market economy as a universal and desirable goal. And now, more than a decade later, this vision has been fully realized.

Community Media: International Perspectives (Aboriginal/Indigenous Experiences, Current Case Studies, Virtual Community Visions) represents the first time that both communications scholars and practitioners have come together in a single volume for reportage on global efforts toward understanding and acting on media access at the local, grassroots level. While many perspectives are included, the overall concern is with individual rights and responsibilities toward indigenous, participatory communities (Fuller, 2006a and 2006b). As growing disappointment and disillusionment with commercial media and its centralization by key multinational corporations combines with increasing concern over conglomeration and hypercommercialism (see McChesney, 2000, Chomsky, 2002), it behooves us to understand, appreciate, delineate, and be involved in our own local means of communication.

This book, ironically, appears at a particularly imperative juncture, as the U.S. Congress considers the Communications Opportunity, Promotion and Enhancement Act (COPE)—a mild-sounding but frightening prospect for those involved in community media (Cunningham, 2006). Encouraging telecommunications companies to enter into cable television markets without serving local franchises, it allows telecoms to control Internet, television programming, and telephone service; worse, it does not require anything from them (e.g., Verizon, AT&T). What does this do for us, the consumers? What does it say about fair competition? What does it mean for self-regulation? What implications might it have for lower-income neighborhoods when companies can "cherry pick" what they think will be their most lucrative markets? We worry about these kinds of encroachment, just as we worry about the issue of "net neutrality," the ability of an Internet Service Provider (ISP) or iPod server to control access speed.

Access, we continually realize, is at the heart of democratic progress. Reporting on her experience with a televillage community project in Grand Forks, North Dakota, Lana Rakow (1999, p. 82) stated: "We can bring our expertise in the history and theory of communication technologies to the table, along with our access to funding sources through grant writing and our knowledge of research processes. We can generate public discussion of the issues of public access and participation both locally and nationally." That is the purpose of this book.

Notes

1. It has been said that the inspiration for community television owes a debt to Canadian documentarian Robert Flaherty's 1921 film *Nanook of the North*.
2. Grassroots TV of Aspen, Colorado, which claims to be America's first and oldest community cable television station, celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in 1996.

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I

Aboriginal/Indigenous Experiences

Remote Beginnings, Metropolitan Developments: Community and Indigenous Television in Australia

Elinor Rennie

The Beginning of the End

No other industry is so controlled and protected by regulation. The market doesn't decide—it gets what it is given, by decree.

—*Mark Day,* The Australian *(June 8, 2006).*

Australian television officially commenced in 1956, two decades after the United States and Britain. The United States had chosen to structure its television industry in favor of commercial media enterprise, whereas Britain kept television in public hands, implementing a state-funded British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and retaining public ownership of transmission sites. Having observed the benefits of both models, the Australian government opted for a "dual" model, permitting commercial television but also establishing an Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), which would operate under a similar framework as its British counterpart. Television was an immediate success in Australia. In order to maintain cultural policy objectives, the government adopted a method of quid pro quo, whereby broadcasters were required to conform to policy objectives (such as local content quotas and children's programs) in return for a stable market in which no more than three commercial broadcasters were allowed to operate in any one area. By the early 1970s, television had evolved into a mature and relatively stable industry, but community television became a permanent fixture in the analogue landscape only in 2004.

What was originally heralded as a seismic shift in the media landscape— "the most fundamental change in broadcasting since the introduction of television itself" (Productivity Commission, 2000)—did not budge the

incumbent commercial and national broadcasters. Amidst all the planning and jostling for digital television channels, one important point was: digital television could open up a range of possibilities for the third sector media, offering new content forms and better governance models organized around flexible spectrum use. As national and commercial broadcasters rallied to maintain their existing interests and services, the community sector was already rethinking the boundaries of what its "television" might be. This chapter revisits the history of community and indigenous television before it examines the issue of digital television. First, however, it is necessary to understand what exactly is meant by the "third sector" of the media.

Establishing a Space for Community Communication

Community broadcasting is part of the "third sector," a term that refers to formal organizational structures of the community sphere (in Australia, it is sometimes called the not-for-profit sector, which can be misleading, as a third sector organization can generate a surplus in its revenue, but any profit must be ploughed back into it rather than be distributed to shareholders). Social economist Mark Lyons (2001, p. 5) defines third sector as "private organizations:

1. formed and sustained by groups of people (members) acting voluntarily and without seeking personal profit to provide benefits for themselves or for others,
2. democratically controlled and
3. where any material benefit gained by a member is proportionate to their use of the organization."

The term "community" refers to an entity less structured than what Lyons describes, such as personal affiliations and networks, shared cultural interests/heritage, and political allegiances. The third sector adds a governance model to the "messy" community sphere to ensure that the interests of the group are safeguarded and made explicit. Australia's third sector accounts for 3.8 percent of its gross domestic product (GDP) (the equivalent to agriculture, fisheries, and forestry combined) and consists of approximately 37,000 organizations (Cham, 2006). Its enormous breadth makes it difficult to describe—it includes the arts, childcare, housing, sports, advocacy, and food production. Approximately 7.6 percent of the workforce is employed in this sector, with some 23 million Australians volun-teering around 370 million hours every year (Lyons, 2001), 86 percent of Australians belong to, or are associated with, nonprofit organizations.

Community stations are third sector enterprises: They are not motivated by profit, nor can individuals claim a return on the money they invest. Unlike public service "national" broadcasters, community broadcasters are not administered by the government charter or managed by their appointed executives. Sharing many cultural achievements with commercial and

national broadcasters—it can entertain, reach a large proportion of the population, inform, innovate, and promote national identity; community media is seen as having its own particular strengths, such as production of high quantities of locally relevant content and an ability to reflect cultural diversity. With 484 licensed community broadcasting services, employing 960 staff and engaging 23,000 volunteers, it is estimated that community broadcasting contributes approximately AUD $280 millions to the economy annually (Community Broadcasting Foundation, 2006).

Community media is much more than the term "third sector media" can convey. Media participation can be transformative for the individual and society; it can alter the power configurations within which an individual operates and strengthen communities by encouraging understanding. New studies in community media both internationally and in Australia are uncovering its cultural and social contributions, as well as its difficulties (Rodriguez, 2001; Walker, 2001; Jankowski, 2002; Howley, 2005).

In the discipline of media studies "user-led" describes the participation of nonprofessionals in the creation of media. User-led media can produce (or originate from) communities of like-minded creators, such as fan groups, hobbyists, collectors, or techies. This activity, increasing in frequency across different sites, represents a shift in the nature of cultural engagement and in economics of cultural production (Lessig, 2001; Leadbeater, 2003; Hartley, 2004).

Community media has a greater role to play in this landscape, than it did in the broadcast era, when we are witnessing activities that circumvent or redirect traditional media structures—helping change relations between audiences and the creators of media, bringing diversity of voices and interests into the public sphere. It is a means to give a structured, coherent, self-governed voice to random and dispersed fields of citizen expression. Understanding it as part of the third sector is integral to the development of a robust and accessible space where broader social changes can be pursued, debated, and challenged. For indigenous media, television offers an opportunity to create greater awareness of culture and politics within the population at large, strengthening dialogue on local issues and providing avenues for citizen expression.

History of Community Media in Australia

The history of community radio in Australia is well documented (Tebbutt, 1989; Flew and Spurgeon, 2000; Molnar and Meadows, 2001; Thornley, 2001; Forde, Meadows, and Foxwell, 2002; van Vuuren, 2003). Community television has much in common with its radio counterpart, and has largely been implemented according to the same regulatory guidelines, albeit facing greater obstacles and intense. The campaign for community television began to take shape in the 1980s, prompted by local production groups and video access centers (see Rennie, 2006), and came into existence by 1992.

It was quite a "trial." Without permanent licenses, stations struggled to bring in adequate sponsorship and some stations resorted to semicommercial deals for funding, but by 1997, the regulator recommended community access television, "As most socio-economic benefits presently appear likely to follow from this use" (Australian Broadcasting Authority, 1997, p. xi). Around this time digital television transmission began to be considered, and community television trials continue to operate, successfully demonstrating they can exist.

A Snapshot of Community Television: C31

Melbourne Community Television Consortium

Channel 31 (C31) was licensed in 1994, broadcasting across the cities of Melbourne and Geelong in the southern state of Victoria. The station began modestly, with programs being telecast 38 hours a week; today it broadcasts 147 hours a week, with an ever-increasing demand to accommodate local producers. Made up of 40 community associations utilizing 70 percent of the station's airtime, it allows producers who are not members to submit programs for broadcast for a relatively small fee. A number of programs allow viewer-producers to submit their own material for screening at no cost, such as "Bite Size" for programs that are of five minutes duration and "Local Knowledge" that screens stories of Melbourne's neighborhoods.

Programming is eclectic on C31, screening more local programs than all the commercial networks combined. Some programs have a cult following, such as *Vasilli's Garden*, attracting 124,200 viewers a week. Aside from a range of local sport and lifestyle programs, C31 broadcasts programs by and for the deaf community, youth content from the Student Youth Network, programs by/for people with disabilities, and local music and comedy. The station offers 20 hours a week to ethnically diverse programming, broadcast in 22 languages. Approximately 1.3 million viewers tune in every month (in a city of 3.6 million people), and 21 programs have over 50,000 viewers per week. The station has around 1000 volunteers at any given time, and has developed accredited and nonaccredited training courses for them in conjunction with Open Channel. C31 was granted a full-time community television license in 2004; having finally found economic stability, it is now concerned about audience erosion by digital television and Pay TV uptake, neither of which carry their service.

Regional Community Television

Not all of original metropolitan licensees survived. Procuring enough content to fill a schedule has been a significant problem for the regional stations. On their own initiative, ACCESS 31 in Perth persuaded the Western Australian State Government to carry their programming and the townships of Albany and Bunbury have harnessed some old transmitters for rebroadcasting. The plan is to achieve independently licensed community

television services in nonmetropolitan areas, backed up with regional programming feeds (provided by other community stations) filling the gaps.

Indigenous Television

Indigenous television is not restricted to community broadcasting but cuts across all three sectors—community, commercial, and public service broadcasting; it is, after all, mainstream for indigenous viewers (Productivity Commission, 2000). However, community license has been important in the history of indigenous media, as it has assisted in the development of autonomous, indigenous-run stations.

The first indigenous television stations were *pirates* (i.e., run without a broadcast license, so deemed illegal), established in the early 1980s by the Walpiri of Yuendumu, a township on the edge of the Tanami desert and the Pitjanjarra in Pukatja (Ernabella), South Australia. Recognizing that the aboriginal communities were determined to run their own media, the government developed Broadcasting for Remote Aboriginal Community Service (BRACS) in 1987; today, there are over 100 BRACS facilities in remote communities. Although some of the stations have been put to good use, not all are operational.

A fully aboriginal-owned satellite channel, Imparja, began transmission in 1988, and is available across one-third of the country. Alongside Imparja's main channel, which retransmits content from networks 9 and 10 as well as ABC and SBS, Impraja's, Channel 31 (ICTV) screens over 10 hours a day of indigenous programming, news, and community information—70–80 percent in indigenous language. Content is provided by a number of organizations, sometimes by an open narrowcasting license (NITV Committee, 2005).

Despite these achievements, Australia has no nationally available indigenous television channel. Indigenous media policy has primarily concentrated on remote communities. The campaign for a National Indigenous Broadcasting Service (NIBS) gained momentum in 2000 and found support from the Productivity Commission in their Inquiry into Broadcasting, and in 2005, the government called for submissions to the "viability of creating an Indigenous television service and the arrangements that should apply to the digital transmission of such a service using spectrum in the broadcasting services bands," (as required by Clause 60 (1) of Schedule 4 to the Broadcasting Services Act of 1992) The indigenous sector argued that the primary function of a National Indigenous Television service (NITV) would be "to inform, educate and entertain" and

- Allow for the expression of a dynamic and evolving Indigenous culture;
- Maintain language and culture;
- Assist in the development of the Indigenous creative industries;
- Provide community education;
- Present Indigenous stories to all Australians, thereby promoting a richer understanding of our nation (NITV Committee, 2005).

The proposal was rejected; instead, the government allocated money to aboriginal program production (48.5 million over five years), to be delivered by Imparja or community television (Channel 31) in metropolitan areas. Unfortunately, funding alone does not satisfy the need for autonomy or editorial control.

Digital Television

One could make a very good argument that despite legendary achievements with yachts, holiday resorts and shopping centres the Last New Wave of new entrants into Australian TV in the 1980s provided few lasting innovations.

—*Jock Given,* Turning off the Television *(2003, p. 240).*

Around 99 percent of Australian households own television sets, viewers tuning in 20-odd hours per week. It is therefore somewhat surprising that here has been so little public debate around the issue of digital television, as no other technological change in television transmission has been quite so drastic. When the conventional analogue signal is switched off (as early as 2012), old sets will cease to work and television will only be available to those with digital sets or set-top-boxes.

The defining feature of the digital transition regime has been the triple cast obligation imposed upon national and commercial broadcasters: In return for 7MHz of digital spectrum, broadcasters are required to transmit their signals in high definition (HD) for at least 20 hours a week. The triple-cast obligation was designed to minimize disruption by ensuring early adopters could still receive the same content as analogue viewers. It was a false promise: By leaving community television out of the original digital television plans, Australians were effectively denied a service when they converted to digital. The triplecast used up the bulk of the spectrum put aside for digital television, making it difficult for new services to emerge—much to the delight of the incumbent broadcasters. However, the cautious plan also restricted commercial stations from multichanneling, a move designed to protect the cable subscription (Pay TV) industry. In essence, digital television offered few new services—just more of the same, minus community television.

Digital Television and Availability

In a 1998 news release, the minister for communications, Information Technology and the Arts, stated that "The community television sector will be guaranteed free access to the spectrum needed to broadcast one standard definition channel" on digital television (Alston, 1998, p. 1). With a full channel, community television could broadcast multiple channels for different community uses, deliver HD programming, and produce innovative content for transmission via new technologies. It is a cause for worry that,

as technical and content innovation in the broadcasting industries progress, community television will be left stranded in an out-of-date single channel—effectively "locked" into the analogue paradigm within a digital environment.

Why has the third sector been denied parity with the national and commercial broadcasters? Although spectrum scarcity excuses for denying permanent allocation to community television are less convincing with the introduction of digital technology, commercial interest in spectrum has also increased. Digital technology may have delivered more channels through increased spectrum capacity, but it also brought with it new pressures to see spectrum in purely economic terms. In such an environment, community broadcasting is in danger of being seen as a waste of a profitable resource.

Future Use of Community Spectrum

It is impossible to predict exactly what innovations might occur through community use of digital spectrum, but it is possible to develop models that support and encourage new services. To date, community television has worked as an adapted access model whereby independent producers and community groups can submit programs for broadcast with minimal editorial intervention. Digital television requires a more complex model, rethinking spectrum use, management, and revenue sources.

One possibility is to establish a "community multiplex" in each market area that would be utilized by a number of groups organized into distinct channels. A portion of that spectrum could be leased to a commercial provider, with proceeds funding transmission for all services. Such a model would provide indigenous broadcasters with an autonomous, branded channel, and possibly a separate license. Other possibilities might include local channels, an education channel utilizing data delivery for courseware alongside traditional programming, or an e-government channel for discussion forums, plebiscites, and public information. Cultural institutions might also make use of digital spectrums, taking their collections to a broader public base, and encouraging collector groups and enthusiasts to engage via digital storytelling-type participation. Associations could have a separate channel, telecasting first-hand accounts of their work and providing information to their communities via downloadable fact sheets. The digital television environment would be far more diverse, local, and innovative.

Community media has long been an innovator of low-cost programming forms, being collaborative and participative by nature. The community sector is already the major training ground for radio and television in Australia, teaching and nurturing new talent and production crews both informally and via partners in the education sector. A full digital channel would allow the innovative aspects of community television to be recognized and formalized, with segments for experimental programming and pilots. However, for the training and innovation capacity of the third sector to be realized, it must be granted an equivalent amount of spectrum to the

other free-to-air broadcasters. This is essential if it is to participate and train in new standards, technologies, and content forms. There is still much work to be done before this can happen, including detailed research into financial and technical models. The first step, however, is for the government to commit to "positive policy crafting" and reserve an adequate portion of the digital spectrum for community use.

Conclusion

The community broadcasting movement has sought access to broadcasting spectrum for those who might otherwise be excluded, and has implemented this through a particular governance structure involving community representation and not-for-profit management. Granting digital spectrum to community television means endorsing a third sector of broadcasting, one that operates according to a different set of motivations and rules to commercial and public service media.

Digital transmission of community television has so far centered on whether or not existing community stations should be granted digital spectrum. The history of community television has been characterized by temporary licensing arrangements and inconclusive policy reviews, with stations existing under some threat of extinction since their inception. The immediate demand for a viable transition for the beleaguered sector is therefore understandable. However, reserving spectrum for community use is more than a matter of entitlement or the continuation of current services. Digital television has the potential to be a significantly different medium from analogue, both in its content forms and in the manner in which the spectrum is managed. As the third sector's priorities are different from that of the commercial and public service broadcasters it is likely to develop nonstandard television forms as it negotiates the many interests that it is required to serve.

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2

(re)Coloring the Public Broadcasting System in Canada: A Case Study of the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network

Lorna Roth

In 1991, the federal government passed the Broadcasting Act, in which multiculturalism, multiracialism, and aboriginal broadcasting were enshrined as collective communication rights within Canada's broadcasting infrastructure. It is composed of public, private, and community-based network sources; Section 3 of the act reads:

> . . . through its programming and the employment opportunities arising out of its operation, [it should] serve the needs and interests, and reflect the circumstances and aspirations of Canadian men, women and children, including equal rights, the linguistic duality and multicultural and multiracial nature of Canadian society and the special place of aboriginal peoples within that society. (Broadcasting Act 1991, S. 3 [d] [iii])

This chapter focuses on the construction of cultural and racial diversity in Canadian public broadcasting policy and the apparatus of broadcasting itself, using the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN), a multination "inter"national channel that began broadcasting on September 1, 1999, as the main illustrative example. APTN has added a dimension of "color balance" to what has been a rather gray-scaled broadcasting system in Canada, contributing to public life in an array of new multiperspective voices that, although still recognized as only whispers, are gradually infiltrating discourses of niche audiences across the country.

There are a range of opinions about the history and significance of APTN's role in fulfilling diversity expectations for the Canadian broadcasting system, its expanding international role in building cultural connections with other indigenous peoples, and its relationship with Canadian cross-cultural publics. The first section discusses the broader context of Canada's

having a constituency-based broadcasting system—nonprofit, similar in quality and content to cable access channels in the United States (Gillespie, 1975). Salter (1980), who first used this term as a reformulation of community, has "constituency" referring to "people sharing multiple overlapping relationships in a system of power." Aboriginal peoples are a constituency group in Canada.

Canada's Constituency-Based Broadcasting System

According to Michael Ignatieff (2000), Canadian culture has undergone a rights revolution where equality rights have been enhanced while rights to be different have been protected. A "broadcasting rights" culture is quite complex, unique, and important. Because of Canada's longstanding alternative tradition of constituency-based services founded on the recognition of distinct needs, a set of progressive policies promoting positive self-definition of group differences has emerged, including the politics of broadcasting regulation. For example, Canada's Multiculturalism Act (1988) and its community, ethnic, and aboriginal broadcasting practices contrast with policies that consider assimilation as a means to transcend group differences. According to Young (1990, p. 158), a rights-based culture is characterized by an egalitarian politics of difference, involving, "A reconception of the meaning of equality. The assimilationist ideal assumes that equal social status for all persons requires treating everyone according to the same principles, rules, and standards . . . To promote social justice . . . social policy should sometimes accord special treatment to groups."

Several Canadian policies have accorded legislative-based collective rights to distinct constituency groups, including Section 15 on Equality Rights in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982), the Multiculturalism Act (1988), the Human Rights Act (1976–1977), and the Employment Equity Act (1986). Among the most active groups who have lobbied for constituency and diversity rights in the Broadcasting Act have been women, First Peoples, and multicultural and multiracial communities (ethnic populations whose ancestral homelands are outside of Canada, neither British nor French). These groups have not only demanded more accurate symbolic portrayals (both positive and negative) but have insisted on equitable employment opportunities in what have remained Caucasian, male-dominated, single-accented mainstream broadcasting venues.

In Canadian broadcasting, policies have shifted from a "right-to-receive-services" approach to one legally enshrining broadcasting rights of constituency groups. In the 1991 Act, each is allocated a special status, with the right to be fairly portrayed on the airwaves and equitably represented on staffs throughout all broadcasting services—public, private and community (Government of Canada 1991, S. 3[d][iii])—whether on-screen/microphone access and/or behind-the-scenes media production,

distribution, and management access rights. On air, this principle is the basis for these services: the Women's Television Network, ethnic and multilingual broadcasting services, community media, and aboriginal broadcasting services. Off air, it infers the possibility for monitoring mechanisms to assess fair portrayal practices. Mediawatch, a women's media broadcasting lobbying organization, already exists, and a multicultural/multiracial and aboriginal collaborative media watch organization is currently in the process of formation across the country under the umbrella Centre for Research/Action on Race Relations.

From my own ethnic and aboriginal constituency group research on media diversity (Roth, 1998a, 1998b) comes substantial evidence of social gains in collective representational rights of multicultural and multiracial populations. One of the most significant Canadian examples of cultural persistence is manifested in the broadcasting of a dedicated aboriginal television channel: the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network.

Brief History of Northern First Peoples Television Broadcasting in Canada

Getting APTN on air resulted from First Peoples' broadcasting initiatives, pilot projects, satellite access negotiations, national infrastructural changes, regulatory openings, and governmental political will. Of all the First Peoples living in Fourth World (indigenous) societies globally, those in Canada have led the way in establishing legislatively based, nationwide television services reflecting their diverse cultural perspectives and multiple languages, based on legislation. The pioneering negotiation of an infrastructure for First Peoples television in Canada took place over three decades (1970 to 1999), when the political will of the federal government shifted from attempting to assimilate First Peoples (Government of Canada, 1969) to a clearer recognition of the First Peoples as a national constituency group with collective broadcasting rights and special status.

Northern television media can be divided longitudinally into six phases, separated from one another by shifts in cultural representational practices, improved technological infrastructures, and corresponding expansions of target audiences. The following section shows how aboriginal television transformed from an early period characterized by stereotypical misrepresentations to recent times, when First Peoples gained control over a national channel mandated to broadcast original and acquired indigenous-oriented, (inter)national productions to all Canadian cable subscribers.

Overview of Key Phases in Northern First Peoples Television History

Phase I (Early 1900s–1970s) Pre-Northern Television Context
- Absences, misrepresentations, and stereotypes in film and print
- Southern produced media from south to north

Phase II (1968–1981) (de)Romancing the north
- Satellite debates precipitate discussions around northern media priorities
- Representation of First Peoples by themselves
- Intraregional, experimental media projects

Phase III (1978–1991) Policy-ing the North
- Surveying the field, data collection, policy principles

Phase IV (1983–1992) Consolidation and Expansion of Broadcasting Infrastructure
- Inter-regional media north-to-north
- Individual native societies sell programs to southern public broadcasters
- Television northern Canada (TVNC) established

Phase V (1986–1999) Crossing Cultural, Racial, and Territorial Borderlines
- Multidirectional indigenous media
- Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN) licensed (February 22, 1999)

Phase VI (1992–Till Date) An International Turn
- Building Fourth World media constituency groups
- Aboriginal Peoples' Television Network launched (September 1, 1999)
- Possibilities for international indigenous broadcasting

Between the first and current phases of aboriginal broadcasting lies a history where access to communication technologies provided opportunities for indigenous peoples to demonstrate their capabilities as special status broadcasters of sophisticated and culturally relevant programming directed to local, regional, and national (cross-) cultural audiences.

Moreover, through a policy surveillance and intervention process, expert witnesses and First Peoples' representatives used data from field experiments and pilot projects, Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) interventions, legislative analysis, and lobbying processes to convince the federal government that indigenous broadcasters merited a special policy status (Northern Broadcasting Policy, 1983), supported by a special funding program (Northern Native Broadcast Access Program, 1983). The year 1983 was critical, when 13 regional Native Communications Societies developed and lobbied to establish an explicit Native Broadcasting Policy.

On March 10, 1983, the Government of Canada announced a Northern Broadcasting Policy recognizing the importance of native participation in both media programming and the regulatory process (Government of Canada, Federal Government News Release, 1983, p. 2). An accompanying program called the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program (NNBAP) was also established, with $40.3 million earmarked as a budget for the long-term production goal of 20 hours of native-language radio programming and five hours of native-perspective television per week. This initial funding was for four years, but the program has continued to exist even under considerable financial strain.

The Broadcasting Act was passed in June 4, 1991; later, the CRTC approved a license for Television Northern Canada to run a network, "For the purpose of broadcasting cultural, social, political and educational programming for the primary benefit of aboriginal people in the North"

(Decision CRTC 91–826). TVNC was to become the vehicle through which First Peoples would represent themselves and their concerns to the entire north—no longer restricted by geography or technology. In this sense, TVNC constituted a de facto recognition of the communication rights of the First Peoples in the north. Its network members consisted of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (Ottawa, Iqaluit), the Inuvialuit Communications Society (Inuvik), Northern Native Broadcasting, Yukon (Whitehorse), the OkalaKatiget Society (Labrador), Taqramiut Nipingat Incorporated (Northern Quebec), the Native Communications Society of the Western N. W. T. (Yellowknife), the Government of the Northwest Territories, Yukon College, and the National Aboriginal Communications Society. Associate members include CBC Northern Service, Kativik School Board (Quebec), Labrador Community College, Northern Native Broadcasting, Terrace, Telesat Canada, and Wawatay Native Communications Society (Sioux Lookout).

TVNC began broadcasting at a primary level of service. Spanning five time zones and covering an area of over 4.3 million kilometers, its network members broadcast approximately 100 hours per week to 96 communities in English and multiple native languages. A distributor of its members' programming, its telecast consisted of:

- 38 hours per week of aboriginal language and cultural programming;
- 23 hours per week of formal and informal educational programming;
- 12 hours per week of produced and acquired children's programming, over half
- of which is in aboriginal languages (TVNC March 1, 1993, 4).

Back then, TVNC was the only aboriginal television network in the world that was broadcasting such a high volume of programming from indigenous sources. The Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA) has a remote commercial television service license, awarded in 1987, their service, "Imparja," broadcasting to mostly nonaboriginal viewers (Browne, 1996). A pan-northern distribution, TVNC was theoretically positioned to forge connections with Inuit and aboriginal groups in other countries, such as Greenland, Alaska, Finland, and Siberia, as well as Australia, New Zealand, Brazil, and Bolivia through program exchanges and uplink/downlink satellite arrangements. In reality, it did not do much due to both technical and financial barriers. It offered northern viewers limited access to programming about the "activities of indigenous people from around the globe," when feasible (TVNC March 1, 1993, p. 4). For example, the network aired a current affairs program called *Heartbeat Alaska*, supplied to TVNC for the cost of one-way shipping.

TVNC's ambition of voluntary pick-up by cable operators in the south did not work out well. CRTC permitted it to be listed as an eligible service, but few seized the opportunity. The challenge was how to become a Canada-wide national network. If they were to be broadcast nationwide, how would they deal with cross-culturally sensitive questions? What kinds of cultural programming would meet information and entertainment needs

of native/non-native northerners and native/non-native southerners? What considerations and constraints would be imposed upon or voluntarily assumed by programmers to please a hybrid audience?

Of even greater concern were program subjects that might generate controversy when removed from their original context. Consider those stemming from the Eastern Arctic, where details of animal killings are central to visual presentations. Finally, the cost of acquisition rights in the south would multiply due to the expansion of target audiences. Northern acquisition rights were economical because TVNC was a nonprofit organization; program distributors, recognizing its special financial conditions, prohibited some purchases, virtually subsidizing the rights. These are just a few of the programming considerations TVNC had to address if and when it negotiated a broadcasting arrangement with the south.

The Aboriginal Peoples Television Network—Going National

- *There are some six hundred . . . First Nations. We are always fighting for this right or that right. But we are one people. This [channel] would bring us together (Focus group participant).*
- *I am very excited by the opportunity the aboriginal people of Canada have been given. This historic decision will be a major step in building bridges of understanding between aboriginal and non-aboriginal people in Canada.*

> —*Abraham Tagalik,* former APTN chair, TVNC Newsletter *(March 1999, p. 1)*

TVNC's pan-northern successes convinced its board and staff to pursue establishment of a nationwide network, so steps were initiated to make this dream a reality (APTN Home Page, 2001). For support, TVNC representatives attended the Assembly of First Nations' (AFN) Annual General assembly, which passed a resolution supporting TVNC's attempts. Presentations to national aboriginal organizations and submissions to the CRTC became a regular feature.

It hired a public opinion consulting firm to conduct an audience survey among a representative cross-section of 1,510 adult Canadians regarding the desirability of establishing national aboriginal broadcasting, results indicating 79 percent supported the idea, even if it would mean displacing a currently offered service (APTN Home Page, 2001). CRTC responded positively with a Public Notice in 1998–1998, opening the doors to go national. With the Commission's formal recognition, TVNC applied. To be economically viable, it was to be mandatory, available to 8 million households with cable, as well as those with direct-to-home and wireless service providers, including ExpressVu, Star Choice and Look TV (APTN Fact Sheet 1999, p. 1). To assure consistent and secure funding over the long term, TVNC requested that CRTC require cable operators charge subscribers 15 cents per month in exchange for services aimed at both aboriginal and nonaboriginal audiences: children's animation, youth shows, cultural and traditional programming, music, drama, dance,

news, and current affairs, as well as live coverage of special events and interactive programming. They promised 90 percent Canadian content, the remaining 10 percent consisting of indigenous programming from around the world, including the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and Central and South America (APTN Fact Sheet 1999, p. 2). Subscriber fees plus income from advertising would give APTN a reasonable budget.

CRTC received approximately 300 letters from the general public advocating it go ahead and license the channel. Support for the network was fairly consistent among Native Communication Societies in the north, but there were some challenges expected around issues of organization and control during the transition. Strong and organized resistance came from e-cable operators and several broadcasters to whom the idea of a mandatory, *national* channel on all cable services in the country was considered antidemocratic. Cable operators would have preferred APTN to be licensed "on the same optional distribution basis as all other fee-based Canadian services have been licensed" (CBC, October 19, 1998)—concerned that TVNC/APTN should ideally be a specialty service targeted to particular audiences. TVNC's/APTN's perspective was that they were not a specialty service, but one with a special status, based on their being one of the three Founding Nations of Canada. This, of course, is a very contentious and conflictive issue in Canada and Québec, both of whom operate on the assumption that there are only two Founding Nations—their own. That APTN should be carried on a mandatory basis as a parallel service to that of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and Radio Canada raised the political/historical stakes in Canada's national debate about confederacy.

Most cable operators did not accept the argument that First Peoples, only 3 percent of the national population, should have either a special status or a mandatory national channel; they "supported the concept of the network but not the insistence that it be offered as part of the basic cable service" (Cobb, 1999, p. F-5). On February 22, 1999, CRTC approved TVNC's application and granted mandatory carriage on basic cable throughout Canada, with the monthly fee in the south but not the north. Pressured to launch their service as quickly as possible to save cable operators extra new-service advertising and technical expenses, APTN began broadcasting on September 1, 1999. Until programming surpluses can be created, there are three programming cycles per day. Broadcast languages include 60 percent English, 15 percent French, and 25 percent in a variety of aboriginal languages.

Aboriginal Peoples Television Network: A Visible/Audible Signature of Cultural and Racial Diversity in Canadian Public Broadcasting

Consistent with perspectives of most cable operators, initial programming was met with mixed reviews. The national media, such as that of Canada's prominent newspaper, the Globe and Mail (February 13, 1999, A-16), was generous: "Not only will the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network be a

place for native people to present themselves to one another in English, French and 15 native languages, but it will be an electronic arena in which many Canadians will encounter aboriginals in ways they might never do otherwise." This editorial raises an important issue about the relationship between absence and presence, (in)visibility, and (in)audibility of an important national constituency group.

On a deeper level, the issue of intolerance becomes more complex when an "unpopular" constituency group becomes a notable presence within the everyday world in a visible and audible media form. Knowledge of an actual and mandatory new presence on the airwaves of a constituency group whose values and programming qualities are significantly different from those of "mainstream" Canadian television might strongly challenge the silences of quiescent racists gathered around their television screens; but, unfortunately, many nonaboriginal Canadians still do not know APTN is on the air.

APTN Lives on the Margins of Mainstream Television

Using APTN as an example raises the question of whether one channel should be given exclusive responsibility for providing aboriginal perspectives to all Canadians; without having significant native presence on mainstream television, this is a heavy burden. In interpreting the Broadcasting Act, CRTC had discretionary powers to determine whether it should demand representation of minorities in each and every one of its licensed networks or whether it suffices to have several signals of "diversity" present as players among its other channels. In licensing APTN, with its relatively small percentage of support from the Canadian population, CRTC has demonstrated its good will, a "political" will, on the part of the federal government toward the aboriginal population. However, it seems that the Commission has "culture-marked" APTN as a key contributor to the "diversity" mandate for the whole system. APTN is not alone in this position; it carries this mandate along with those involved in multicultural programming.

APTN is competing with a sophisticated technological broadcasting infrastructure put in place in Canada in the 1950s. Although it benefits from these technologies, its funding difficulties, finding sponsors for programming and lack of national experience have lead to consequences in terms of its need for a transitional period in which to build human resource capacity, program surpluses, financial stability, and broad public support from cross-cultural audiences. To tune into the network, one has to know where it is located on the channel grid—another publicity challenge for APTN. Committed viewers may not care where the channel is located. To recruit new audiences, however, is more of a challenge. Given their current disadvantaged location on these margins, it is clear that APTN still has a long

way to go before it can effectively compete for cross-cultural audiences with central and powerful networks such as those of the Québécois and/or English/American broadcasting services.

Aboriginal Peoples Television Network as a Public Medium in Canada

APTN's network license was renewed for a full seven-year period on August 31, 2005 at a new subscriber role of 25 cents per month. Despite its complex place in Canada's overall broadcasting system, this case is a prototype for other states, within which are diverse constituency groups competing for access to permit them address and construct alignments across race, social, economic, and territorial lines. Over the years, First Peoples have been granted political opportunities to build a nationwide mediaspace to help heal historical communication ruptures within their societies and between their communities—the result of their persistence in overcoming challenges and demonstrating skills to develop and manage new broadcasting infrastructures.

With the convergence of a strong political will on the part of the federal government and the CRTC, amiable negotiations among key parties, and the policy savvy that First Peoples have demonstrated APTN has evolved from an idea to a fully operational television broadcasting undertaking. The network is moderately secure in terms of funding and distribution, and most importantly, its existence is enshrined in national legislation.

APTN has enabled indigenous messages to be heard by constituency groups that might never have had access to a live person of aboriginal descent; hence, it provides an opportunity to share imagery and histories, to build bridges of understanding across cultural borders. Likewise, it has the potential to reinforce stereotypes and racism, to deepen existing schisms, and to disrupt conventional and traditional distorted views of First Peoples. The important point, though, is that it exists. It is on the air as one of many services competing for audience attention, and is now a performer on the electronic power grid. To a great extent, APTN has transformed the roles that were anticipated for public media since its early theorizations.

All these points are important to recognize. APTN provides access, albeit by subscription only. It attracts niche, not mass audiences. In trying to figure out how to maintain secure funding over time, CRTC has introduced a social cost to cable operators for carriage of APTN. Subscriber costs are paid to service providers who then transfer the money to APTN for television production costs in communities not economically viable enough to sustain their media economies. This is, perhaps, an emergent model by which states can assure the sponsorship and sustenance of public service programming that might be otherwise unaffordable.

APTN is a hybrid between what has traditionally been defined as public and private broadcasting. It carries advertising, yet addresses public issues

to Canada's national publics, modeling itself after public service television. Multilinguistic, multicultural, and multiracial in content and production staff and management, it attempts to be both local and global. It does little original production on its own; further, it distributes locally and regionally produced cultural programming to a national audience. The point that APTN is already integrating international programming and is considering the possibility of becoming a global First Peoples television network, comparable to that of CNN and BBC World Service, tells us of its objective of international constituency group building across national borders. It does not easily fit into existing categories of public service broadcasting.

APTN's national programs are similar to public access television programs in the United States, or like that of community television in Canada. Its quality is uneven and inconsistent, with budgetary constraints impacting on the amount of original programming. Its mandate to serve all aboriginal communities, north and south, as well as the rest of the Canadian population, make it extremely complex, difficult to manage.

Despite these challenges, APTN has served Canadian constituency groups well insofar as it has northernized and indigenized television programming, enriching it with a diversity that has, so far, been manifest only in policy discourse. It has delivered distinct voices and imagery from coast to coast with multiple perspectives expressing what it is like to "live the difference"—an idea extensively discussed in various ethnocultural literatures. As a minority constituency group, aboriginal peoples have more than symbolically gained their broadcasting rights (Roth, 2005). In launching and maintaining APTN as a national network, they have moved Canada closer to the ideal "rights society" that Michael Ignatieff (2000) so eloquently described us as being.

Notes

Parts of this essay have appeared in *Gazette: The International Journal for Communication Studies*, Vol. 62, no. 3–4:251–269. Throughout, the term "aboriginal" is used interchangeably with "First Peoples" and "indigenous."

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Community Radio and Development: Tribal Audiences in South India

Yesudhasan Thomas Jayaprakash and Brian Shoesmith

Radio has much strength that cannot be matched by television. It is cheap to run and cheap to receive. It is mobile, so can be listened to in deserts and jungles, in padi *fields and on fishing boats. It is quick to react, so is the best medium for news and information. In times of disaster, such as hurricanes or earthquakes, radio is the lifeline of the people affected, bringing them essential information for their survival. Public radio deserves a better deal than it is getting. It has even been said that, if public broadcasting is to survive in the new communications world, it will be through radio and not television.*

—Hugh Leonard, The challenges of public service broadcasting *(1999, p. IV)*

This chapter explores the status of a low power radio station, Ooty Radio Station (ORS), located in the Nilgiri hill areas of South India, as a developmental tool in the context of a changing mediascape (Appadurai, 1990). ORS is the only low power radio station, at 1 kilowatt (KW), in the All India Radio (AIR, http://air.kode.net) network in South India that is located near tribal settlements (Jayaprakash, 2002). It was introduced there to Todas, Kotas, Kurumbas, Irulas, and Badagas in 1993 in an attempt to empower tribal audiences of this region. In order to focus this research, the Todas and Kotas were selected, as their lives mostly revolve around agriculture, and hence emphasis would be on how and why they choose to listen to agricultural programs for development.

It is argued here that recent exposure to satellite/cable television has altered the way Todas and Kotas use ORS in their everyday lives for information, entertainment, and development. We also discuss on how tribal audiences negotiate time between radio and television, and how the latest changes in the indigenous mediascape necessitate basic changes in the programming and scheduling of development programs. Findings also

reveal gender preferences in the use of development programs like the agricultural ones.

The proliferation of satellite/cable television channels in India appears to have fulfilled entertainment needs of audiences but has left a huge gap in development programming (MIB, 2000; Jayaprakash, 2005b). In order to sustain its audiences and to gain commercial revenue, Doordarshan, the national television broadcaster, airs film-based entertainment programs and remains largely an urban phenomenon rather than a rural one (Jayaprakash, 2002). Many authors, researchers, and activists in India and overseas believe that the radio, with its low costs, access, reach, and portability, can be more effective than other media of communication (Noronha, 2001; Yadava, 1996).

Before discussing the role of radio in development, and the ethnography of tribal audiences that portrays how they use radio in their everyday lives, we briefly look into the current state of radio broadcasting in India. Our central contention is that the presence of radio, followed by television, has significantly shifted the horizon for tribal groups in South India. Their worldview is no longer bounded by the hills they live in or the customs they have followed for centuries. Tribal people in the Nilgiris are sophisticated consumers of mass media, which they use to reinforce their local culture as well as construct an understanding of national and international affairs. The changes have not just affected the urban centers but have also had profound effects in the most remote communities and regions.

Radio in India

All India Radio (AIR) was introduced in India in 1923, and with its unprecedented expansion since then has become the largest broadcasting organization in the world. At the time of independence in 1947, there were only six radio stations in India (Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Lucknow, and Tiruchirapalli); currently, there are nearly 200 stations serving a diverse population of one billion. AIR has three levels of broadcasting: national, regional, and local.

National stations broadcast a variety of programs that include centrally produced news bulletins, music, drama, sports, and other spoken programs such as features and talks in Hindi and English. Regional stations are located in different Indian states, serving audiences with content similar to the national stations but emphasize on regional language programs. Local radio is a comparatively new concept in the history of broadcasting in India, having been introduced in 1983, catering to specific local interests; as such, these radio stations are flexible and area specific, serving small areas and broadcasting in regional languages.

During the 1980s, national radio reached a saturation level on the AM network and, as a decidedly urban phenomenon, had a market penetration of 4.4 sets per 100 persons (Yadava, 1996). Rural India benefited from a decision by AIR to develop an FM network, mainly for local radio in the

smaller towns. The low power transmitters intended for local or community radio were introduced in 1983, intended to broadcast locally relevant programs so as to cater to the needs of local people (Anjaneyulu, 1989).

Medium and high power transmitters are generally used for regional and national broadcasting. By 1995, they had grown to 177 broadcasting centers, with 105 regional radio stations and 65 local radio stations covering 97 percent of the Indian population and its geographical area. It is estimated that there are 111 million radio sets distributed among 104 million households (ARU, 1995). AIR broadcasts programs in 24 languages and 146 dialects, catering to the needs of nearly one billion people in India. AIR programs can be classified into three divisions: news, music, and spoken word programs.

Community Radio and Development

Early development theorists (e.g., Lerner, 1958; Pye, 1963; Schramm, 1964) have argued that merely listening to radio messages can bring about development. AIR produced farm forum programs in which messages flew from the agricultural department to rural listeners; yet, Melkote (1991) suggests that poor rural farmers were not included in the message formation, that is, messages were bound to fail: This top-down approach saw messages largely disseminated from the planners to the public, from urban centers to rural peripheries, without taking into account the views of rural people. The complex and technical nature of many of these development messages compromised the level of understanding of rural people.

Earlier, the main concerns of mass media were economic development and industrialization; now, they are information-related to basic issues like the eradication of poverty through the introduction of cottage industries, handicrafts, and other local programs. Radio is used to create awareness about sensitive social issues such as the caste system or dowry system. Worldwide there are many examples to support this argument.

Communication and development scholars (e.g., Melkote, 1991; Mody, 1991; Dagron, 2001) have argued that community radio can be successfully used to foster development. Supporting two-way communications for community radio broadcasting, encouraging audience participation at the grassroots level, they also encourage the development of meaningful feedback mechanisms, involving audiences in program production and empowerment of community media to local/ethnic audiences through access and equity.

This system of programming "alienates instructions from the target groups," and the purpose of development communication failed miserably in India. Apart from the failure of development programs at the production stage, there were some serious problems at the reception stage. Community radio sets provided in villages by governments were mostly guarded by rich elites, thereby preventing common people's access to media (Yadava, 1996).

For development programs, it is important that producers receive feedback from the listeners so they can modify the program structure according to

listeners' tastes. As far as radio broadcasting in India was concerned, there was no proper feedback mechanism, as the only way for the radio stations to receive audience responses was from listeners' letters. Only a limited percentage of literate, educated listeners, who desperately wanted their opinion to be heard on radio programs, would write letters. Audience research conducted by the research wing of AIR often gathered data for their sponsors who were interested to know the percentage of listeners who actually listened to particular programs.

In this context, Joglekar (1996) argues that as far as radio is concerned, two-way communication is essential for radio to be an effective developmental tool, but the model used by AIR failed to achieve this ideal. In order to achieve the two-way communication model, a campaign was mounted to introduce community radio following landmark community radio projects for "development" that were initiated all over the world. By contrast, ORS, although policywise remaining a regional radio service, actually serves its tribal audiences distinctively like community radio. Considering its location and the people it serves, ORS is probably one of the most effective, and the only community-based radio station in Tamil Nadu, South India. It serves very specific, and in some senses, limited minority audiences. Tribal audiences are obviously secluded from the mainstream population, the majority being illiterate or not educated beyond high school. Agriculture is the main profession for many of the audiences and very few work as government servants.

Methodology

Although fieldwork was conducted in 20 Toda and all the 6 Kota settlements of the Nilgiris, only 2 Toda (Kandhal Mund, Garden Mund) and 4 Kota settlements (Tiruchikadi, Kundha Kothagiri, Sholur Kokkal, and Kollimalai) are cited and included in this chapter. The data were collected using in-depth interviews, participant observation, field notes, focus group (Jayaprakash, 2005a), and from secondary documents.

Recent Shifts in the Indigenous Mediascape

Tribal audiences have limited access to cable television, and radio is still considered an important medium for information, entertainment, and development. When Kotas in the Tiruchikadi settlement obtained their satellite television dish for 20,000 rupees, there was a temptation on the part of the community to ignore the radio; however, audiences soon realized that they could not simply sit in front of the television set for a long time. Tribal audiences also felt that exposure to television could affect their children's education and their everyday work.

Considering this, elders from one of the Kota villages (Kundha Kothagiri) did not permit cable television in their village. Increasingly tribal audiences

also hesitated to visit their neighbors' house to watch television because they did not want to disturb them. A 15-year-old, male, high school student from Sholur Kokkal, Subramanyam, reported: "I don't use television much because when I go to my neighbors' house to watch television sometimes they have guests. If I go there it will be disturbing to them. So I hesitate to visit my neighbors house to watch television."

Rather, both non-television households and those who owned a radio at home regularly listened to radio programs in preference to watching television. Jegannathan, a 30 year-old Kota man from Tiruchikdai village, said: "When we had a cable connection at home we placed our radio set in the corner of the house and the radio set gathered dust. Now after [a] few months we have started listening to radio again." Tribal audiences also give importance to locally produced cultural programs relevant to their life style, which is not broadcast on television. A social worker, from the Toda community, Pothali kuttan, stated: "If there are radio programs relevant to the hill audiences, people are ready to switch off their televisions and tune into radio programs." He admitted that he had observed this trend when he visited a number of Toda settlements.

It is also interesting to note, in the context of media use in developing countries, that villagers generally do not hesitate to visit their neighbors to watch television. This pattern of viewing television is now prevalent in tribal settlements of the Nilgiris as the tribal people overcame their initial reluctance to impose themselves on their neighbors, and the trend is transforming the patterns of media use.

Parents are cautious about their children's everyday media use because they feel strongly that exposure to television could affect their children's education and their everyday work, particularly agricultural-related work, and hence their economical development.

Tirumurugan, a 35-year-old Kota man said: "Television viewing would affect our children's education and our everyday work." He feels that the entertainment value of cable television would tempt them to watch television for many hours, as many of them are completely carried away by its film-based entertainment programs. However, it cannot be denied that the arrival of television at home has not had any impact on radio, as listening to radio drama has reduced. Jegennathan said: "We used to listen to radio news in the evening especially BBC Tamil news. However, for the past eight months [since they got cable television] we have stopped listening to radio at night. Nowadays we watch Sun TV [regional private satellite television] news at 8 p.m."

A Kota man from Tiruchikadi village explained: "We get 18 channels including Star Movies, Star Plus, Star Sports and so on." However, many people feel that the radio remains important, as the majority of their houses do not have television sets. Sivan, a 20-year-old man from Kollimalai village said: "Even if television is here, radio is important. For those who do not have television at home, radio is the main use." Many villagers expressed a need for both radio and television. In Sholur Kokkal, a village with

64 houses, there are only 15 houses with television sets and cable connections, so the Kota audiences think radio is important for their village.

Development Programs: Space, Time, Culture, and Media Use

Todas live in regions of the highest altitude in the hills of Nilgiris, and their settlements are scattered—often located in the most remote regions. There are only three–five houses in a settlement, most without a power supply; hence cable television operators cannot reach these Toda settlements and cable service providers do not think of them as a viable business proposition. On the other hand, Kotas live as communities in regions of comparatively lower altitude, where there can be more than 50 houses with power, so they have access to cable television.

Kota men and women practice agriculture, cultivating carrots, potatoes, tea, and so on. They like to listen to development and informative programs such as agricultural programs and weather reports. They go to work at about 9.30 a.m. and return late in the evening, around 6.30 p.m., so they do not find time to listen to radio in the evening and often they cannot listen to agricultural programs transmitted by the ORS in the evenings. Neela, a 30-year-old-Kota woman and mother of 3 from Tiruchikadi village who works in the field as an agricultural laborer, feels that the morning is a more convenient time to listen to agricultural programs. Since she comes home very late in the evening, she finds it difficult to concentrate while listening to the radio.

There are other reasons why Kota audiences do not tune their radio sets in the evening. A 35-year-old Kota woman from Tiruchikadi, Muthulakshmi, who has both radio and cable television at home, reported that she prefers to watch television to listening to agricultural programs in the evening. Rani, a 40-year-old housewife from Tiruchikadi village who has both radio and cable television, used to listen to radio in the evening, but after obtaining a television set, she tends to listen to radio in the morning and watch television in the evening.

We found three important themes emerging about why and how Kota audiences prefer radio in the morning: First, in the case of Muthulakshmi, she has access to cable television at home and is completely occupied by television in the evening because regional satellite television stations like Sun TV, Raj TV, and Vijay TV in Tamil Nadu target their audiences and telecast film-based entertainment programs in the evening. For women in remote settlements, it is nearly impossible to have physical access to cinema theaters; if they want to go to cinemas, they need to either convince their husbands or sons to take them. Second, viewing television is now accepted as a social activity in the settlements, and it has become a community event with friends and neighbors invited to watch the programs in the evening. Third, women are too busy in the morning, completely occupied with their domestic and field work. Despite this busy schedule in the morning,

Muthulakshmi listens to radio in the morning but watches television programs in the evening.

Todas largely listen to agricultural programs on ORS, and think the programs are important to them (Jayaprakash, 2002). It is quite different for Kotas. A 20-year-old Kota man, Murugesan from Tiruchikadi village, said he would prefer Tamil film songs and drama even though he practices agriculture. When asked what he does when there are agricultural programs broadcast on the radio he said he would "switch off the radio." ORS broadcasts agricultural programs, largely field-based and participatory in nature. The analysis of many Kota listeners reveals that agricultural programs on the ORS are unpopular among them. On the other hand, agricultural programs broadcast on the regional radio at Coimbatore, 100 KM away from the Nilgiris, are considered irrelevant to the Nilgiri conditions but are popular among Kota audiences because they are broadcast in the morning. One of the reasons for this trend is that ORS does not have morning broadcasts and Kotas largely tune into the radio in the morning for agricultural programs. ORS broadcasts agricultural programs only in the evening.

Like the Kota audiences, Todas also prefer to listen to development programs like agricultural programs in the mornings rather than in the evenings. There are some Toda settlements such as Kandhal mund and Garden mund, located near Ooty town, which have power supply. Members of the community also have television sets. In these circumstances, Toda audiences prefer to listen to radio in the morning and watch television in the evening.

Balaraman, a Kota man, listens to the radio everyday. His radio set is continuously connected to the power supply and he always has batteries to back up whenever there are power cuts. He listens to radio for relaxation and tunes in whenever he is free at home. He does not have the time to listen to radio at lunchtime as he comes home only for a short period of time. As for listening to development programs such as agricultural programs, Balaraman said: "I don't listen to agricultural programs. I mainly use radio for information and entertainment programs." According to Balaraman information programs refer to news, and by entertainment programs he means film songs, drama, and other film-based programs. He and his wife also tune in to the radio in the evening to listen to film songs.

One of the main reasons for this pattern is that Kotas believe that they know the basic skills required to cultivate their lands, basically through practice and tradition. Although locally relevant agricultural programs are broadcast by the ORS, audiences tend not to listen closely to them as they feel this information is not new as it is based on *their* local practices.

"Malai Aruvi": Our Culture ("Kalacharam")

Tribal audiences sometimes criticize the ORS for its repetitive programs, especially the tribal songs on *Malai Aruvi*, a popular program produced and presented in the tribal dialect of tribal audiences using traditional music

instruments. Singaraj Kambattan, a 20-year-old Kota man, participated and played Kota traditional music programs in the *Malai Aruvi* program on ORS. Although he did not criticize the repetition, he reported: "I listen to radio everyday . . . after news they broadcast our songs. Five months back they recorded our program. Every week they broadcast Kota songs. Yesterday also they rebroadcast our program."

Although tribal communities welcome locally relevant cultural programs, repetition of programs does not encourage them to listen. Kamalakkannan, a 26-year-old Kota man, has a radio at home which he listens to regularly; yet, he said: "They are repeating the same program so it is boring." Sivan, a 24-year-old Kota man from Kollimalai village, said:

> We listen to Ooty radio only when they broadcast Kota songs. Other days we don't tune at all. They recorded Kota songs long back and repeat the same broadcast again and again. They should come here often and produce new different programs. We are bored. Their programs are boring.

While tribal audiences are unhappy with the repetition of *Malai Aruvi*, they recognize that such programs are the main strength of ORS. Still, they expect ORS not to broadcast the same songs so many times. In Sholur Kokkal, tribal songs, especially Kota songs, are popular among children. Bellan, a 15-year-old Kota boy, has a radio and tape recorder at home. Although, he goes to his neighbor's house to watch cable television (mainly Sun TV), on ORS, he told us: "I listen to ORS every day and listen to *Malai Aruvi*. When they broadcast Kota songs we listen, we give priority to our songs."

This program is very popular because these traditional songs are exclusively meant for tribal communities and ORS broadcasts this program at 6.40 p.m., after the regional news bulletin. Sankaran, a 28-year-old Kota man, has a radio but does not have a television set at home. He too goes to his neighbor's house to watch cable television, and listens to ORS, and stated: "I like ORS for tribal songs. Our people give programs in ORS." He prefers tribal songs, even if people from other tribal communities present them. He is not concerned if they represent his community or not. They also think of *Malai Aruvi* as part of their culture, and have a special liking for this program. A 24-year-old Kota man from Sholur Kokkal said: "They [ORS] broadcast our 'kalacharam' [culture] so I listen to this program."

Information, Entertainment, and Development

> *I watch television news everyday. But when I wake up in the morning, immediately I switch on the radio and listen to the news.*
>
> —*A 25–year-old Kota man from Sholur Kokkal*

The main reason that tribal audiences in the Nilgiris own a radio set is to listen to the "radio news" in the morning (Jayaprakash, 2002). Although this

audience have a limited exposure to newspapers and satellite/cable television, they consider the radio a more credible medium of information because they are suspicious of the news telecast by satellite channels associated with the local political parties.

Tirumurugan, a Kota man, said: "We watch Sun TV news and also listen to radio news. Sun TV is one type of news and radio is another type of news and we see whether it is same and whether the news is correct or not." When he fails to listen to radio news, his wife reminds him to do so. He relayed: "When I am busy with my work and fail to listen to news I always check with my wife what was the major news of the day." Many responses similar to this reveal that one person's media use in a family has some kind of influence on the other members of the family. For example, Tirumurugan's wife knows that her husband is interested in current affairs program and news, and closely listens to the program and checks the schedule.

Another important social factor that motivates women to follow news and current affairs is their involvement with social organizations, prompting a desire to know what is happening not only at the local level but also at the national level. Karunyamma, a 48-year-old Kota woman from Kollimalai village, has only radio at home; she says that she never misses the radio news in the morning. Being the convener of the local women's association ("madhar sangam") she thinks her tribe should know about the outside world: "We should know the weather reports, different parts of our country and its people. When we go to the madhar sangam we need to share ideas and information with other members."

Film Songs and Drama: Entertainers

Whenever there are some film songs on some radio stations I tune to that station. I know at what time different radio stations broadcast film songs and I tune to these accordingly.

—Balaraman, a 36-year-old Kota man

The two most popular entertainment programs among tribal audiences are songs from Tamil feature films and drama. Tribal audiences always expect film songs on radio when they switch on their radio sets. Both literate and illiterate audiences know the broadcast schedule for film songs on the regional radio stations, and tune to various stations at different times of day.

Apart from tuning to regional radio stations of the AIR, tribal audiences also listen to overseas radio, such as Singapore, Malaysia, and Sri Lanka, that broadcast Tamil film songs. Krishnaveni, a 36-year-old Kota woman from Kollimalai village, commented about listening to overseas radio: "We tried tuning second band [short wave] one day and we found these stations. From then on we regularly tune into these stations." Tribal women are fond of film songs and listen to them while they cook. However, most Toda women who choose to follow Christianity ignore film songs and listen to informative and

public service programs affirming their affinity with Christianity. Many Christian missionaries preach that true followers should not listen to film songs on radio or watch films on television (Jayaprakash, 2002).

Although ORS does not have a studio to produce dramas locally, it still relays dramas from other regional radio stations of the AIR. Men, women, and children of all age groups listen to radio dramas, which are very popular. In many homes, members of families sit together and listen to radio drama. It is very interesting to note that radio is used as a "family property" among tribal families. All the members of a family use one radio, at different points of time, in different places, for different purposes. A 12-year-old school child shared: "My mother takes the radio to the kitchen while she cooks. When we go to bed we move it to our bedroom." Balaraman's wife loves to listen to radio in the kitchen while she cooks. Chandran, a Kota man, does not have radio or television at home but goes to his neighbor's house to listen to radio news in the morning.

Conclusions

There has been a shift in the indigenous mediascape of India recently with the arrival of satellite and cable television. Tribal communities have dramatically changed the way radio is used for development, information, and entertainment. Tribal audiences spend their time moving between radio and television, radio largely in the morning and television in the evening.

Listeners who work in the fields find it difficult to get spare time to listen to the radio in the evening. The regional satellite/cable television targets its audiences in the evening with film-based entertainment programs, and audiences prefer watching television programs to listening to the radio. The evidence provided here suggests that ORS needs to introduce morning transmission of agricultural and developmental programs to serve its tribal listeners.

Although India does not have a comprehensive indigenous media policy, by improving the infrastructure, and by encouraging increased participation from the tribal communities, indigenous radio stations like ORS can be successful.

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Media as Constructor of Ethnic Minority Identity: A Native American Case Study

Ritva Levo-Henriksson

Media representations and concepts of ethnic minorities on those representations become important if one tries to understand the media's role as constructor of ethnic self-identity. Native Americans provide a classic example—synonymous here with "American Indian." In Canada, the term "First Nations" is often used (Iverson, 1998, p. 4) along with "indigenous," when referring to indigenous people of the world (cf. Alia, 1999). Their media representations have been quite one-sided and uniform, imitating the model of the nineteenth century Plains Indians as created by Hollywood (Hilger, 1995; Churchill, 1998; Kilpatrick, 1999; Bataille, 2001; Pearson, 2001; Rollins and O'Connor, 2003; Aleiss, 2005). Elizabeth Bird (1999) discusses how representations of American Indians are structured in predictable, gendered ways: Women are faceless, rather sexless squaws in minor roles, or sexy exotic princesses or maidens who desire white men. Men are either handsome young warriors, or safe, sexless wise elders.

This chapter describes representations of Native Americans created by mainstream media, and the concepts behind these representations. Following an overview, it focuses on media of American Indians themselves to promote their own ethnic identity. If ethnic identity is understood not only as consisting of subjective, symbolic, or emblematic uses of the culture of group of people, in order to differentiate themselves from other groups (e.g., De Vos, 1982), but also as socially and politically defined ethnic categories limiting possibilities of personal choices of ethnicity (e.g., Nagel, 1994); individual ethnic identification is also limited by external forces constructing ethnic boundaries. Mainstream media in particular are these kinds of important external forces in constructing ethnic categories and representing ethnic groups. This work is based on the concept that "We are all ethnic" (see Riggins, 1992a; Eriksen, 1997).

Mainstream Media Practices

When mainstream media define the ethnicity of Native Americans, there is a certain form that is repeated over and over again. One part is that there is little coverage, if any, of Native Americans; then, when there is coverage, it is based mostly on lingering romantic, primitive, and negative stereotypes. Among typical examples of this phenomenon is Christopher Campbell's (1995) example of a television news story presented on an NBC affiliate serving the Minneapolis-Saint Paul market.

Lasting 3 minutes and 15 seconds, it had a brief shot of silent American Indians spear-fishing in the dark, as a portrait presenting contemporary Native American way of life. Really about a fishing-rights controversy, pitting Minnesota's sports fishermen against local Anishinabes or Ojibways, the role of Native Americans is that of being wallpaper—shown, but quiet, not asked anything, not even identified.

In some mythical way, the media have dressed the Native American in a heavy coat with the burden of the past, where she/he is a prisoner of silence, living a primitive life. Would it be too cruel an awakening from our daydreams of the romantic American Indian of the past to be shown a news film about a young Native American student working with a computer, reporting what she/he thinks about media images of his/her people? This is what is going on: media and new communication technologies have invaded Native Americans' living sphere.

In spite of development, the Native American presence represented in media is both sad and lacking. When present life is depicted, the media focuses only on social problems, such as alcoholism, suicides, and violations. Representations of ethnic minorities are more common subjects in academic literature than studies handling their comprehension concerning their representations in mainstream media. One such study is a survey by Bieber-Roberts, Brown, and Fuller (1995) that used both closed and open-ended questions in interviewing 215 Arapahos and Shoshones. The key question in the survey was non-native news media treatment; responses showed that native people believed that they were overwhelmingly negative. The main stereotypes pointed out were portrayals of natives as bad and violent people in a violent society, natives saying that the Anglo media represented them as alcoholics, stupid, violent, and second-class citizens.

Views on media coverage of Native Americans and Hopis in mainstream media was one of the central issues focused when I interviewed Hopis on a reservation in northern Arizona, where I lived for six weeks. In addition to personal interviews, I conducted a survey in the Hopi High School and noted participant observation. Besides Hopis, I also interviewed some Navajos in the neighborhood of the Hopi Reservation; furthermore, I visited many other reservations and Native American homes over the years. Much of the information here is based on my own research data.

Neglect and invisibility present in mainstream media coverage of native people also affects their comprehension of these representations; said one: "We are always at the bottom of everything. They don't seem to realize that we are here too" (cited in Bieber-Roberts, Brown, and Fuller, 1995, p. 8). Mystification and stereotypes of natives by whites on one hand, and the pain of reality, on the other, can be read in the answer of another respondent: "To me the non-native media portrays Indians in the blue light of the hopeless, homeless alcoholic in the inner cities. Always their favorite is that of the people in our native finery, moving to the ancient heartbeat of our drums. As if we could dance away the inequity, the suicides and despair" (cited Bieber-Roberts, Brown, and Fuller, 1995).

There is not much research on opinions of Native Americans about media representations of them, and studies of ethnic minority audiences, generally, remain quite rare (Cottle, 2000). Conceptions of native people to mainstream media representations of them are similar to how non-native media represent them—as neglecting, marginalized, and negative. This does not mean that the mechanisms are simple stimulus-response; rather, it is a complicated combination of distorted media coverage that, if it picks up anything at all, sees old stereotypes and the "dark side" of native societies without pondering it, and the real socioeconomic difficulties that they have. This combination cannot but circulate meanings that weaken, rather than strengthen, the self-esteem of its targets. When Bieber-Roberts, Brown, and Fuller (1995, p. 10) write about non-native news media on the basis of the native respondents' articulations, there is powerful evidence that, "[T]he media help to influence, shape and create low self-esteem and low aspirations, among native people."

Non-native media has provided little room for Native American intelligentsia. Important Native American groups whose voices are not heard in mainstream media, for example, are that of their poets, writers, artists, and musicians. Peggy Berryhill (1995), a famous native producer, has noted the need for this recognition. The Commission on Radio and Television Policy has emphasized the importance of covering ethnic and racial minority issues on stations with the largest audiences (Browne, Firestone, and Mickiewicz, 1994). In mainstream media, an effort was made to increase the number of ethnic minority journalists and broadcasters (Campbell, 1995), however, unfortunately, the number remains the same. Additionally, the practice has proven that this small number cannot change news practices concerning the reporting on ethnic minorities.

Furthermore, the hands of ethnic minority reporters in mainstream media have traditionally been tied. According to Wilson and Gutiérrez (1995), nonwhite reporters working in mainstream newsrooms have commonly complained about the pressure of unwritten policy applied to their stories and "news angle" ideas; in addition, one problem that ethnic minority broadcasters have met in the United States is their absence from executive positions (Downing and Husband, 1994).

These issues concern mainstream media's power to define Native American ethnicity, creating definitions of ethnic minorities through the

actual coverage, form, and distribution policy and practices. It is in their own media that Native Americans can create their definitions of ethnicity—they can define who they are, or who they feel they are, as compared to what other groups say about what they are (culture) and what they think about different issues (Nagel, 1994). With their own media, Native Americans are not passive recipients of media misrepresentation; rather, they have pioneered important media initiatives, taking over their own representation (Alia, 1999).

In this process, they have strived to change old "neutron bomb television" and "cultural nerve gas" metaphors for mainstream media's negative influences on indigenous communities into the metaphor of "electronic smoke signals"—a term used by Gordon Regguinti, Executive Director of the Native American Journalists Association (NAJA), to describe "a modern version of the smoke signals that allowed Indians to communicate over long distances in times past" (Smith and Cornette, 1998, p. 28). In this process, Native Americans have taken greater control of the electronic media reaching their communities by operating their own radio and television facilities. As a result of this new practice, media are changing into allies in the struggle of the cultural survival of Native Americans (Smith and Cornette, 1998; Zellen, 1998).

Ethnic Minority Media

Native Americans stepped into the media world, or what Marshall McLuhan called the Media Age, in a relatively short time, beginning in the mid-1960s (Geiogamah, 1994). Before that crucial step, the first Native American newspapers appeared in the nineteenth century. The development of its media can be traced back to 1828, when the first Indian newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, appeared in what is now Calhoun County, Georgia, the first in a series of newspapers published by and for American Indians (Murphy, 1983).

An important tool in defining Native American ethnic identity has been their own radio stations, started in 1971 and 1972 (Smith and Cornette, 1998; Orozco, 1995). Numbering about 30, they are largely the result of a move away from assimilation of Native Americans with the ways of the whites, toward a plan for self-determination and cultural preservation. In Michael C. Keith's (1995, p. xvii) words, these radio stations are "Modern symbols of the will to abide" (see also Knopff, 2001). In 1994, the American Indian Radio Satellite (AIROS), a joint project of the Native American Public Broadcasting Consortium (NAPBC) and the Indigenous Communications Association (ICA), was scheduled to provide native stations with programming services. The AIROS network is a national distribution system for native programming to tribal communities and to general audiences through Native American and other public radio stations. It is seen as being extremely important for the future of native broadcasting (Keith, 1995).

The change has been dramatic—from an oral, personal mode of communication to a technological, nonpersonal based mass communication. At this

point, many different theories exist on the direction that the development of native societies will take. The Kiowa/Delaware playwright, director, and teacher Hanay Geiogamah (1994, p. 702) has guessed that the direction is, "A question that won't be answered completely any time in the near future."

Goals of Native American Media

In general terms, the goals of Native American media are not different from those of other ethnic minorities. Essential is their notion of avoiding assimilation into the mainstream culture and preservation of the linguistic and cultural identity of an ethnic minority. When emphasizing the avoidance of assimilation, and the preservation of cultural identity, it is probable that minority group members are depicted as agents of change rather than as victims of change initiated by others (Riggins, 1992b). This is clearly revealed in the words of Berryhill (1995), who refers to the term "new Indian movement" when speaking about telecommunications and the growth of public radio stations on Indian reservations.

Preservation of cultural and linguistic identity, by presenting one's own point of view in one's own language, through one's own media, is a good strategy for ethnic minority survival—offering at least one way to avoid the danger that cultural traditions could be reduced "to the level of folklore." There are also possibilities of promoting the evolution of languages in a manner adaptive to requirements of modern societies. These are the issues emphasized by Riggins (1992a, p. 3), who says: "This might be referred to as the media imperative of modern life, a fact recognized by minorities throughout the world who have lobbied for greater access to the means of media production."

This is not, however, the whole picture of the functions of ethnic minority media. While they serve the survival of cultural identity, they may also unintentionally encourage the assimilation of their audiences to mainstream values. Riggins reminds us about this in the context of immigrant media of the early twentieth century, when sociologists concluded that the immigrant press promoted assimilation because it served as one of the major means of providing information about dominant social values of their host society. Thus, it might be realistic to assume that ethnic media generally fulfill both functions. Some scholars (e.g., Federico Subervi-Vélez, in Riggins 1992b), speak about the "dual role" of ethnic media, where one function is to promote group uniqueness, the other to promote assimilation.

It seems important, though, to underline the difference between immigrants' ethnic media and indigenous peoples' media. In addition to dual functions of an ethnic minority's media (to promote group uniqueness and to promote integration), a third function has to do with attitudes of a majority to an ethnic minority. Indigenous residents have a political advantage in their claims for language and cultural protection—making them likely to be seen by others as more legitimate than the claims of immigrants. This again is important for the long-term survival of minority media, because it requires a supportive attitude on the part of the majority population—as

emphasized by Browne (1996). The majority owes much to, and has much to learn from, indigenous peoples. The indigenous media also have a role in this educational process. Would the education of the majority population be the third function of ethnic minority media? According to Browne, it is indeed one of the purposes of indigenous media.

One concept majority populations might find useful to learn about indigenous peoples is connected to the so-called traditional values. Although Riggins (1992a) categorizes Native Americans on the basis of geographical origins and values to indigenous people who remain committed to traditional values, he warns about simple connotations. It is dangerous, maybe even misleading, to use the terms "traditional" and "modern" when speaking about indigenous groups; he reminds us that they should not be equated with backwardness and progress, as "traditional" is often connected to some kind of backwardness, hindering social change.

From different functions of ethnic minority media come three central functions: (1) preservation of linguistic and cultural identity, or the promotion of group uniqueness, (2) promotion of integration, needed to maintain contacts with the majority culture, and (3) education of the majority population. Of these, my focus is on the preservation of linguistic and cultural identity, especially cultural traditions of an ethnic minority, the most vulnerable area in which ethnic media must operate, because it is the area of the strongest possible erosion. The springs of this erosion, as well as of challenges, are bubbling from the "touching surfaces" where cultures meet. They include language, technology, and a comprehension of the publicity of information.

Language

Promotion of native language and culture is one of the main goals of ethnic minority media, including that of Native Americans, even if there are inherent problems. One problem is inadequate language skills, which may appear in two ways: first, some radio stations have had difficulties finding competent native speakers. One documented example is the KGHR radio station in Tuba City, northern Arizona, largely staffed by students.

The station has confronted the lack of young Navajos and Hopis who are able to speak their native language (Keith, 1995). Native stations would like to require that their on-air personnel be bilingual, but the shortage of available staff in many locations means that these expectations have to be adjusted downward. Second, those native audiences who are accustomed to mainstream media may not be satisfied with native broadcasting professionals who might seem to lack inadequate announcer skills.

Complete command over language is a prerequisite for both English as well as native speakers—which again is more easily said than done. In most cases, native media are part of a larger mediascape that has eroded, and continues to erode, the language skills of native speakers. Mainstream media have also helped create preferences that may have equipped audiences with certain kinds of expectations that might challenge native media and native languages. In addition, other problems can arise in the context of using

native languages in media, such as when an attempt is made to adapt to the majority language and mainstream media forms and practices.

Both the language of radio and the visual language of television can remove expressive powers and/or change natural communication conventions of indigenous languages, as Browne (1996) has pointed out. For example, electronic media, whose heart beats are measured in seconds, cannot easily carry minute-length pauses, which are typical in many indigenous languages. These languages employ pauses as signs, such as of deliberation, of careful consideration of another point of view, of respect, and of politeness. If electronic media removes these pauses, they remove an essential element of the language. With pauses in broadcasting, a reporter or an interviewer might think of it as lack of professionalism. With regard to the visual language of television, a number of indigenous cultures feature different visual languages, such as not looking directly at another individual. If an indigenous television production used that convention with a majority culture audience, it might be misunderstood, resulting in indigenous television productions using majority culture visual conventions.

Reaching out to young people is a key issue in preserving minority languages, either in the context of media or outside it, in families and schools. Browne (1996), who has studied indigenous electronic media worldwide, sees the importance of indigenous languages, especially in programs involving music, sports, and disc jockey patter that interest young people. It came up in my interviews with Hopis that, for example, use of a native language in the context of cultural traditions and a disc jockey patter are two different formats that should be kept apart. The issue of how a native language is used in the context of media demands sensitivity.

Technology

The transformation of traditional communication, especially cultural traditions, has not been problem-free in terms of electronic media. Clashes of cultures have been obvious, the main ones occurring on two fronts: between majority and ethnic minority culture, and between younger and older generations in ethnic minority cultures.

A few studies have been conducted that concern the experiences of radio listeners in Native American communities. One is Stephen E. Rada's (1978) research, conducted on the Ramah Navajo Indian Reservation of northwestern New Mexico, which found that commitment to radio as an institution was supposed to be a commitment to the preservation of culture and identity, but it turned out to be a commitment to modernity and Anglo values. This happened because the Anglo engineering crew, responsible for establishing the station and training the staff, naturally conceived of radio in terms of the engineering and FCC (Federal Communications Commission) licensing requirements, not in terms of cultural imperatives. In Rada's words, the result was "Not so much a unique Navajo radio station as an Anglo station operated and programmed by Navajos" (p. 364).

The problem depicted in Rada's research is classic in intercultural communication: representatives of a majority culture may not understand the aims of minority cultures. In this case, nobody wanted to harm the native culture; it just happened. This does not mean, however, that radio would not have satisfied many expectations of the Navajo leadership. Among positive effects are the following: a sense of community, a role in accelerating economic and educational development, and, to a lesser degree, successful support for the efforts of community leaders in focusing the attention of the Ramah Navajo on their cultural heritage and identity. Rada (1978, p. 364) remarks, however, that radio has also had an effect opposite to its intended purpose: "Radio, a product of electronic technology, imposes its assumptions upon those who serve it, as well as those who listen to it. Among those assumptions is the belief that technology is of a higher order than traditions and values."

According to this research, the negative impacts of radio may be linked to issues of willingness, interest, and cooperation of community elders to work through radio to preserve stories, legends, and songs of the Navajo culture. In other words, radio, cassette tape recorders, and, in a broader sense, the culture of technology have not succeeded in assuring the elders of the significance of cooperation. In many cases, this resulted in a complete refusal to discuss Navajo culture, and keeping cultural traditions from being recorded at all. An oft-cited reason among interviewees is the view that younger generations neither appreciate nor want to hear Navajo history and traditions.

This author has personal experience of that mistrust in the traditions issue between native generations.

As a tourist in a sightseeing car in Monument Valley, I conversed with a young Navajo man of about 20; who told me that his elders do not want to speak to young people about traditions because they are afraid that they would "sell them out." According to this comment, the distrust would seem to be greater than just concerning the electronic media.

The critical sides of media technology between majority and ethnic minority cultures appears in Daley and James' (1992) research on ethnic indigenous broadcasting in Alaska, which revealed that the good intentions of state planners placed too much trust on the possibilities of technology per se, and on a conception of communication which did not work for the local people. The planners believed that communication hardware would be the solution to modernization and education, and gave only fleeting attention to communication as an interaction. The authors emphasized instrumental and technological values as fatal to cultural values; in the case of communication technology in Alaska, efficiency, technique, and speed, as imperatives, overrode cultural values.

Despite these negative impacts, media technology nevertheless can provide many benefits. A native radio station can become "the voice of a community," and listeners are part of this voice by very concrete needs as "essentials for survival, whether blankets on a cold night or community news," as public radio station manager Anna Kosof has depicted Lakota's KILI station (Keith,

1995, p. 99). But in the area of transferring cultural traditions, there are special demands for sensitivity and ways to cope with generation gaps. Sensitivity, for example, means that if there is some storytelling via radio, a cultural calendar of a native community must be kept in mind.

A Different View of Publicity

Sensitivity is also demanded in the area of publicity, because Native American cultures might have a different view of publicity from that of the mainstream culture. From their point of view, it is the issue of "the right to know."

As a representative of the Hopis explained to me, the right to free speech is connected to something called the right to know. It can conflict with our standard of law: That you do not need to know everything, especially not issues connected to religion. According to the native standard of law, for example, public criticism has not been a method of social control. Criticism is given in a private way, within the villages.

Because of this kind of heritage, there are public and nonpublic areas. Nonpublic areas are sacred, and are commonly not spoken about. It is often religion that belongs to the nonpublic area, and traditionally the privacy of people has also been a sacred area. These types of heritages will change very slowly. And they cause, and will continue to cause, problems for journalists who come from different cultural backgrounds, as well as creating a challenge for journalists who belong to Native American groups. On the other hand, there are also voices that speak for publicity in Native American media that should be arranged along the lines of the First Amendment.

The issue of publicity in Native American communities varies, and it must be the peoples of each of these communities who decide the lines between the public and the private. Publicity issues are deep-rooted in culture, and long-prevailing practices are not easy to change.

Improving the Media Performance of Native Americans

Improving coverage and representations of Native Americans in mainstream media, and improving communication between majority and ethnic minority cultures through the media should begin in both cultures. In mainstream media, new perspectives regarding life and cultures of Native Americans are needed—abandoning useless stereotypes and making space for new ideas to enrich audiences' conceptions of Native Americans. This would mean a new way of reporting, and it might demand a new media. It certainly demands good intercultural relationships. In practice, this means going beyond the native "finery-level" and history, providing views on a deeper level of history and ancient knowledge, of present problems and developments, and on future conceptions.

There are already some inclinations of a new way of approaching issues. In the middle of the threat of natural catastrophes, caused by our abuse of

natural resources, media have become more interested in Native American concepts and understanding their conservation and working with the earth. As one Hopi remarked to me in an interview, "The world is looking favorably upon us, because now they know that whatever they do to the earth and to the universe impacts them directly."

Implications

For promoting ethnic identity, especially the cultural traditions of Native American communities, native media need to cross many gaps within their own communities and between ethnic minority and mainstream cultures. Within their own communities, media have to reach their own young people, encourage them to use their native languages. They must also gain the trust of older people in their communities. To succeed in this task, media must work intensively with families and schools within their communities.

To narrow the gaps and to develop understanding between native communities and the majority, mainstream media must find cultural interpreters and media professionals in both cultures who understand the nature of technology and the cultures and aims of the people of native communities. When crossing the gap between native cultures and the mainstream culture on the basis of these kinds of lines, Native American media will be able to benefit from the integration for their own purposes.

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II

Current Case Studies

Use of Television as a Community Media by Farmers in Bangladesh

M. Abul Kashem

Introduction

Bangladesh is a small South Asian country with a total area of about 147,570 square kilometers. It has a flat, fertile, deltaic land with a fringe of hills in the east and southeast, and luxuriant greenery all over. The economy is predominantly agrarian, that sector accounting for about 35 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

Agricultural Infrastructure

The natural environment of Bangladesh is generally favorable for crop production, and there are estimated to be about 9 million hectares of land suitable for cultivation. Over 80 percent of the population, roughly 15 million households, live in rural areas, and the agricultural sector employs around 62 percent of the labor force. The crop subsector alone accounts for 57 percent of employment in Bangladesh. The Ministry of Agriculture (MoA) of the government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh controls, directs, and handles the agricultural research and extension activities. There are now 10 research institutes under the MoA that are working under the umbrella of the National Agricultural Research Systems (NARS), coordinated by the Bangladesh Agricultural Research Council (BARC). Apart from this, agricultural research is also being conducted at the universities.

There are a number of organizations under different ministries that are engaged in extension activities in Bangladesh, the largest being the Department of Agricultural Extension (DAE), which works under the MoA. Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries, and the Ministry of Local Government,

Rural Development, and Cooperatives. The Ministry of Irrigation, Flood Control, and Water Resources have their own extension networks down to the grassroots level.

The Role of Television

As has been demonstrated for nearly half a century, television is an important means of communication. In the technology transfer process, it plays an important role especially in the awareness and interest stages (Kashem, 1992). It is most effective when audiences are aware of or interested in certain ideas. Messages through television can motivate, induce, and change peoples' attitudes. In Bangladesh, television as a media is highly important, especially with the advent of battery-operated television. Particularly recently, television use in rural areas has rapidly increased (CARE, 2003).

Television Use in Bangladesh

Background

In general, mass media usage in Bangladesh has continued to increase since the country gained its independence in 1971. At present, there are about 40 national daily newspapers, 15 fortnightly magazines, and 10 weekly magazines. The total number of radio and television sets are approximately 3,950,000 and 515,000 respectively, the ratio between total available radio sets and the population standing at about 1:282, that is, about every 282 persons have only one receiving set, and the ratio for televisions being about 1:216 (Kabir and Bhattachargee, 1994).

Radio Bangladesh and Bangladesh Television broadcast a number of programs for the rural masses, aimed mostly at their socioeconomic development. There are needs-based programs year-round on various aspects of agriculture, education, family planning, health and nutrition, religious and cultural values, and the like. Realizing the importance of local radio for development, Mahmud (2002) has cited that Bangladesh's Mass-Line Media Centre is a leading advocate for community radio; it is a theme he reiterated at a roundtable conference on "Community Radio" held at Dhaka, Bangladesh in March, 2006. The conference was jointly organized by Bangladesh NGOs Network for Radio and Communication (BNNRC; see www.bnnrc.net/Invention.htm)—which was established in 2000, creating a number of amateur radio operators, along with Voices for Interactive Choice and Empowerment (VOICE), Mass-Line Media Centre (MMC), Focus and Young Power in Social Action (YPSA) in association with UNESCO, UNDP, and UNICEF.

One of the key national radio programs in Bangladesh is Desh Amar Mati Amar ("My Country, My Soil"), broadcast every day from 2.30 p.m. to 3.00 p.m. Other programs that are delivered from the regional radio stations vary in duration, but usually last about five minutes. Some of the

most important radio programs include the following:

1. General radio broadcasts: *Desh Amar Mati Amar* (My Country, My Soil), *Prathomik-o-Ganoshikkhamulak Ashar* (a Primary and Mass Literacy program), *Shukhi Sangsar* (Happy Family), *Sugrihini* (Ideal Housewife), *Amar Desh* (My Country), and *Eso Gori Sukher Ghar* (Let Us Form a Happy Family).
2. Agricultural radio broadcasts: *Sonali Fasal* (Golden Crops), *Krishi Samachar* (Agricultural Message), *Krishi Khamar* (Agricultural Farm), *Krishi Katha* (Agricultural Dialogue), *Chasahabad* (Farming), *Krishi Khabar* (Agricultural News), *Khete Khamare* (On Farming), *Azker Krishi* (Today's Agriculture), *Sabuj Bangla* (Green Bengal), *Khet Khamar Samachar* (Farm News), *Shayamal Sylhet* (Green Sylhet), and *Azker Chashabad* (Today's Farming).

As television audiences began to expand in Bangladesh, program contents became a critical factor in disseminating messages to rural people. In fact, as in other developed and developing countries, television has proved to be an important mass media there.

The program *Mati-O-Manush* ("Man and Soil") is aired every Sunday morning at 7.05 a.m.; running for nearly an hour, it is a very educative program for farmers. Other key television programs include the following: *Janamat* (Public Opinion), *Samachar* (Current Family Planning News), *Apnar Shasthya* (Your Health), *Mayeder Jannya* (For Mothers), *Ma-o-Shishur Shasthya* (Health for Mother and Baby), *Shasthaw Tatthaw* (Health Information), *Apnar Daktar* (Your Doctor), *Joboner Jannya* (For Healthy Living), *Ujjiban* (Spiritual Development), *Krishi Kaushal* (Agricultural Techniques), *Janamat* (Public Opinion), *Shukher Thikana* (Address for Happiness), *Esho Pora Shikhi* (Let Us Learn How to Read), *Prattashar Alo* (Expectation for Light), *Agami* (Future Days), and *Prescription* (Necessary Advice).

With so many people in Bangladesh being directly or indirectly involved in agriculture, a research study by Kashem and Mihuni (1998) found that farmers depend more on neighbors and friends than on official extension and development workers for receiving agricultural information. Among the many mass media available, radio ranked third and television fifth. However, since there has been no research on television usage by rural farmers for agricultural messages, it seemed logical to conduct such a study.

Objectives

To determine the extent of television use as an agricultural information medium by farmers, we established the following three objectives:

- To identify the extent of television use as an agricultural information medium by farmers who view on television the agricultural program *Mati-O-Manush* ("Man and Soil"), which appeared on Bangladesh television.
- To ascertain the preferences of agricultural information received by farmers who view Bangladesh television programs.

- To explore the relationships of selected characteristics of farmers who view television with their usage of television as an agricultural information media.

Methodology

At present, there are 9 agricultural regions in Bangladesh, 64 districts, 464 Upazilas (subdistricts), and 4,451 unions (the lowest functional units of the local government). For deliberating agricultural information and messages to farmers by the DAE, each union is further divided into two blocks. Each of these blocks has a Sub-Assistant Agriculture Officer (SAAO) assigned to contact the farmer in his jurisdiction and disseminate agricultural technologies. On an average, 1,000 farm families work under the supervision of a single SAAO.

Our study was conducted at the Phultala Upazila of Khulna district, where there were nine blocks. In all, 210 farm families owned televisions at the time of our research; out of that number, data were collected from 100 randomly selected farms that watched through semistructured interviews. Eleven selected individual characteristics of farmers who view television in various communities were considered as independent variables: age, education, family size, farm size, annual income, social status, attitude toward technology, innovativeness, access to media, frequency of watching television, and duration of watching television. The use of television as an agricultural information medium was considered the dependent variable. Appropriate scales and statements were constructed in order to collect the valid and reliable data.

Findings

Our research unearthed findings in four discrete areas: (1) Select individual characteristics of farmers who watch television; (2) Extent of the use of television as an agricultural information medium by farmers; (3) Farmers' opinions on preferences of select nonformal educational programs on Bangladesh Television; and (4) Relationships of select characteristics of farmers who view television with their use of television as an agricultural information medium.

Select Individual Characteristics of Farmers who View Television

The judicious use of agricultural technology is key to agricultural progress (Kashem, 1992). Farmers use modern technologies when they find them useful in their own socioeconomic set-up and agro-economic settings. Moreover, farmers' individual characteristics and personal makeup play a vital role in the agricultural practices they adopt. There are many interrelated and constituent attributes that characterize an individual and form an integral part in the development of a farmer's behavior and personality. It is assumed,

therefore, that usefulness of television as an agricultural information medium by the farmers would be influenced by their various characteristics. And indeed, the aforementioned 11 characteristics of farmers who view television were consistent with their relationships with television as an information medium.

<div align="right">Extent of the Use of Television as an Agricultural
Information Medium by Farmers</div>

Use of agricultural information by farmers is pertinent to farm production. To assess the use of television as an agricultural information medium among farmers who watch television, they were asked to cite the technologies they used, along with their opinions about these technologies and the degree to which they used television. Relative to the adoption of different agricultural technologies, the following 15 items were included: fish cultivation in rice fields; shrimp cultures; homestead vegetable gardening; poultry/dairy farming; tree planting; nursery/sapling production; pond fish culture; raising poultry in cages; duck/fish culture; grape production; artificial insemination in cattle; beef fattening; preparation of biogas; preparation of silage; and fish fry production in hatcheries.

Scores for use of television as an agricultural information medium ranged from 7 to 30 against a possible range of 0–30. Respondents were classified into three categories relative to their television-viewing: low, medium, and high findings indicating an almost equal proportion of medium (47 percent) and high (46 percent), only 7 percent reporting low usage. This finding is quite consistent with the findings of Kashem (2005). From this we concluded that the BTV program *Mati-O-Manush* was very useful to the wide majority of farmers.

<div align="right">Farmers' Opinions on Preferences of Select Nonformal
Educational Programs on Bangladesh Television</div>

The farmers who view television were asked to provide opinions on their preferences of 14 select nonformal educational programs available on Bangladesh television. Findings revealed *Mati-O-Manush* ranked first, followed by a shorter program on agricultural techniques. Taking this into consideration, we think that the concerned authorities of BTV should take note, improving the quality of the program and telecasting it more often. We also would encourage them to get input from local farmers, inviting them to be part of the process.

<div align="right">Relationships of Select Characteristics of Farmers
Who View Television with Their use of Television
as an Agricultural Information Medium</div>

In order to explore the relationships between select characteristics of farmers who view television and their use of television as an agricultural medium,

the Pearson product moment correlation coefficient "r" was computed, findings indicating correlations between television as an agricultural information medium and income, innovativeness, and access to communication media. These relationships unveiled an interesting picture: farmers who are wealthy and eager to learn new messages and information, as well as have contact with other communication media, used television more often than the farmers of lower socioeconomic positions.

Access to different media can provide a unique opportunity for individuals to be exposed to various agricultural technologies. When one is adequately exposed to appropriate technologies he or she can become interested in taking rational decisions regarding their use. Prior to make final decisions, she/he may hunt for other avenues of information, such as television, personal contact, group discussions, and so on. Innovativeness can also act as a motivating force toward increased use of television as an agricultural information medium. Finally, higher levels of income can favor farmers in terms of purchasing and owning television and other technologies.

Conclusions

Almost half (46 percent) of the farmers who watch television thought that the television as an agricultural information medium was highly useful to them for learning about innovations. This implies that television is playing a significant role in the rural areas in diffusing technical information on various aspects of agriculture.

The Bangladesh television program *Mati-O-Manush* was evaluated as a vehicle for technical messages. Since this program was found to be very effective in disseminating messages among rural people, we recommend its frequency be increased and that its contents be expanded to a wider perspective. As television appears to be a very useful information tool for farmers, the government should take an initiative of distributing television sets to different clubs and societies; further, they might then be administered and managed by different organizations at the village level.

Because of Bangladesh's current agricultural and governmental infrastructure, its sense of community media comes from the top-down. We look forward to the day when local citizens—farmers from all walks of life, are encouraged to provide input into media processes. Writing for the Bangladesh Friendship Education Society (BFES), Salim (2003, p. 1) probably says it best:

> Bangladesh has been identified and addressed how government can address integrating people of all walks of life by facilitating affordable access of information and incorporating people with technology to the community people. It has also emphasized the social responsibility of the corporate sector as well as the development practices of how the employment generation, information access, connectivity, etc. can be served with a proper attention to the people.

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Restricted Opportunities for Community Broadcasting in Belgium

Frieda Saeys and Tomas Coppens

Introduction: Understanding the Belgian Media Situation

Apart from being an image of developments in Europe, the broadcasting history of Belgium also reflects the country's specifically local social relations and political evolution (Antoine, d'Haenens, and Saeys, 2001). It provides a clear indication of Belgium's political and ideological divides as well as of those of language and region, and portrays the evolution from a unitary to a federal state.

Belgium consists of three cultural-linguistic communities, each with its own legislative and executive institutions. The largest is the Dutch-speaking community (55 percent of the population, about 10 million people) in the north, better known as Flanders. The south (Wallonia) and most of the capital region is French-speaking (45 percent). Close to the border is a small German-speaking community (about 70,000 people). Since 1977, these three communities have been responsible for their own media systems, which have developed along different lines. We focus on the two larger cultural communities, using the term "regional" to define anything at the level of these two communities and "local" to define smaller entities within them. The Belgian level is referred to as "federal."

Broadcasting in Belgium is highly influenced by the British public service broadcasting model, like most West European countries, although it has certain distinctive features. The aforementioned regionalization of broadcasting is one distinct feature, and the development of broadcasting according to political and ideological divisions in Belgian society is another (Herroelen, 1982); in fact, most of the early radio stations in the

1920s were directly linked to a political party. Both in Flanders and Wallonia, the four main political tendencies (Catholic, Socialist, Liberal and Nationalist) had their own private radio stations. In 1930, a national, bilingual public corporation body, the INR-NIR (Institut National de Radiodiffusion—Nationaal Instituut voor Radio-omroep), was set up, fully funded and controlled by the government. After World War II, it was granted a monopoly, and private, ideological radio stations were incorporated within the structure of the national broadcasting corporation. Under the guise of "guest" programs, major political parties, management and trade unions, and religious factions were allocated airtime (d'Haenens and Saeys, 1998).

In 1960, the unified INR-NIR was split into two sections: the Dutch-speaking BRT (Belgische Radio en Televisie) and the French-speaking RTB (Radiodiffusion-Télévision Belge). The influence exerted by the political powers remained high. The Law of February 2, 1977 completed the separation of the two broadcasting institutions, which subsequently developed differently in Flanders and Wallonia, depending on the community's own legislative framework. The regionalization of cultural competences was taking place when the first community radios emerged, therefore the evolution of the local community media in Belgium is largely a regional affair.

Since the 1980s, the audiovisual landscape has undergone some major changes. In Flanders, the public broadcasting corporation BRT, later renamed VRT (Vlaamse Radio en Televisie) lost its television monopoly in 1989 when the first commercial station, VTM, went on air. Public radio, however, profited from a national monopoly to remain dominant until 2000; today, the two public television channels have a stable and even slightly growing audience share even though they now face competition from three Flemish commercial channels in addition to an ever-growing number of international operators on cable and satellite (VRT, Annual Reports; T. Coppens, 2005). Ten commercial local television stations and a few commercial radio networks complete the picture. The situation in Wallonia is not very different (Antoine, 2000a). Two public channels (RTBF, La Une and La Deux), two private broadcasters (RTL-Tvi and AB), and about a dozen local stations compete, in addition to a number of foreign, mainly French, channels. Radio in French-speaking Belgium is dominated by private networks, many affiliates of French networks, and a rather weak public broadcaster (Antoine, 2000b).

The fact that community broadcasting was most successful in the French community is no coincidence, as traditionally the print media have had a strong local base (Antoine, 1998a). Powerful regional trends have led to the decentralization of the public broadcaster RTBF (Nobre-Correia and Collard, 1999, p. 55). In contrast, the Flemish public broadcaster has remained highly centralized over the years. There are five local radio centers that provide local information for one of the VRT radio networks, the rest of production being centralized in Brussels.

Community Radio in Belgium

Origins of Belgian Community Radio:
Part of a European Wave

The first sign of trouble threatening the comfortable life of the West European monopolistic national broadcasting institutions originated in the 1960s, when new types of social, cultural, and political movements were faced with a lack of access to national broadcasting (Jankowski, Prehn, and Stappers, 1992). In a report for the Council of Europe, Beaud (1980, p. 107) wrote: "While freedom to communicate is a right embodied in national constitutions and international conventions, in practice it is rarely enjoyed by those who have neither political nor economic power at their disposal." Indeed, access to the mass media in Belgium was the privilege of the main political parties, management and trade unions, and the main religious institutions, all of whom received limited airtime on public radio and television in the of "guest programs." Environmental groups, ethnic minorities, women's movements, and students could hardly participate in broadcasting and had little chance of expressing their views to the audience. These groups had no alternative but to find their own way into the media. Until the 1960s they had mainly resorted to small-scale alternative print media. The timely miniaturization of electronics made radio the most ideal medium for voicing their opinions. Setting up a radio station was a cheap and easy venture (Castille and Coppens, 1998).

In the late 1960s/early 1970s, national broadcasting monopolies in Europe were broken by the so-called free radios, illegal commercial radio stations or stations often operated by a local community to mobilize support for local political, social, economic, or environmental issues, environment being the main topic of French "radios vertes" (green radios) emerging just before the 1977 local elections. Europe was swamped with "free radios," all with a particular mission, but sharing the same attitude: "Protest against the established, bureaucratic systems within the administration of society, cultural life and the media system" (Jauert, 1997, p. 96).

Local radio in Belgium developed after the so-called South European (Kleinsteuber and Sonnenberg, 1989; 1990) or pioneer model (Castille and Coppens, 1998), as it had also grown in France and Italy, characterized by the emergence of local radio in the 1970s as a result of the monopoly of national broadcasting institutions and the absence of "real" local broadcasting. Local radio stations are alternative, accessible, illegal, and thus persecuted by the authorities. Their range is small, their broadcasts irregular, and they are financially dependent on the support of individuals and associations. They are often ideologically committed and usually belong to a minority group. Typical of this model is the absence of a legal framework. Crookes and Vittet-Philippe (1986, p. 18) describe it: "Rather than being gradually introduced 'from above' by the government and broadcasting institutions, local radio was wrenched from the central political power, and conquered 'from below' by marginal minority or opposition groups."

This makes the pioneer model the opposite of the Scandinavian (De Bens and Petersen, 1992) or North European (Kleinsteuber and Sonnenberg, 1989) model, where the government introduced local broadcasting from the top-down by creating a legal framework before stations started to broadcast. A third model is the commercial one (De Bens and Petersen, 1992; Castille and Coppens, 1998), where local radio was commercial from the beginning, as in Portugal or Greece.

Belgium: An Example of the Pioneer Model

In the 1960s, the so-called pirate radios opened up the airwaves, the wave of "free radios" from France reaching Belgium in 1978—Radio Uylenspiegel in the French-Belgian border region to promote Flemish culture in Northern France, Radio Eau Noire in Couvin and Radio Verte in La Roche were setup to protest against the building of a dam, while concerns about nuclear energy led to the creation of Radio Activité in Andennes and Radio Noire in Huy (Castille and Coppens, 1998). In 1979, community radios formed the Association Pour la Libération des Ondes [Association for the Liberation of the Waves] (ALO), devoted to stop the persecution of free radios by the government. What it did not want was legalization of local radio, for regulation would mean the death of "free radio," a fear that later proved to be visionary. By 1980, several types of local radios were active in Belgium: Radios that wanted to rally social forces, student radios, radio amateurs, and commercial operators. Stations of the last category survived the longest period and some, like Radio Contact, grew into big commercial radio networks.

   Since there was no regulation, radios frequently jammed each other's signals. With spectacular police action, the government tried to silence the free radios—such as the attempt to confiscate the transmitter of Radio Louvain-La-Neuve, when over 1,500 students showed up and prevented its closure (Beaud, 1980). Countless police actions enhanced the popularity of local radio stations and in the end the government was forced to compromise. Once the linguistic regions were granted sanction to regulate the media sector, local radio in Flanders and Wallonia evolved along different lines, although the end result was similar (Castille and Coppens, 1998).

Regulating Community Radio: What Went Wrong?

The legal framework developed in the early 1980s was a nightmare for free radios. Not only was the procedure to obtain a license extremely complicated, but initially there was also a ban on advertising. Belgium's unique political structure has often resulted in tangled legislation, the regulation of private, local radio being a fine example. First, a free radio had to apply for a "cultural recognition" with the Flemish or French community government; the complexity of the licensing procedure continued until 1991, when technical and cultural licenses became directly linked, both being granted by the regional governments (Castille and Coppens, 1998). Another problem was

finance: The federal government prohibited any form of advertising for radio and television, so private radio stations were dependent on their own income, mainly generated from memberships, donations, and benefits. By 1990, when authorization became part of the general licensing procedure, cultural, technical, and financial conditions were merged into a single license (Castille and Coppens, 1998). From this point on, local radio in Flanders and Wallonia evolved along different lines and under different regulatory levels. Local radio was regulated by federal law (Royal Decree) for technical (1981 Royal Decree) and commercial (1985 Royal Decree) matters.

Wallonia: Early Commercialization

In Wallonia the first Regional Decree on Private Radio was passed in 1981, allowing four types of private radio: district, local, conglomeration, and regional radio. Private radio licenses could only be awarded to nonprofit organizations, but there was no effective means for verification and sanctioning (Govaert, 1988). The legal framework was riddled with loopholes, and noncompliance was widespread. Commercialization and networking were quickly changing the local radio landscape. The French community made no effort to counteract this evolution, and adapted its legislation to this newly emerged reality. In 1987, a new Regional Decree on Local Radio was passed with less rigid restrictions, in effect legalizing commercial networks (Vuylsteke, 1994). Further liberalizations were implemented in 1991 and 1997, and there are only two categories of private radios that exist: the nationwide networks and the local and community stations (Antoine, d'Haenens and Saeys, 2001). The Broadcasting Decree of 2003 confirms the main elements within which the local broadcasters have to comply, so the number of true community radio stations will be minimal.

Flanders: Finishing off Community Radio

The Flemish legal framework provided for a community radio landscape rather than a commercial one. Under the 1982 Regional Decree, local radios were given a fourfold aim: to provide information, animation, education, and entertainment. These provisions clearly mark the intention of the Flemish government to create a local radio landscape that would not pose a threat to the national broadcaster and that concurred with the initial goals of the first free radios, even if the community radio system that was hoped for was far from becoming reality (De Meyer, 1984; Drijvers, 1988).

In 1990, a new Regional Decree was passed and a more stringent legal framework was established. Local radio stations were permitted to cooperate with each other but had to remain structurally independent. The introduction of advertising on national public radio in 1991 became another threat to the local radio stations. When the national public broadcaster set up a new, popular channel (Radio Donna) and decentralized its family channel (Radio 2), local radio lost about half of its already limited audience; soon, both types of local radio (whether community or commercial) were struggling for survival

(Carpentier, 1995). The situation changed drastically in 1998 because of the new advertising decree and another on private radios. A distinction was made between local (municipal) and regional (provincial) radios; yet, this regulation also posed a threat to public broadcasting, which had held the monopoly for national radio broadcasts and national radio advertising. Moreover, an amendment to the 1998 decree created room for two new commercial nation-wide radio stations. In 2001, these two new licenses were granted to QMusic (of the VMMa group) and the independent 4 FM.

Conclusions about Community Radio in Belgium

Although there are clear regulatory differences between Flanders and Wallonia, the end result is the same: A local radio landscape dominated by large, commercial networks and a marginal position for community radio. In both regions an inadequate legal framework was established in the early 1980s, and networks quickly gained ground although they were forbidden. Antoine (1998b, p. 136) pinpoints the problem with the legal framework in both communities: "From the time they first appeared, private radios, in their methods of action, always preceded the legal framework allotted to them, and in so doing rendered some of this framework already obsolete at the time it was promulgated."

In both cases, community radios suffered the same fate. As soon as the French community officially allowed networking, community radios were pushed out of the market. The same would undoubtedly be true once the networks in Flanders started to operate at full speed. There really was never any hope for community radio anyway. In neither linguistic region was there any intention of actually creating a stable framework for community radio. It did not stand a chance, and was completely left at the mercy of commercial interests; furthermore, regional governments were not interested.

Community Television in Belgium

Early Experiments with Community Television in Europe

Pirate radio was one way of granting new sociocultural movements access to mass media and of undermining the dominant position of centralized and monopolist broadcasting institutions, but some saw television as a better tool to achieve these goals. As for radio, it took some technical developments before local television could be a valid option. New light and cheap video techniques, and the development of cable television were very important for the introduction of community television. The speedy development of a dense cable network in Belgium was a blessing for community television initiatives in the 1970s.

French Community: Public Backing Ensures Success

Community television in the French community was partly the result of what Walloons felt as "Flanders' strong claim of national identity" (Nobre-Correia

and Collard, 1999, p. 59). Other facilitating factors included the rise of new social movements and their struggle to gain access to the media, and technological innovations that made television equipment more compact and affordable.

In 1973, Télésambre in Charleroi started experimenting with community television. Public subsidies were allocated to cover the costs of the new local stations if they met the five criteria drawn up by the government (Nobre-Correia and Collard, 1999, p. 60): "Community television had to be set up by non-profit and pluralistic organizations, all programs had to be home-produced, advertising was prohibited, community stations had to follow deontological guidelines and an agreement had to be reached with the Community government, cable companies and local authorities." By 1997, there were 12 stations, known as Télévisions Locales et Communautaires, Local and Community Televisions (TVLCs).

During the first 10 years of their existence, amateurism was the rule in community television, and their dependence on random public funding and agreements from local authorities made them vulnerable (Nobre-Correia and Collard, 1999, p. 60). The Audio-Visual Decree of 1987 contained the first legislative measures for community television and is, although modified in 1991, still the basis for community and local television in the French Community (Antoine, 1998a).

In 1994, community television stations united in the Fédération des Télévision Locales reached an agreement with public broadcaster RTBF about their advertising revenue: The RTBF-subsidiary RMB was entrusted with the sale of commercial advertisements on local television, while noncommercial advertisements remained in the hands of local television stations through the joint venture Vidéotrame. All stations seem to have overcome initial financial difficulties, public funding is stable, and stations find it easier to generate commercial revenue. Research shows that 97 percent of the French-speaking population knows its local television station and 46 percent watches it frequently (Nobre-Correia and Collard, 1999, p. 67).

Flanders: Community Television That Never Got a Chance

Community television in Flanders has never been given the chance to flourish. Its government apparently saw no use for it, and refused financial support to isolated experiments that eventually resulted in a network of 11 local television stations that had little to do with community broadcasting. Local television here is a commercial affair, mostly dominated by the media group Roularta, and although some stations still have ambitions, there is little hope for community television in the near future.

While community television stations were starting up in the Belgian-French community during the 1970s, things remained quiet in Flanders until the 1980s. The policy there was clear: The monopoly of the public broadcaster had to be protected at all costs. This rigid attitude by the government

and the public broadcaster itself had already caused more problems for community radio stations in Flanders than in the French community, which had a more sympathetic attitude. A small local video group from Heist-op-den-Berg challenged the government by broadcasting a pirate cable transmission, but the pioneers were arrested and sentenced and no further experiments were undertaken (Drijvers, 1992).

In 1991, the Flemish parliament saw fit to create a decent regulatory framework. Regional stations were intended to remain small and complementary to the national broadcasting organizations (d'Haenens and Saeys, 1998, p. 118) and, although the Flemish government explicitly gave local stations a community function by stating they should promote communication within their community, there was never much chance that it could take off. Press groups with strong local publications controlled the local press within one region and had attempted, and in some cases managed, to control part of the local radio landscape (Saeys and Van Baelen, 1996). Television was up for grabs and hesitation could cost them the loss of their local media monopoly.

Although nearly all major press groups invested in local television at one point, there was one that quietly gained control over a great portion of local television: Roularta owns half the number of national private broadcaster VTM. Seven stations are commercially completely dependent on Roularta, three others partially.

Community Television in Belgium: Conclusions

There are some striking differences between community television in the Flemish and French communities. First is origin: local television in the French community was founded by sociocultural nonprofit organizations that still control them; in Flanders, commercial companies were present from the beginning and took an ever-tightening grip on local television from the start. Second is the attitude of their governments: French community government supported local television from the start, authorizing and financially supporting experiments and later creating a favorable regulatory framework. The Flemish government first opposed to any form of competition against the public broadcaster and later showed a complete lack of interest while paving the way for a private national broadcaster; by the time the government took an interest, local television had already fallen into commercial hands.

Funding is another difference. French local televisions survive, thanks to a mixed system, with private and public funding accounting for half the local television stations' financial means. In Flanders, public funding is practically nonexistent, apart from small endowments from some provinces or municipalities; the result is concentration.

While the local television landscape in the French community is diverse, in Flanders one group has a near-monopoly; consequently, there is a huge

difference in programming. In Flanders, it is a mistake to speak of community television. The few attempts to start with a real community television station were crushed by the government or press groups. Local television, even without the community aspect, is appreciated and worth preserving in Flanders, but with many problems ahead and many questions still unanswered, its survival is very uncertain.

Discussion

Lewis' (1984; Lewis and Booth 1989) characteristics of community media have certainly been present in Belgium, where in the 1970s nonprofessionals started with low-cost small-scale broadcasting stations, independent from both existing broadcasters and the government. Participation of local cultural, social, or environmental groups was common, as was self-management. As described here, some of these characteristics faded as commercial or political powers took control over community broadcasting. Local radio and television stations continue to be small-scale, relatively low-cost, and independent from other broadcasters, and in most cases, also from the government. But stations involving access, participation, and self-management are rare, with few local radios in Belgium and local television stations in Wallonia that integrate some degree of community broadcasting. Most local radio stations and the Flemish local television stations offer little or no access to local groups and are highly dependent on affiliates of larger commercial groups.

Drijvers (1992) lists a diversification of personnel as a necessary condition for community broadcasting to have a chance of being successful. Volunteers were at the basis of community radio and television in Belgium, professionalism being introduced years later. In Flanders, the peak of community radio came at a time when professionalism was scarce and volunteers ruled the airwaves, and the introduction of professional staff has not made the community-broadcasting sector more stable. There is no evidence in Belgium that professionalism is needed, but it could be an important factor to convince authorities regarding the use and function of community broadcasting.

Another condition is a mix of income sources, making local Walloon television stations the only form of community broadcasting left in Belgium. Lack of public funding in Flanders has resulted in the decline and disappearance of community radio and television. The case described in this chapter makes it clear that government support is truly imperative for a successful community broadcasting system. The success of community television in Wallonia is largely due to the stimulating attitude of the government, while failure of Flemish community radio is not the result of a lack of protective measures—there were genuine attempts to create a community radio network—but must rather be blamed on the inefficiency of these measures and the incapability or unwillingness to go on supporting community radio in the face of extreme commercial pressures.

Efficient protective and stimulating measures and some degree of public funding have been the keys to the only success in Belgian community

broadcasting, that of Walloon community television. Neither in Flanders nor in Wallonia is there much left of what was once community radio or television. Especially in Flanders, small-scale media are being engulfed by multimedia networks whose primary interest is generating as much advertising as possible. In Wallonia, some stations stay closer to the original idea of community broadcasting, although the influence of political powers causes some concern.

Whether broadcasting will return to its task of being a discussion platform seems highly unlikely in the new information age. Equally uncertain is the task that will be entrusted to public service broadcasting, let alone the resources with which this task could be fulfilled (Saeys and Coppens, 2003; Coppens and Saeys, 2006). The Internet is now being presented as the ideal medium for multiway communication, but even today new versions of the knowledge gap and new forms of (technological) illiteracy are emerging. The question of whether the Information Highway, with its "virtual communities," will achieve the emancipating and democratizing goals that community broadcasting in Belgium was not able to achieve, therefore remains open.

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Video-Identity: Images and Sounds of Citizenship Construction in Brazil

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This chapter describes the use of video screenings in public places as a strategy to change the illegal situation of community media in Brazil. Through the theoretical interpretation of "Repórteres de Bairro" (Neighborhood Reporters), a media literacy project in Rio de Janeiro from 1994 to 2000, it shows how a set of production and screening techniques labeled "street television" were used to enhance collective and individual identities in an intertwined process.

The relevance of community video as an instrument to produce audiovisual content is that it also implies the production of cultural codes and values. In a global scenario, even if mass scale brands mesmerize citizens with products and concepts, the cooperative nature of video production can be a bond that strengthens community identities. Such experience is compared with general knowledge of commercial television production and viewing; therefore, this chapter is an ethnographic example of media nongovernmental organizations (NGO)'s democratic and creative attempts to accomplish a constitutional bill that guarantees the right to public production and broadcasting.

We live at a time when the right for communication has become as important as the right for education. New technologies for exchanging messages in text, sound, and image are actually shifting the way we define learning. In several aspects of everyday life, the technocornucopia, gadgets, and content provide services and parameters that create and measure social roles and their status acceptability. As technology becomes complex, the relation between education and communication remains elemental as the act of gathering: The natural right to express human consciousness on collective and individual beliefs, concepts, and materials. But at the same time, there is a "wide-awake movement," so to speak, from educators into the realms of communications—in order to understand the "collective behavior" that students express in words, gestures, and signs that blind them on a mass mediated identity (Lourenco, 1998).

Based on the experience of observing the "Repórteres de Bairro" project, I began to imagine that a positive consequence from the community video practices was the possibility for youth's self-image discovery. In the course of construction of such narratives, the participant's performances on the screen, and to an analytical extent, those in the community workshops as well, was being redefined by an embodiment duplication of those performed actions on their persona: their tangible individual and social existences. But before exposing the argument of how such situational settings of "street television" movement could be used to collectively improve the kind of self-image I mentioned, let me provide a brief context of why and how such communication techniques were created.

The Brazilian Mediasphere

The amendments of 1988 on the National Constitution's Article 223 established equal access for broadcasting communications between public, government, and private branches of Brazilian society; yet, even if access to public communications is a citizen's right, Brazil does not have a Public Communications System. Its absence creates a situation in which "the public" is conceived as the governmental minus the private, resulting in noncommercial institutions funded by the government.

As a colony that belonged to Portugal until 1889, Brazil, South America's largest country, has about 180 million inhabitants. The tenth economy in the world, it nevertheless is one of the most unequal societies in terms of wealth distribution, and was the last country to abolish slavery. About 140 million Brazilians watch television (www.ibge.gov.br), 43 million households have 54 million television sets and 85 million posses cell phones; yet, in urban areas, around 43 percent of the poorest households do not have television.

The first national television, a joint venture of commercial domestic product sellers, dates from 1950. If radio strengthened geographical and linguistic boundaries during the 1930s, television, since the 1970s, had its mission outlined by the government in the dictatorship period (1964–1978), to "unify" the country symbolically with the image of an emergent industrial society. More recent accomplishments are thanks to Brazilian media activists: Low-potency broadcast radio approved in 1987, the Cablecast Bill from 1997. Both mechanisms place political and legal limitations; for instance, in spite of the country's gigantic dimensions and topological variety, the size of radio transmission towers is restricted to 30 meters. In the case of cable, the achievement of citizen's rights to cablecasting access was designed to restrict access to institutional sectors of the society, excluding private citizens by not providing them with equipment and physical facilities for cablecasting.

After 10 years of availability, only 6 percent of houses in Brazil have cable television. Even if individuals are able to express themselves by joining social movements that voice their necessities, they are still not encouraged to

do so, on television outside a collective, institutional point of view. In 2003, the Digital Television Brazilian System Bill was approved, establishing funding and research policies for studying the systems of digital television, Brazil being the first country in Latin America to digitalize its television. This pressure goes on the track in the matter of fact that worldwide, there is a myriad of "services," "contents," suited in kaleidoscopic "customer plans," are being pipelined to the set-top boxes of citizens.

Coming with digital television, several NGOs, like the Brazilian Association of Popular Video, founded in 1984 and closed in 2000, helped independent producers, researchers, syndicates, and other small popular groups, initiate the digitizing of their collections and catalogues. New screening styles, such as the VJ-hipster mixing of music and images, have triggered new critical and artistic views of media. Technological aspects like the prices of set-top boxes, which provide more or less access to digital public services, facilitate e-governance inclusion on a mass scale. Beyond such technology, the rights of public access rest on the establishment of a new Communications Bill. Since there are no laws that govern digital media, there is a need to create a new law that regulates digital television and its public communication access.

If commercial television in Brazil is a public concession and not just a private enterprise, its responsibility is weighted for an audience's social conditions. Numbers like 13 percent illiteracy rate or 10 percent of the richest with an income 28 times greater than that of the 50 million people classified as poor can be given as examples.

As recognition of lack of expression is strongest in youth, two national experiences, a government enterprise and a private endeavor located in Rio de Janeiro, might be mentioned in relation to producing content.

The private endeavor, the Futura Channel, airs 24 hours of cultural and educational content, with an estimated audience of 60 million. A partnership of national and international industries, the channel is an initiative of the Globo Network. An alternative model of public access is the governmental one in Rio's Educational Public System, Multirio producing educational television programs, Internet Web sites, and printings. Other examples of democratic attempts to expand access are a project at the National Congress, and Foundations and Civic Associations that has a concession to transmit low potency (250 Watts, with a 30-foot high antenna) in VHF and UHF low-potency channels but is still awaiting approval.

Community Media: The Street Television Strategy

Under the broader category of "community television" are several initiatives using video as a tool for social transformation. Brazil has had media NGOs organized by activist-student initiatives advocating public communications since the 1960s, a period of dictatorship. From the early 1980s,

which saw the end of military government control, to the late 1990s, one of the strategies adopted by media NGOs reactions in the absence of public television policies were the "street television" projects.

Due to the lack of the public television, Lima (1997) describes the street television movement in Brazil, which ranged from nongovernmental, self-sustained organizations to some with professional structure and high quality equipment. Initially, "street television" was conceived to be itinerant exhibitions with topics to be discussed within various communities; then, it could be described by setting a van with a screen on the top, a projector, VHS or S-VHS player, and sound speakers. The movement was started in 1983 by the Brazilian media activists of VIVA TV at the northeast state of Recife, it was followed, three years later by Maxambomba TV, which hosted the adolescents' experience in community video that will be described in the following sections.

The screenings at public places like streets integrated the audience, producers, and directors in the same narrative space and time through discussions of local aspects. Showing on video a neighbor's everyday life and labeling it "journalism" can create in "street television" the same "public space" experience of "commercial television" in terms of recognition of the institutional status of those images. After frequent and unsuccessful attempts to establish a dialogue about communication rights with communities using a serious, militant discourse, media NGOs alternatively adopted a combination of humorous and political issues that showed better results. VIVA TV started using street screenings featuring humorous sketches to handle critically serious problems. Such comical and incisive styles, stemming from real situations to talk about local communities, generated a formula that acquired a language status shared by several video experiences over Brazil.

During the screenings, events ranged from short, specific programs decided by the community or produced by members to long ones produced over a period of months, resulting from a learning process on media literacy workshops. What follows are some examples: Maxambomba TV was a street television in the media literacy project from the Center for Popular Image Creation, a Brazilian NGO; located in Rio de Janeiro, it had a very special role in the development of the Brazilian communication movement from 1986 to 2000. Neighborhood Reporters was a community youth-produced series of monthly programs within Maxambomba's project, screened in a high-crime neighborhood.

Maxambomba TV

The initial audience of Maxambomba was about 10–30 people per session; as time went by, narrow audiences of activists, instead of workers, increased the need to amplify communication with people in the neighborhoods. With a goal of expanding the discussion of democracy to the larger public, in 1986, the Maxambomba TV project began producing programs to trigger

local debates (union trades, social movements, and the like) on aspects of neighbors' lives as a form of media literacy. Defying neighbors in a positive, as well as propositive approach, with questions about how to change, Maxambomba's crew had for such a mission only a VHS tape, a VCR, and one television, transported and exhibited in local associations or churches. By the way, an issue was generally related to the activities of the union trades, social movements, and the like.

By 1989, the strategy changed from the traditional activist to an ironic discourse. They began to use posters with humoristic sayings on the neighborhood fixing it on the main streets. This reevaluation led to the habit of days, or even hours before the screenings, shooting short, thematic, free speeches in streets with locals to be later on the collective dynamics at night. Maxambomba public attendance grew in direct proportion as changes occurred, audiences about 250–400 per screening. The modification of language brought to street television new meanings for words like "politics," or even "organization." The theatrical exhibition and its satirical content on the streets appeared to be a significant tactic to achieve community attention.

Speculation as to why resident populations lack basic educational and thus political power is a complex issue, almost a subject matter unto itself. With screenings taking place in public places like streets or open spaces, Maxambomba TV exhibited thematic neighborhood programs. With exhibitions being held almost daily and a busy schedule, arts, public policy, health, education, and short fiction were condensed inside a monthly 45-minute program.

Typical days included an announcement of the video, made by a "herald," driving around the neighborhood about five hours before the event. A conductor, or "master of ceremonies," was sent one or two hours before each screening; afterward, this person might talk with people—making an "open camera" moment, when the microphone and the cameras are set to register audience reactions. Apart from time, there were no speech restrictions. This moment is considered one of the most engaging techniques for audience debate. The usual production crew was a group of five–eight persons, who donned various roles.

The same situational effect was also obtained from short interviews on public spots, to capture "live" opinion of the people. Initially conceived as part of the production, this technique, labeled "povo-fala" (people's speech) utilized interviews characterized by spontaneous answers given by pedestrians and people, with no cuts. By taking interviews in a rough way and only playing later with editing, it was possible to encourage people's expressions to the public sphere discourse, not getting concerned by vocabulary restrictions or appearance.

For media NGOs, politics no longer became a word circumscribed to institutional aspects. Like Maxambomba, with time, such situations in contact with community led them to soccer associations, traditional dance groups, local artists, community schools, and so on. In such situations, screenings became a ritual celebrating community's identity. The media

NGOs discovered street screenings as open places to communicate with people and, instead of calling them, they moved themselves to the streets.

Neighborhood Reporters

A crew of about 10–20 people, between the ages of 16 and 18 years, composed the group of adolescents who produced the "Neighborhood Reporters" program, although some adults from the community also participated. Everybody was involved in all stages of production, distribution, and screening processes. Technical training in community video and critical media literacy was featured. Maxambomba crew requested people who were interested in learning video production to create an initial contact with the community.

The structure of programs focused on themes selected by the crew, reporting social aspects of the neighborhood and contained a bit of local entertainment. Themes of local interest and currents topics were debated, artists, public policy, health, education, and dramaturgy all being part of the programs. They offered a possibility for people with almost no voice to create news in their own terms; however, as time passes by, lack of interest from some communities, as well as a shortage of funds and bureaucratic procedures, brought structural difficulties. Consequently, after two years, only two out of twelve were active, and after another year, only one remained: This neighborhood was Rancho Fundo, and local participants, mainly adolescents, were totally interested in continuing the project.

The Internship

When the funding for the Neighborhood Reporters project was exhausted, something else was needed to maintain activity for its participants. The solution to sustain the interest of the adolescents was choosing three of them as interns at Maxambomba TV. Rancho Fundo peers elected one girl and two boys whose function was to teach video production in local school workshops, trying to expand the same process of media literacy learning.

The internship comprised two parts: the first dealt with video techniques and production. Based on the vocational demand of interns, they had classes in lighting, sound design, editing, screenplay, and direction; in addition, they were expected to develop, in collaboration with the Maxambomba television crew, language-targeted messages to communicate more effectively with young people. By producing videos, the Maxambomba crew and the adolescents experimented with several formats by which to construct their own languages in order to issue topics for debate in local screenings.

These workshops were conducted in public schools at Rancho Fundo, and were designed to cover not only aspects of video production but also to complement regular education. The project worked in collaboration with teachers of schools linking curricular topics with the main objective of video production. Mathematics, for instance, became an important aspect for playing the role of producers and handling budgets. The necessity of skills

in oral communication and written expression encouraged the Portuguese to learn screenplays, acting, and so on. Such activities played an important role in developing the self-esteem of participants by holding them responsible for learning from each other and from themselves.

This project lasted until 1999, and was designed to help the participants (interns included) enter the professional audiovisual market. The difficulty of finding new funding for the maintenance of the Neighborhood Reporters project arose in my research as the need to understand the engagement of individuals in acquiring their citizenship using unusual tools. Since internships were necessary due to circumstances of Neighborhood Reporter's demand, the workshops conducted by adolescents at schools became the focus of my investigation. Today just two interns, no longer adolescents, work at CECIP (Centre for Popular Image Creation) and only one is still a workshop instructor. Participants also had internships at public television, educational channels, and commercial television stations.

Although governmental projects, as well nongovernmental organizations, are decisive for the transformation of the conditions of life in Rancho Fundo, my intention is to reinforce the point that self-esteem stems from activities like community video. As was mentioned above, the question is how social aspects of learning, like acquiring a profession in the communications field, blend to produce vocational, individual choices on a group. Consequently, cooperative aspects of people in community will be focused on more than institutional initiatives. Accordingly, the focus is on the role of young people more than institutional work. To such an extent, even if Maxambomba television is crucial for the development of adolescents, so the construction of this video-identity emerges from the resident's perception of his or her other experiences with external factors about the neighborhood.

Video as Symbolic Experience

Maxambomba TV became a welcome guest to the Rancho Fundo neighbors. By producing their own videos, they dealt not only with technical aspects, but also with the very process of creating local "cameras," "editors," "directors," and "producers" in the neighborhood. The material production of community video—the videotapes, beyond just journalistic content, can represent a neighbor's identity as symbolic objects as well.

The methodology used for researching street television as a communication technique was participant observation as the fieldwork basis for discursive analysis. Also invaluable were conversations with the Maxambomba crew and workshop's participants—a "glue element" for cohesion of its participants. I joined a thematic workshop about ethnicity, that was especially helpful; in addition, raw material, a finished program's series (about 10 editions), and governmental data constituted my corpus of analysis. My approach toward the study of community video was based on a confluence of questions from different theoretical interpretations, focusing on (1) Why ritualistic aspects of screenings are important as a mechanism for the communication rights

movement, and (2) How video production as an educational tool has implications for collective and individual identity developments.

One possible answer to such questions stands on the examination of narrative features of compositional editing in video production showing it as a process able to simultaneously reorganize both external and internal identity representations. The elements that frame the analysis are structured by intellectual traditions conceiving culture as a communication process (cf. McLuhan, 1978; Hall, 1989), the French school of discourse analysis (cf. Pecheux, 1982), its conceptions about human communicative process as an institutionalized event, and the Russian sociocultural approach (cf. Bakhtin, 1987; Leontiev, 1978; Vygotsky and Vygotsky, 1978) on mental development and its relation to the use of signs.

From a cultural point of view, collective experience should be ritualized to internalize it as a social value. Between points of convergence and divergence such conception argues that there is a symbolic dimension inherent to all human communication. Such materiality of representation is embedded in language, as the discursive analysis of videotapes shows its significance for the neighbors. This analytic conception assumes that, as proposed by Pecheux (1982), the communicative process is not based on transmission of any kind of "per se" information, but by the polyphonic process of meaning associations of the words of every individual in their experienced history of life. Others sharing this view (e.g., Maturana, 1978; Bakhtin, 1987) affirm that meanings are conventional language practices between participant's movements.

Screening of street televisions, as an effect of conventional television itself, involves subjects in an aggregate of aural sensations. But the very process of video production can be ritualized when it enhances adolescents' social perspectives on becoming not video professionals, but socially awakened citizens.

The triad of Vygotsky-Hall-McLuhan, known respectively for "personal space," "learning practices," and "the global village," guide an hypothesis on the use of video as a cognitive tool, Vygotsky (1978) indicating tools have a decisive role on improving cognition, Hall (1989) demonstrating we easily forget the artificial reality of our constructions, and McLuhan (1978) pointing out the shifting society will experience when its circuits became exteriorized—predicting the mixing of internal and external spheres of mental activity and physical practice. It can help us comprehend the transformation of adolescents from passive viewers to active users of technology, these tools being central in forming critical abstract thinking.

From these perspectives come implications for an analysis of cultures based on channels of verbal and nonverbal communications. That such codes are decoded, based not only on meaning, but also mainly on reference— that is, something is more relevant when shown (regardless of it semantic association) than when it is supposed or imagined presuppose belief targeted by studies about critical media analysis and cultural advertising.

Instead of discussing ideological effects of this medium, the focus here is on cognitive aspects of video community, showing how self-esteem could be raised on both individual and community levels.

Since technological communications are highly valued as society's public opinion main window, the psychological appeal of electronic media was also transferred to Maxambomba TV. The "on spot" physical presence of its crew and equipment were often associated as signs of a mainstream commercial channel. Street coverage locations had questions like: "Are you from Globo?" or "Is it going to be on TV?" Such symbolic aspects and technological effectiveness of tools, like cameras and microphones, can actually amplify aspects of human interaction. The general acknowledgments of community video as an access channel to a neighbor's expressions led Maxambomba's crew to take part in several rituals. Through numerous interactions with communities, it built its image as a communication catalyst and respected social player.

The cognitive processes in the construction of visual and verbal narratives of local, descriptive, as well as fictional plots used by community video practitioners to create their audiovisual "messages" actually exercised their senses (see Pereira, 2003). My approach to editing the programs was as an activity, the way the concept was formulated by Leontiev (1978), meaning either the neuronal or physical parts of the body at a goal-oriented movement. This synchronicity of video production between conception and practice is found in the process of editing. The spatial movement's raw footage on the timeline organizes the narrative conduction of real facts and symbolical importance.

To the adolescents who experienced in their internships a common dimension of action on the local environment, applying audiovisual features of video accomplished a process of exercising self-image as well a positive community representation. One cannot conclude that closing of Neighborhood Reporters meant its efforts were worthless. The know-how of street television is a legacy of media activists that is still up for the public. The outcomes of this use of video for education still call for a more detailed analysis, but its uses and its "results" on the NGOs workshops revealed sufficient cognitive complexity to take such practice as a pedagogical resource.

Although recognized, the right for individual expression of thoughts is a right to be acquired. The paradox resides in the fact that private media targets such individuals, inviting them to express themselves through its brands. The volitional aspects of human actions, as expressions and performances, are dimensions with which we, as symbolic beings contemporarily immersed in technology, are learning to deal. The valuable expression of human thoughts and actions resides on those who contribute to diverse points of views and beliefs. While private and governmental communication stands as unique channels for citizen's expressions, there will continue to be a divide in communication rights.

Conclusion: The Advent of Digital Community Media in Brazil

Although there has been a movement toward new technologies of digital content distribution, such possibilities are giving breath to street television. New forms of low-cost projectors, cameras, and computers, and the revival of the live cinema are on an experimental stage. Countrywide movements from several parts of the society are mobilizing toward rights of expression.

Still, regulation of a new law for digital communications is yet to be created by the National Congress. In a country where more than 80 percent of habitants watch television, this depends on a national identity concept. The advocacy for a Public Communications System remains on the agenda of media NGOs. The scope of street television is for small groups, even if screenings are of greater dimensions as the technology of projections evolves. Yet, Brazilians still lack the right of access to public television. Any such transmission is considered illegal, so is repressed—even if street screenings can be an important source for public debate.

Besides being a social tool, video, its second aspect—the educational practice of video production—is a cue for negative, depersonalizing aspects of mass education. Community video is a practice for social and individual awakening through material construction of audiovisual messages based on collective values due to emotional engagement of local producers. Community media in Brazil, therefore, will have a chance as the technology gets complex, and its political aspects are more available to the majority. In the case of audiovisual broadcasting communication, its public aspects are vital for collective and individual citizenships by letting their expressions to be debated, contested, and/or agreed upon by the public.

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Implications of Globalization for Community Broadcasting in Ghana

Kwasi Ansu-Kyeremeh

Introduction

A discussion of the implications of globalization or foreign influences in community broadcasting at Ghana is the focus of this chapter. The discussion is rooted in pervasive foreign influences on what is used to broadcast (means), how broadcasting occurs (process), and what is broadcast (content). The combination appears to be a hindrance to the development of community broadcasting.

In 2000, with a population of 18,912,079, 56.2 rural, 43.8 urban (GSS 2002), the Republic of Ghana lies 5°N close to the equator, on the Gulf of Guinea coast in West Africa. The first African country south of the Sahara to achieve independence from European colonialism, in 1957, Ghana used to be referred to as the "model" British colony because her citizens craved the British way of life.

It is observed here that external social forces that are unleashed on the Ghanaian setting, through the operation of the media as instruments of international information flow, impinge, often negatively, on local conditions. Foreign domination is propagated through a one-way information flow pattern such that globalization manifests itself in "foreignization." The implications of domination include a restrictive "globalization-compliant" definition that assumes that the content, format, and ownership of Western defined means of communication ought to be replicated within the Ghanaian, non-Western, milieu irrespective of the culture-corroding consequences.

In these circumstances of insensitivity to local conditions, an infusion of localness into media and message design is required to achieve a "true" development-oriented communication in the construction of

catalytic information sharing. Thus, broadcasting in the Ghanaian community setting is expected to acknowledge the importance of easy access to means, content relevance, and the participatory two-way mechanisms associated with the community situation. Consequently, a strategic framework of community communication that incorporates these characteristics is proposed for critical examination.

Community Media: A Definition

Tonnies' (1957) *gemeinschaft* may be an anachronism in today's connected and globalized world of the Internet. Yet, in the minds of many, the community still exists and, indeed, has a role in our globalized world. Community media usually refers to communication systems that are rooted in and reflect the sociocultural attributes of the community. In the wired realm, Malina and Jankowski (1998) articulate a notion of cyberspace community. Technologically mediated community communication, on the other hand, includes community broadcasting (radio and television). The latter is the subject of this chapter.

Indigenous Communication Systems (ICS)

For deeper understanding of the issues raised in the Ghanaian context, however, it would be useful to examine the less technology dependent modes of communication that characterize Ghanaian communities. In that context, Karikari (1999) and Ansu-Kyeremeh (2005) provide definitions that settle basically on the geographical community; and like Ugboajah (1985) and Wang and Dissanayake (1984), both associate the community with ICS such as "informal or formal groups of performing artistes" and "puppeteers" (Karikari 1999, p. 12).

Karikari (1999, p. 12) adds that these "forms of media can be popular and facilitate educational programs of awareness raising, influence behavior formation, and contribute to perception change." This definition is also consistent with Berrigan's (1979, p. 7) view that "Communications media which include two-way communication have been called 'community communications' or 'community media.'" Ansu-Kyeremeh (2005) and others refer to these as "indigenous communication systems."

Indeed, "it is believed the indigenous communication systems constitute a large proportion of the alternate means for accessing information" (Ansu-Kyeremeh and Karikari, 1998, p. 16) They are the other means of communication that a sizeable number of Ghanaians must be relying upon to produce and share messages given the expensive nature of access to technologically mediated communication (Ansu-Kyeremeh and Karikari, 1998).

Nonformal and verifiable, with instant feedback capabilities, the ICS are seen as low-cost and integrated into the local culture (Karikari, 1999; Ansu-Kyeremeh, 2005). They are the most common means of communication

among village communities at almost no cost. Embedded in the community's own social and cultural structures, training in their application is part of the socialization process. Indeed, ICS best exemplify self-reliant tools for development communication.

The potential of a specific indigenous communication device—the gong gong (a metal instrument played with a stick)—has been articulated by Wilson (2005). Its relevance to communication, even at the beginning of the twenty-first century, was underscored by the need for a dispute surrounding its ownership rights to be settled in court. The *Ghanaian Times* (Friday, August 7, 2000, p. 1) reported a case in which the judge ruled that "the beating of 'gong gong' in towns and villages is a preserve of chiefs and it is wrong for them [assembly men] to go outside their duties to perform that function." To further confirm its contemporary relevance, *JOY FM* (Thursday, December 28, 2000) reported that during the 2000 presidential election run-off, the National Council for Civic Education (NCCE) had to resort to beating the gong gong to mobilize electors to the polling booth.

The above notwithstanding, the term "media" often is restricted to technologically mediated communication systems (TMCS) (Ansu-Kyeremeh, 2005). In this discussion, though, the scope of media is extended to include recognition of the pivotal role of the indigenous systems in development efforts. Their significance is implied in the assertion that technology is invented to serve humankind. Anything to the contrary may only be seen in terms of a not-so-positive Frankenstein effect or creating machines that obstruct rather than serve society. And if the objective of adopting a specific medium, based on rational selection criteria such as identified by Reiser and Gagne (1982) is to perform and achieve a defined communication task, then, substance is what ought to matter in the application of a particular means of communication. In other words, what is important is what works (effectiveness) and not the symbolism of progress or the mirage of "catching up" with fancifulness or sophistication.

A study by Bame (2005) found villagers ranking "Concert Party" (local drama) ahead of radio and all other technologically mediated communication systems as the most favored in the sharing of family planning messages. In a critical study on the applications of the technologically mediated communication systems, especially, in support of development activities in Ghanaian communities, Ansu-Kyeremeh (1992) questioned the efficacy of such media in the community setting. Central to the criticism was the finding that radio programming and language of broadcast were not effectively responding to community conditions.

Origins of Broadcasting in Ghana

To the beginnings of centrifugal broadcasting in Ghana may be traced the key disenabling factor in the development of community broadcasting (Ansah, 1979). The rigid transplantation formula for the first broadcast transmission left no room for sensitivity to local conditions since everything

was packaged and transmitted from London. Broadcasting began in Ghana (then the Gold Coast) on July 1, 1935. It had been introduced as part of the modernization of communication in low-technological environments through transplantation and subsequently implantation of Western communication technology in non-Western societies. Radio in those days, as in other colonies, was "merely relay stations for BBC transmissions" (Mbachu, 1988, p. 2135).

The next 60 years saw state monopoly of the airwaves. It was not until 1995 that, in compliance with the provisions of the 1992 constitution, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) government was compelled to issue frequencies for the establishment of privately owned broadcasting stations. Specifically, this was in response to the public outcry that culminated in a demonstration over the seizure of the equipment of Radio EYE that had forcibly begun broadcasting without authorization on November 19, 1994 (Ayitevie 1996). Within a year, Accra, a city with one broadcasting station had been transformed into a city with eight FM stations. At the last count the number had increased to 19 (NCA 2006).

Community Broadcasting

Recognition of community broadcasting as key communication support to development has been practiced in the country since the 1950s. In the 1960s, Ghana was the first in Africa to experiment with the UNESCO-sponsored "Rural Radio Forum" model. From there, the model was extended to other parts of Africa. The low success of community broadcasting to date, though, may be linked to the foreign influences in all forms of technologically mediated communication that are incompatible with community characteristics (Ansu-Kyeremeh 1992). Whereas community television may be years away, the community radio concept arrived alongside commercial private radio.

An erroneous impression is created that any station in a rural location that is not categorized as commercial by the National Communications Authority (NCA) is a community broadcasting station. The NCA does not even have such a category in its classification of stations. This notwithstanding, as many as five radio stations that are members of the Ghana Community Radio Network (GCRN) describe themselves as such. They are Radio Ada, Radio Peace, Apam FM, Dormaa FM, and URA-Radio. The group defines community radio as "about, for and by a specific marginalized community whose ownership and management is representative of that community" (GCRN 2005).

Only two of these stations, Radio Ada (at Ada in Greater Accra Region) and Radio Peace (located at Winneba in the Central Region), though, display some semblance of community radio stations. Although both are owned and operated by Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs), the host communities are represented on their governing boards. Their operations are also characterized by a localism by which content relates to the members

of the host community. Further, their communities are the resource base for expert knowledge and skill for program enrichment. In addition, community members are encouraged to participate in the broadcast process including program and message design, as well as production and presentation. Thus, the communities are as much involved in input production as in output consumption.

To cut operational costs, the two stations rely extensively on volunteers for their manpower. Everyone is welcome to participate in the broadcasting act irrespective of gender, ethnicity, religion, political party affiliation, physical condition, level of schooling, language background, or other social attributes.

Radio Ada is owned by the Ghana Community Broadcasting Services, an NGO. Its affairs are managed by a committee composed of members of the community. According to responses of its management team (Quarmyne 1999) to questions about the organization and operation of the station, audiences are "heavily" involved in the management, programming, and program presentation on the station. A volunteer corps recruited from the community "handles all aspects of the station" (Quarmyne 1999).

The three other FM stations at Apam, Dormaa Ahenkro, and Bolgatanga (URA-Radio) that claim community status are probably less so. In practice, they are adjuncts to the state-owned Ghana Broadcasting Corporation that originally established them. They are run by district assemblies that the Bonso-Bruce (1995) committee, recommended be disqualified, together with religious organizations and political parties, from owning and operating broadcasting stations. So they do not fulfill the ownership criterion of a community radio station.

"Foreignized" Local Broadcasting

Foreign influence on local broadcasting includes features as insignificant as names of broadcasting stations, and more serious issues such as programming, types of programs, and their contents as well as language used in broadcasts (see table 8.1). The 19 FM stations in Accra actually include 3 foreign-owned ones: the BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation), RFI (Radio France Internationale) and VOA (Voice of America). Their presence suggests excessive foreignization of Ghanaian broadcasting and violates the community principles of easy accessibility, relevance, participation, and inclusiveness.

It is unrealistic, though, to expect cultural autonomy or social isolation in today's connected world. Thus, it could be that "By re-broadcasting news and information from all corners of the globe, Radio Gold is fulfilling the role of a window open unto the world," as proposed by former minister of information Kofi Totobi Quakyi, when he launched Radio Gold's Program Exchange Agreement with VOA (on Friday, April 4, 1997). Protagonists of community media, in general, do propose "demassification" of the mass media to achieve relevance in community message production and utilization.

Table 8.1   Live Broadcast of Foreign Radio/Television Programs

Program Type	Foreign Stations	Local Station		X Per Wk	Duration (Hr).	Language
		RAD	TV			
Magazine	DW	—	GTV	7	7	English
Magazine	W'NET	—	GTV	5	17.5	English
Magazine	DW	UNI	—	1	1*	English
News	DW	—	GTV	5	2.5	English
News	DW	UNI	—	9	1*	English
News	DW	UNI	—	6	1+	English
News	CNN	—	GTV	10	8.5	English
News	BBC	JOY	—	17	7+	English
Newslink	DW	UNI	—	4	3*	English
Documentary	WE-TV	—	GTV	1	.5	English
Sports	BBC	JOY	—	13	3+	English
Fast Track	BBC	JOY	—	1	.5	English
Women-on- Move	DW	UNI	—	1	1	English
Africa Report	DW	UNI	—	10	2.5	English
Focus on Africa	BBC	JOY	—	5	2.5	English
Music	CFI	—	GTV	4	4+	English

* Total broadcast hours per station per week are as follows: JOY FM 168, Radio UNIVERS 133, GTV 140. This means the stations are devoting the following percentages of their broadcast time to foreign content: JOY FM, 7.7%; Radio UNIVERS, 6.4%; and GTV, 28.5%. This excludes several hours of foreign recorded programs broadcast by GTV. The Malaysian-owned TV3 devotes 30% of its telecast time to local programs and 70% to foreign programs.

Thus, Ghana's national cultural policy in the mid-1970s specifically sought to unite "traditional" and "modern" media in community broadcasting.

Locally installed foreign stations may cite the involvement of some Ghanaian producers and presenters in their operations as an infusion of Africanness/Ghanaianness into their broadcasting. In reality, this is token representation, because the fact remains that broadcasting by these stations is from the perspectives of their various home countries or with global orientation. Either approach is foreign to the Ghanaian situation.

Alternate social forces of communication are constantly fighting back to liberate the community from the deluge of foreignization. There are, actually, examples of fighting back against contemporary technology or using it as a tool of social resistance. Notable among them is the audience's insistence upon using the local language in phone-in programs. Expressions such as "Me pe se me ko local" (I would like to speak in the local language) and "Me pa wo kyew me pe se me ka Twi" (Please I want to speak Twi—a local language) are not uncommon among callers to radio phone-in programs.

"Communitization" of the Technology Based Media

A proposed framework for improving community broadcasting is the "communitization" of broadcasting into "community media" format.

It requires the deconstruction of physical structures for message production, distribution, reception, feedback mechanisms, and Western technical know-how to operate. Limits to audience active participation in programs imposed by the cost of receiving sets and telephone calls during phone-in programs as well as literacy skills that are required for feedback need to be addressed.

Examples of audience attitudes could provide further clues about resistance to foreignization. For example, audiences distinguish between foreign news and foreign programs in their patronage. The Media Monitor ("Scanning the media scene: TV3's 'Acapulcomania' spawns migrant viewers," March 1998, p. 18) observed that "there appears to be a strong patronage for locally-produced programs, except the heavily politicized ones. People would watch local drama and film irrespective of the channel."

A film expert and a National Film and Television Training Institute (NAFTI) instructor, Mr. Kofi Middleton-Mends (focus group discussion at NAFTI Film Theatre, Wednesday, March 25, 1995) criticized the high interest viewers show in what, in his opinion, are poorly made Ghanaian films on television.

The interest goes for both local Akan and English films. The *Ghanaian Times* (February 21, 2000, p. 6) published two juxtaposed readers' letters, one commending a local television program, *Agoro*, the other worrying over a "Valentine's Day calamity" as a propagation of foreign values by Ghanaian radio stations. Also, discursive, and especially interactive listener phone-in programs on radio that usually focus on local issues are very popular.

South-South program exchange and the Internet may somehow relate the global/international to the community. Both are cooperative strategies that give meaning to globalization while stemming foreignization. An exception is that many, especially in the current circumstances of paucity of technology in the South, argue that the Internet is the ultimate Western tool for acculturation of the South. A bilateral cooperative agreement currently exists between Ghana Television (GTV) and the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). The multilateral cooperative arrangement, Union of Radio and Television Networks in Africa (URTNA), does not, however, seem to be operating very successfully.

These days, one is regularly reminded of the capacity of the Internet to provide opportunities for all media types to make their contents available to the rest of the world. Many Ghanaian radio and television stations are utilizing these opportunities. There is little doubt, though, that the number of their Web site hits is unable to come close to that of Western broadcasting stations. Moreover, the Internet output consumed by Ghanaians is probably not the most culturally enhancing.

Less effective would be community programming and programs. Despite the earlier interpretation of community by geography, the electronic media provide room for a kind of media community that is identified by simultaneous use (Internet), listenership (radio), and/or viewership (television). Thus, one can also observe some form of programming in

which community-oriented programs are aired by radio and television stations even though such stations are not community stations.

Ansu-Kyeremeh (2005) refers to "interactive programs with spontaneous and instantaneous feedback qualities." "Area-on-Line" (Radio UNIVERS) and "Feedback" (JOY FM) are examples of programs that provide listeners with the opportunity to air their social grievances and concerns, in the context of their communities and neighborhoods, on radio. Others include "Ka Na Wu" (Radio Gold) and "Good Morning Accra" (Uniiq FM) that seem to exhibit such characteristics of community broadcasting as participation through instantaneous feedback and to some extent inclusiveness. Furthermore, they are all essentially multilingual programs.

Summary

An apparent feature of globalization or global influences on local broadcasting in Ghana is foreignization. It is the contemporary manifestation of the old modernization through transplantation paradigm of broadcasting. And so the main features of broadcasting available to the community include use of foreign languages; imitation and mimicry of foreign programs with their broadcast formats; and multiple stations with less diversified programming.

With this background, there is little room for programming and program content that adopt community relevant values and pursue the development agenda of the community. It seems then to achieve broadcasting that responds to community needs and supports its development, broadcasting would have to be sensitive to the community, its culture, its values, and its centripetal organization and communication patterns, which are at variance with the city centrifugal broadcasting approach. In the effort to develop this proactive, community-friendly, and development-oriented community broadcasting, the local ICS that are integral to the sociocultural system of the community would need to be exploited.

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Vox Populi or Lonely Voices in the Wasteland of the Ionosphere: The Case of Israeli Community Television

Hillel Nossek

Introduction

Since Israel became a state, the country's media institution has leaned toward the continental European model, displaying remnants of both a British colonialist and a local European one adapted to Israeli reality. The theoretical significance of this framework is such that it swings between authoritarian characteristics of a media institution with newspaper licensing and military censorship, and democratic characteristics of a European model that considers free press a social right. Although in Israel this right is not anchored in a written constitution or law, it is exercised de facto, supported by Supreme Court precedents (Nossek and Limor, 2001). Public ownership of the broadcasting sphere is expressed as public radio and television, with public control over operating franchises for commercial terrestrial television and regional radio, cable television, and direct broadcast satellite. Commercial, local, and sectarian media—particularly newspapers, periodicals, and pirate radio—operate alongside the national media. Besides catering to separate regions, these media serve as functional community media for Russian immigrants, the religious ultra-orthodox, the Arab sector, and certain elements on the right wing, particularly settlers in Judea and Samaria (Nossek and Limor, 2001).

The past two decades of the twentieth century featured significant changes in Israel's media map, including a significant growth in the number of print and electronic media—a second commercial television channel, cable television introducing satellite television channels from abroad (CNN, BBC, SKY, MTV and other global news), sports and entertainment channels,

plus hundreds of local weekly newspapers, all privately owned and commercially operated (Caspi, 1986; Nossek and Adoni 1996). Fourteen regional radio stations were setup and operated by franchise owners, and over hundred and fifty pirate radio stations now broadcast relatively undisturbed, despite feeble attempts by authorities to prevent their regular operation (Limor, 1998).

The movement toward centralized ownership often found in Western countries gained rapid ground in Israel, as did cross-ownership; by the 1990s, the major media concerns, each owned by a single family, controlled the most popular media channels in both print and electronic media. The flagship of each concern was its daily newspaper (Limor 1997). While a certain degree of economic cooperation existed, mostly evident in the field of television and cable broadcasting, competition between them was fierce. To these institutional media factors should be added the personal applications of Israeli's new media technologies: Home computers and desktop publishing systems, cellular telephones, satellite dishes, and the Internet, together with a slew of printing, photography, and broadcasting equipments that became readily available. As these changes took place, people harnessed various resources to establish pirate radio stations, publish small journals, and produce audio and videocassettes (Nossek and Adoni, 2001).

The point that is relevant to our discussion is the high penetration of cable television: Over a million Israeli homes (70 percent) were connected to cable, and by 1996 about 80 percent of Israeli households were either cable or satellite subscribers. New national commercial channels appeared, targeting specific population segments and tastes (e.g., new immigrants, the Arab sector, news buffs, fans of Mediterranean music, and the orthodox religious community). In general, the government has adopted an "open skies" policy in line with the recommendations of the "Peled Committee" (1997), currently at different stages of implementation. Even prior to the decision to sanction cable television, smaller communities were already harnessing the new technology and finding alternatives to the national media for their local needs.

Cable Television in Israel—
Historical Background

The legislative process that would eventually lead to cable television in Israel began in the 1980s with a Knesset bill proposing an amendment to allow its establishment—chiefly, to enable localization of television channels. The lobby for this law comprised mostly Knesset members, regional council heads, and mayors who believed that local community television, like local press, would offer a vital addition—giving them access to the screen, unlike national television, which studiously ignored their problems. Local authorities thus regarded community television as a tool to facilitate their services and support their efforts to communicate with constituents.

In 1986, the Knesset enacted Amendment No. 4 to the Telecommunications Law, one of its purposes being to allow community broadcasts to communicate important issues regarding community life and social activity (Caspi and Limor, 1999). The law contained a special clause permitting community broadcasting as a consequence of the fact that the Kibbutz Movement had set a precedent of developing and running independent, closed-circuit community broadcasts for its member *kibbutzim* (Tamir, 1993; Shinar, 1987, 1993). A number of factors in the Kibbutz movement, such as internal communications problems and technological developments, led the movement to develop the idea of using video to enhance its elements of a community built on direct democracy, participation, and self-management—including a communal economy, communal social, and cultural lives. The kibbutz appeared to be the ideal framework in which to develop community television (Tamir, 1993).

The law made it clear that intended community broadcasts would be produced specifically for the community, and made efforts to prevent their commercialization or exploitation for partisan politics. It conceived community broadcasting as a means of conserving the social dynamics of the community and of improving important aspects of community life by documenting and covering local and community events, providing updates on community affairs, airing opinions, cultivating community pride, placing issues on the public agenda, identifying needs and problems, and defusing tensions (Tamir, 1993; Shinar, 1993). Thus, the model envisaged by the legislature integrated features of a community channel with a vehicle that would afford more screen time for groups with no other outlet for public self-expression. In a sense, this represented a departure from both the German Open Channel and the American Access Channel. How was the Israeli model legally framed and implemented?

Israeli Community Broadcasts: Legislation of the Structure and Manner of Operation of Community Television

With legislation in place, a Council for Cable Broadcasts was setup in 1986 as charged, council members including five government officials and six members of the public—two put forward by the local authorities, two consumer representatives, (appointed by the minister), and two representatives of education and cultural organizations. According to the law, it would be responsible for operating community broadcasts in different localities, and to establish Local Advisory Boards in all localities with a cable franchise. These Boards, 11 local volunteers from the fields of education, culture, communication, and the arts, expected to accept proposals and requests by community institutions to produce community broadcasts and coordinate production and broadcasting with franchise owners in line with the Council regulations. According to the Franchisee Broadcasts, a Council permit was required to be considered a Registered Regional Broadcasting Association.

A broadcasting association could be an educational organization, a community organization (e.g., a community or youth center), or any public institution meeting these criteria:

- The association is not permitted to operate under the auspices of a political party or in the interests of a political party.
- An association must permit residents of the region to participate freely and without discrimination.
- The association must act on behalf of the residents in several defined fields (education, consumerism, documentation of public records and culture).
- The association must be a corporation managed by an elected public board and open to public scrutiny.
- The association had to be a nonprofit organization.
- The association must prove itself capable of producing community broadcasts.

The law also specified obligations of franchisees regarding the contents of community broadcasts. Of course, all behavior generally prohibited by law (e.g., incitement to violence, racism, pornography, libel) were excluded, and a prohibition was placed on broadcasts produced or sponsored by government institutions or municipal authorities, broadcasts with political or commercial content, and propaganda broadcasts. It also specified an ethical code to which the franchisee, as well as the community broadcasters, must adhere. In turn, the franchisee has the right not to broadcast a community program that fails to meet technical broadcasting standards.

Additionally, the law also addressed financing and resources, requiring franchisees to allow broadcasting associations (subject to availability) the use of studio equipment (at cost price), instruct them in its use, and provide them with professionals to run the studio. Two developments concerned funding:

1. Sponsored broadcasts: The law permitted finances to be raised by sanctioning locally sponsored broadcasts (e.g., broadcasts sponsored by local stores and services), to help broadcasting associations finance their productions
2. Direct financial support for Broadcasting Associations from the Council for Cable Broadcasts: Since 1994, the Ministry of Finance has allowed the Council to designate approximately NIS 3 million annually (US $750,000) for this purpose from franchise royalties paid by cable companies to the Finance Ministry—a response to requests from broadcasting associations, linked to a set of criteria drawn up by the Ministry of Communication Support Committee.

Broadcast Implementation

Since 1994, various organizations, working collaboratively with the Council for Cable Broadcasts, began to lend their moral and material support to a wide variety of groups, encouraging them to become involved in local television broadcasting; by 1999, there were 200 groups in Israel

producing original, 30-minute magazines once or twice a month (Shimoni, 1999). By 2005, according to the Council for Cable and Satellite Broadcasts, that number increased to 283 groups—with 2,044 original broadcasts in the cable system, 540 in the satellite one. According to the council's estimation, about 7,000 people are involved as active participants in the production and broadcast of community broadcasts, among them 750 elderly citizens in 23 groups.

Based on legal definitions, there are two groups: Group I consists of educational settings, defined as "schools or institutes of higher education"—high schools with communications or cinema studies. Some schools regularly broadcast in a magazine format, while others have a live slot. Some participate in broadcasting activities that their local community centers organize. The groups with schools of higher education include the New School of Media Studies at the College of Management in Tel Aviv, Haifa University, and Bar-Ilan University.

Group II comprises community institutions, which encompasses a whole range of organizations. The Israel Association of Community Centers (IACC) for one sees the community channel as a vehicle for people with no media background to describe their lives and tackle subjects that would otherwise not attract any media attention (Shimoni, 1999). There are about 180 community centers in Israel, 50 that broadcast regularly. Senior citizen's groups are classified under the heading of "community organizations"; for example, the Multimedia Center for the Elderly, a training center for seniors, and the Association for the Development of Services for the Elderly in Israel have worked together. Their activities began in 1990, and various local associations banded together to publish *Gil Hazafon*, a magazine produced regularly by older adults (Nossek, 2000, 2003). Again, the premise was that their specific needs (e.g., regarding information and guidance on available services, recreation activities, and health) were left unanswered by the "mainstream" media. Now, 17 seniors groups broadcast on a routine basis. In addition to regular magazines, a number of live broadcasts have aired to allow the older audience to respond to broadcast issues (Shimoni, 1999).

Several local authorities and municipalities have formed municipal communications centers for groups of youth and adults to work together producing community broadcasts. These centers, which offer training and broadcast production facilities, generally operate inside independently run community centers, or community centers partly operated by the Israel Association of Community Centers. In Tel Aviv, for example, groups collaborate on broadcasts at the *Bikurei Haitim* municipal community center, while in Haifa, broadcasting activities take place in independent and municipal youth centers. Jerusalem is divided into six neighborhood authorities that function independently but run and produce collaborative community broadcasts in conjunction with community centers affiliated with the Israel Association of Community Centers—a pattern repeated throughout Israel (Shimoni, 1999). Furthermore, nonprofit organizations meeting the conditions mentioned fall into this category. Several have

obtained broadcasting permits—including the Iranian Immigrants Organization, which broadcasts in Persian and Hebrew, and ESRA, an umbrella organization for English-speaking communities that produces broadcasts particularly for immigrants who have difficulty learning Hebrew and the Zippori Center, for community work and education (Shimoni, 1999).

Broadcast Scope and Contents

Although no complete study exists that examines the scope and content of community broadcasts, according to my studies (Nossek, 1995, 1996, 2000), the various groups broadcast for about half an hour to an hour once or twice a month. A systematic content analysis of the programs aired by the *Gil Hazafon* seniors group shows that they tend toward conformity and the preservation of existing values (Nossek, 2000). This seems typical of the work produced by other broadcasting groups as well. Programs produced by youth groups, which one would expect to deviate from conventional formats, are generally characterized by creative use of technology, not by controversial subject matter.

Franchise Owners, Government and Municipal Authorities, National and Public Organizations

In time, franchise owners who at first had reservations about community broadcasting learned to cooperate—at least to some extent; they now provide personnel and resources in an effort to encourage its activities. There is direct government involvement through activities of the Cable Broadcasting Council, whose aim is to promote and provide funding support, and indirect involvement through such organizations as the Israel Association of Community Centers, the Multimedia Center for the Elderly, or the Association for Community Communication. Besides funding, the government, through the council, is involved in licensing broadcasting associations, content disputes, advertising broadcasts, and research. Because of their direct or indirect management of schools and community centers, municipal authorities are involved in training offered by community centers and schools, and there is massive involvement through the Jerusalem Branch of the Israel Association of Community Centers and the Multimedia Center for the Elderly. The authorities not only contribute toward training and equipment, but also to production and management; thus, the authorities avoid criticism that might make its way into the content of community broadcasts.

Self-management—Volunteer Based Community Broadcasting

Following the Jewish and Israeli tradition, it is not surprising that community television has attracted volunteers of all ages representing the entire social spectrum. Apart from representing a chance to contribute personally, volunteers perceive community television as a way to show off what is good about their community and to reinforce their sense of responsibility and

partnership with their immediate environment (Nossek, 2000). Voluntary community television production is unique in several respects. On the one hand, it represents an effort to realize the democratic vision of the right to communicate without professional mediation; on the other, it is plagued by the common problems related to volunteer organization, plus specific ones allowing volunteers to manage broadcast production themselves. Although having volunteers responsible for management and production is a positive contribution to democracy, accomplishing the main goal of community media, it may also explain a poor production rate. Some problems related to volunteers and community broadcasting include

- The training process is long and demands several fields of expertise;
- Time needed for training varies according to volunteers' age;
- Although highly motivated and quick to learn, young people lack patience for learning and producing; older adults have more patience (Shimoni, 1999).

For the community to maintain a significant on-screen presence, those involved with the community channel should be willing to commit themselves to a binding schedule. It is also essential to be able to work in teams; television production involves intensive teamwork and a proactive spirit is essential. Friction and personal aspirations for screen presence or other roles can lead to dropouts.

Audience Viewing and Public Attitudes toward Community Broadcasts

A 1995 telephone survey carried out on behalf of the Council for Cable Broadcasts from a representative sample of 744 respondents from Israel's adult, urban, Jewish population (age 20+) found that 10 percent watched community broadcasts occasionally, and 5.5 percent often (Nossek and Adoni, 1995). A number of findings addressing respondents' attitudes toward community broadcasts are noteworthy: Approximately 76 percent of cable subscribers thought it important to allow citizens to express their opinions on-screen; 65 percent believed citizens could influence the environment; 58 percent thought local television carries more influence than the local radio or press; 58 percent thought community television could solve problems and help with different community issues; 15 percent expressed willingness to take part in community broadcasting; 80 percent believed that responsibility for broadcast contents should be in the hands of citizens and the community; and 59 percent said they would watch more of these programs if they discussed community activities and provided information about them.

In 1996 came another telephone survey: 3,047 members of the adult urban Jewish community (the sampling error being ± 2 percent), had 13 percent watching community broadcasts, the percentage varying between 8 percent and 22 percent, depending on age. Of these, 58 percent watched often (Nossek, 1997). The percentage of viewers watching local television news was 35 percent, 67 percent being heavy viewers; in other words,

approximately 23.5 percent of cable viewers throughout the country are heavy viewers of local television news (they watch at least once a week). It is also interesting to note that viewing levels and willingness to be involved on an active basis increases the further one moves from the urban centers, particularly from the central Tel Aviv and Metropolitan Dan regions (Nossek and Adoni, 1995). These findings demonstrate a connection between (1) media needs of the periphery that remain unsatisfied by the national media; (2) amount of viewing; and (3) desire to be active in community broadcasting—contrasting with the center of the country, where media needs are satisfied by the national media. The findings also indicate a link between different types of local media consumption, showing that people are interested in local contents of media unrelated to the national media and the issues they cover.

About 13 percent of the population expressed an interest in actively participating in production, over half responding to broadcasts either by calling up the studio, through studio presence, or by correspondence. A large percentage thought that television could promote community matters more effectively than other media—believing community television could empower them. The supply of broadcasts was linked to how much television people watch and their awareness of community broadcasting and its aims. There seems to be a relationship between the community (geographical or functional), strength of connection to the community, and amount of community broadcasting that the individual views (Nossek, 1997).

Recent Changes in Policy toward Community Broadcasts

Following the centralization of ownership of the cable system and the merger into one company (HOT), and the establishment and high penetration rate of the satellite system (YES), the Council for Cable and Satellite Broadcasts decided in 2006 to change the system of community television broadcasts. The main changes are

- There will be one channel in the whole system of cable and one in the satellite. Both will broadcast the same items. A special production company will be responsible for management of the broadcasts that will continue to be produced by local volunteers. A broader definition of communities was formulated, with functional and other nongeographical based communities to be included. Individuals will be able to bring their items for broadcast after 22:00 hours at night.
- Responsibility for what is broadcast is put on the broadcaster directly, not on organizations or outlets involved in the process, but there is no change in the need for licenses from the council to become a broadcasting group.
- The community channel will be national in scope, but each community will have its own time niche when the channel is open (08:00 hours–24:00 hours). In general, access for viewers will be potentially greater than it was in the old system; still, no studio arrangements were made to allow more freedom of expression, and a local or community electronic public sphere is foreseen.

Discussion and Conclusions

In general, community television in Israel in the form permitted by law and implemented until the last changes of 2006 has failed to meet the needs that it could potentially answer. Thus, community broadcasting mainly constitutes a leisure activity for some youth, adults, and a small number of seniors, who are involved in broadcasting mostly to satisfy personal needs. Any contribution that their work makes to the community is thus an indirect, incidental, and nonsystematic consequence (Nossek, 2001).

We are finally left with questions: Why has the vision of community broadcasting failed to materialize? Is the status of these broadcasts a result of original principles being abandoned to economic interests, or that democracy has yet to come of age in Israel? Is it because the sophisticated technology of television production is too much for amateurs to handle, as it demands training and professional expertise? Would radio be a more appropriate medium for the long-term operation?

Improvement of the quality and quantity of community broadcasts in Israel would involve a change of direction so that, instead of groups being dependent on national organizations and local government, independent groups would operate under the umbrella of community broadcasting centers. Such centers, which would be managed by nonprofit organizations, would provide studio space, equipment, and services of professional support teams. Funding for centers would come from donations, so it would not control broadcast contents. Responsibility for broadcast contents would no longer be the franchise owners' domain. The community broadcasting centers would encourage broadcasting by individuals, perhaps allowing more people to participate and make their voices heard without needing lengthy training and professional expertise.

This model could increase the number and scope of subjects dealt with by broadcasts, making them more effective and relevant. It applies the principles of access, self-administration, and independent production, eliminates direct affiliation with economic and political powers, and facilitates the use of old and new communication technologies. Thus, this model realizes the vision of exercising every citizen's and community's right to communicate through electronic and digital media, empowering both the community and its individual members.

Theoretical and Ideological Definitions
and Community Television Praxis

The theoretical framework and practice of community television in various countries is based on the works of Streeter (1987), Hamilton (1988), Stein (1988), Lewis and Booth (1989), Goldberg (1990), Habermas (1991), Hollander and Stappers (1992), Jankowski, Prehn, and Stappers (1992), Lewis (1993), Fuller (1994), Kampf (1997), Downing (2001), Atton (2002), Jankowski and Prehn (2002), and Jankowski (2003). , Jankowski's

(2003, p. 5) definition of community television may serve as a reference for examination of the theoretical framework of the Israeli case: "The defining feature of community television is that the programming is "made by local people as distinct from professional broadcasters."

So far, this analysis of community broadcasting has described how Israel has only accomplished some of its goals: the preservation of social dynamics in the community; encouraging improvement in important aspects of community life through the documentation and coverage of local and community events; facilitating the expression of ideas and views; nurturing community pride, raising issues to the public agenda; identifying needs and problems; and defusing tensions that have either not been manifested, or are incomplete. Yet, compared to countries where community broadcasts have been in operation, the trend in Israel is toward improvement and new directions. Surveys show that the potential for activists and active involvement in community broadcasts (but not necessarily in production) remains to be realized.

If we believe in community television as an agent of social change, it must tackle hot issues for the community—whether problems concerning transport, dangerous roads, or quality of life. They must also relate to local political issues, which, though of particular salience at election times, are still relevant when the fuss dies down. Addressing these issues will rouse "the voice of the people" or, in this case, "the voice of the community."

The Future of Israeli Community Television Broadcasts

The legislated Israeli model of community television, shaped by interactions between agencies in the field and amended by regulation, bears no likeness to other models. It is neither an access channel in the American sense, nor an open channel in the German sense—nor, for that matter, a community channel in any different guise, since it does not fulfill functions required of a community channel. It seems, therefore, that concerns that community broadcasting would lead to a critical, antagonistic new medium have obstructed adoption of more "open" models and left the alternative model to the pirate media.

Denied legal, regulated channels of expression, communities feeling their voices are unheard in the legal media found an outlet for expression through inexpensive, easy-to-operate pirate radio. This medium has successfully evaded public and government control and makes a mockery of the abilities of Israeli police and the Ministry of Communications (Limor, 1998). As for the new policy: There is a need for a few years of implementation before one can say if it improved community television as it was envisioned by theory and activists, or created a new concept of community broadcasts.

Notes

The surveys and studies cited were initiated by the Council for Cable and Satellite Broadcasts, some jointly, in collaboration with the Communication Institute of the Hebrew University, and others independently. Professor Hanna Adoni served as advisor

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Asian Models of Community Communication, With Kazakhstan as a Case Study

Saule Barlybaeva and Alma I. Rusetmova

The end of the twentieth century was marked by many political and economic changes, especially impressionable in the sphere of information and communication technology. This chapter gives an overview of Asian communications and media, citing Kazakhstan as a particular case study.

Asian Communications and Media

A place of crossing for many global ways, migrations, cultural influences, and communication highways, the Asian experience cannot be compared with other regions. Some specialists have predicted that the Asian region would be one of the leading world trade—economic and financial—communication centers. Economic development indexes of most Asia-Pacific region (APR) countries have already greatly exceeded the world average (Nazarbaeva, 2000). The rate of growth of the region is five times higher than of that during the Industrial Revolution. Two-thirds of the world's population lives in Asia, and it represents a market with a turnover of US$3 million. As Eburdent (2000, p. 28) has stated, "The Pacific Ocean circle is moving out, like a dynamical young America but in on more grandiose scale."

John Naisbitt (1996), considered the leading diagnostician of world development, predicted the moving power of center transference from the Atlantic to the Pacific as an Asian "economic wonder." It appeared first in Japan, later in South Korea, and then with a burst of "Asian tigers" came international attention. APR is a display of global, regional, and national tendencies, with grandiose communication projects and a synthesis of traditional and modern culture. Globalization is apparent everywhere.

The economic growth of some Asian countries allowed them to not only to create necessary material and technical resources for developing modern

systems of communication, but also to define new information relationships between West and East. The creation of developed information structures in industrial Asian countries allows renovations in global communication. Structurally Western (e.g., techniques, technology, science, education, infrastructure) but civilized and culturally Eastern forms developed (Dissanake, 1998).

Considerations of communication models spread in Asia, affecting traditional spheres of religion, philosophy, and culture (Ramaprasad, 1998), placing on the agenda the preservation of national spiritual culture, art, and values of social life. As the aim of the development of communication technology is considered part of a discrepant process of integration into global information space, at the same time its leveling influence on the originality of national culture can be limited.

Ideologically, communication models in many Asian countries are based on consolidation of their own value orientations and aspirations to develop their own telecommunication and broadcasting policies. Asian countries vary between "old" and "new" in spheres of social vitality, including information and cultural spheres. This tendency is typical of many Asian countries (Goonaskera and Holladay, 1998). Susceptibility to new trends and openness of economic policy in APR countries has created favorable conditions for society. Communication strategies such as "Singapore 1" (for a national high speed net platform), Thailand Park for software, Taiwan's science and industrial park, the Indonesian project "Nusantaa-21," Malaysian multimedia supercorridor projects, and Philippine's net supercity in the free Subic Bay port are all projects stipulating utilization of new communication technologies, creating appropriate infrastructure, and the interest of governments in their implementation.

Audiovisual communications play an important role in strengthening national unity, distributing knowledge, achieving world culture, and bringing in appreciable contributions to economic decisions. The minister of communications of Singapore, Mah Bow Tan, announced in Telecom-97 in Jakarta (Indonesia) that the Asian countries needed to participate in the development of certain policy and regulations bases, saying that, "Asia should help itself with this unique prospect. We should collectively develop global political directions that are applicable to Asian realities, to unique realities of other regions in the world" (AMCB, 1998). The character of state regulation also varies, but the main tendency is a gradual transition from rather rigid centralized management and control to liberalization and reorganization of the communication sector.

Governments of some Asian countries are trying to regulate unbalanced information flow by filtering information from the West, at the same time that they are eager to enter into a world process of formatting an information society. Many things depend on political arrangements with governmental programs utilizing new communication resources. Common characteristics feature national and local press (printing and electronic) functioning with governments in the achievement of consent and stability in

society. In accordance with national interest, mass media has the tendency to identify itself with political institutions of that country from a sense of patriotism. In particular, a former prime minister of Singapore (Li Chuan U), during talks with Bill Gates (1995), admitted that his country would sacrifice the Western style of freedom in exchange for a strong sense of community. This follows Castells' (1997) notion about globalization as the ability to draw attention to national specifics.

Uncontrollable flows of information through satellites makes Asian countries work toward common directions for communication policy in the region. Special concerns of authorities can provoke the moral, ethical, and spiritual content of broadcasting programs. Interest in local programming is high. Only 2 of the 20 popular programs in Singapore, Thailand, South Korea, and the Philippines are not Asian productions—contradicting the thesis about "information imperialism."

Television companies in Singapore buy a considerable number of programs in the international market, including documentary films and serials. Among them, Chinese and American television productions are in high proportion. Chinese serials, propagating patriotism, tolerance, and racial harmony, are also greatly popular. Chinese and Korean authorities try to stop "cultural pollution" featured on "Home" channels, such as those available in paid television services. Philippine television does not allow telecast programs that play down the ideals of the family and traditional values. In news programs, criminal violence and vice must not be the center of attention, or it will be corrected.

The legal status of cable-satellite television becomes an important part of national communication policy in Asia. Some countries try to find certain approaches to regulation of reception of foreign satellite channels in view of local specifications; however, the cases are frequent when the governments resort to prohibitive measures, worrying that the uncontrollable viewing of foreign transfers might have "undesirable social consequences." So, for example, the American program *Miami Vice* was forbidden in Malaysia. Indonesia has tried to limit foreign influence in radio and television advertising, and the government of India has prepared laws that place restrictions on freedom in foreign programs. China also supervises satellite channels and satellite aerials, with the stated intent of protecting its viewers from undesirable programs and pornography. A council of censors in the Ministry of Information in Burma checks all programs, preferring local news, governmental propagation, and transfers about Burma's culture. Around 95 percent of the television in Hong Kong is its own production. Authorities in Singapore and Malaysia resist liberalization of reception by means of satellite signals. So too do the governments of Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand. Vietnamese party authorities have directives about satellite aerials.

Yet, one hears a lot about the opening of new markets in the "new Asia." Joint ventures open new opportunities for the activity of providers, cable operators, and a number of consumer demands. Many Asian countries have national policies about how their communications will operate, most of

them interested in propagating national unity, maintaining world harmony, and preventing racial collisions.

Some Asian countries are worried about the globalization of mass media. It is displayed in revisions of their own telecasting policies in working out their information, in creating "communication immunity," opposing Western mass media, what is called up to promote continuity and stabilize Asian values.

The Case of Kazakhstan

A new system of mass media has been developed under the influence of a process of globalization and new information technologies in Kazakhstan since the country gained its sovereignty in 1991 (Akpar, 1993). The early 1990s were marked by the appearance of nongovernmental, commercial electronic mass media during changes in internal and foreign policies of the republic, influencing the development of communication situations in Kazakhstan as it followed the path of democratization of society under the conditions of market relations.

The mass media of Kazakhstan is a constituent part of the development of modern society, characterized by cardinal changes in information spheres. At the beginning of the 1990s, the main task of the Kazakhstan governmental policy was a transition to market relations, creating market infrastructure and competitive conditions in all spheres of social reproduction. This task included implementation of the process of privatization in the sphere of mass media under governmental control. One of the priority directions of this policy was communications, using computing, general communication, and broadcasting technologies. Significant progress was achieved in the development of information systems, first due to the spreading of communication technologies and the growth of intellectual potential in Kazakhstan. Authority rights and adjoining rights, "Relations," and mass media were all adopted.

Telecommunications as a market in Kazakhstan has of late changed radically, experiencing rapid development in mastering information technologies. Cities and regional centers are equipped with digital telephone stations, and optical fiber and satellite arterial connections have been laid. Markets for cell phones and pager services are actively developing in the country and the rate of growth of new mass media show that the demand on information services is high.

Under new marketing conditions, Kazakhstan has opened the door to native and foreign investors, along with suppliers of communication equipment. The telecommunications market is drawing the attention of Western investors, striking evidence of the realization of global projects, such as the Trans-Asian-European highway (TAE), along with implementation of optical fiber, digital, and satellite connections.

By the end of 1998, more than 800 populated areas of the country could view governmental television programs through the local telecommunication company, Katelco. Kazakhstan has completely turned to satellite transmission

of governmental television programs. The television scope of the audience has expanded, such that Kazakhstan-1 has gone from 68 percent to 87 percent, "Khabar" from 78 percent to 83 percent, and ORT-Kazakhstan from 82 percent to 85 percent.

Realization of the "Kazakh telecom" project continues, which means creating a National Information Super Highway (NISH) that will scope all regional centers and major cities of the republic by digital flow, and will then provide a transition of international information flow. Expansion and strengthening connections between Asia and Europe and other Central Asian countries assumes a great importance at this time. Policies of openness and cooperation between countries give an opportunity to create new communication paths and open new information perspectives. The first conference was held in the former capital of Kazakhstan, then Almaty (now, Astana), in 1993. Construction of a trans-Asian cable highway line of transmission from Frankfurt to Shanghai (China) was discussed. This should be an important highway of data transmission among the continents, a notion of connecting from the time of the passage of the Silk Road. This cable could promote the integration of governmental and private institutions into a digital communication.

In 1997, "Kasahtelecom" entrusted to Siemens the building of a new line for TAE. The level of communication in Kazakhstan has risen to world standards, due to optical fiber connections. The southern part of the information superhighway was put into operation in 1998, the western part began in 1999, and it should be complete by the time this book is published. This part of the highway will be the shortest telecommunication direction from Europe to China, Japan, and other Asia-Pacific regions. Kazakhstan is eager to keep in step with developments of new information technologies, creating systems that conform to global standards.

According to the Ministry of Culture, Information and Public Consent, there are 1,017 mass media all together, including 851 printing presses, 9 information agencies, 257 electronic mass media places, 37 radio-television companies (21 governmental, 16 nongovernmental), 84 television companies and studios (30 governmental, 54 nongovernmental), and 36 radio companies and studios (10 governmental, 26 nongovernmental). In Kazakhstan, periodical publications are issued in many languages, including Kasak, Russian, German, English, French, Korean, Ukrainian, and Uigur. Different foreign agencies are accredited in Kazakhstan, such as ITAR-TASS, Reuters, Sinhua, Frans-Presse, Interfax-Kazakhstan, and others.

Concluding Thoughts

Kazakhstan cannot copy communication models and information policies of any country. It must have its own strategy, appropriate its historical, socioeconomic and cultural development, and take into account information policies of countries and other governments in Asia and Europe in order to become a bridge between West and East as a European country.

Still, one worries about issues like press freedom and censorship in Asia in general, Kazakhstan in particular (Blua, 2002). When one considers the many models of community communication from those sources, it becomes all the more critical that Kazakhstan assess its past so that it can work on a future for its citizens.

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Top-Down Community Media:
A Participant Observation from Singapore

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In what is undoubtedly the only example of its kind in the world, the Republic of Singapore—a multiracial (see Fuller, 1998a), multiethnic, multi-religious, and multilingual population of some 3 million, has recently been introduced to the concept of community television. On Sunday, May 5, 1996 their initial foray into this broadcasting world took place with the opening of the $S7.5 million Tampines East Community Club, as filmed live by third-year students at the School of Communication Studies at Nanyang Technological University (NTU). Though this model has evolved from government dictum, as opposed to the democratic, grassroots model familiar in the United States and most other countries, it nevertheless provides a fascinating context for the construction of citizen input of, by, and for its media.

This chapter provides some background on the concept of community television as a tool for community building, outlines the Singaporean story as a critical case study, and makes predictions and projections for its future.

Community Media

Broadly defined, community media typically represents examples from print, electronic, and visual communication industries, emphasizing grassroots efforts at expressionism ranging from a loud speaker attached to a radio in rural areas to advanced satellite networking in others. Depending on the economic, political, ideological, and/or socio-cultural constraints of a region, community support varies widely; for the most part, though, it is considered as an invaluable alternative message source.

The phenomenon of citizen involvement in its media began in the United States more than a quarter-century ago, thriving today with some

3,000 community groups providing more than 20,000 hours of original television programming each week—numbers representing more than the annual output of ABC, CBS, and NBC combined. In this model, the community channel is predominantly cable television-based, available to qualified citizenry (i.e., those who have completed the necessary application forms, depending on the station) on a first come, first served, nondiscriminatory basis. Throughout, community standards prevail. As the author of *Community Television in the United States* (Fuller, 1994b), my focus is on technical/physical characteristics, history, legal aspects, economic-political factors, social concerns, and shortcomings. My main concern has been assessing source(s), content(s), audience(s), product(s), and response(s) to this natural extension of participatory activity.

Singaporean Media

Overview

Positioning itself as an "intelligent island" (Hudson, 1997; Ang, 1999), Singapore has acted as a model catalyst for economic development throughout southeast Asia. Combining interest in communications and information, Singapore Telecom has developed a tripartite strategy combining infrastructure development, information services, and international networks, and the country has recently been placed first in terms of global users of information and communications technology (Singapore bumped, 2005).

From the beginning, the country's media has been owned and operated by the government; the People's Action Party (PAP) has been in control since Singapore gained its independence in 1965 (Birch, 1993; McDaniel, 1994; Tan and Soh, 1994; Choi, 1999; Fuller, 2004). Highly regulated to the point where it has been called a monopoly, the print media is exclusive to Singapore Press Holdings (SPH), the broadcast industry to Singapore International Media (SIM), cable to Singapore Cable Vision, and there is a small, private cable-radio service called Rediffusion. Internet service providers likewise have governmental links, and in 1995 the country became known as the first to establish cyberspace-related censorship rules (Fuller, 1998b). In his tracing of the country's controlled broadcasting, Hukill (1999, p. 11) predicted a new evolution: "Perhaps one factor which might eventually change the exclusivity of government-controlled television systems in Singapore will be the need to act reciprocally as it expands internationally."

Community Television in Singapore

For the Republic of Singapore, the term "community media," then, is nearly an oxymoron, as nearly all media is dealt with paternalistically (Kuo, 1992, 1994; Fuller, 2004). The country's development into this field has been slow and cautious, and it appears to have been noticeably and reluctantly brought into the area of citizen involvement in its otherwise government-controlled

media. With a long history of censorship practices (e.g., *Censorship Review Committee Report 1992*, published by the Ministry of Information and the Arts), concerned as it has been over the possibility of controversial topics being aired without proper prior approval, the ruling party has underscored an emphasis on perpetuating Asian values—specifically the Shared Values articulated by the then deputy prime minister Goh Chok Tong in 1988: Nation before community, and society before self; family as the basic unit of society; regard and community support for the individual; consensus instead of contention; racial and religious harmony.

Although "Meet-the-People" sessions among concerned citizens and their Members of Parliament (MPs) are reported on in the press, those conversations have not been wholly made public, and by default one might wonder what topics are highlighted and what topics might be altogether left out from retrospective reportage. So, when the Singapore Cable Vision (SCV) was introduced, and Brigadier-General George Yeo, minister for information and the arts, suggested localizing one of the channels at the community level, it struck a cord. Citing the necessity of localism as critical to the success of cable television in Singapore, Yeo emphasized "its own sense of place, self and community . . . at two levels: First, there must be a sense of the region (Singapore in southeast Asia). Second, there must be a strong sense of our being in Singapore, the neighborhood one lives in, and finally, one's own home" (cited in Tan, 1995, p. 24).

Government support is critical; rephrased, without it, this story undoubtedly would never be told. Another fortunate part of Singapore's evolution toward community television comes from the fact that a local citizens interest group, led by a young woman (Miss Amy Hing) who serves as Deputy Director of Administrative Service for the Personnel Development Branch of the Prime Minister's Office, just happened to be wondering about the feasibility of neighborhood television. Hearing about efforts at Nanyang Technological University in terms of local television production, a meeting was set up to discuss cooperative ventures; it was my good fortune to have been in on those early, exciting connections. Until May 5, 1996, then, Singaporeans had never participated in their own media.

May 5, 1996: Tampines East Community Club Trial TV Project

In what was assuredly the world's first example of "top-down" community television, some members of the Singaporean government decided early in 1996 to experiment with the concept and study about its possible application for citizens of the republic. Although I was not privy to this meeting, and therefore reporting, who first actually said what to whom, when or where, communications minister and MP for the Tampines community area G. R. C. Mah Bow Tan engaged the services of chief statistician Paul Cheung at the senior level in an effort toward localizing cable television. Working

with staff at NTU, this interest soon became a reality, as undergraduate students were trained in a remarkable step-by-step process to work with other volunteers to produce a live two and a half hour programs— Singapore's first ever nongovernmental, citizen-produced effort.

Although much had been pre-planned in the classroom, actual rehearsals began on April 30, 1996, at the Tampines East Community Club itself: setting up and preparing equipment, making line checks and sound checks and rechecks, and performing full run through of the program. The full dress rehearsal took place on May 2, 2006, with cast and crew told to report by 4.00 p.m. on the actual day. Keeping to the rehearsal/recording schedule, it was split-second timing—nonprofessionals helped by a capable technical staff, who agreed to be on hand, beginning promptly at 6.30 p.m. First came a 15-minute video clip highlighting the Tampines neighborhood, courtesy of a community college's media production unit, followed by a brief spot on the concept of community television—from the Singapore perspective.

Meanwhile, the Tampines East Community Center itself was beginning to overflow, with some 400 free seats and 100 reserved-for-VIP spots captured so quickly that it was soon standing room only for hundreds of other milling audience. Nearby residents viewed this from their windows or apartment porches, many with invited neighbors and friends. Some people dressed up for the event, while others appeared as they might on any hot Sunday night, in shorts and sandals. The young and the old were well represented, and Singapore's wide multicultural mix was easily evident both in the audience and in the program itself. The atmosphere was festive, but predictably far from raucous.

Real adrenaline began to flow at 6.51 p.m., when the broadcast began, "Live," from the Tampines CC. After a few preliminaries and interviews with key personnel in charge of producing the event, the assembled audience was told to turn off their pagers and rise for the prime minister. The arrival itself was quite an event, as the impressive entourage was magnificently captured, fortunately focusing throughout on the prime minister's stately frame, which was never out of focus. The prime minister was greeted by the official Welcoming Party, Lion Dance Troupe, Kompang Group, and Indian Dance Troupe, all of whom performed at their respective times. Amidst the fanfare, security was kept on alert, if in a typically unobtrusive manner.

Then came the only potentially boring part, for about an hour: speeches, first by a Tampines MP, then the communications minister, and finally, Goh Chok Tong. The prime minister's speech, seemingly delivered without notes, was most appropriate, choosing this event as an occasion to discuss building emotional bonds together: "We are not just interested in building houses, we want to build homes . . . we want to build relationships between people—where there is love for each other, warmth and support for each other, and care for each other in times of difficulties" (cited in Chua, 1996, p. 1). Using the platform to underscore the strengths of his party, Goh drew comparisons between when the nation began and where it stands now in terms of a number of issues: race relations (from riots to harmony), employ-

ment (from high unemployment to a labor shortage now), and housing (from "attap and zinc-roofed huts, clusters of buildings without electricity and modern sanitation" to today's highly ungraded government, or Housing Development Board/HDB flats).

At the end, when the prime minister declared the center officially open, there was a barrage of fireworks that everyone seemed to enjoy. After that, he walked over to learn how to run a television camera, then led a delegation around the new five-story, $S7.5 million facility building. For home viewers, and those who decided to stay in the stage area, a spectacular celebration continued, featuring local entertainment–more than a dozen different acts, ending with a spectacular finale bringing everyone together on stage. It was particularly thoughtful, if typical of Singapore, to include interviews by and with members of Chinese, Malay, and Indian cultures in the program. The various ethnic farewells were especially touching.

Our NTU students, it might be added, hardly seemed like volunteers—on both sides of the camera. In addition to a floor manager, there were three camera persons, three celebrity interviewers, editors, technical staff, lighting and sound crew, and many who doubled in several capacities. They, along with the academic supervisors, who were billed as director, producer, and executive producer, made us all proud. As one of the on-air personalities put it, "A new chapter for television in Singapore took place tonight."

Media support surrounding the launch of community television in Singapore was fantastic. Prior to the major fanfare, articles appeared in the press as Tampines was being cable-wired (Long, 1995), about the Tampines lifestyle itself (Tan Bah Bah, 1996), the fact of free access to SCV's many offerings for six months (Peralta, 1996), on the possibilities of cable linkages for faster access to Internet (Kaur, 1996), and the Tampines opening being the first ever "live" local television telecast (Tampines East CC's, 1996). The Malay newspaper *Berita Minggu* (Hamzah, 1996) also covered the debut of community television with a feature article on its front page that continued later with a full-page description and a flowchart of how the process worked.

On the actual day of the event, "Neighbourhood TV comes to Tampines and Pasir Ris" was the lead article in the *Sunday Times*, with journalist Tuminah Sapawi's (1996, p. 1) words, "Broadcasting in Singapore reaches a milestone today as these two new towns receive a community television channel that rides on cable." Continuing with the "milestone" theme, she later added how this event marks the first venture for all southeast Asia since prior to that day, there had been no community television. Concerned, like its Western counterparts, about prohibiting materials that are considered obscene or indecent, promoting gambling or lottery activities, infringing copyright, invading privacy, or defaming, Sapawi reported how community television in Singapore expects more or less the following:

- Coverage of activities at community centers or in the neighborhoods such as opening of a new kindergarten or childcare center, children's coloring contest, cultural shows, and health exhibitions.

- Coverage of activities at institutes of learning such as neighborhood schools, polytechnics, and public libraries.
- Instructional videos such as do-it-yourself household repairs, dress-making, or flower arrangement.
- Shows of special-offer items at neighborhood provision shops.
- Clips on services available at government agencies within the neighborhood such as polyclinics and town councils.

Media coverage of the Tampines event itself was also extremely positive. A photograph of a smiling prime minister Goh Chok Tong working the camera was highlighted on the front page of the *Straits Times* the next day, including a capsule of his speech on building homes and relationships (Chua, 1996, p. 1+).

The front page drew the reader's attention to another related article, "Tampines East CC modems first in region," that described how the video-conferencing that took place was, according to the National Computer board, "the first successful demonstration of data transmission using cable modems in the Asia-Pacific region" (*Straits Times*, 1996, p. 24). And the next day came an editorial, "Tampines nets a feedback leap," containing comments about progress through the Web site that can apply equally to grassroots channels for any number of media, stating, "Feedback conduits of the Tampines type can fill the gap to better capture the different moods of the nation."

As was said more than once on May 5, 1996, history was made that day with the first community television trial in Singapore. For starters, the fact that the three-hour Tampines East Community Club opening ceremony was a live telecast is certainly a giant step. For another, it represents the first local origination from other than a national (read: government) broadcaster. Among those of us who were part of it, the thrill remains palpable.

Future Considerations

Although those involved in the trial event introducing grassroots media to Singapore are still riding high on enthusiasm, and steps are being taken to assess its effects and consider its future, much still depends on a combination of both governmental and community support. And perhaps timing, too.

"In a few years, no Singaporean will be able to live without cable television" said George Yeo, the minister for information and the arts (*Straits Times*, 1996), adding that equipping every household "would help enhance Singapore's internal communications infrastructure and boost its global economic competitiveness." With 100,000 households across the island already cable-wired and prospects for complete recognition and usage, indications seem likely toward keen support of the many services cable can offer—hopefully, including an access channel.

One might also add an optimistic note regarding the field of film in Singapore (Lent, 1990), heartened by news that the Cathay Organization has announced its intentions to produce a motion picture based in the area.

Plans are also in the offing for establishing a national cinema in the Republic (Fuller, 1994a, Fuller and Ong, forthcoming).

With the encouragement of courses and personnel to help train students in both film and television—especially Nanyang Technological University's new $S22.6 million building, housing state-of-the-art laboratories for print media, advertising and promotions, audio/radio and video/television, as well as Ngee Ann Polytechnic's interest in community television (*Straits Times*, 2004), the country seems poised toward uncompromising progress in the field of visual communication.

Follow-up

Perhaps the most encouraging hope for community television in Singapore, though, is that it continued to be monitored in true social scientific means. Best of all, the top three NTU students took it on as their Final Year Project (Bian, et al., 1997) when, seven months after the Tampines project, Mah Bow Tan, communications minister, initiated another community television attempt. Wanting to capture responses to it, the students pressured themselves into constructing a survey instrument to assess its results. Although they worked with a local faculty advisor, I remained in touch with them.

There were marked differences, the students realized, between the May 5, 1996 single event and then a longer one, in approach, scale, and operating principles—the first being part of a participation model and the other a viewership one. At its core, this was their operationalization: "In essence, community TV's core is in the community. That means that *community TV's only distinguishing feature is that its programming is either specifically bound to a geographical area, or specifically about a community of interests*" (Bian et al., 1997, p. 2, italics in the original).

Investigating the viewership and likely rate of participation of Singaporeans, the students conducted door-to-door interviews with 401 residents. They found it discouraging, that only 3.7 percent had ever watched the programs, and only 22.9 percent had ever heard about it. As reported to their supervisor, the investigators "gained one key insight that might have otherwise eluded us. That is, the people at large have no conception of what Community Television is . . . There is a vast knowledge gap out there." Their overall conclusion, in answer to the question whether community television could foster community ties, was that it was unlikely. Enthusiasm for the concept was not dead, though, as the students saw promise in the face that 17 percent of the respondents were handycam owners, and the trend toward home video might help toward home videos that could be cablecast via the community channel. They made the following executive recommendations:

1. Funding: the government should fund community TV efforts during the start-up years, where capital equipment and personnel are needed, and community TV organizations should be registered as nonprofit to allow tax exemptions.

2. Tampines East Community Club: increase publicity and teach people how to tune to the program.
3. Participation model: research shows that viewing is significantly correlated with knowing people involved in community TV, so community TV should be produced by the community.
4. Community Development Council and National Youth Council: it requires a central coordinating body.

Another encouragement came when Singapore decided to allow a Speakers Corner; yet, as Mogul (2000, p. 7) points out, "Unlike their counterparts in London, a person here will need a permit to speak, and speech deemed offensive will continue to be curbed. Detractors slam suggestions that the site is anything but a cosmetic attempt by the PAP to co-opt the powerful symbol of free speech." The country's annual Fringe Festival— theater, performing arts, film, dance, visual arts, mixed media, music, and so on, has opened up a whole new platform; its theme for 2006 was "Art and War," for 2007 "Art and Disability."

Yet, as with other community television efforts around the world, there are a number of obstacles to be considered in the Singapore case: What will be future funding sources? Will there be enough volunteers? Will there be technical constraints? (see Fuller, 1996a) Who will offer the training? Will there be an audience? What about Censorship issues? What kinds of competition will there be?

"We hope that a start can be made with a weekly programme on events such as new courses at community centres or special offers at the neighbourhood marts . . . it'd be good to have (regular broadcasts) soon after the launch, since the momentum is there," the communications minister was quoted as saying (in Sapawi,1996, p. 2). Still, it is encouraging and enlightening to take stock in seeing how Singapore is truly reflecting its citizens' interest in developing its own media and, by default, building community—albeit from the top-down (Fuller, 1996b).

Reflections

Kahin and Neuman (1985, p. 6) have claimed that support for access is rationalized on four related grounds:

1. Freedom of expression—Access ensures that diverse ideas can be expressed on television.
2. Media education—Access provides an opportunity for individuals and small organizations to use video and television.
3. Localism—Access strengthens the local infrastructure by increasing and enhancing local communications.
4. Public service—Access provides informative, educational, and cultural programming that is not otherwise available on television.

If community television has not yet taken off in Singapore, and the reason is lack of awareness, it should come as no surprise that access remains the

key: access to information sources, free of restraints, communicated both by means of media, and better, by word of mouth. The two trials delineated here, while top-down in origin and management, offer important lessons.

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Television to Save a Language and a Culture: The Basque Case

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Introduction

The differences in European regional televisions are the results of the diversity that exists between regions and states themselves and also of the different ways in which the processes of liberalization and decentralization have taken place in the relevant television systems (Garitaonandia, 1993). When we speak of "television in the regions," we use a single expression for television stations whose social function, coverage area, degree of autonomy, budget, staff, number of broadcasting hours, and proportion of in-house production can vary greatly. For example, consider the differences between the German Westdeutscher Rundfunk (WDR), TV3 of Catalonia (Spain), Sianel Pedwar Cymru (the fourth channel in Wales, United Kingdom), RTP Acores (Portugal) or a regional television station of Channel 2 in Denmark (Wolton, 1989).

Reasons for the creation of regional television stations also vary for commercial ideas, as in the case of the 15 private regional television stations of ITV, in the United Kingdom, and that of local television stations with regional scope. There may also be institutional reasons, as in the case of the German Lender; or the decentralization of national channels, like the regional centers of the BBC United Kingdom, RTVE (Spain), F3 (France) and RAI-3 (Italy) (Musso, 1991). On the other hand, the following also influence the creation of the said channels; sometimes multilingualism of the country concerned (Belgium and Switzerland), and the consolidation of separate communication media for certain regions with a specific tradition, culture, and language, as in the case of certain television stations of autonomous regions in Spain, the Welsh channel Sianel Pedwar Cymruj, Omrop Fryslan in the Netherlands, and the Gaelic language channel in Ireland (Moragas and Garitaonandia, 1995).

The traditional idea of a region as part of a country or nation turns out to be even more complex if cross-border regions are considered. Indeed, a number of programs produced by regional television stations in different countries have appeared, reflecting common economic, social, and cultural interests across frontiers. On the other hand, some regional programs are broadcast by satellite, such as the German third channels WDR West3, NDR Nord 3, and BR Bayern 3-by ASTRA. In Spain, the digital package by Hispasat satellite "Digital +" carries six autonomous channels from six autonomous communities: Andalusia, Catalonia, Galicia, Madrid, Valencia, and the Basque Country (Lopez, 1999). This means that regional programs are broadcast in a way quite similar to that of "Superstations" in the United States (Baldwin and McVoy, 1988), reaching whole countries, and even continents. In our book *Television on Your Doorstep* (Moragas, Garitaonandia, and Lopez, 1999), we described seven types of regional and local television experiences. One of them is "Regional independent television with supra-regional, national or international coverage" that refers to independent regional stations mentioned that, besides broadcasting in their regions, cover larger territorial areas—several regions, the whole state, or even areas beyond state frontiers.

The Political Framework of Television Stations of Autonomous Communities

The constitution ratified in 1978 organized Spain into an autonomous state made up of 17 autonomous communities, 12 of which have established their own radio and television (see table 12.1):

1. Radio Television of the Basque Country (http://www.eitb.com), which has two channels, one in Basque (ETB-1) and the other in Spanish (ETB-2), both of which are broadcast in all three of the Basque provinces. (The Basque Country is located in the north of Spain, and shares the border with France);
2. Radiotelevision of Catalonia that has three channels in Catalan, TV 3, K3 (the channel for children and youth) and Canal 33;
3. Galicia Radio Television Company, which has one channel in Galician;
4. Radiotelevision of Madrid, which has one channel in Spanish: Telemadrid;
5. Radiotelevision of Andalusia, which has two channels in Spanish: Canal Sur and Channel 2 Andalucia (C2A);
6. Radiotelevision of Valencia, which has two Valencian-Spanish channels: Canal 9 and Punt 2;
7. Autonomous Television of the Canary Islands (TVA-C), which has a special status, because it is a public television but it has programs that are produced by a private corporation, the Productora Canaria de Televisión.
8. Radiotelevision of Castilla la Mancha, which has one channel in Spanish: Castilla la Mancha Television.
9. Over the last years, other autonomous communities have developed new public television projects: Asturias (Radiotelevision of the Principality of Asturias), Aragón (Aragon Corporation of Radiotelevision), Murcia (Radiotelevision of

the Region of Murcia), and the Balearic Islands (Radiotelevision of the Balearic Islands). All programs of these most recent channels are private productions and, due to this, their budgets are much less than those of the original Radiotelevision Corporations of the autonomous communities.

In their respective territories, these autonomous televisions compete with six national television channels: two public channels (TVE 1 and TVE 2), four private channels (Antena 3, Cuatro, La Sexta, and Tele 5, the latter which belongs to the Vocento Corporation, the most important Spanish regional press group, and to Silvio Berlusconi's Fininvest Company), and some local channels.

Spanish autonomous televisions carry out a highly proficient general type of programming for their respective territories, with total broadcasting

Table 12.1 The Autonomous Televisions in Spain

Region	Budget 2004 in € millions	Personnel	Channels	Beginning of broadcasts	Language	Audience share %
			ETB-1	1982	Basque	5.3
EUSKADI	146,4	684	ETB-2	1986	Spanish	17.1
			TV 3	1983	Catalan	19.9
CATALUÑA	481,6	1,888	Canal 33	1989	Catalan	6.2
GALICIA	122,6	480	TVG	1985	Galician	17.4
MADRID	150,3	1,202	Telemadrid	1989	Spanish	14.9
			Canal Sur	1989	Spanish	19.2
ANDALU-			Canal 2			
CIA	469,5	1,455	Andalucia	1998	Spanish Catalan/	5.5
			Canal Nou	1989	Spanish Catalan/	17
			Noticies9/			
			Punt			
VALENCIA	251,1	1,294	Dos	1997	Spanish	2.1
CANARIAS		39	TVC	1999	Spanish	10.3
CASTILLA						
LA						
MANCHA	55,8	217	CMT	2001	Spanish Catalan/	11.6
BALEARES	60	—	IB3	2005	Spanish	—
			Aragón			
ARAGÓN	50	26	Televisión	2006	Spanish	—
			Región de			
MURCIA	—	—	Murcia	2006	Spanish	—
			TV Principado			
ASTURIAS	—	—	de Asturias	2006	Spanish	—

Source: The Yearbook of Television, 2005–GECA

hours amounting to approximately 7000 programming hours per channel, per year. In 1995, on the Catalonian national holiday (September 11), the Catalonian Television began experimental worldwide broadcasting through the satellites Hot Bird 1, Galaxy IV, and Intelsat K. This has enabled this television reach large Catalonian immigrant communities in Brussels, Toulouse, New York, and Mexico.

The other autonomous channels did the same, and at present almost every channel broadcasts outside Spain by satellite. For instance, the Basque Radiotelevision Corporation, EITB, broadcasts two channels by satellite: first, ETB SAT, has some programs in Basque and other programs in Spanish, and broadcasts to Europe; the second, Canal Vasco (the Basque Channel), broadcasts in Spanish and by satellite, and is carried by cable operators to Latin America. The Catalonian and Galician autonomous televisions also broadcast to the United States and Europe, while the televisions of Andalusia and Valencia only broadcast to Europe. In a transnational context, these channels would be called "ethnic channels," because they are oriented to an audience of emigrants with a common language and culture, and these channels work with "recycled" programs, which have already been broadcast in their domestic markets (Chalaby, 2005, p. 291). These programs are all of domestic production, as they do not have the right to broadcast most fiction (basically films and some series) outside their own regions.

Moreover, a great number of autonomous channels are broadcast to the whole of Spain by the digital satellite operator DIGITAL + (owned by Sogecable) and cable operators, the main one being ONO. ETB SAT is the international channel of the Basque Television, and it only broadcasts by satellite domestic programs that have been broadcast by the Basque channels, ETB-1, and ETB-2, as well as some other programs coproduced with other autonomous television channels. Its programs are broadcast in Spanish and in the Basque language.

The Basque satellite channel began its programming on September 15, 1997, within the digital package VIA DiGITAL (nowadays this platform is called DIGITAL+, after its merger, in 2002, with Canal Satélite Digital), via the Spanish satellite Hispasat. In addition, there are two radio channels: Euskadi Irratia (in the Basque Language) and Radio Euskadi (in Spanish). Since October 1998, ETB has also broadcast its programs in Latin America, where 1 million households can receive them via U.S. cable operators and direct-to-home (DTH) systems. Amid them are Basque immigrants and their descendants who came to Latin America after the Spanish civil war (1936–1939) and other historical periods during the past century. Since October 2000, this channel has been called "Canal Vasco," and it broadcasts some specific programs for the Basque emigrant communities in the United States.

Andoni Ortuzar (2000), who is the current director of the Basque Radio Television Corporation, summarized the situation of the Basque broadcasting by satellite "ETB has served to show Basque culture and language overseas. Paradoxically, ETB is watched in more households abroad than in the Basque country itself."

Autonomous television stations are financed through advertising and various public subsidies for television in the respective autonomous communities. In order to permit these subsidies, the policy of the European Union is very important because it is the European Commission that establishes the rules that decide whether these subsidies go against the concept of a free market (Harrison and Woods, 2001; Ward, 2003). Basically, following the protocol of the Amsterdam Treaty, these funds for public corporations are accepted if they can demonstrate their "proportionality and transparency," and if they serve to finance public service programs that private channels do not. This means, according to Syversten (2003, p. 157), there are three obligations for Public Service Broadcasting: Universal access, quality of contents, and promotion of the culture and national/regional identity. For some authors, like Bustamante (2004), the last obligation is the key point, as the largest communication corporations have little interest in promoting the social and political dimensions of communication. From a regional point of view this is very necessary, because regional communities have less capacity to generate their own contents.

EITB had a budget of € 146.4 million in 2004. The Basque government provided 75 percent of this budget, and the income from television advertising was responsible for the remaining 25 percent. In the 2006 budget, Basque Radio Television was scheduled to receive a subsidy of € 123 million from the Basque Government, which accounts for more than half of the whole budget for the Basque Department of Culture. The other most important subsidies awarded by this department are for "youth and sports" (€ 55.5 million) and "linguistic policy," basically to promote the Basque language (€ 39.2 million) and to increase its use with new technologies so as to provide support for schools in which adults are able to learn Basque (called, "euskaltegis").

Between 500 and 1,000 workers are employed by each autonomous television, except for the case of Television of Catalonia, which employs 1,800. The most recently created autonomous televisions (Asturias, Balearic Islands, Murcia, and Aragón) have adopted the externalization of their production, so their number of employees is less than that of the original televisions. In their respective autonomous communities, the autonomous television stations attract large audiences, and audience shares range from 15 percent to 20 percent, with these figures rising at some moments during prime time, except in the cases of the Canary Islands and Castilla la Mancha where audiences are around 10 percent. In 2004, the audience share of the first Basque channel was 5.3 percent and the second one (in Spanish) was 17.1 percent.

In 1989, the autonomous television stations joined to form the Federation of Autonomous Television Organizations (FORTA), which has expedited their acquisition of broadcasting rights for films, serials, sports events (the exclusive broadcasting rights for the Spanish Football—soccer—League from 1989 to 2006 were of key importance), news exchanges, and joint program production in Spain as well as on international markets. However, it has not made it possible for them to enter the European Broadcasting Union (UER-EBU), which was one of their main objectives.

Basque Television

Having pointed out these general considerations on autonomous television, we would now like to focus on the Basque Country, or "Euskadi," as it is called in the Basque language, and the role its radio and television have played in developing the Basque language and culture.

According to the 2005 census, the autonomous community of the Basque Country has over 2 million inhabitants, 28 percent of whom speak the Basque language, or "euskara." The Basque language is also spoken in the northern region of the Autonomous Community of Navarre and the Basque Country in the south of France (Département des Bas Pyrénées). Transmitters have been installed in all of these areas and other neighboring zones by private institutions so that the Basque radio and television stations can be heard and seen.

Since the end of 1979, the Basque Country has had its own by-laws, which have given the region the right to democratically elect its own parliament and government, create its own police force, and exercise authority in many areas, such as the following: education, culture, social security, the economy, fiscal policy, transport, communications, mass media, and so on. Almost the only area of authority left in the hands of the central government is that pertaining to the army and foreign policy, as now even the currency (the euro) is not a competency of the central Spanish government.

Within the framework of its policy for development of the Basque language and culture, as well as to set the bases for the region's own means of communication and news, in 1982, the Basque government created, by Parliamentary law, the Basque Radio and Television Corporation. The Basque Television began broadcasting on December 31, 1982 and, over a decade later, took its first steps on the international scene by organizing, in 1994, the International Conference on Public Television, INPUT, in San Sebastián (Basque Country).

At present, the Basque Television has four channels: ETB-1, which offers 8,760 broadcasting hours yearly over the air in the Basque language; ETB-2, which totals 8,300 broadcasting hours in Spanish, ETB SAT, and Canal Vasco, which broadcast 8,760 hours per year by satellite. The EITB group also has five radio stations with more than 300,000 listeners every day: Euskadi Irratia, Radio Euskadi, Euskadi Gaztea, Radio Vitoria, and Radio EITB Irratia. The stations broadcast in Spanish (Euskadi Irratia), another in Basque (Radio Euskadi), while the third one (Euskadi Gaztea) is a music station for young people, also in Basque, the fourth (Radio Vitoria) is a local radio in the province of Alava, and the last one Radio EITB Irratia, began broadcasting in June 2001 and mainly offers music and cultural events of general interest.

These television and radio stations are vital to the development of Basque culture as these are the only ones operating in this language in addition to the few local radio stations in the Basque Country that are located on both sides of the border. Nevertheless, the television offering in "euskara"

accounts for only about 8–10 percent of the total television programming that is telecast to Basque households. In this percentage we have not taken into account the new digital terrestrial channels (DTT), which began broadcasting in November 2005 to the whole of Spain. These channels have obviously been responsible for a decrease in the relative importance given by the viewers to regional television; nevertheless, in 2010, when the "switchover" will take place in Spain, and the Spanish autonomous communities will be able to launch new digital terrestrial channels in their regions (one multiplex, with four channels each).

Programming

The aim of the two television over-the-air channels (ETB-1 and ETB-2) is to be proficient, competing with other public and private channels. The channel that broadcasts in Basque places special emphasis on cultural programs (20.5 percent), news (16.2 percent), and sports programs (13 percent). Music and magazine programs account for the rest, 9 percent and 30.7 percent respectively (see graph 12.1).
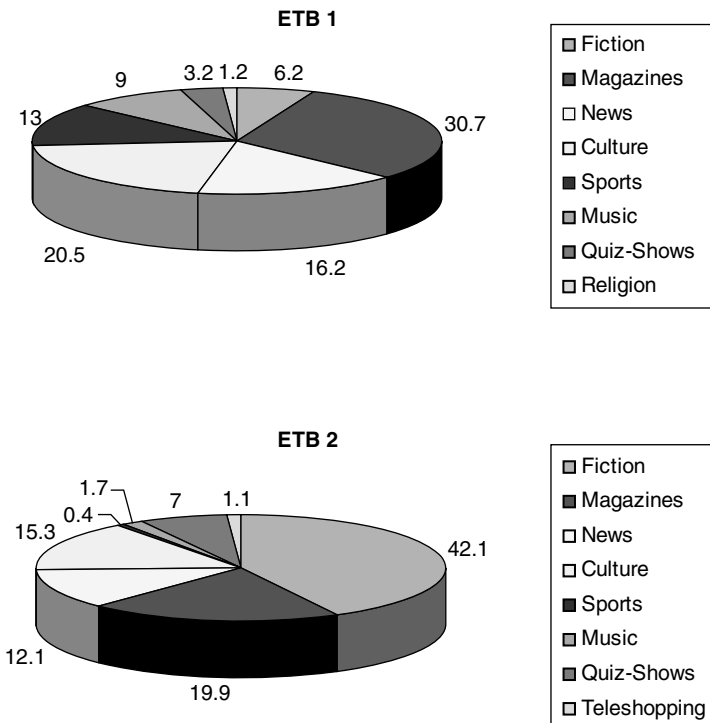
Graph 12.1   Percentages by Program Genre in ETB-1 and ETB-2
Source: Television Yearbook, 2005–GECA
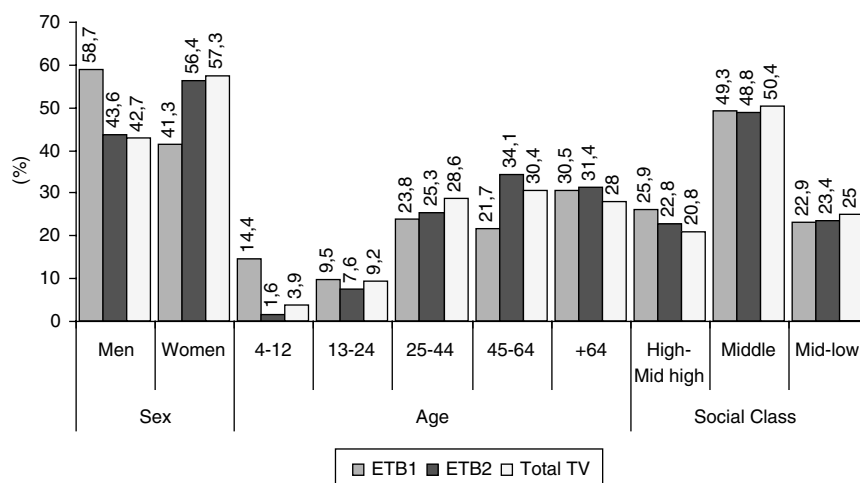
Graph 12.2   Profile of ETB Audience
Source: Television Yearbook, 2005–GECA

Some 250,000 people, almost half of the Basque-speaking population, report watching this channel for over half an hour a day. ETB-1 focuses on integrating youngsters to the Basque language, devoting from three to four hours of its daily programming to this genre. A very young audience of four–twelve-year olds comprises 14.4 percent of the audience of ETB-1, while this percentage is only 1.6 percent in ETB-2 and 3.9 percent in the other channels. Other aspects that differentiate the audience of ETB-1 from that of other channels is that the percentage of women viewers and people between ages 45–65 is less than that of the other channels (Garitaonandia, 2005; see graph 12.2). Between the dilemma impact and content (Costera Meijer, 2005), Basque Public Television has tried to provide a balanced service in the Basque language, aiming to develop a cultural identity similar to the Flemish case (Van den Bulck, 2001).

In the morning, the program *Betizu* for children has been a big success, especially its club, which has a membership of 100,000 children who participate live from the studio in activities and games shown on many programs. There are also other programs, like *Barrebusa*, which has clowns. On the other hand, ETB-1 completes its attention for Basque adolescents in the afternoon with some other programs for them, such as a magazine for teenagers and a musical. In ETB-2, the channel in Spanish, 42 percent of the programming is fiction. The rest is fundamentally magazine programs (19.9 percent), cultural programs (15.3 percent), news (12.1 percent), and quiz shows (7 percent).

Domestic Production

The Basque media have played a vital role in normalizing the use of the Basque language in a number of areas of social life. The Basque language is

now used in sports, cultural life, parliament, and town hall politics. It is in the past **30** years that the Basque language has come of age; it was previously a cloistered language that could be used only within the family, at home.

The media have also made progress in the task of homogenizing the language, as there are marked dialectal differences in the seven Basque provinces of France and Spain, and the language that was unified by the Royal Academy of the Basque Language has been more of a cultural instrument and thus somewhat removed from everyday life.

Basque radio and television have been driving forces behind many types of cultural, musical, artistic, and theatrical activities and undertakings. They have certainly contributed to the creation and growth of film, program production, dubbing, and video producing companies as well as schools and faculties specializing in radio and film. They have also represented a necessary step in the training of journalists, scriptwriters, actors, producers, and many professionals and technicians in the audiovisual field. Luis Alberto Aramberri (2000), who occupied the post of director in the Basque Television some years ago, summarized the situation prior to the creation of the Basque radio and television: "There were no audiovisual productions in *euskara* in the Basque Country, no dubbing or production industry, no video companies, and there were only about twenty journalism graduates and two television professionals, in France 3 and TVE (Spain), who knew the Basque language."

Today, in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Communication of the University of the Basque Country alone, 661 students study Journalism, Radiotelevision, Publicity and Public Relations in the Basque language (Guia Docente 2005–2006—an annual Academic Guide published by the University of Basque Country); this number is exclusive of the number of students studying in private schools.

The joint work carried out by audiovisual companies and professionals has enabled ETB to register the highest volume of domestic production of all Spanish televisions, including the national televisions. When it began the production of a Basque soap opera, *Goenkale* (Main Street), it marked a milestone in the area of domestic production. This program has enjoyed amazing audience success (35 percent share) among the Basque-speaking population and has succeeded in attracting a large number of viewers who are not fluent Basque speakers. This teleseries ranks first in its program genre, thus displacing some world famous series such as *Roseanne* (28.4 percent), *Mr. Bean* (26.8 percent), and *Medicine Woman* (25.7 percent).

A few years ago, a book containing the *Goenkale* scripts (Taldea, 1995), in *euskara*, held its place for some weeks on the bestseller list in the main shopping centers of the Basque Country. *Goenkale* has also been a success at the production level, as an episode a day was completed, followed by a three or four day period between recording and the actual broadcasting. Working with two scriptwriting teams and three groups of producers, with over 3,000 people taking part in the different episodes, there was a record-breaking production time of one day, editing for half a day, and costs of

$13,000 per episode. The fact that the series was filmed in the Basque Country in such short production time made it possible to include elements typical of the area and current topics of interest, such as problems related to unemployment, drugs, violence, terrorism, conscientious objectors, immigration from northern Africa, and the like.

In the 1990s, the public company Euskal Media, which operated from 1991 to 1997, collaborated in financing the production of more than 30 films: 20 short films, and 10 television series in the Basque Country. The cartoon series *The Legend of the North Wind* and the documentary series *Comics' Greatest Masters* are included in the latter category. Euskal Media invested almost 6 million dollars in this finance venture, and in some cases contributed up to 30 percent of the total film budget. This company also contributed to financing ETB's entry in the Cannes MIT-TV international market. Euskal Media's offices were the broadcast headquarters for the European Union's MEDIA program for northern Spain. Euskal Media, jointly with the Basque Film Library (Filmoteca Vasca) and the Autonomous Government, handled organization for screening the independent audiovisual producers market, linked to the European project Euro-Aim in those years (Casado, 2006).

In order to evaluate the role of the Basque Radio Television in the promotion of Basque audiovisual production, it is necessary to take into account the framework of the European Union, because the Television Without Frontiers Directive obliges the state members to broadcast more than 50 percent of European programs. To achieve this quota, Spain obliges every television operator (the autonomous ones included) to dedicate 5 percent of their incomes to producing Spanish programs. In accordance with this obligation, EITB has signed an agreement with the Association of Producers of the Basque Country in which it promises to provide financial support for the production of eight films (at least one in the Basque language) and seven documentaries each year.

In the same way, the Department of Culture of the Basque government is developing a policy to promote the audiovisual production by giving an annual subsidy of € 1.2 million and awarding loans (€ 9 million) at a low interest rate. The Basque Television also granted advances to the producers as a deposit for purchase of television rights. Furthermore, the Basque Department of Culture provides a subsidy program for dubbing videos/DVDs in the Basque language. Therefore, the Basques can find cartoons and Hollywood's biggest box office winners dubbed in the Basque language in their local video/DVD shops. In recent years, the tendency has been to dedicate the whole amount of dubbing to children's videos and DVDs (e.g., cartoons based on the tales of the British writer Beatrix Potter).

Conclusions

The first step taken as a measure with which to protect the Basque culture and language was when the Spanish state became organized in the same way

as a Federal state, with 17 autonomous communities—amongst them, the Basque Country. It allowed Basques to organize their own television to develop their language and culture. Since the end of the 1960s, a high proportion of European administrations have been undergoing the so-called process of regionalization, which has also included their public television networks, but their level of autonomy has not been as high as that of Spanish Autonomous Television Channels.

The Basque language, forbidden during Franco's Regime (1936–1975), is now taught both at school and in special courses for adults. But, the aim of the Basque Television has not only been to help to increase the number of Basque speakers, but also to normalize the use of the language in every field (politics, economics, culture, sports, and so on) because, previously, it had been a language spoken only at home. The development and the study of community media has been fundamental to improve the influence of those means of communication, and to guarantee that their content are oriented to promote local and regional culture, specially in the case of public broadcasters.

The public Basque Television (EITB) has not only been a cultural project; beyond that, it has also acted as a catalyst for the Basque cinema and television industry (films, shorts, television series, and so on). The Basque audiovisual production really started 27 years ago, when the Statute of Autonomy was passed. We monitor all this with great interest.

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The Power of Participatory Community: Lessons Learned from Bangkokian Experience

Parichart Sthapitanonda and Chaiwat Thirapantu

Community and Communication

The Meaning of "Community"

The complexity of today's megacities can make people question the meaning of the term "community." In the past, when we thought of community, we might have mentioned physical characteristics of the community, such as buildings, highways, markets, and groups of individual publics who could live independently in urban areas. The concept of community could also apply to congested areas or slums in urban environments, and the chaotic life in the city, as well as community problems such as pollution, crimes, drugs, and the like.

One approach is humanistic. For example, some people believe the real community cannot exist unless we focus on groups of people as the central factor in the community. There are others who seek to relate the root of the word "community" with "communication"; in this sense, community implies interdependent active citizens who communicate with one another, and actively participate in making collective decisions, while doing the best they can for their civic lives.

The Challenge of Community

A number of communities nowadays face both social and economic problems. Despite the fact that we need to solve a number of problems, we need to find some positive activities for the community to grow in a sustainable direction. We also need to restrengthen our own communities, by making them healthier and livelier. Herbert Girardet (1996) believes that a community needs to have both effective policies and creative approaches, and that community leaders need to get local residents to actively participate in projects,

especially in the decision-making process. He thinks nobody can know the community's needs better than its own citizens.

The challenge of community, especially of community leaders, therefore, does not lie in any single attempt to develop the major infrastructure in the community or to solve the critical problems of the community; rather, its challenge lies in managing "human potential" and mobilizing the power of the community's groups in directing the route of community building. In other words, one of the major challenges for community building is how to determine the future of the community by which publics can become the center of the process. At the same time, community organizations may seek to adapt themselves to serve the public need, and to encourage public participation and public responsibility in community projects.

The Challenge of Communication and Community Practices

A number of scholars believe that a community has close ties with communication. For example, Seymour J. Mandelbaum (1972) says that a city, or a community, is a communication network that can be subdivided into a series of smaller territories; he posits that a person's community is the set of people, roles, and places with whom she/he communicates. Scott M. Peck (1987) also highlights the link between community and communication as, according to him, both community and communication stem from the same Latin root of *commune*. This notion implies that communication among public citizens is a significant factor in the community.

When linking community with people politics, David Mathews (1999) places an emphasis on the role of two-way communication in connecting people to participatory politics. Essentially, he believes that two-way, active communication, or dialogue, is a tool to help people recognize problems in their surroundings. Further, Mathews has found out that communication is not an end in itself, but a means to an end—deliberative democracy, the quality of communication or dialogue among publics being an indication of its quality. He believes that deliberative democracy can grow when people communicate with each other, making collective actions, and become responsible for civic work in the community.

In terms of participatory communication, Singhal (2001, 2004) defines it as a dynamic, interactional, and transformative process of dialogue between people, groups, and institutions enabling people, both individually and collectively, to realize their full potential and be engaged in their own welfare. In terms of its approach, he observes that the main focus is on issues of public and community access to appropriate media, participation of people in message design and media production, and self-management of communication enterprises; accordingly, it plays more roles in media-based activities such as community radio and television, folk media, and new communication technology. A number of scholars recall that a concept of participatory communication can be applied in two major approaches: The dialogical approach

based on human interaction, and the participatory community media approach based on technology uses (Servaes, 1999; Singhal, 2001, 2004; Sthapitanonda, 2006).

By focusing on human interaction approach, White (1999) has found that interactive communication among one another can help people examine their philosophy of development; in addition, it can help people define their roles and purposes in the development context. By communicating with one another, people can share their knowledge and insight about how to take collective control over their lives and the environment.

Windahl, Signitzer, and Olson (1992) also realize that collective action is the result of communication and shared information; based on a study of Thunburg et al. (1982), they propose that communication is a means of empowerment, with communication between people the basis for making the voice of the less privileged heard and of bringing about an interaction spiral in the community. In order to achieve empowerment, one needs to look at the major functions of communication in the society: expressive, social, information, and control activation. These communication functions are related to and complement each another. Their interaction may lead to the spiral of increased identity, community, knowledge, and action, and can enable the target community to reach its goal.

Based on the theoretical framework mentioned, it is challenging to apply communication into practice. We decided to focus on the dialogical-based approach of participatory communication, which has more application in the practice of community development (Singhal, 2004; Sthapitanonda, 2006). Particularly, we wanted to check see whether human-based, participatory communication can act as the "theatre," reflecting, explaining, and predicting the communicative life of people in the community. In addition, we aimed to know the extent to which participatory communication could direct communicative strategies on healthy community actions among the public.

The Challenging Roles of Communication Scholars and Students

The roles of scholars and students have always been questioned and criticized. We believe that communication scholars should serve not only the scholarly community, or private sectors, but also the social demand, especially in advising the direction of their societies. Students, we believe, should not only serve themselves, their families, or their personal well-being, they should also apply their knowledge from classes to practice. They should conduct research not only for research purposes, but also for practical applications. In the end, they should seek to bring about healthy social change in their community.

With belief in the power of individuals to contribute to the improvement of their society, Civicnet was founded in 1997; since then, it has supported the civil society movement in several regions of Thailand, especially by serving as both the network coordinator and the civil society information support center. Based on experiences in community and civil society, Civicnet

(1999) proposed a triadic model for social change, requiring three units in the community to work together: scholars, social workers, and community opinion leaders. According to Civicnet, these units need to cooperate among one another and other organizations in initiating, planning, and mobilizing social change; they should also summarize and analyze lessons learned, applying them to guide the future direction of the community.

It is, therefore, challenging for us—a university scholar and an activist on community issues—to join hands and conduct participatory action research. Our research goal is to revitalize and humanize the community, especially in encouraging public participation in the project.

Participatory Community and Communication

Our Research Site

We believe that a traditional community can represent the historical root of the modern day megacity, representing as it does the identity of that megacity and the sociocultural values and lifestyles of its publics. It can be a valuable learning center among both old and new generations and can act as a melting pot, blending together people's experience and creativity. Based on these concepts, we selected the Prang community, a residential area in the historical town of Rattanakosin Island, Bangkok, Thailand, as our research site.

Our Mission and Methodology

Our main mission was to revitalize and humanize communities in Bangkok—difficult for people like us, who do not have any authority or bureaucratic support. Yet, we believe that the power of publics, especially in the local community, could help us achieve our goals. By focusing on an established community like the Prang community, we sought to reach a concrete example of making the community be lively, healthy, and vital. Our tasks included the following: (1) Designing the research project, in order to challenge public involvement in revitalizing and humanizing the community, and (2) Understanding the extent to which the participatory process could occur. So, we decided to use participatory action research for both the project development and the research purposes.

Our Action Plan

We divided the working steps into four phases: (1) Sparking the idea, (2) Designing the activities, (3) Communicating to the public, and (4) Participatory learning of the process. The following sections detail these plans.

Phase 1: Sparking the idea. Fortunately, our mission did not start from ground zero. As an activist, Chaiwat Thirapantu, the coauthor, has spent several years

encouraging people to come together and do something about the pollution and other ills that plague Bangkok. When focusing on the Prang community, he was responsible for sparking the idea of community leaders and other supporting groups using the following methods:

- Reaching out to the local community. Through his role as the president of Civicnet, Thirapantu has succeeded in getting to know Prang community leaders by using his informal network. He met them informally several times, and soon they trusted him as a friend. During the meetings, he also sought to emphasize the basic messages on the importance of the traditional community in the modern megacities.

- Organizing the public forum. Public participation cannot exist if we do not have space and time for public interaction. So we requested and obtained a sponsorship from Goethe institute in Bangkok to organize a three-day public forum on *Public Building, Public Culture, Public City* in an old school in the Prang community. Believing that the community needs partners to support the project of revitalizing the community, we invited 40 participants, our key target publics, to join the seminar and share ideas with others. They included those who were interested in urban development and culture, such as government officers, scholars, mass media practitioners, businessmen, architects, community leaders, and the residents. We also invited a group of experts from Germany who were successful in organizing community-based activities, to share their experiences. At the end of the forum, the participants reflected that the forum led them to a plan of action, a commitment for further activities, and friendship among them.

- Keeping continued contact with the Prang community. We believe that communication is the core of the community, we continue to get in touch with the community through informal meetings, phone calls, and so on. We also seek to encourage them to organize participatory activities in their communities.

- Reaching out to students. In order to make students successfully apply comm-unication concepts from the classroom to community action, we took a group of 30 undergraduate students from Chulalongkorn University as the target group. Parichart Sthapitanonda, the first author, introduced problem-based learning to her development communication class there, where students were encouraged to expose scenarios of communication for development, commu-nity, public participation, and civil society. The students were required to select their cases and, as a result, were committed to working with the community.

Phase 2: Designing the activities. We believe that event communication is one of the best activities to get public involvement and build the learning community. Therefore, we facilitated the following activities:

- Organizing a brainstorming session for students and community leaders. The topic was the healthy community, and how to achieve it. Instead of giving them a lecture, we acted as facilitators and let students and community leaders learn from the group experience, empowering them with brainstorming tools such as mind-mapping and metaplans.

- Facilitating the event. After the brainstorming session, everyone was committed to organizing a public fair in the Prang community. Analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of the community, the participants agreed that the identity of the Prang community was in its old-style location, its well-known food, and the area of its famous writers; therefore, they decided to call the fair "Kin-Arn Nai Yan Prang" or "Eat and Read in the Prang Community." In this process, the

community leaders committed themselves to being responsible for organizing the local events and finding sponsors. The communication students, on the other hand, were responsible for designing the content and channels to communicate to community residents— both the young and the old, journalists, and the general public. For us, what we could do at this step was to support their concepts, observe their activities, and help them when requested.

- Guiding the data collection process. Since students did not live within the Prang community, they had to learn its many aspects, especially the viewpoints of the community residents. This implies they live there, and so have a vested interest in the area. We recommended they design a mini-research project in order to know the community and their residents well. Therefore, they conducted research in the Prang community by interviewing the target public, conducting the focus group, and collecting old documents in the library, thereby learning a number of distinct characteristics about the community.

Phase 3: Communicating to the publics. We believe that event communication is one of the most effective ways to communicate to target audiences, as it helps disseminate information to publics and can also provide publics with real experiences that can be observable, measurable, or even achievable. Based on the research results, we divided the target audiences into four groups: community residents, children and their parents, media practitioners, and general Bangkokians. We also sought to design activities in order to communicate to each group. These activities are described below:

- Key message—We believe that a key message can act as a strong communication tool; accordingly, we encouraged the community and the students to reach agreement on what they wanted the public to recognize about the community event, "Eat and Read in the Prang Community," and the historical roots of the community. After the brainstorming session, they agreed that the key message to reach the public was inviting people to the fair, especially to learn about the historical values of the old community and to gain a direct experience by interacting with the lively community. They also agreed to use the colors yellow and green as symbolic of the fair since they represented the color of historical building in the community.
- Media activities—All stakeholders believe in the power of the mass media, especially to get public attention and release useful information to the general public; therefore, they conducted a number of media activities, such as a press conference, press releases, and press briefings. They also produced a community map, showing a number of historical locations in the community.
- Traditional food and a book fair—Both food and books represented the identity of the Prang community in the old days; so, to get local public involvement, we invited local community residents to sell their "special" traditional food. We also invited local publishers to sell books and encouraged celebrities to talk about their experiences in the Prang community. This fair was also designed to get media and public attention, especially for identity of the Bangkok old community.
- Activities on the stage—These included panel discussions on local life in the past and the future, traditional dances by children in the community, and music—activities designed to make the local community residents proud of their heritage, to share information to general publics, to get close to one another, and to become partners in the future.
- Children's activities—These included storytelling, shows, games, and so on, for kids, mainly designed to attract children and instill in them the feeling that they belonged to the community through its activities.

- Community tour by community residents—This activity was specially designed to achieve two-way, direct, and interactive communication between community residents and general publics. By sharing historical and cultural information, we believed that both the community residents and the general public would be proud of Bangkok's little community.

Phase 4: Participatory Learning Process. After the fair, we decided to summarize the lessons on our experimental project. Team members were required to apply such brainstorming techniques as mind-mapping and metaplanning to reflect their attitudes, opinions, information and knowledge gained from the fair. The following sections discusses the results.

What Have We Learned from the Project?

What we learned from this exercise clearly went beyond simple applications of communication. Pedagogically and practically, our experience included a range of different discoveries:

1. Two-way interactive communication is a necessary principle of participatory community. We found out that interactive two-way communication among participants can, indeed, lead to participatory community. According to the group analysis, participatory community occurs as a result of the learning process, when participants get involved in brainstorming sessions, communicate with one another, share ideas, learn from other viewpoints, make community commitment, and actively participate in community work.
2. Participatory community requires heart-to-heart communication. People need to communicate not only by using their brains, but also by their hearts, with an emphasis on sincerity. This process can build the public imagination about community and can also lead to trust among one another and to the responsibility to cooperate in projects.
3. Democratic communication in the group process is a key element of communication to ensure community participation. Not only does one have a right to speak out, she/he also needs to listen to and accept other viewpoints; in addition, a group should be set up and work under agreeable rules and regulations.
4. Apart from communication, participatory community requires other factors. If we consider community spirit as a bowl of soup, communication is like water, the basic ingredient of the soup. But we need other ingredients, such as people and their community spirit—especially in terms of hope, strong intention, willingness, rules and regulation, space, and activities, and more.
5. A public event can act as both an example and an indicator of participatory community. To organize a successful public event requires cooperation among community groups in terms of time, ideas, budget, works, and so on. Especially, it is the learning process among everyone in the group on how to manage the event successfully. A public event also reflects the extent to which participation can occur in the community.
6. Mass media is an effective tool for communicating to publics—news articles, radio programs, television news and shows can help disseminate information to general publics. This information, including programs, principles, activities, and atmosphere, offers examples of why and how to revitalize and humanize a community by the participatory concept. By getting media attention, it can

also strengthen the pride of community residents and encourage the spirit of public community.

7. In terms of communication education, the Prang community helped us to confirm that a cooperative project between a community and a class of students is possible. Here, students told us that they understand the concept of development communication much better than reading books or listening to lectures, and can get direct experience in applying their capacities and knowledge into action. Community leaders can also learn basic communication skills by interacting with students and joining projects.

8. Flow of information and decision making can become an issue in the participatory project. Prang's fair was managed as a volunteer-based project, so it is difficult to manage the flows of information, especially from one group to others. It is also difficult to take a group decision in a short period of time. In order to overcome that issue, the participants suggested that we needed both time and space for the group forum so participants can talk, discuss the issues, and make choices together to learn more and to move from individual opinions toward more shared and reflective judgments.

Final Thought

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, our participatory project at the Prang community is still ongoing. We believe that no project can succeed overnight; we need more time, energy, money, people, and reflection in order to revitalize and humanize the Prang community. But isn't it challenging?

Notes

This chapter investigates the potential of participatory community toward making healthy communities. By applying communication concepts into practices, we conducted participatory action research and have participated in a local community project in Bangkok, "Healthy Public Life," finding a number of lessons that can be shared in the area of community and communication.

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Civic Adventure in Turkey: Creation and Evolution of TOSAM and the "Radio Democracy" Project

Dogu Ergil

When we decided it was time to put a healthy diagnosis to the ongoing "Kurdish problem" of Turkey, it had already exacted blood from the youth of Turkey for almost a decade. The conflict that was named as mere terrorism has not only consumed tens of thousands of young men and women of Turkey in a fratricide, but has cost dearly in economic terms and shadowed the country's image as an immature democracy with little respect for rule of law. Efforts to convince two successive prime ministers, a deputy prime minister, and a minister of interior to sponsor research into the nature of the problem was turned down; for the officialdom, it was neither a social problem nor an economic one. It was merely the making of alien powers by instigating unruly elements in the society that were alien to national "values" anyway. And because it was a matter of security, the security forces of the country were giving them the necessary answer they deserved. An unnamed war waged in the country while the citizens watched, stunned. Debate about it was aborted by executive order, rendering it a legal liability as well as ostracism from the media and public access.

Our efforts bore fruit in early 1994 when we convinced Yalim Erez, the then president of the Turkish Union of Chambers of Commerce and Industry (TOBB), of the importance of understanding the true nature of the protracted conflict that was tearing the country asunder. Agreement was reached on two research projects under the sponsorship of TOBB, the largest business organization in Turkey. With a membership of more than 700,000, the Union nationally organized business concerns.

TOSAM (Center for the Research of Societal Problems)

The TOBB administration wrote to the Ankara University to engage me as a special adviser to the president in order to conduct the aforementioned study (Turkish University Law allows such cooperation between the university and public organizations). The endeavor began with the training of a team of 10 researchers/interviewers by me and staff researchers of TOBB and development of a questionnaire form. We conducted a field survey on the attitudes of Kurds to uncover relations with their families, with their indigenous communities, and with society at large. Their identity constructs were of utmost importance, because their insistence on ethnic identity (Kurdishness) openly clashes with the official identity provided by the state: Turkish. Other important data that was sought was the Kurds' relationship or feelings concerning the state and the armed insurgent (outlawed) organization, the Workers Party of Kurdistan (PKK).

Field research was conducted in three provinces of southeastern Turkey with predominantly Kurdish populations (Diyarbakir, Batman, and Mardin), as well as three provinces in the southern Mediterranean littoral (Adana, Mersin, and Antalya) that have a deluge of Kurdish migration in recent years. When the study, titled "The Eastern Question: Observations and Diagnosis," was published, hell broke loose in Turkey. ("Eastern Question" is a euphemism for the Kurdish question of who predominantly lives in eastern Turkey).

The Kurdish problem is one of the by products of nation building. After the collapse of the multiethnic, multicultural Ottoman Empire following World War I, the Republic of Turkey was created as a nation-state. The founders of the republic wanted a homogenous society fashioned after the Turkish identity. They tried to "Turkify" the plural stock of the nation. The smaller population groups were assimilated. The biggest ethnic minority in Turkey resisted and demonstrated its resistance through several rebellions the last of which was severely crushed in 1938. However, a new brand of Kurdish rebels, educated in urban centers and socialized in the Marxist tradition of the Turkish left initiated a leftist-nationalist armed rebellion in 1984 that has continued to this day with intervals.

The Kurdish question in Turkey is further complicated with the traditionalism, tribalism and underdevelopment of Kurdish provinces that lie in the southeast of the country, which borders on the most troubled spot of the Middle East, Syria, Iraq, and Iran. In short the problem is both political and a matter of delayed development and modernization.

First, a subject that was taboo was opened to discussion. Second, a supposedly bastion of conservatism—a small and medium business class organization—was sponsoring the study. Third, the ideological and moral foundations on which existing security policies and institutions were built were fundamentally challenged by the findings. Their intention and scientific nature were immediately disregarded; the study declared a CIA plot to

divide the country. As the director of research project I and other supporting staff were accused of being accessories to alien powers wanting to partition our country. In spite of the "untouchable" nature of the (ethnic) problem, the issue was debated on every television channel, in every newspaper, and on radio stations for an entire month. Only a major war had attracted this much coverage. The basic reason for the coverage was that every columnist, broadcaster, or commentator used the study's publication as an opportunity to air his/her views.

Subsequently, official suspicion of the Kurds proved to be unsubstantiated because 90 percent responded that they did not want an independent Kurdistan; rather, they wanted to remain in Turkey as equal citizens, but respected as Kurds. Kurdishness was not posed as being contradictory to being a citizen of Turkey—so, the official position of declaring everyone who does not deem herself/himself ethnic Turkish as subversive proved to be an archaic and unjust attitude. At the same time, the PKK had wide-ranging psychological support amongst the Kurds of the southeast (not in the cities) because it was the only organization defying the government position of repressing every, even the most democratic, Kurdish organization. Although only a few of the Kurds would accept living under the tutelage of a Marxist-Leninist authoritarian organization like the PKK, in the absence of any other Kurdish organization representing their dissent and pride, it had acquired a representative quality by default. The study named the PKK as "the illegitimate child of the system in Turkey." These findings and many others shattered the official view concerning the Kurds and the exclusive nature of the official definition of nationhood, based not on a social contract by the people but imposed from above for the citizens to obey.

Not only was the study condemned by the status quo and every group associated with it, but my advisory services were also terminated by the TOBB administration and I was prosecuted. This was not a regular court, but a political one created for crimes of a terrorist nature called the State Security Court. Convinced of the ignorance of the Turks about the "Kurdish problem," as they have never the asked the Kurds to articulate their complaints, I decided to appeal to international organizations with expertise in conflict resolution techniques. Appeals to the Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIO) and an American NGO called Search for Common ground (SFCG, in Washington DC) bore fruit, as they sent experts to meet. After recruiting representative Kurds and Turks to take part in a negotiating team, putting together a group of experts for mediation, consulting and fundraising from nongovernmental resources, the meetings began. A group of seven Turks and seven Kurds from different professions with varying social and institutional affiliations met discreetly and in politically neutral locations (France, Switzerland, and Belgium). While most nationalist members of each side could not even look eye-to-eye at the beginning, they began to walk arm-in-arm by the end of the year.

Both sides understood that they were not each other's enemy. There was a system pitting them against each other, and that system should change.

Having agreed on the nature of the problem and many of the remedies, the group(s) decided to write down the points on which they agreed. When the consensual document emerged, everyone saw that what started as a search to obtain healthy data could be used for a solution to the "Kurdish problem," a framework for democratization of the Turkish political system. All participants and facilitators agreed that this was a healthy outcome. Not only was there a consensual document at hand to shed light to the nature of the problem, they had also found a chance to change the authoritarian political system of their country; they called it "The Document of Mutual Understanding" (DOMU).

The excitement soon turned into concerns about the future. Could this understanding survive in a real life situation? Could it be transformed into a national consensus? Upon this consensus, a new constitutional system could be built, reflecting new qualities like pluralism, multiculturalism, and rule of law. Discussions led to the agreement that an organizational instrument was necessary to carry the mutual understanding of the group to society, to solicit its support. After long deliberations, a foundation to take on this mission was established. In order to give a wider perspective to its activities and to secure the endorsement of the authorities, the group decided to name the new institution, Foundation for the Research of Societal Problems (TOSAV).

TOSAV, founded in early 1997, had a threefold action plan: To seek conciliation between Turkish and Kurdish citizens of the Republic of Turkey, to disseminate the culture of democracy, and to sensitize the society and administration to the multicultural reality of the country. For that purpose, meetings were organized in regional centers all over the country with local opinion leaders and their followers. Before each meeting, the founders of TOSAV made it obvious this was another step toward a national consensus. The final form of the "document" emerged after the last meeting, to which other (non-Muslim) minority members were invited to Istanbul. With each regional meeting, the DOMU matured and developed with new inputs and criticisms; only those proposals or principles on which there was unanimous agreement were included.

Seven regional meetings were organized in Turkey, as well as one in Europe to which TOSAM invited opinion leaders living in the diaspora. The one near Geneva, Switzerland was groundbreaking, with 25 opinion leaders from 6 different countries attending, declaring they would support Turkey's accession to the European Union (EU)—something they had previously opposed. They stated that resisting Turkey's candidacy to the EU would condemn Turkey to its own darkness, which neither the Turks nor the Kurds would benefit from continuation of the authoritarian regimen; in fact, Kurds would suffer more. Events that followed proved the verity of their analysis as well as their sincere efforts petitioning civil societal organizations for Turkey's candidacy.

Unfortunately, both the Turkish government and the PKK viewed these efforts as deviant because these power centers had positioned themselves as

"warriors" rather than political actors. They wanted to dominate their respective political domains and leave no middle ground for their constituencies to reconcile. Like all warriors, they opted for war rather than conciliation. Therefore, organizations such as TOSAV's were frowned upon as suspicious, subterfuge, or infiltration of the other side into their own ranks or affairs. Hence, they did not allow the creation of a "middle ground," where conciliation could take place. That ground remained a battleground where the sound of the guns was heard rather than the voice of reason.

More aware of the dire need of disseminating a culture of democracy to promote their efforts of conciliation, the TOSAV board decided to launch two complimentary programs. One was to initiate a radio program called "Democracy Radio," now in its tenth year. It worked through three radio stations in Ankara, buying time on Saturdays, 11.30 a.m.–1.00 p.m., which is prime time in Turkey for radio listeners, when TOSAV members presented a well-developed topic concerning democracy, such as "Democracy and Rule of Law," "Democracy and Women," or "Democracy and Environmental Issues." Then, invited experts offered their learned opinions on the subjects. In the remaining 30–40 minutes, listeners could call in and either present comments or ask questions. This interactive program has been so successful that 15 radio stations all over Turkey have demanded recorded programs from TOSAV in order to rebroadcast them to their local listeners and to open up debates. On demand, TOSAV printed a book of its programs (*Talking Democracy* 1 and 2), and through the Ministry of Culture, it has distributed 1300 copies to all existing public libraries in the countries. The books are also given away by the radio stations as prizes to winners of quiz contests.

TOSAV also published a quarterly journal. Because of strict rules on having a paid director for publications liable to legal scrutiny, and obligation of being conversant with all the languages in which the journal was printed, it was named *Tosav Newsletter*. In addition to these obligations, the requirement of clearing the periodical's content was bypassed. Newsletters are irregular, not subject to constant police scrutiny unless they are brought to the attention of the authorities. Paid experts translated the newsletter into English and Kurdish, and the trilingual newsletter was distributed around the world—creating a substantial readership. The heavy burden brought on by the cost of the journal was met by a fund obtained from the European Commission (Media-Democracy Program).

Past tense is used here because the Ankara State Security Court No. 1 suspended TOSAV's activities when the foundation printed the finalized version of the DOMU. Although the ban on publishing in Kurdish was lifted in 1991, the authorities have made it a habit of making things harder when something political is printed in Kurdish. The Court found the document "subversive" and "supportive of separatism." Not only was the DOMU banned and confiscated, TOSAV's activities were also halted. Faced with this fait accompli, a group of TOSAV founders who wanted to complete

their unfinished mission joined hands with new people from academia and the labor movement, and created the Center for the Research of Societal Problems [Toplum Sorunlarini Arastirma Merkezi] (TOSAM). This time the organization dropped the "V" from its name that stood for foundation and replaced it with "M," which stood for center. The new center was founded according to the law of associations.

TOSAM shouldered all of the activities of TOSAV and more. Raising public awareness concerning further democratization, rule of law, and meeting the Copenhagen Criteria was a necessary condition for impending EU membership became its first priority. This aim was helped by the fact that half a dozen of the new organization's members or advisors were renowned newspaper columnists who constantly wrote articles promoting the ideals/aims of the center. Its academic members disseminate democratic and pluralist ideas to younger generations, teaching political theory consonant with the aims of TOSAM to attract young volunteers in realization of the organization's activities. Many TOSAM members participate frequently as speakers and commentators at television talk shows or newsreels requiring commentaries. It continued its journal, even if, due to funding constraints, the number of the quarterly was reduced to two per year. The new name of the journal is *New Horizons*, published in Turkish and English.

Another educational-cultural activity TOSAM organizes is a series of conferences and panels throughout Turkey on matters of democratic transition, rule of law, multiculturalism, and political pluralism. Every year, it sponsors a series of two-day panels and conferences in different cities throughout the country, the primary target being university towns that remain outside the mainstream scientific information flow.

In addition to public outreach by the power of the spoken and written word, TOSAM organizes training courses for trainers composed of community and institutional leaders. Since its inception, it has had sessions relative to conflict resolution, problem solving, effective communication, and leadership courses with the participation of instructors from Norway, South Africa, the United States, Israel, Lebanon, and Palestine. Additionally, trainers received further training on conflict resolution, problem solving, change management, effective communication, and leadership in the United States, Israel, Ireland, Switzerland, and Finland.

After just a few years, TOSAM experts started training multiethnic youth of lower social standing for whom it also provides vocational training. It does not have the facilities or expertise to provide vocational training such as office management and secretarial skills, auto repair, welding, and electrification or to train service personnel for the tourism sector; for these purposes, it cooperates with MEKSA (Foundation for Training Personnel for Small Industries), which has both training facilities and a very able teaching staff. TOSAM and MEKSA coordinate their efforts to provide vocational training to the underprivileged youth of Turkey with mixed cultural backgrounds. MEKSA provides the technical training; TOSAM provides the training for conflict prevention and problem solving.

Recently, TOSAM was approached by the Mother-Child Educational Foundation (ACEV) that is implementing a UNDP project entitled "Educating Leader Mothers," wanting the organization to give "leadership and conflict resolution" lessons to 15 selected mothers for their leadership capacities. This activity is repeated twice a year. Thus, TOSAM has become a part of United Nations project implemented in Turkey. TOSAM was also called upon by local authorities to train managers of transitory settlements born after earthquakes in northwestern Turkey in subjects such as problem/conflict solving, managing diversity, negotiation, communication, and leadership skills.

Local administrations of prominent tourist Mediterranean towns like Fethiye and Bodrum have asked TOSAM to train their communities in basic skills to communicate with the foreigners and to manage cultural diversity during the long tourism season. TOSAM experts went there and trained approximately 3,000 people in each town in 6 sessions. Each training session was a spectacular event that resembled the town meetings of Ancient Greece; they were dramatic, exemplary of rapport between trainers and the trainees. TOSAM's young trainees joke with each other whether they should compete there for the Mayor's seat in the next elections.

While struggling to keep up with the demand of "citizens' education," of the tourist towns, the Businessmen Association of Southeastern Turkey wrote a letter to TOSAM requesting a thorough training of its members—five eastern cities located in the most impoverished and neglected part of the country, populated mostly by the Kurds and dramatically wounded by two decades of civil war. Being the least integrated part of the country, the local leaders there are very much in need of equipping themselves with skills of problem solving, leadership, change and crisis management. TOSAM is looking for funds in order to realize this important project.

This is not the only request asked of TOSAM to implement its new project, called "Democratic Leadership and Effective Citizenship." It comprises the following modules: (1) leadership; (1) change management; (3) good governance and sustainable development; (4) conflict management and problem solving; (5) negotiation; (6) mediation; (7) communication skills; (8) total quality management: a mode of behavior, and (9) crisis management. The Citizens Assembly of Kars (an eastern province capital that harbors intentions of becoming a leading center for Caucasian political and economic cooperation) asked and received a similar training for 300 members of the assembly composed of government officials, local community leaders, businessmen, and NGO representatives. Each of these appeals needs funding.

Official and unofficial international organizations frequently request reports from TOSAM regarding the state of freedoms, transparency of the system, and the state of human rights and how close public opinion is to support further democratization of the country. TOSAM experts write evaluation papers that become policy papers of the institutions/administrations who request them. (For the sake of anonymity, the names of those institutions and administrations are not mentioned here.)

At one juncture, TOSAM found itself in the midst of a very interesting but equally challenging project: a civic initiative called "Initiative for a Civilian Constitution" (ICC) began to organize all over the country. Starting from Istanbul, the project began to attract recruits from all walks of life. Soon their active participation made TOSAM the center of the Ankara chapter of the ICC; after acquiring this role, the first meeting of the movement was held at the TOSAM premises, which since then has been providing secretarial services and acting as a liaison until a truly democratic, civil constitution is concocted. A national meeting of local initiative leaders, "State Civil Society Dialogue on the Way to Membership to the European Union," met in Istanbul to deliberate on what has been achieved so far. Twenty-six NGOs and eighty-nine prominent intellectuals and public opinion leaders attended the two-day meeting/symposium whereby the parameters of a democratic and liberal constitution were drawn up. This endeavor fed into substantial changes to both the constitution and the overall legal system of Turkey in the early 2000s as part of legal reforms enacted to upgrade Turkish law to fit EU legal standards.

Also, TOSAM is a partner of a project titled *Political Ethics: Moral Standards for Elected Public Officials*. For almost seven years, the organization has been part of a civic circle working on formulating ethnical standards for politicians and elected representatives. The aim of the project is to limit judicial immunity of the members of parliament to only freedom of speech in their legislative capacity rather than protecting them from legal prosecution for their deeds involving corruption and fraud.

The *Mothers for Peace Project*, started in 1998, aimed to conduct an in-depth survey into attitudes of mothers of deceased Turkish soldiers and of Kurdish militia who had fallen in the fratricidal civil war. If a sentiment that can be interpreted as "projecting the feeling of personal loss as a social loss" could be detected, it could be used to bring mothers of contending sides to form an antiwar platform. Who can question the sincerity of the mothers' intentions that had given their most precious beings to a cause that had consumed their sons without any discrimination? Twenty Turkish and twenty Kurdish mothers were interviewed by a team of highly qualified researchers in six different locations of Turkey (Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir, Adana, Mersin, and Diyarbakir). The text of these interviews has become part of an unpublished book, *The Human Dimension of the Eastern (Kurdish) Problem*. The book is composed of four chapters, one with interviews of the mothers. It is a comprehensive scientific analysis of the Kurdish question in the context of Turkish political and social structure, one of a kind; however, the research failed its initial aim—bringing together mothers of both sides as spokespersons against warfare. Both sides sincerely wanted peace, but on their own terms. Now peace prevails without reconciliation but with defeat of the "Kurdish" aspirations. The book also encompasses a final chapter offering a blueprint for a democratic and multicultural Turkey, which can solve similar social and ethnic conflicts.

In addition to these activities, TOSAM has prepared a vital but equally ambitious project concerning "Democratic Leadership and Effective Citizenship Training for the Youth," especially that of the southeast. It is the sincere conviction of the founders of TOSAM that Turkey needs a new generation of leaders with an international vision and an affinity to pluralism and rule of law. Otherwise Turkey's quest for modernization and becoming a full democracy besides becoming a full member of the EU will take much more time and will be uphill because of hindrances and provocations of the obscurants, demagogues, and populists. There are alarming indications in this respect. Nearly two-thirds of a sample group does not want EU membership based on European principles expressed as *Copenhagen Criteria*. This means that the Turkish people are misled into accepting a kind of citizenship that sees democracy, human rights, and rule of law as destabilizing factors to the regime and the "unity of the country." This dangerous trend has to be reversed, and quickly.

Cognizant of the dangers and the need for a new kind of leadership, especially among the youth, founders of TOSAM organized the five core trainers in leadership, problem solving, conflict prevention, change management, forgiveness, multiculturalism and political pluralism, effective communication, mediation, and managing transition. Besides being trained in Turkey by invited international scholars and consultants, these highly qualified trainers received advanced training abroad, namely the United States, Israel, Ireland, Switzerland, and Finland. The TOSAM team of trainers has prepared its teaching manual, published as a book titled *Democratic Culture and Effective Citizenship*, and has begun to train primary groups.

Members of TOSAM believe that without a new generation of leaders who are ardent defenders of rules of law, participatory government, fair play in business and administration (devoid of corruption and nepotism), and cognizant of their country's need to be part of the democratic and developed world, Turkey is doomed to underdevelopment and instability. That is why it has set its target as a vanguard in training future modern leaders of Turkey no matter how small its capacity and how challenging its mission. TOSAM's efforts and achievements in the field of democracy, good governance, and human rights are reflected in recognition of the organization's president as the recipient of the University in Exile Award, bestowed by the New School for Social Research University (New York) in 2000. In 2004, TOSAM was recognized as one of the most successful NGOs in the world in the area of conflict, and its activities and strategies became a chapter in Mari and Cheyanne Church's edited book *NGOs at the Table: Strategies for Influencing Policy in Areas of Conflict* (Rowman & Little, 2004).

The "Radio Democracy" Project

Since the establishment of the modern Turkish Republic in 1923, the development of a strong, homogeneous and military-dominated state has been of central importance. The primacy of state over society became the norm,

with successive governments perceiving themselves as representatives of the state rather than of the people. The result was a hierarchical administrative state structure dominating the social, economic, and cultural spheres of Turkish life. In the past, economic initiative was subject to state control and interest, and voluntary social formations and cultural diversity were repressed in the name of national unity and political stability. Consequently, in pursuit of forging a Western-style nation-state based on Turkishness and secularism, ethnic, religious, and cultural groups other than the urban, educated, and secular Turks were excluded, their political identities denied. Until 1950, Turkey was a single party state, and even when political parties were formed, they were hierarchical in nature and leader-oriented, much like traditional parties of Latin America.

Over the past two decades, Turkey made substantial progress in its democratic transition, as evident in its election of a president respectful of rule of law, improving market economy, and growing popular willingness to upgrade its international standing. However, the authoritarian leanings of Turkey's political culture and its stagnated political system continue to stifle its multicultural and multiethnic reality. The inability of political elites to expedite democratic transitions has generated profound sentiments of frustration and disillusionment, particularly among the youth and local community leaders, who have suffered from Turkey's uneven political development. These segments of the population—which have an underdeveloped potential but a sincere interest to be catalysts for change, in addition to a reform—oriented cadre of MPs in the Turkish Parliament who have the capacity to initiate change from within the current system—have expressed the need for effective leadership methods and strategies, besides the dissemination of democratic culture with an emphasis on human rights, tolerance, and conciliation.

The objectives of the program include the following:

- To disseminate information and knowledge about democratic processes and values to the public at large;
- To provide a platform for Turkish civil society to voice its opinions and lead the way toward creating a civic culture characterized by free political expression and participation;
- To encourage cooperation between Turkish NGOs using the example of TOSAM in the Democracy Radio program;
- To increase the awareness among the general public of the existence of NGOs and other civil society organizations working for citizen empowerment;
- To develop a leadership skills of current and future political activists of Turkey on the topics of effective leadership, change management, effective communication, civic responsibility, collective decision-making and collaborative problem-solving;
- To promote—among current and future leaders of Turkey—the importance of nation building based on political pluralism, multiculturalism, the rule of law, and equal treatment of ethnic/cultural minorities.

Democracy Radio buys time from different radio stations, the last one being Ozgur Radyo of Free Radio in Ankara. The audience of TOSAM's

Democracy Radio represents a cross-section of economic, political, and social groupings in Turkey, and through this program they are able to share diverse views on topics germane to the development of civil society and democracy in this volatile part of the world. This program is seen as a credible civic endeavor, which its listeners continue to respond to in a very positive way.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that Radio Democracy has created its own audience as it evolved. Free Radio (before that, Imaj Radio) broadcasts programs out of Ankara, estimated to reach to 20 million people nationwide. How? After its first year of broadcasting, 14 other radio stations appealed to TOSAM to send them taped copies of the "Democracy Belt" programs. Since 1998, they have been rebroadcasting our programs, minus regional/local debates, and take in calls from their audience in order to initiate their own debates. Every Saturday between 11.30 a.m. and 1.00 p.m. hours an issue concerning democracy continues to be taken up and analyzed by the TOSAM radio team. Fresh information on the topic of the week is provided by the TOSAM team, often followed by expert analysis provided by a guest speaker. The final 30 or 45 minutes of the program is occupied by telephone calls from the listeners. A surprisingly diverse population has become regular listeners and contributors to the interactive section of the program(s).

We, and all witnesses of the Democracy Radio programs, believe that this project has been instrumental—although modestly—in changing the direction of public discourse in Turkey. Of course other NGOs and mainstream media and political currents have also helped to change the political monologue from the state to the society to a more pluralist dialogue. Yet, TOSAM and its Radio Democracy programs can rightly claim an honorable role in this drastic change.

III

Virtual Community Visions

The Architectures of Cyberdating: Personal Advertisement Photography and the Unworking of Community

Eric Freedman

When one browses through the success stories posted on Match.com, it becomes readily apparent that the site defines "success" in terms of long-term monogamous heterosexual coupling, with marriage as the ultimate goal (see also Whitty and Carr, 2006). Searching beyond the top menu story categories of marriage, engagement, and relationships by adding the key-word "gay" brings one brief testimonial, while the lesbian success stories are only slightly more numerous though certainly more detailed in their narratives. The self-described vision of Match.com's parent company, IAC/InterActiveCorp, is "To harness the power of interactivity to make daily life easier and more productive for people all over the world." There seem to be two oppositional trajectories or impulses embedded in this business model: The push to converge, represented by those ventures that bring people together (including Match.com, Ticketmaster, Evite, and Expedia), and IAC's movement beyond hybrid media and electronic retailing to interactive commerce, met by the outward push of global capital, where technological convergence is being deployed toward a globalizing end. But the convergence narrative read here is not one about technology, but one about identity, about the generalized push toward a singular pole of identity.

The focus of this chapter is the contemporary architectures that frame personal advertisement photography on the Internet, and the discourses (both utopic and dystopic) that attempt to read these advertisement sites as contemporary manifestations of community. To this end, I consider assumptions underpinning this particular use of photography, its alignment with other textual markers, and the position of such sites with regard to more fundamental questions and indices of community and its shifting parameters. My goal is, in part, to address the physical, in this case technological,

mechanisms that have caused anxieties around notions of community. However, I want to avoid a model of technological determinism that suggests new technologies themselves have changed our communities; what they have done is modify our "sense" of community. The question here is how we perceive what the technology is "doing." In "Recalling a Community at Loose Ends," Linda Singer (1991) writes of community as a culturally overdetermined term, an elastic referent. It is the term's very elasticity that makes it quite powerful—an authorizing signifier, ready to be differentially deployed (attached to an agenda), yet always linked to an economy of discourse that simultaneously invokes inclusion and exclusion.

Reading Communities

As a study of community, the term's relative parameters, and the sum total of anxieties that orbit around its flexibility as it is bent around the armatures of new technologies, this chapter surveys a number of Internet "dating" sites, including Match.com and Barebackcity.com, especially the latter that, although now closed, provides a pointed case study to unravel the operational limits of site architecture in more detail and in a more focused content-based frame. Nevertheless, both Web sites follow the conventional operating scheme of personal advertisement sites; each conforming personal information to a predesigned template, subjecting the personal to a conventional layout, policed by particular rules, regulations, and codes of conduct that make the personal safely public (and consumable). And, both sites include the photographic image as part of their standardized template, an image box laid alongside textual data that is inherently more quantifiable (that is, it can be categorized) than the photograph it elucidates.

   In these domains, photographic evidence is willingly deployed by the subject, a subject who may either pose specifically for the act of being courted and consumed, designing a unique image for public consumption in relatively privatized spaces, or a subject who may appropriate an image designed for private consumption (cropping or simply posting an occasional portrait that contains fairly personal, often familial, signifiers) and make it publicly available for reprivatized discourse. In either case, the image is made public for private consideration. And in both cases, image selection, cropping, retouching, and/or manufacture are performed for an assumed audience. The most readily consumed advertisements containing particular details that are at once unique and personal and at the same time familiar and somewhat universal, marketed according to type. Here is a form of self-regulation, an act of self-surveillance, performed with the hope of emitting a localizable sign, a referent familiar and easily categorized, yet still imbued with the cult of personality, registering simultaneous sameness and difference.

   The term "dating" is used rather loosely here, as individuals produce, read, and respond to personal advertisement sites for a wide range of reasons; for instance, some participants are looking for relationships, others

are looking for casual sexual encounters, and still others are simply browsing sites as voyeurs without the intent to respond to a profile. Most sites allow advertisers to specify their goals/motives. As sites of social interaction, these arenas are commonly interpreted as new forms of community, and are consequently attached to particular anxieties in popular discourse that simultaneously decry these new places of engagement as the death of purer forms of the term. Internet engagements are often understood as new social relations built on the ruins of community itself. "Community" is, in fact, a catch phrase deployed by these sites. The bareback site, for example, is defined as a city, in a society whose members are attached to a particular community defined by its participation in particular sexual practices—the community of barebackers.

Although lengthy consideration of the politics of barebacking is being avoided here, it being a term typically used to describe unprotected anal sex, a subject of heated debate among a number of interest groups, as it is readily conjoined with the discussion of HIV/AIDS transmission. The hosts posted a disclaimer on their site that simply urges participants to act in an informed manner and, while motivations for engaging in bareback sex are quite varied there, by and large they are not explicitly connected to HIV transmission. At one point in its history, Bareback City (www.barebackcity.com) deployed a graphic of a cityscape on its homepage, a series of skyscrapers whose phallic nature was made literal by the images of anal penetration that were circumscribed by the buildings' outlined walls. This "city" harkens back to conventional signifiers of space and place, but one that in its new configuration overrides nonvirtual geographies, thus pulling its residents from around the world and housing them in its own net architecture—a common space on the Internet.

Similarly, Match.com refers to itself as a "diverse, global community." Posting snapshots of its various service teams, it binds its workers to its customers, formally bridging the gap between corporation and consumer. Match.com provides several predefined subcommunities within its system: gay.match, lesbian.match and senior.match, thus catering to a wide range of individuals as well as subcommunities of subscribers/participants. On the other hand, Bareback City caters to a more specific demographic (primarily gay and bisexual men engaged in or interested in the specific sex practices invoked by the domain's name), while still providing search mechanisms and keywords to even further subdivide its participants.

Framing the Image

Match.com is a membership-based content provider that charges monthly subscription fees; launched in 1995, it boasts of having over 15 million members. Barebackcity.com is an independent site positioning its personal advertisement forums as ancillary to other services; a free site, its primary revenue comes from advertising as well as the Bareback Video Store. Bareback City, owned and operated by a gay male couple in southern

California, was launched in November 2000, and at one point featured over 10,500 profiles.

Both spaces allow the posting of personal photographs, although Match.com has significant content restrictions while Barebackcity.com has few, if any, guidelines—its postings running the gamut of head shots, headless body shots, fully nude and fully clothed shots, images of sex acts including anal and oral penetration, and cum shots. Both position photographs inside a framework of text-based signifiers—some written, some visual. Markers may be individually authored or selected from a menu of offerings, working as a form of de facto autobiography, the goal being self-description. Both print advertisements and cyber advertisements bear the burden of authenticity, but the photo in the cyber advertisement bears the brunt of that evidentiary impetus, an impulse that in the print advertisement can only be partially satisfied by conjoining textual markers with aural markers (in the case that the print advertisement is linked to a voicemail box), and in a more delayed manner as the print advertisement can oftentimes be linked to its own photographic marker when the participants request such an exchange by traditional postal routes.

In his 1995 essay "Domestic Photography and Digital Culture," Don Slater (p. 131) claimed that "Snapshot photography—images taken by ourselves of ourselves, the self-representation of everyday life—has barely any place at the new electronic hearth." While his judgment is a reserved one, framed by an understanding that the digital domestic snapshot had perhaps not yet entered its heyday, that "private images" had "not yet entered the datastream of either telecommunications or convergence," Slater is not blind, of course, to the unrealized potential of a medium that had, at the moment of his writing, only reached a state of advanced hobbyism.

Cyberdating has been discussed in popular discourse as yet another harbinger of the disappearance of community, a sign and symptom of increased privatization, cause and effect of distancing and alienation, the doublespeak and doublebind of Internet technology itself. Weaving a cautionary tale of cyberromance, a 2001 *Newsweek* story by Brad Stone is framed by the week's cover header, positioned for its international focus column on Osama bin Laden, so "Dating Online" is linked with "Global Terror." As one of many notable moments of dramatic intertextuality, it frames the cyberdating article with stories that weave a much grander cautionary tale. Taken together, the issue's discussion of AOL Time Warner's monopoly on domestic digital technologies, the testing of angiogenesis inhibitors on human subjects, the effect of hard soda advertising on teens, genetic mapping, and Internet privacy contributes to a general thread of paranoia writ-large in the magazine. Herein we are given a literal (or at least "literary") manifestation of an attack on subjectivity being staged on several fronts.

In a column on cyberspace and community published in *The Nation*, Andrew L. Shapiro (1999) echoes popular distaste for a particular aspect of computer-mediated communications, reading online experiences as less

satisfying than real-world engagements, less meaningful than even the most immediate technological antecedents—television and radio. He laments that "Ultimately, online associations tend to splinter into narrower and narrower factions. They also don't have the sticking power of physical communities" (p. 12). Citing media critic David Shaw, Shapiro suggests that as television and radio draw us away from direct interaction, these particular media at least provide "A kind of social glue, a common cultural reference point in our polyglot, increasingly multicultural society," while "online experiences rarely provide this glue" (Shapiro, 1999). His concern is the weakening of local community-building by the increase in social networks that are both more distant (less geographically immediate) and perhaps less permanent.

It is worthwhile, of course, to concretize the importance of local community building, of focusing on the local as a key tool in democracy and social activism. We should not lose sight of the vitality of localism in political action, or should not privilege the national or the global at the expense of the local. But certainly all forms of computer-mediated dialogue are not analogous, and in reaching out beyond local interests we may, in fact, discover what is missing in our own immediate vicinity. Perhaps this is a point of investment of cyberdating services, casting the net over a wider geographic and demographic nexus than may have ever been singularly possible. As well, the variables deployed in the arena of cyberdating, the specificity of search engines, seem to give form to Shapiro's insight about the splintering of online associations into narrower factions. But let me suggest that we can put a positive spin on narrowcasting.

Varying Desires

Desire and the Database

One of the most common and practical features of online dating sites is their deployment of search engines, which provide productive narrowing of one's focus. Barebackcity.com, for example, allows searching by zip code, and lists search results as an ever-widening map of coordinates from ground zero, while Match.com allows searches by city as well as by keyword. The basic search on Match.com specifies zip code, age, and gender (with sexuality collapsed under gender, providing a list of the gender of each party, searcher, and searchee); detailed searches allow greater specificity and include a number of variables within such general categories as "appearance," "background/values," and "lifestyle"—the latter term referring to such facets as diet and exercise, employment and income, living situation, and family status. In the domain of Match.com, a checklist of turn-ons, which run the gamut from body piercing to meteorological fantasies, approximates desire, but any overt reference to sexual play is avoided.

Cyberdating sites are one of the many intersections of image and text, of photograph and literal contextual markers. While the primary goal of personal advertisement photography is to reveal physiognomy, circulated

images may also contain contextual markers that implicate the sitter. As the naked man lies prostrate on his bed to exposes his body to the camera, he unknowingly provides a future reader with an intimate view of his domestic habits and environs. Does he fold his clothes or drop them on the floor? Does he have a four-poster bed or a futon? Of course, many individuals who surf personal advertisement sites are simply casual viewers or have a decided focus, and may not care to read the surrounding detail.

Personal advertisement photographs are part of a multimedia text that situates images alongside a number of textual and iconic markers that work as interpretive mechanisms, pushing the reading of the photograph. Among these ancillary cues, personal advertisement sites necessitate a selection of finitely variable paradigmatic terms within intersecting syntagma—subscribers and browsers make their way through menu-based markers to either label themselves or to narrow the search process for others.

Desire and Community

In *The Inoperative Community*, Jean-Luc Nancy (1991, p. 31) suggests that "Community cannot arise from the domain of work. One does not produce it, one experiences or one is constituted by it as the experience of finitude. Community understood as a work or through its works would presuppose that the common being, as such, be objectifiable and producible (in sites, persons, buildings, discourses, institutions, symbols: in short, in subjects)." Borrowing a term from Maurice Blanchot, he suggests that community takes place in "unworking," in something that is beyond the work, detached from production and encountering "interruption, fragmentation, suspension" (Jean-Luc Nancy, 1991, p. 9); his figuration of community is "Made up principally of the sharing, diffusion, or impregnation of an identity by a plurality wherein each member identifies himself only through the supplementary mediation of his identification with the living body of the community."

The cyberdating sites discussed here may not be communities per se, but only signifiers of that potential, perhaps activated, perhaps not. It is tempting to label them as community, for their members can oftentimes be literally displayed as a group (for example, Barebackcity.com allows photographs of a group of profilers to be displayed as a thumbnail collage), and Match.com displays advertisements alongside a list of other similarly matched ones. Community is not found *in* them but among them. Community is not a place, but a passage, and commonality (produced as a search, or joining the same site) does not inherently lead to sharing.

These dating sites are indeed pathways to such arrangements. Their search engines quantify, sort, and display textual data, while the images are quantified and sorted by the searcher, positioned as acceptable or unacceptable, saved or discarded, printed, downloaded, deleted, and/or simply skipped over. The user's internal search engine is driven by typology and by an assumed potential for sharing. This engine is fueled by desire, driven by the brain's capacity to categorize and concretize. The drive to type involves

categorizing others but also categorizing oneself, as well as positioning oneself in relation to others.

The sites themselves are not communities. As the product of work and works in progress, they are evidence of *potential* communities, the remains of once active communities, or the intercepted broadcasts of communications taking place elsewhere and between others. These are transmissions that have been sent, are being sent, and/or are simultaneously in limbo in an inert state. In some cases, they are transmissions that are never received, or are received and are never returned, remaining one-way, unrealized communicative pathways. By their very nature, these sites impede a reading of the existence of community; their use-value remains hidden. Are personal advertisement sites used to pursue intimate connections, or are the images on these sites used as an end in themselves? Individuals may, for instance, use these sites simply as a means of collecting images for self-gratification. How and to what end people consume the images they view is unobservable. Further, although many sites appear to define their purpose and their services, there are a number of sites that blur their raison d'être.

Advertisers have varied motivations for posting to personal advertisement sites and end users have equally varied motivations; moreover, each participant's motivation may be in flux, shifting over time and with each encounter. While some personal advertisement sites position dating as their central purpose, many have a more ambiguous design. Yet the latter are still containers for particular outpourings of identity, and their subdivisions are still driven by both the architecture of site engines and those desiring engines attached to particular formations of identity. And most identity formations are simply facets of broader and more common signifiers of identity politics, such as race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality.

Sites such as BigMuscle.com (www.bigmuscle.com) and the Gaymuscle Gallery (www.gaymuscle.org) foreground muscularity as a privileged attribute of the (gay) male body. Within both domains, the homosocial and the homosexual intermingle, with both sites populated largely by gay men but inclusive of a voyeurism and exchange that willfully embraces straight men or simply assumes erotic and sexual play without needing to address sexual orientation (although women are excluded from posting on both sites). Moreover, the desires expressed range from mutual admiration to those of a more explicitly sexual nature. At BigMuscle.com, profilers may develop buddy links (displaying thumbnails of profilers who are friends, admirers, workout partners, sex buddies, or relationship partners) and they may also list site profiles that they have viewed and like for one reason or another. At the Gaymuscle Gallery, participants may leave hearts or roses for one another, to indicate their mutual interest, admiration, or support. In a similar fashion, Bareback City.com introduced a guestbook feature that allowed participants to leave public comments for one another at the bottom of related profiles. Within each of these domains, profilers and end users may be looking for any of a number of connection types, including one-time sexual encounters, extended sexual encounters without commitment, sexual

encounters outside of already-established committed (and perhaps open) relationships, long-term relationships, friendships, activity partners, and chat buddies, or they may simply be voyeurs or "pic collectors," browsing sites and collecting pictures to add to their database of fantasy photos. Clearly there are multiple forms of desire, and the participants themselves may be operating with desire in a constant state of flux; it is counterproductive to quantify and fix these mechanisms.

Discourses about the demise of community are grounded in a reading of specific objects, a reading that ultimately concludes that there is no residue of community to be found in them; therefore, community must have been lost. Blame is placed on the objects. Discourses about the perversity of particular forms of desire are grounded in a reading of specific objects as well, in which generalized bodies are attached to specific practices. But desire exceeds a practice-status in the same way that community exceeds an object-status. Desiring operations can only be contained and written-off if they are firmly linked to particular practices, for a practice can be policed in a way that desire seemingly cannot.

Desire by Any Other Name

In her examination of virtual systems and the production of community and body, Allucquere Rosanne Stone (1991, p. 105) positions names as "local labels" that remain stable within defined arenas despite their inherent ability to shift. The circulation of names in virtual exchanges is accompanied by an awareness of their constructed nature. The attachment of multiple names to single bodies within cyberspace is not a symptom of pathology. Instead, multiple names function to delineate various identity pathways.

The network(ed) subject is not, however, simply self-defined; as Jay Bolter and David Grusin (1999) suggest, the networked self is made up both of that self that is doing the networking and the various selves that are presented on the network; it is manifested through the affiliations it makes among digital media. The form these affiliations take, and thus the form our networked selves take is constrained by the formal qualities of the particular media through which they are expressed; the architectures of networked space are delimiting. The social body is defined through individual bodies that adopt its governing lingua franca; it would be an oversimplification to suggest, however, that the bodies that attach themselves to particular community formations have simply internalized their ideological trappings. The shifting attachments in cyberspace suggest a far more active engagement with code and convention on the part of the end users of personal advertisement sites.

It is quite common to move from one personal advertisement domain to another and find many of the same participants; oftentimes the names change but the faces remain the same. Even within the confines of a single domain, one may find participants who go by more than one name; of course this form of multiplicity is also easily found outside of personal

advertisement sites; it is a mainstay of even the most traditional online ventures. America Online allows subscribers to create multiple screen names, pitching the feature as a way to separate personal correspondence from work-related correspondence, assigning a name to each online activity or each online family member (with the ability to differentiate access privileges across the family). Yet in a localizable space, naming also imbues the body with meaning, calling out such defining features as geographic location, age, race, ethnicity, body type, sexual position, or fetish. The subculture becomes a community by developing, sharing, and participating in its own naming strategies, and the architectures of cyberspace interfere with community only as they begin to map sharing onto a fixed interface.

Postscript: The Imag(in)ing of Desire

In her examination of emergent social meanings in computer-mediated communication, Nancy Baym (1998, p. 51) privileges those moments in which users "creatively exploit the systems' features in order to play with new forms of expressive communication, to explore possible public identities, to create otherwise unlikely relationships, and to create behavioral norms." My aim here has been to locate the restrictions that are often placed on the utterance of community. Regardless of the elasticity of the term, its ability to be appropriated and directed as an authorizing force for a particular interest group is compromised (for better or worse) as it is mediated. The author/producer of the utterance is oftentimes not the author/owner of the vehicle through which the utterance is passed.

In the case of my analysis, the appeal to community must pass through a number of mediating architectures. Not only does the appeal encounter the Internet as a metamediating agency, but also encounters its authored/owned subdivisions—the hardware and software of computer-mediated communications, as well as the addresses and territories of sites themselves. This is not a cautionary tale of the limits of community, but rather a shift in attention. We should not be concerned with the relative rise or fall of community, nor should we blame technology itself for community's present proximity to a presumed past state of grace; rather, we should shift our attention to the authorizing institutional forces that satisfy our more significant yearning for communion by offering up a trademark of community. At the same time, we should be aware that community, even when divorced from explicit institutional mandates, can still act as an exclusionary appeal. Images can be subject to an array of institutional imperatives; but people too subject even the most personal images to their own ideologically inflected gazes.

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"Free Speech" and U.S. Public Access Producers

John W. Higgins

Speech concerning public affairs is more than self-expression, it is the essence of self-government

—*U.S. Supreme Court (Red Lion, 1969)*

Community video in the United States emerged from decades of global experiences with activist participatory projects in electronic media, such as the tin miners' radio network in Bolivia, community radio in the United States, the Challenge for Change program in Canada, and traditions of radical documentary film around the world. Within this context, public access cable television in the United States represents a unique achievement for community-based media around the world: The institutionalization of a process that provides people the opportunity to create video programs and air them on local cable television channels—an oasis of "free speech" and "free ideas" in a commercialized, corporate global media desert.

In the United States, local governments may require cable television system operators to provide channels for public, educational, or governmental use (PEG); over 1500 communities have these PEG facilities in operation (Kucharski, 2001); 18 percent of cable systems provide equipment and channels for the public to produce and distribute local programming (Aufderheide, 2000). These "public access channels" allow persons from local communities to be trained in the use of television production equipment and to utilize the channel as a means of distributing finished programs. Public access facilities were first established in the late 1960s and 1970s as a means of addressing inequities caused by monopoly-dominated broadcasting, everyday providing people an opportunity to voice and hear viewpoints and opinions not normally expressed in mainstream media (Engelman, 1990; Fuller, 1994; Linder, 1999).

A fundamental tenet of the global community media movement, including public access, is the desirability of a diversity of ideas relative to notions of freedom of expression. The United States particularly venerates notions of "free speech," drawing upon interpretations of relevant portions of Article I (the First Amendment) of the U.S. Constitution, which states, in part "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech or of the press . . ." Simple approaches to the First Amendment interpret this provision to mean that individuals have an absolute right to personal expression—at times, to the extremes of "civil discourse." Longstanding traditional and more recent critical interpretations focus more on the social benefits arising from open discussion in the society. This chapter explores one-dimensional, traditional, and critical interpretations of "free speech" and the reflection of these perspectives in public access philosophy. The manner in which volunteer community producers implement some of these free speech concepts is also explored, to help shed light on widely held beliefs within the global community media movement.

"Free Speech"

One-Dimensional and Traditional Interpretations

One-dimensional interpretations are a minority in the discourse regarding the "free speech" provisions of the First Amendment. As represented by Caristi (1992), this perspective argues that its greatest aspect is personal expression, in part because it allows for human self-realization. Humans have a right and a need to express themselves in order to become a total person. More widely accepted are traditional interpretations of free speech provisions of the First Amendment, represented by Lippmann (1939), Meiklejohn (1948), Mill (1859/1993), and Ruggles (1994). While recognizing that the right of individual expression is guaranteed, traditional approaches indicate that the individual right to speak is not as important as the benefits the collective society gains from open discussions of ideas and viewpoints. The opportunity of each person to express an opinion is not as important as the chance for every perspective on an issue to be expressed and to be heard.

The right to hear a variety of ideas and viewpoints is also considered part of free speech guarantees, the assumed benefits to the larger society from the open discourse being their primary basis. To a lesser degree, there is assumed to be a measure of personal growth, but this is not meant to overshadow the greater social objectives of free speech. Walter Lippmann (1939, p. 186) reflects the majority position on freedom of speech as a social rather than an individual need:

> So, if this is the best that can be said for liberty of opinion, that a man must tolerate his opponents because everyone has a "right" to say what he pleases, then we shall find that liberty of opinion is a luxury, safe only in pleasant times when men can be tolerant because they are not deeply and vitally concerned. [*sic*] Yet actually . . . there is a much stronger foundation for the great constitutional

right of freedom of speech . . . . [W]e must protect the right of our opponents to speak because we must hear what they have to say . . . [F]reedom of discussion improves our own opinions.

According to the traditional First Amendment scholars, "quality of speech" is more highly valued than a simple "quantity of speech."

One-dimensional and traditional interpretations of the First Amendment reflect the assumptions of liberal democratic philosophical thought found in the U.S. Constitution, the drafters of which were profoundly influenced by the eighteenth century philosophical movement of the Enlightenment; Ruggles (1994, pp. 141–142) notes that it was philosophically rooted in "Faith in the corrective of reasoned debate, and the attainability of rational, consensual truth; the scientific perfectibility of human beings and human institutions, especially through democratic rule; [and] the necessity of an informed and tolerant populace to the functioning of a democracy . . ."

Simple and traditional interpretations of freedom of speech are mirrored in regulations and legislation guiding U.S. electronic media, including those regarding public access cable television. Critiques of simple and traditional perspectives of free speech doctrine are discussed below.

Critical Interpretations

Critical scholars have questioned both the one-dimensional and traditional interpretations of free speech, and the basic tenets upon which the liberal democratic tradition is founded (Schauer, 1985; Streeter, 1990; Ruggles, 1994; Downing, 1999; Dervin and Clark, 2005). Critiques often question Enlightenment assumptions that a single, definable, objective "Truth" exists and that this truth can be known by human beings. Beyond the issue of truth is also a questioning of process and the assumption that truth is best revealed through a dialectic clash within the "marketplace of ideas." Frederick Schauer (1985, p. 134) reflects the skepticism of many critical-oriented First Amendment scholars in his discussion of the "naive faith of the Enlightenment" that truth prevails over falsehood when the two compete in the "marketplace of ideas," noting, "Put quite starkly, truth does not always win out . . . . The inherent power of truth and reason was one of the faiths of the Enlightenment, but more contemporary psychological and sociological insights have confirmed the judgment of history that truth is often the loser in its battle with falsity" (p. 142).

Structural arguments related to traditional liberal democratic ideals of free speech argue that a widespread belief in the dialectic emergence of truth privileges conflict models of communication that are challenged by contemporary thought in fields such as feminist scholarship (Dervin, Osborne, et al., 1993). Conflict models are at the heart of pluralist assumptions of the nature of power, where power (when it is acknowledged) is traditionally envisaged as being shared equally by individuals, recognizable in the form of conflict, operating within public view, and working for the common good. In contrast, critiques of such pluralist precepts describe a process where power more often

works covertly for specialized interests and is inequitably distributed within society (Gramsci, 1946/1989; Lukes, 1974; Good, 1989).

In addition to questions of truth and the nature of power, liberal democratic assumptions of individualism—where the individual is conceived as set against society, thus challenging social domination—are also challenged by critical interpretations, particularly those provided by Streeter (1990) and Dervin and Clark (2003). Within this framework, individuals and society cannot be divorced from one another, since each depends upon the other for identity and growth.

As explored below, although the basic tenets of public access reflect simple and traditional approaches to the First Amendment, the access canon has been questioned in recent years from within the movement by a growing number of critical analyses. These critiques mirror challenges by critical scholars of traditional perspectives on free speech doctrine.

Public Access: From "More Speech" to "Better Speech"

Early critical perspectives addressing the public access vision of empowerment and related community television assumptions in general typically came from outside the U.S. alternative video arena (Higgins, 1999). Within the U.S. movement, early analyses of public access as a means of promoting democratic communications typically drew from unproblematic interpretations of free speech provisions, emphasizing individual "rights" to speak and "more speech." These simple interpretations led to content neutral access policies and practices, often characterized as "first come, first served." In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the level of analyses within the public access movement began shifting to reflect long-standing traditional interpretations of the First Amendment, emphasizing a desire for quality of speech over mere quantity and the needs of the society over those of the individual (Higgins 2001, 2003).

For example, a traditional interpretation, which visualizes free speech as a means of promoting public discourse rather than as a vehicle for personal expression, is reflected in this statement by Andrew Blau (1992, p. 22), former chair of the National Federation of Local Cable Programmers (now the Alliance for Community Media):

> Our experience of public access to cable over the past two decades suggests that access may have nothing to do with democracy—nothing, that is, until the people who provide and use access connect the two. We can no longer simply assume that access to media tools and channels is enough . . . . [I]f we take seriously this link between the right to speak with and hear from others and the daily practice of democracy, then we ought to organize our access tools to foster a kind of participation that enables people to take part in the decisions affecting their community. In this sense, simply talking a lot means little.

This challenge to the then long-established public access assumption that many voices equal diversity reflects Lippmann's arguments described previously. Until the 1980s, such a challenge was nearly heretical within public access circles. Blau's statement also reflects critical perspectives with its recognition that structural change is necessary in concert with media activism to affect long-term social change.

A further evolution in access philosophy in the mid-1980s included critical perspectives in the analyses of public access and its role in the active practice of public discourse. Many access advocates recognized that existing power imbalances within a community tended to be perpetuated by practices such as "first come, first served" and its focus on the individual—marking a gradual shift over two decades to generally accepted access practices that focus on active outreach to traditionally underserved groups and organizations within the community (Higgins 2001, 2003; Howley 2005).

The critiques from within public access, developed in a laboratory of daily practice, represent positive steps for moving beyond simple assumptions of democracy and power toward a more integrated view of access within a complex societal framework. For example, Aufderheide (1992, 2000) and Devine (1992, 2001, 1992/2006) have consistently raised critical themes within their work related to community television, placing public access within discussions of Habermas' (1962/1989) framework of the public sphere. She identifies access channels as "electronic public spaces" that "strengthen the public sphere" (Aufderheide 2000, p. 59) and should not be considered within traditional media measurements such as audience numbers. Devine (1992) posits that public access provides a space for public debate within the public sphere, arguing that public access is best viewed within a notion of process rather than product; further, he describes access as a site of cultural activism: Where traditional power relationships are challenged and where human agency is cultivated as people are allowed to come to voice (pp. 22–23), "transforming consumers into public speakers/participants, and moving them from passive into active roles of engagement in the civic life of their community" (Devine 2001, p. 37).

Theory and Practice within Public Access

The discourse continues within the U.S. access movement, as evidenced by discussions within the Alliance for Community Media (ACM), a U.S. based organization advocating for community media issues and promoting the use of local access channels. The spirited, wide-ranging discussions at White Paper sessions at its national conferences over the past 20 years, regional conferences, listservs, and the organization's publication, *Community Media Review* (www.communitymediareview.org) reflect the vibrant nature of the continual reassessment surrounding access practices and philosophical tenets (Higgins, 2003). Witness access pioneer George Stoney's (2001) criticism of vanity-based programmers, or Bill Kirkpatrick's (2002) counterarguments in favor of recognizing the cultural aspects of media forms and resistance. Stoney argues from the traditionalist perspective of the social

good of free speech, Kirkpatrick from a critical perspective viewing culture as a form of political speech that may be more than the individual self-expression it seems at face value.

The "Rethinking Access Philosophy" issue of *Community Media Review* (CMR) (Summer 2002), focuses on assessing philosophical underpinnings of access, while the "On Beyond Access" issue of 2005 explores its role in the twenty-first century. The discussions continually reassess basic access philosophies and practices based on decades of participatory media practice, including controversies surrounding the generally discredited early access philosophy of "first come, first served," based on simple notions of free speech (Higgins 2001; Stoney 2001; Koning 2002; Fleischmann and Berkowitz 2004). Kari Peterson (2004, p. 36), longtime executive director of the Davis, California access facility, describes the changes in philosophy: "During my career, there have been radical shifts in thinking—away from television production as an end and toward media as a process and as a community-building tool. Today we talk about media literacy, public discourse and social priorities. This has altered considerably the kinds of programs and services we offer and slowly it's leading to a shift in the way our community thinks about us." Such discussions constantly raise the philosophical bar in the real-life social laboratory that is public access, testing commonly held notions of free speech as experienced by everyday philosopher/practitioners, and moving us on to a greater understanding of the possibilities of democratic society.

The ripple effect of new ideas within access are sometimes slow to spread to a wider audience within the movement. Some people involved in access—administrators, staff, producers, board members—continue to hold tightly to the one-dimensional "individual right" notion of free speech over the concept of "social good." In these circles, traditional interpretations of free speech have not yet begun to root, let alone critical perspectives on power and free speech. Klein (2005) manifests old-school access thought when reducing access notions of outreach and social change to an emphasis on "audiences." His characterization of the free speech aspect of access as an end in itself, in keeping with old notions of the "electronic soap box," is out of step with contemporary access philosophical thought, as evidenced by the past two decades of discourse (Higgins 2003).

Study of Public Access Producers

In everyday practice at the access facility, the one-dimensional approach to free speech serves a purpose when considered among several perspectives, to be drawn upon as necessary. The "individual right" concept is easy to grasp and it does not need definition or discussion, since it is plugged into basic uncritical notions of American citizenship. In addition, "individual right" helps access participants negotiate the deep ideological differences between seemingly alien approaches to the world that are found at the access facility.

In a study of volunteer producers I conducted in the mid-1990s (Higgins 1999, 2000), Noreen, a European-American community organizer involved

in public access for six years, described the varying ideological camps at her access facility:

> Well . . . there's two groups. There's the religious right down there and there's people like me down there and then there's the ministers who don't necessarily like women and you get all these different groups of people . . . . [T]hen you get people there who wanted to do the Klan show I think last year or the year before and you get people in there and when I mentioned that when you are a camera person you are like a fly on the wall and I see two ministers talking to each other and they are saying that women shouldn't be ministers. That women shouldn't be here and women shouldn't be here . . .

Noreen provides insights to the potential for conflict that emerge as competing groups interact within the public access facility, particularly within facilities with volunteer programs that encourage people to work as crew on other producers' productions.

I found that producers devised a variety of methods to deal with the ideological tensions they encountered at the access facility. Primary among these strategies was evoking the dogma of freedom of expression, related to the individual "right" to speech, that allowed producers to endure ideological differences that otherwise might be personally intolerable. Internal conflict was resolved in part by resorting to someone's "right" of individual expression: "they should be able to do that." Producers often referred to this right of expression, which seemed to be a method of coping with ideals that conflicted with their own. Tom, an African -American bus driver and Baptist minister to a small congregation who had produced 400 programs and volunteered on 300 others over his 8 years with access, provided an example:

> . . . like I said, I don't agree with everything that they do and they probably don't agree with everything I do. Like I said, that's what makes public access to me. We don't agree on everything but we are allowed to put forth our rights to say what we have the privilege of doing through public access. I believe, like I said, this is—the last soapbox that we have is public access . . .

Tom captured a sense of the delicate interlacing of "my rights" and "your rights" at play within the public access facility, and the subtle dance between seemingly conflicting rights.

In addition to drawing on basic notions of individual rights, producers in the study negotiated differences by refusing to work as crew members with producers with whom they had serious ideological differences. But ideological differences were handled differently from personal differences. Tom's framing of free speech "rights" also allowed him to separate ideological differences from the human being with a problem he encountered at the facility:

> . . . And when they [volunteers] come on I just try to share with them, and now there are certain shows or programs that I won't work on. Anything that's

contrary to Christ, I'm not gonna work on it. I mean it's just that everybody knows that and I've helped a man put his starter up. He was a program—his program was not with Christ but I helped him put his starter on. I ain't gonna help him with his program though [laughing]. But his choke broke down and I helped him with his starter [laughing]. Crawled right up under it and helped him with it, but I'm not gonna help him with his program.

As indicated by the study, a notion of free speech framed simply within a context of "individual rights" does provide a measure of tolerance for people as they encounter unfamiliar people and ideas.

Reassessing the Access Mission

While recognizing the significance of these basic notions of free speech, access can and should actively assist participants cultivate an understanding of and appreciation for the wider aspects of First Amendment ideology— such as the traditionalist notion of "social responsibility"—among producers, staff, board members, and the community. Individual self-expression within public access programs that are typically labeled "vanity," "narcissistic," or "self-absorbed" may very well be a form of cultural speech that is more political than it appears within a rational/logical conception of the public sphere (King and Melee 1999; Kirkpatrick 2002). Research also indicates empowerment and social change linked to access participation (Higgins 1999; King and Melee 1999). However, philosophy and practices with an overemphasis on the individual hinder more collectively oriented community building that is at the heart of today's access movement and eclipses the important goals of free speech for the good of the society.

The San Francisco public access channel provides a case study: a few community producers exhibit the extremes to which the notion of free speech as an "individual right," rather than a social good, might be applied. In 1999, the San Francisco Community Television Corporation, a nonprofit community-based organization, took over management and operation of the public access channel and facilities. Prior to 1999, the corporate cable system operators who ran public access cultivated individual fiefdoms based on seniority, dominated by "first comers." These producers have insisted their rights include a lock on prized prime time positions in the program schedule and have openly scoffed at the idea of sharing resources equally with newcomers whose voices have not yet been heard. Other producers include hard core violence and pornography within their shows, in part simply because "it's my right," and despite possible repercussions to the channel's existence. This has been the legacy in San Francisco of the "individual rights" interpretation related to "first come, first served" and the situation is not uncommon to other access facilities. As in San Francisco, access organizations have been consciously nurturing values more in line with the basic concepts of community media as understood by participants across the globe. Access leaders attempt to cultivate an atmosphere where the emphasis is on assisting others, including previously silenced voices, to

"speak" and be heard, rather than exercising one's own "rights" to expression, as fitting more traditional and critical interpretations of the First Amendment. The realignment includes an increased recognition of the need for greater discipline and more responsibility on the part of access participants and the creation of policies that help facilitate community building and the equitable sharing of resources.

While the contemporary U.S. community television movement as a whole reflects more complex positions regarding notions of "free speech," there is no reason to believe that such perspectives will be considered or embraced by community participants or other emerging community-based media movements any more rapidly than by the U.S. general population. Similar perspectives on "more speech" seem to be held by some participants in the burgeoning Independent Media Center (IMC) movement, which includes a significant involvement of digital technologies to distribute alternative programming via the Internet. The IMC movement started in Seattle in Fall 1999, giving a voice to global anticorporate protests against the World Trade Organization. Since then, dozens of centers have been established across the world in concert with a renewed activist movement against globalization (Halleck 2002). The proliferation of Internet social networking sites, blogs, and video blogs also reflect the ideals of "more speech" over quality of speech.

Moving beyond simplistic notions of "more speech" is possible by high profile discussions of the mission of community-based media, free speech, and the nature of democracy, in keeping with the framework of "access as process" espoused by Devine (1992), Johnson (1994), Higgins (1999), and King and Mele (1999), emphasizing access's ability to encourage participants to an expanding involvement in the social sphere. Outside U.S. access, Rodriguez (2001) embraces the suitability of the process model while discussing global "citizens' media," a term she believes encompasses expanded notions of power and democracy.

Moving forward to an expanded understanding of freedom of expression and social responsibility in the post–September 11 world in the United States involves a reassessment of ideological perspectives—by talking at every opportunity about the basic ideas of the community media mission; the many meanings of the term "free speech"; the need for self-discipline and the sharing of resources, knowledge, and skills to create a true public discourse on our community media channels.

Such an endeavor would allow public access, as an institutionalized form of community media in the United States, to remain as a vibrant living laboratory, contributing an enhanced understanding of the nature of "free speech," the manner in which the concept works in everyday practice, and its importance to the lifeblood of a democratic society.

Notes

This chapter is based on Higgins, 2000, versions of which were presented at the "Our Media" preconference of the International Association for Media and Communication

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Call Me Impure: Myths and Paradigms of Participatory Communication

Alfonso Gumucio Dagron

Introduction

If there is something I have learned during 25 years of working and reflecting on participatory communication experiences, it is that there is no blueprint or perfect model, as each experience is unique. We can group participatory communication experiences according to some of their features, but they hardly respond to the same common features, except in general. We can group them, for example, according to the media tool they use (i.e., video, radio, print, Internet), but even this is subject to a second review, as none of them strictly uses one tool. We might try the subject theme that is predominant (i.e., reproductive health, women's empowerment, human rights, rural development, environment, and conservation) but this is also a very fragile classification.

Some experiences originate by the community itself, others by a local or international NGO or perhaps by an external development cooperation agency, even by the government. But nothing is linear when dealing with people's participation; all of the experiences I have had during my research (Gumucio Dagron, 2001; Gumucio Dagron and Tufte, 2006) have evolved in different ways and it is almost irrelevant who started them. Too often, the intellectual labeling of samples serves only academic purposes, and does not really help the actual communication process to develop.

The terms "participatory," "alternative," and "community" are generously used to refer to a wide diversity of experiences that often are not very participatory, alternative, and/or community-based, and may create certain confusion especially among those that have had little experience at the grassroots level. Take the network of rural indigenous radio stations that the Instituto Nacional Indigenista—an official institution of the Mexican

government, set up during the 1980s to serve the Tojolabal, the Purépecha, the Maya, and many other communities. Individual rural men and women have the possibility of interacting with the station, either by visiting the station headquarters or because the radio reporters visit the communities to tape interviews. Is this participation or just access? The line is not easy to draw between the various levels, which is why the academic exercise of including some and excluding the rest could be dangerous and not really representative of what is actually happening on the ground. We are dealing with processes of communication, that is, live social organisms that do not adjust to preconceived moulds.

Myths to Go: Scale, Visibility, and Purity

The image of alternative media and participatory communication experiences as small, isolated, and pure forms of community communication does not correspond to reality any longer. Maybe it never did.

Mirage Media

One of the myths on alternative or participatory media is that the experiences are isolated. But the question is "isolated" for whom, from which perspective? For several hundred thousand refugees along the border between Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi, Radio Kwizera is far from being an "isolated" communication tool, although it may seem extremely isolated when seen from Dar Es Salam or New York. For the refugees, the station is the most visible and influential media with which they have ever been in touch. From the perspective of any rural community, what remain far and isolated are the urban settings that are hard to reach.

Moreover, community-based participatory experiences show that a local radio station, video project, or any other communication experience has helped in the struggle to bring to the community what was long needed. Peasants from Tacunan Community Audio Tower (CAT), in Davao del Norte, the Philippines, told me they were certain they could have not obtained electricity, roads, and safe water within a couple of years if they were unable to voice their needs through their simple six cone-speaker system. In the urban slums of San José Buena Vista, Santa Luisa El Milagro, and La Trinidad near the center of Guatemala City, neighbors are convinced that their small radio station (La Voz de la Comunidad) has made the difference compared to other poor neighborhoods when dealing with natural disasters and preventing further human losses. Through the radio they were able to organize better and respond to emergencies. The self-employed market women of the SEWA union, in India, some of them illiterate, have used video cameras as a tool for making their statements about health, sanitation, gender, and other issues—earning respect from their community, from male leaders, and from local authorities.

The visibility of an alternative radio station or print media in a large urban area is only a mirage. You know it is there, but you cannot really touch it or benefit from it. In cities, media for development and social change are only handful exceptions among many other commercial options; they are actually more isolated than rural media in terms of not benefiting from the attention of the intended audiences. Not long ago, when visiting rural communities in the highlands of Ayacucho, in Peru, I was able to confirm something I had already seen in other regions of the world: local audiences prefer local media because they feel better represented. The women groups I met in Vilcashuamán or Huanta (Ayacucho) agreed that even if they were able to listen to radio stations from Lima, the capital city, they were more fond of Radio Huanta 2000 or Radio Vilcas, their own small local stations. These two are not even community media oriented toward social change and development, but are privately owned local media, airing very simple local news early in the morning and popular music for the rest of the transmission time.

Size Matters

As for the other myth, there is also a lot to say. If "big" means reaching large numbers of people—quality not even being a factor, then certainly alternative and community media are "small." It is mostly a matter of choice and strategy, not an issue of technical means or money to expand. Once again, La Voz de la Comunidad in Guatemala is a good example. The team that runs the station decided to place their FM antenna in the lowest part of the ravine, to voluntarily limit the reach of their transmissions to the three slums that are built on the slopes. On the one hand, they know they will avoid getting in trouble with the law, which considers community stations as "pirate"; on the other, they believe their programming is tailored to the needs of their own constituency and have no interest in broadcasting farther.

Were the tin miners' radio stations in Bolivia "small"? Consider this: their political influence was such that no military coup ever succeeded in my country if the army did not first capture, destroy, and shut-down the miners' radio stations at the mining *campamentos* of Potosí and Oruro (Gumucio Dagron and Cajías, 1989). Maybe each individual radio was small, but the network had national influence; moreover, in times of crisis, when media in the main cities was heavily censored, foreign correspondents in neighboring countries would listen to the miners' radio stations to get a sense of what was happening in Bolivia. As the army entered the mining districts to silence the stations one by one, another station would pick the signal and continue airing the news until the army got too close. Size, as we know, does not matter.

The video experience of Teleanálisis in Chile, during the dictatorship of Pinochet in the mid-1970s, is another interesting example of size not being the right parameter to classify or patronize alternative communication initiatives. While Chile was living under a very strong censorship over its media, young cameramen equipped with light portable video equipment

went into the streets to document people's resistance, violations of human rights, repression, and social discontent. Video news was quickly and roughly edited underground, then distributed on VHS cassettes through unions, churches, and resistance groups who would multiply each cassette in large numbers, so to reach more population. Was it a "small" experience? Thousands of people were reached by the video documentaries produced by Teleanálisis, and the subsequent discussions certainly contributed to build resistance to the Pinochet dictatorship. This was alternative television in Chile under the military rule.

Both TV Viva in Recife, in the north of Brazil, and TV Maxambomba in Rio de Janeiro are part of this broad family of alternative screens. TV Serrana, in Cuba, shares the concept of providing people both a voice and different programming, apart from what the national television networks can offer. The three have chosen the word *television* as part of their name; as if they wanted to clearly signal that they are an alternative to commercial or state owned television stations. As Teleanálisis did in Chile, although in a different political context, current experiences reach thousands of people in public squares, market streets, and poor neighborhoods. TV Maxambomba and TV Viva are strong in creating urban video shows that stimulate discussion on social issues: marginality, prostitution, child labor, street violence, and/or sexual diseases. The Cuban experience, on the other hand, serves rural communities that previously had little access to media. Their main feature is the *video-carta*, (video-letters) sent by children from one community to another or from Cuba to Guatemala.

One of the main principles of alternative, citizen, community, or participatory media is to multiply the number of communicators, not only the number of consumers of information, mere receivers. The act of communicating becomes collective, in terms of the participation of people at various stages of the process, including the production of messages and the distribution through alternative channels. While many communication strategies for development still focus on massive diffusion of messages through commercial mass media—AIDS being a good example—the "other" media, our media, struggles to provide an echo to local voices, rather than imposing ready-made and uniformed messages. Campaigns are huge efforts of information (one-way) and advertising, rather than communication (two-ways).

Growth for the sake of growth has never benefited the ultimate goals of community or alternative media. The example of Radio Sutatenza, in Colombia, is emblematic (Alarcón, 1978). This was the first known experience of community media in Latin America and the rest of the third world: A minuscule and handmade radio station that started operating in a small rural community of the Tenza Valley way back in 1947, and soon—too soon—became a powerful national media network that produced literacy programs but moved away from people—even physically, to Bogotá, the capital city of Colombia.

Which is better: One radio program that reaches one million people with few standard messages in one language, or 100 radio program that reach

10,000 people with messages tailored to the local culture and traditions, in the local languages and—more importantly—made through a participatory process that involves the communities? Many experts working in development agencies would take the short cut: "Think big and reach as many people as you can in a short period of time." I definitely support the option that allows people to be in control of their own media, whether it be called alternative, horizontal, or participatory. However, it is true that it may take much longer, because it becomes part of the social process that communities live through.

Call Me Impure

Myths emerge when the knowledge of reality is limited. During the 1960s and 1970s, under the impulse of both dependency theories and the day-to-day struggle against dictatorships in most of Latin America, political polarization brought to the discourse of development the ideals of community-based social regeneration. The myth of the community as a compact and pure entity was promoted. Anything from the community level had an aura of purity and rightfulness. Now, times have changed, and communities have revealed themselves as less "compact" entities. One of the main obstacles when supporting grassroots development initiatives is dealing with communities as complex social universes. What may unite communities is culture and tradition, and what may divide them is exactly what divides society at large: economic and political interests.

What happens in a context where new leadership is imposed over the community by political parties or by government structures? And what happens when new religious denominations start penetrating a community that knew only one faith earlier? Most rural communities in Latin America adopted an indigenous version of Catholicism since the times of the Spanish Colony. Modern Catholic priests in Peru, Bolivia, or Ecuador are wise enough to recognize the value of religious and cultural traditions and it is not unusual to see them performing in ceremonies of clear syncretism. Something similar is happening in Africa and Asia, where new religious values often imported from North America are challenging traditional beliefs and dividing communities.

In 1969, Cuban filmmaker Julio García Espinoza wrote his manifest "For an Imperfect Cinema," defending the New Latin American Cinema aesthetics and poetics and suggesting that in the "imperfections" of the narrative of the New Latin American Cinema resided the substantial difference with the European cinema. While "imperfect," our cinema was committed with social change and brought art closer to people. Something alike has happened with community and alternative media: Being "impure" becomes an opportunity for creativity and social change.

Shaky Paradigms

One thing is what has been written on alternative or participatory media, another how alternative or participatory communication experiences have

evolved. Too often, the image of alternative media that has been presented as a model does not really correspond to how things are happening on the ground. Good-willed allies often popularized ideas that were more related with their personal political views rather than the complexity of media at the grassroots level. Alternative or participatory media was often depicted as being inflexible, subversive, confrontational and intolerant, excluding dialogue, always at the defensive, seldom proactive or open to the society at large.

Those ideas were promoted way *above* alternative and participatory communication experiences, and contributed to freeze "ideal" models useful for political and ideological purposes of the "gauche divine" but not the struggle of community media as a tool of social change, education, entertainment, socialization of knowledge, economic development, and so on. By revising the wealth of experiences that we now know, we begin to realize that the intellectual avant-garde sometimes took a straight road to radical definitions, while the concrete experiences showed much more.

Participatory communication experiences have a long history, especially in Latin America. It has been more than 50 years since Radio Sutatenza in Colombia or the miners' radio station La Voz del Minero in Bolivia started their activity. Actually, they were there before the wave of enthusiasm for "alternative media" arose in the 1960s and the war of labeling started on paper. Most of them originated not so much to oppose an existing pervasive media, but because there was no media around and community voices needed to be heard. When they created a small radio station at the mining *campamento* of Siglo XX, North of Potosi, in the late 1940s, the Bolivian miners did not think about politically empowering themselves; that came later. Initially, they just wanted to communicate better within their community and with their constituency on daily issues. They wanted to call for meetings, to broadcast music that miners liked, have dedications, announce the arrival of letters and postal parcels, read messages from miners' families, and make known when fresh provisions arrived to the *pulpería*—the mining company store. They soon realized they were also heard in nearby poor peasant communities and in other neighboring mining camps. After the 1952 Revolution and the nationalization of mines, the political influence of these radio stations grew as other mining unions created their own stations with the same original goal: better communication with their constituency. Soon enough, they realized that radio allowed the union to pressurize the government when fighting for their rights. If a union leader was put in prison, or the *pulpería* was empty, or safety was not ensured for workers inside the mine, the radio would say it and this was enough to make the government react—or else face strikes and demonstrations that could easily spread to the rest of the mines in the country.

Miners' unions got stronger as radio became their voice and the voice of every single miner who wanted to express something. Often housed at the union buildings, miners' radio stations would broadcast live union meetings so their constituency would know exactly what was discussed and who said

what. This had an enormous influence on participation and on how union leaders were recognized and elected. If there is one aspect that clearly differentiated the unions of Bolivia with the style of "trade unions" in North America and in other countries of Latin America, it has been concern for national issues and the intervention of miners in national politics. Rather than just fighting for better wages, they were explicitly participating in the decision-making process on national issues. This was very clear when mining unions voiced their support to the guerrilla of Ché Guevara in 1967, and obviously the reason why the massacre of Saint John took place on a frozen night of June 1967 in the mining *campamentos* of Catavi, Llallagua, and Siglo XX.

Today, community radio is largely dominant in participatory communication experiences worldwide. The power of radio is understandable in a context in which most of the people are either illiterate or have no possibility of accessing any other type of mass media. This was true for most of the 1950s and 1960s, but it started to change during the 1970s.

The Good Side of God

Even the Catholic Church, which is so influential in Bolivia, recognized the importance of the radio in rural and marginalized urban areas. Early in the 1950s, Oblate priests founded a new radio station at the Siglo XX mining camp, overlapping the same area of influence as La Voz del Minero and Radio 21 de Diciembre of Catavi. The new station was named Radio Pío XII after the very conservative pope. Its goal, clearly spelled out from the start, was to "eradicate communism and alcoholism" from the mines. The powerful transmitter of Radio Pío XII soon collided with workers' ideas about life and politics, the miners perceiving that the new station was aimed at dividing them on issues of politics and social behavior. Miners attacked the station with dynamite and showed they would not tolerate the ideological approach of the new radio. Eventually, the priests who ran the Catholic station evolved politically toward a better understanding of social reality and eventually Radio Pio XII became a very important ally of workers from the mines, suffering the same attacks and repression from the military every time the mines were occupied.

Does the involvement of the Catholic Church in community media projects threaten the "purity" of the participatory approaches? It is indeed a serious question to consider, given the fact that a large number of the most interesting experiences of communication for social change in Latin America are led by Catholic organizations. One of the largest radio stations in Bolivia, Radio San Gabriel, with enormous influence on Aymara peasants from the highlands, is owned and run by the Catholic Church. If we quickly browse through alternative communication experiences in Latin America, we find a vast majority of the most stable, permanent, and committed were and are founded, funded, and run by the Church.

If "ownership" of media is central to a strict definition of a participatory communication experience, then all these communication projects should not

qualify. Certainly, they facilitate access and allow voices of people to be heard, so they are "participatory" in the sense of involving their constituency, even if ultimately the priests who run the stations make the main decisions. There is no doubt about their solidarity with the people they serve. The contents of their programming addresses the real needs of peasants, refugees, poor urban dwellers, miners, and so on, with segments dealing with topics such as human rights, agriculture, environment, education, literacy, local culture, indigenous organizations, health and sanitation, and so on. Moreover, their constituencies consider being represented through these radio stations. They are part of the daily lives of those who struggle for freedom and dignity in many places of the world. Therefore these alternative media experiences have also been subject to attacks, repression, and censorship, and this not only under military regimes alone.

If we look at the way these religious radio stations operate and serve people, we have little doubt about their pertaining to the "good side," the side of people, the side of democracy, the side of freedom of expression, the side of cultural pride, and local identity. We tend to overlook the real ownership of the station in terms of the license to operate, the equipment, and staff, because the impact on social change is what interests us the most. People are benefiting from it, participating, being "part" and "partners" of changes that affect society. Building coalitions is essential for participatory communication to develop and be sustainable, and from this perspective it is justifiable in a long-term political strategy to have as allies the Catholic radio stations, as they have given full proof of commitment and solidarity.

The Wrong Side of God

The question of "ownership" may come back as something tough to answer, especially given the fact that a new wave of religious radio stations may completely change our perception about these local media being appropriate to peoples' needs. To put it bluntly, hundreds of confessional stations owned by Pentecostal and Evangelist Churches are popping out in rural areas of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, with messages and content having little to do with democracy, support of local culture, or the struggle for human rights. The Catholic radio stations that started in Latin America during the 1960s are clearly recognized as playing on the "good side" of the participatory communication game, with the people and for the people. The question of "ownership" is more relevant and complex than ever, because it becomes difficult to draw a clear line separating those who act with the people and those who invade communities.

It is difficult to understand how a small country like Guatemala got to the point of having so many evangelical radio stations. How did these stations manage to keep their frequencies in spite of draconian laws declaring all community radio stations "pirate" and "illegal"? Community and indigenous radio stations have been forced to bid for frequencies in order to

continue operating, often competing with powerful media owners and paying as much as them for an FM frequency that will allow broadcasting only for 20 or 30 kilometers. Communities of Maya Indians, the majority of the population of Guatemala, were hard-hit by the government and had to invest all their assets in order to collect US$50,000–US$60,000 to regain their frequency. Many disappeared in the process, but the evangelical stations still exist and are multiplying, especially over those communities with weaker cultural identity.

The difficulty of drawing the line between the "good" and the "wrong" comes because religious radio stations are not all equal to each other. Some stations have a mixed programming that combines religious content with advice on health or education issues. Some have provided free airtime to local organizations to prepare their own programming. As this phenomenon becomes notorious in many other countries of Latin America, Africa, and Asia, it raises issues of concern to participatory communication. Some field research is needed to capture better the essence of religious radio stations—from the perspective of communities.

Building Coalitions

Community media, citizens' media, or participatory communication experiences are examples of processes of building social coalitions. Often wrongly perceived as voluntarily seeking secretiveness, isolation, or a nonexistent ideal of purity, the discourse of media activists has contributed to this perception. However, there is not a single experience that excluded participation in a very broad sense, not even the bottom-up community-based approach. All development communication examples, which have had undeniable impact on social change, involve embedded strategies of building alliances and coalitions without losing the essence of community participation. Even the most "pure" radical forms of community media have a long history of building alliances.

In Latin America, participatory communication experiences have been constructed from the beginning within political oppositional alliances against authoritarian governments—very often, military dictators. One of the most pure expressions, the Bolivian tin miners' radio stations, is an example of this. Radios could not have survived and grown if they did not have such an intimate relationship with the miners' unions.

Recent communication experiences in Asia and Africa are establishing dialogue and alliances with governments and the private sector. Once participatory media is rooted in the community, the possibilities of establishing dialogue and alliances without losing identity and independence are crucial. Participation in the larger society, transcending the community level, is increasingly possible by means of new technologies, and there are no more political prejudices to impede contributing to culture and society, especially when a particular region or country is living through a process of democratization.

Conclusions

The social, political, and economic contexts surrounding community media have deeply changed during the past two decades. Globalization has generalized the constraints for independent, alternative, and participatory communication experiences. New communication and information technologies (ICTs) have, on the other hand, introduced new challenges demanding enormous efforts from community media to adapt for survival. If on the one hand the world has generally lived through democratization processes that have replaced authoritarian regimes and military dictators, on the other hand societies are being controlled and are often manipulated by private corporations through other means, legal or not. Corruption has generalized, as if the democratization process made it available to anyone. The traffic of drugs, guns, fake currency, live wild animals, precious woods, orphan children, migrant workers, prostitutes, archeological treasures, and many more has created powerful cartels that have influence on governments, legislators, and the private sector. As the problems become international and generalized across borders, alternative and participatory media have new concerns and new potential audiences.

The abundance of commercial media has created a mirage of variety and choice; however, in reality it offers much less in terms of multicultural content, information, access, and participation. Huge international conglomerates have been formed, including radio, television, print media, and new Internet technologies, multiplying the demand through new channels of distribution and dissemination, but actually reducing the supply and variety of contents. The role of the state as administrator, regulator, and defender of consumers and citizen's rights has completely diminished under the pressure of multinational holdings and a national private sector that wants to operate without regulations and restrictions. Globalization of mass media is also affecting the cultural tissue of the world, rapidly wiping out differences between cultures, homogenizing societies to facilitate market expansions.

In this context, alternative and participatory media have a greater importance than ever in the defense of human values and the diversity of cultures, languages, and beliefs. More than ever, and precisely because there is a need to challenge cultural globalization, community media has to think locally first in order to consolidate cultural identity and reflect community needs.

Each communication process being different and autonomous, alternative communication experiences have something in common that have to be preserved and developed: participation and dialogue. If there is a line that we can draw between commercial globalized media and community media, it is precisely along participation in its various forms, and dialogue to build alliances and coalitions. Opposition to commercial media alone no longer defines the "alternity" of participatory media. Community media is important in voicing people's concerns for democracy and human values. Now, more than ever, it

is also essential to preserve language, culture, and identity in a world that may lose, in the next few decades, multilingual and pluricultural societies that took centuries to build.

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The People's Communication Charter: Global Communications and People's Rights

Cees J. Hamelink

The Cultural Environment

Today we observe, across the world, people facing pervasive global, governmental, and commercial censorship; distorted and misleading information; stereotyped and damaging images of the human condition, including gender, age, race, ethnicity, sexuality, physical and mental illness, and disability; restricted access to knowledge, and insufficient channels to communicate diverse ideas and opinions.

The reality of the human cultural environment reduces the capacity of ordinary men and women to control the decisions that others make about their lives, a "disempowerment" that violates the human entitlement to dignity, equality, and liberty. To defend human integrity, the provision of information should contribute to the "empowerment" of people. This implies the need to create a pluralist and sustainable cultural environment. The provision of information is an arena largely controlled by very powerful interests. Media moguls and their political friends will not voluntarily put their stakes at risk. The information industries, the telecommunication operators and their large clients, the intellectual property industries, and the supporting governments are not likely to act against the disempowering impact of current forms of information provision.

The much-heralded project of the Global Information Superhighway, for example, can pose serious threats to people's information self-determination, primarily as a result of the potential and highly likely censorship exercised by mega gatekeepers. As the Information Superhighway project is to be largely privately funded and commercially driven by the market, there needs to be a system defining what services the consumer will get, that charges

consumers for what they get, and that shuts out those who cannot pay. If major companies invest billions of dollars in the Information Superhighway, they will undoubtedly want control of and access to consumers so they can recoup these investments. The Internet was initially guided by the rule of sharing information for free, but it has now been discovered as a major vehicle for commercial advertising. A communicative structure that so far has been public, noncommercial, nonregulated, noncensored, anarchistic, and very pluralistic may soon turn into a global electronic shopping mall.

If a market-driven arrangement is that, for some time to come, the standard environment in which mass media—both conventional and new media—operate, then informational pluralism cannot be expected from monopoly providers, or competitive providers, nor from regulators of whatever persuasion. Increasingly, the mass media do not properly inform people but simply provide them primarily with commercial messages. This is the heart of the global media market, and it is expanding. Advertising expenditures per capita everywhere are steeply rising. Advertisers and marketers are also in hot pursuit of new targets. As the World Health Organization announced in 2000 a 25 percent increase in cancer cases, advertisers for large chemical firms cynically welcomed this growth market. And, of course, children are the top audiences for commercials, the average child in the United States at age seven seeing over 20,000 commercials per year (see the research conducted by Professor Patty Valkenburg of the University of Amsterdam and Campbell and Davis-Packard, 2000).

Ironically, at a time when we are being told that the world enters the global information society, it would seem that the world's mass media contribute more to the proliferation of a worldwide consumer culture than to the creation of an information culture; they teach people how to develop consumer practices rather than properly inform them about democratic practices. As this happens, it should also be observed that the majority of media audiences seem unconcerned. In most societies, most people appear at present not seriously knowledgeable or worried about the quality of their cultural environment. They seem more worried about the killing of whales than about the disappearance of minority languages.

However, since our cultural environment is as essential to our common future as the natural ecology, it is time that people's movements focus on the organization and quality of the production and distribution of information, and other cultural expressions. In the end, the quality of our cultural environment is not determined by media moguls or regulators but by the community of media users.

Mobilizing the media users' community and stimulating critical reflection on the quality of the cultural environment is a monumental task. Still, it can be done, and it is actually being tackled. There are an increasing number of individuals and groups around the world who are beginning to express concern about the quality of media performance. Also, the creation of a broad international movement of alert and demanding media users has begun whose basic inspirational text is the People's Communication Charter (PCC).

The People's Communication Charter (PCC)

The PCC is an initiative of the Third World Network (Penang, Malaysia), the Centre for Communication and Human Rights (Amsterdam, the Netherlands), the Cultural Environment Movement (United States), and the AMARC-World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (Peru/Canada).

In the early 1990s, academics and activists associated with the Third World Network (TWN) in Penang and its affiliated Consumers Association of Penang (CAP) initiated a debate on the feasibility of a world people's movement in the field of communication and culture. The TWN and CAP had, by then, already an impressive record with the development of people's movements in such areas as international trade and the tropical rain forest. They had proved capable of bringing the concerns of grassroots people in third world countries to the diplomatic negotiations of the Uruquay GATT multilateral trade round and the United Nations Conference on the environment in Rio de Janeiro. An obvious problem turned out to be that information consumers are not usually organized in representative associations. They are a diverse community, geographically dispersed and ideologically fragmented. In order to create a constituency for concerns about the quality of the cultural environment, the PCC was initiated as a first step (Hamelink, 1994, 2000).

This charter provides the common framework for all those who share the belief that people should be active and critical participants in their social reality and are capable of governing themselves. The PCC should be seen as a first step in the development of a permanent movement concerned with the quality of the cultural environment. It is based upon the following five core principles:

1. All forms of information handling—collecting, processing, storing, distributing, and so on—should be guided by respect for basic human rights.
2. Communication resources (such as airwaves) should be considered "common heritage of humankind," should be accessible to all in fair and equitable ways, and cannot be regulated by market forces alone.
3. Communication in society cannot be dominated/monopolized by governmental or commercial forces.
4. People have a right to the protection of their cultural space.
5. Information and communication providers should accept accountability for their products and services.

Fundamentally, the Charter addresses the individual and collective responsibility of all members of civil society to strive toward the implementation of these principles. A very important moment in PCC history was the Founding Convention of the Cultural Environment Movement that took place at St. Louis, Missouri in March 1996, when the first public ratification of the text took place. In June 1997, the governing body of the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC) endorsed the Charter following extensive discussion of the Charter by WACC members in its eight

regions. In August of that year, the Charter was displayed at the famous Dokumenta exhibition at Kassel, Germany, where the text was discussed and signed by many visitors. In 1998, the members of AMARC's General Assembly formally adopted the Charter.

An encouraging and inspiring concrete example of implementing the PCC was the First International Public Hearing on Violations of the Charter that took place in May 1999 at the Hague. The theme of the hearing, "Languages and Human Rights," focused on Article 9 of the PCC, which claims people's right to a diversity of languages (see also Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1998). The hearing was organized in response to the prediction made by language experts that 90 percent of the world's languages are in danger of dying out within a century. Control over someone's language has become one of the primary means of exerting power over other aspects of people's lives. At the end of the twentieth century, the world's languages are disappearing faster than ever before in human history. During the hearing, a panel of five independent judges heard witnesses who made cases in support of Creole language, Kurdish language, sign languages, bilingual education in California, and Berber language. In their recommendations and opinions, the judges stated that "There is an urgent need for international bodies and national governments to be more energetic in guaranteeing that clauses in international covenants and in the PCC relating to language rights, to elaborate strategies for monitoring violations and for preventive diplomacy." Recommendations of the Public Hearing were presented to intergovernmental bodies such as UNESCO and to the national governments involved in the five cases examined by the judges.

Organizers of this first hearing (the PCC Amsterdam chapter, the World Association for Christian Communication, the Institute of Social Studies, and the Organisation of Local Broadcasters in The Netherlands) agreed to explore the feasibility of holding hearings annually on different articles of the Charter. Eventually, they could develop into a permanent institution for the enforcement of the PCC. This could take the form of an international independent Ombuds-Office for the protection of communication and cultural rights (see Symonides, 1998).

An Independent Ombuds Office

The inspiration for such an office comes largely from a recommendation made by the UNESCO World Commission on Culture and Development, chaired by Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, in its 1995 report, *Our Creative Diversity*. The Commission recommended the drawing of an International Code of Conduct on Culture and, under the auspices of the UN International Law Commission, the setting up of an "International Office of the Ombudsperson for Cultural Rights" (World Commission, 1995, p. 282). The Commission has stated that "Such an independent, free-standing entity could hear pleas from aggrieved or oppressed individuals or groups, act on their behalf and mediate with governments for the peaceful settlement of

disputes. It could fully investigate and document cases, encourage a dialogue between parties and suggest a process of arbitration and negotiated settlement leading to the effective redress of wrongs, including, wherever appropriate, recommendations for legal or legislative remedies as well as compensatory damages" (World Commission, 1995, p. 283).

The PCC initiative supports this, albeit with some hesitation so far as the governmental standing of the new institution is concerned. Full independence from governmental interests would have to be secured as well as adequate financing, both being difficult to achieve. Obviously, an office that operates from a nongovernmental background would have few possibilities for effective remedies in the sense of compensation or other sanctions. But the question is whether this is the most important feature. Amnesty International cannot hand out prison sentences to those who violate human rights; however, its "politics of shame" is certainly effective in providing a good deal of protection for victims of human rights violations. Ideally, one would like to see the establishment of an institution that is fully independent, receiving funding from both governments and industries and developing a strong moral authority on the basis of its expertise, its track record, and the quality of the people and the organizations that form its constituency.

It could be expected that community media across the globe would bring to the proposed Independent Ombuds Office complaints about violations of communication and cultural rights. The Office would research these complaints and conclude judgments that would be made public through (inter)national news media. It would also seek contact with the perpetrators of violations and seek ways of putting public pressure on them. In a general sense, the cases brought before the Independent Ombuds Office for Communication and Cultural Rights by community media could fall in the following categories:

- Linguistic human rights issues. These concern situations in which community media face the prohibition to use certain minority languages or are under strong political pressures to work only in the dominant language.
- Intellectual property rights issues. These concern situations in which community media find that contents that originate from their own communities are copyrighted by foreign industries that make it obligatory for them to pay for their own products or situations where access to forms of knowledge and information have become prohibitively expensive as a result of international intellectual property protection.
- Free speech and editorial independence issues. Around the globe, community media face various forms of direct censorship and indirect pressures that impact their editorial work. Complaints may emerge from situations in which community media are silenced.
- Frequency allocation and other technological issues. In the process of privatizing the commons such as frequencies, community media may not be able to get those frequencies allocated to them that facilitate their public function. There are also situations in which technical arguments are construed to silence community media.

- Regulatory issues. These concern situations in which community media are excluded from financial arrangements that may be concluded for public broadcasters (as in the European Union Treaty of Amsterdam) or where community media are left out in the decisionmaking on new digital broadcast standards.

In a more concrete sense, the Independent Ombuds Office could have played an important role in such cases as have been reported by AMARC Alert about seizures of television station by governments, denial of community media to important international conferences, the assassination of journalists, or the closure of community radio stations.

The existence of an Independent Ombuds Office in the domain of communication and cultural rights would be of great significance for the world's community media. Building this new global institution constitutes one of the most exciting challenges for the twenty-first century! The timing seems right. Worldwide, there is a growing manifestation of civil resistance against the currently dominant processes of neoliberal economic and cultural globalization. This process, affecting the lives of hundreds of millions of people in local communities, is widely recognized as an undemocratic imposition from above. Against this globalization-from-above, civil society is mobilizing itself for a globalization-from-below.

There is something odd about the way in which international mainstream media ignore this in their reporting about the recent outburst of civil society demonstrations at conferences of the WTO, the IMF, or the EU; protesters are often referred to as the antiglobalization movement. As the *International Herald Tribune* reported on March 16, 2001, "Anti-Globalization Forces Gain Steam." Yet, the some 50,000 people who demonstrated in the streets of Seattle formed a global, cosmopolitan community that came together through global communications on the global Internet and that was clearly motivated by sentiments of global solidarity. It may, therefore, be more adequate to refer to their protest as a denunciation of a specific type of globalization: the neoliberal globalization-from-above that is market-centered. In fact, the movement proposes a different humanitarian form of globalization-from-below that is people-centered.

The humanitarian agenda, primarily interested in the needs of citizens worldwide, wants the regulation of capital flows (through such tools as the so-called Tobin Tax), the protection of labor (especially child labor) and the environment, and prefers the protection of basic human rights over trading interests. Those who promote the neoliberal agenda of globalization want the liberalization of national markets around the world, the deregulation of capital flows, the lifting of environmental restrictions that hamper the freedom of operation of Transnational Corporations, and the recognition of the rights of investors.

At present, the battle between these agendas is fought with inequality of arms. The commercial agenda finds support by a strong constituency of the leading members of the WTO and powerful business lobbies (as in

the Software Business Alliance and the Global Business Dialogue). The humanitarian agenda in the world communication arena needs an active global constituency such as began to emerge during the two sessions of the UN World Summit on the Information Society (2003 in Geneva and 2005 in Tunis). Although the overall results of the WSIS are disappointing, among the good things to emerge was the mobilization of social movements around the world to address information society issues (Hamelink, 2004). The contribution of civil society was essential even if at no point did the summit become a genuine multi-stakeholder decision-making forum. However, even though many UN member states are not amused at the thought of genuine civil participation in the affairs of government, the movement will continue to expand and will grow stronger.

In this process toward the protection of people's information and communication rights, community media around the world are essential players. Both as information providers and communication platforms they can make decisive contributions to a world in which people are better informed, have more access to the information they need, and can communicate freely about matters that interest them.

Appendix A: Pertinent Web Sites

Cultural Environment Movement: www.cemnet.org
The People's Communication Charter: www.pcccharter.net
Third World Network: www.twnside.org.sg.
Voices 21: www.comunica.org/v21/.
World Association for Christian Communication: www.wacc.org.uk.
World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters: www.amarc.org.

Appendix B

THE PEOPLE'S COMMUNICATION CHARTER
(Version of January, 2006)

We, the Signatories of this Charter, recognize that:

Communication is basic to the life of all individuals and their communities. All people are entitled: to participate in communication, and in making decisions about communication within and between societies. The majority of the world's peoples lack minimal technological resources for survival and communication. Over half of them have not yet made a single telephone call. Commercialization of media and concentration of media ownership erode the public sphere and fail to provide for cultural and information needs, including the plurality of opinions and the diversity of cultural expressions and languages necessary for democracy. Massive and pervasive media violence polarizes societies, exacerbates conflict, and cultivates fear and mistrust, making people vulnerable and dependent. Stereotypical portrayals misrepresent all of us and stigmatize those who are the most vulnerable. Therefore, we ratify this Charter defining communication rights and responsibilities to be observed in democratic countries and in international law.

Article 1. Respect
In private and public communication all people are entitled to be treated with respect, according to the basic human rights standards of dignity, integrity, identity, and non-discrimination.

Article 2. Freedom
All people have the right of freedom of expression without interference. This right can only be restricted when limitations are absolutely necessary to protect democracy. Such limitations should always be democratically decided, proportional, effective and of a temporary nature.

Article 3. Access
In order to exercise their rights, people should have fair and equitable access to local and global resources and facilities for conventional and advanced channels of communication; people should also be able to receive opinions, information and ideas in a language they normally use and understand; they should receive a range of cultural products designed for a wide variety of tastes and interests; and they should have easy access to facts about ownership of media and sources of information. Restrictions on access to information should be permissible only for good and compelling reason, as when prescribed by international human rights standards or necessary for the protection of a democratic society or the basic rights of others.

Article 4. Independence
The realization of people's right to participate in, contribute to and benefit from the development of self-reliant communication structures requires international assistance to the development of independent media; training programs for professional media workers; the establishment of independent, representative associations, syndicates or trade unions of journalists and associations of editors and publishers; and the adoption of international standards.

Article 5. Literacy
All people have the right to acquire information and skills necessary to participate fully in public deliberation and communication. This requires facility in reading, writing, and storytelling; critical media awareness; computer literacy; and education about the role of communication in society.

Article 6. Journalists
Journalists must be accorded full protection of the law, including international humanitarian law, especially in areas of armed conflict. They must have safe, unrestricted access to sources of information, and must be able to seek remedy, when required, through an international body.

Article 7. Right of redress
All people have the right to be protected against forms of public information that are inaccurate, misleading, discriminatory or damaging. In such cases they should have easy access to such institutions as Ombudsmen, Press Councils and Courts of Law.

Article 8. Right to protect cultural identity
All people have the right to protect their cultural identity. This includes the respect for people's pursuit of their own cultural development and the right to free expression in languages they understand. People' s right to the protection of their cultural space and heritage should not violate other human rights or provisions of this Charter.

Article 9. Diversity of languages
All people have the right to a diversity of languages. This includes the right to express themselves and have access to information in their own language, the right to use their

own languages in educational institutions funded by the state, and the right to have adequate provisions created for the use of minority languages where needed.

Article 10. Participation in policy making

All people have the right to participate—directly or through elected representatives—in public decision making about the provision of information; the development and utilization of knowledge; the preservation, protection, and development of culture; and the choice and application of communication technologies. Private media industries should be transparent in their ownership structures and operational policies in order to be held accountable by the relevant stakeholders.

Article 11. Children's rights

Children have the right to mass media products that are designed to meet their needs and interests and foster their healthy physical, mental, and emotional development. They should be protected from harmful media products and from commercial and other exploitation at home, in school, and at places of play, work, or business. Nations should take steps to produce and distribute widely high quality cultural and entertainment materials created for children in their own languages.

Article 12. Cyberspace

All people have a right to universal access to and equitable use of cyberspace. Their rights to free and open communities in cyberspace, their freedom of electronic expression, and their freedom from electronic surveillance and intrusion should be protected.

Article 13. Privacy

All people have a right to universal access to and equitable use of cyberspace. Their rights to free and open communities in cyberspace, their freedom of electronic expression, and their freedom from electronic surveillance and intrusion should be protected.

Article 14. Harm

People have the right to demand that media actively counter incitement to hate, prejudice, violence, and war. Violence should not be presented as normal, "manly," or entertaining, and true consequences of and alternatives to violence should be shown. While the reality of harmful communication effects should not be ignored, the issue of what constitutes unacceptable harm should be openly discussed in public debates in order to find a balance between the protection against harmful effects and the protection of free speech.

Article 15. Justice

People have the right to demand that media respect standards of due process in the coverage of trials. This implies that the media should not presume guilt before a verdict of guilt, invade the privacy of defendants, and should not televize criminal trials in real time, while the trial is in progress.

Article 16. Consumption

People have the right to useful and factual consumer information and to be protected against misleading and distorted information. Media should avoid and, if necessary, expose promotion disguised as news and entertainment (infomercials, product placement, children's programs that use franchized characters and toys, and so on), and the creation of wasteful, unnecessary, harmful or ecologically damaging needs, wants, products, and activities. Advertising directed at children should receive special scrutiny.

Article 17. Intellectual property rights

People have the right to affordable access to information about matters of public interest, to scientific and technical knowledge, and to cultural products. The protection of intellectual property should not hamper this. Therefore, a balance has to be found between the proprietary interests of those who produce information, knowledge and culture and

the users and consumers. As a minimum, the duration of protection should not be extended beyond presently prevailing limits and the principle of "fair use" of copyrighted materials for non-commercial use should be maintained.

Article 18. Implementation
In consultation with the Signatories, national and international mechanisms will be organized to publicize this Charter; to implement it in as many countries as possible and in international law; monitor and assess the performance of countries and media in light of these Standards; receive complaints about violations; advise on adequate remedial measures; and to establish procedures for periodic review, development, and modification of this Charter.

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Multitheoretical Approaches to Community Media: Capturing Specificity and Diversity

Nico Carpentier, Rico Lie, and Jan Servaes

Defining Community Media

The concept of "community media" (CM) has shown to be, in its long theoretical and empirical tradition (cf. Janowitz, 1952, 1967), highly elusive. The multiplicity of media organizations that carry this name has caused most monotheoretical approaches to focus on certain characteristics, while ignoring other aspects of the identity of community media. This theoretical problem necessitates the use of different approaches toward its definition, allowing for a complementary emphasis on different aspects of its identity. This chapter combines four theoretical approaches to capture both the diversity and specificity of community media.

None of these approaches provides a sufficient overview when applied independently, as we postulate that the only way to capture the diversity that characterizes community media is their simultaneous application. This does not exclude their sometimes-strong interrelationships, especially when comparing the two media-centered approaches and the two society-centered ones; differences within them are based on the application of a more essentialist theoretical framework, as opposed to a more relational one. In approaches one and three, the identity of community media is defined as autonomous, while in approaches two and four this identity is defined in relationship to other identities, as summarized in figure 19.1.

Implementing these approaches allows highlighting a series of arguments that stress the importance of community media in a wide range of areas; at the same time, they can (and will) be used to analyze the weaknesses of and threats to community media. After a brief description of each approach, they are operationalized, directing the analysis of both arguments

	Media-centered	Society-centered
Autonomous identity of CM (Essentialist)	Approach #1: Serving the community	
		Approach #3: Part of civil society
Identity of CM in relation to other identities (Relationalist)	Approach #2: An alternative to mainstream	Approach #4: Rhizome

Figure 19.1   Positioning the Four Theoretical Approaches

emphasizing the importance of community media and arguments uncovering weaknesses and threats. This analysis is finally summarized in a table (table 19.1) that lists both sets of arguments.

A promising starting point for the theoretical analysis is specified by the "working definition" of community radio adopted by AMARC-Europe, the European branch of the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters; an organization that encompasses a wide range of radio practices in the different continents. In Latin America, AMARC constituents are termed popular radio, educational radio, miners' radio, or peasants' radio; in Africa, they refer to local rural radio, while in Europe it is often called associative radio, free radio, neighborhood radio, or community radio. Asians speak of radio for development, and of community radio; in Oceania, of aboriginal radio, public radio, and community radio (Servaes, 1999). Attempting to avoid a prescriptive definition, AMARC-Europe (1994, p. 4) labels a community radio station as "*a 'non-profit' station, currently broadcasting, which 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.*"

Multitheoretical Approaches

Approach #1: Serving a Community

From AMARC's working definition it is clear that there is a strong emphasis on the concept of "community." Moreover, the geographical aspect is explicitly highlighted (in which it is located), although other types of relationships between medium and community are often mentioned (to which it broadcasts).

Within the disciplines of sociology and anthropology, the concept of "community" has a long history. In the previous century, Tönnies (trans. 1963) theorized a distinction between community and society: Whereas "community" is defined by the presence of close and concrete human ties and by a collective identity, the prevalent feature of "society" is the absence of identifying group relations (Martin-Barbero, 1993). Morris and Morten (1998, pp. 12–13) exemplify Tönnies' distinction by using the concepts

Table 19.1 The Four Theoretical Approaches—A Summary

Approaches to Community Media	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*
	Serving community	*Community media as alternative to mainstream media*	*Linking community media to civil society*	*Community media as rhizome*
Importance of Community Media	• Validating and strengthening community	• Community media show "the third way" is still open for media organizations	• Importance of civil society (as such) for democracy, with community media as part of civil society	• Community media as the crossroads where people from different types of movements and struggles meet and collaborate
	• Treating audience as situated in community	• Alternative ways of organization, and more balanced and/or horizontal structures remain possibilities	• Democratization of media in relation to micro- and macro-participation	• Deepening democracy by linking diverse democratic struggles
	• Enabling and facilitating access and participation by community members	• Community media can offer representations and discourses varying from mainstream media	• Democratization through media: extensive participation in public debate and opportunities for self-representation in the (or a) public sphere	• Highlighting the fluidity and contingency of media organizations
	• Topics considered relevant can be discussed by community members	• Emphasis on self-representation, for a multiplicity of societal voices		• Questioning and destabilizing rigidities and certainties of public and commercial media organizations
	• Opening a channel of communication for misrepresented, stigmatized, or repressed societal groups	• Diversity of formats and genres—room for experiments		• Elusiveness makes community media hard to control and encapsulate—guaranteeing their independence

Table 19.1 Continued

Approaches to Community Media	1 Serving community	2 Community media as alternative to mainstream media	3 Linking community media to civil society	4 Community media as rhizome
Threats to Community Media	• Dependency toward community • Raising community interest for two-way communication • Lack of two-way skills and interest • Lack of technology for facilitating 2-way communication • Reduction of community to its geographical meaning	• Lack of financial and organizational stability • Articulated as unprofessional, inefficient, limited in their capacity to reach large audiences and some marginal groups • Low political priority given to the "marginal"	• Community media contend with commercially oriented media • Rejection of advertising can be hazardous • Dangers caused by a repressive state • Dealing with a certain degree of inefficiency • Making democracy work requires constant attention	• Not realizing its role as crossroads • Diverging or conflicting objectives with civic organizations • Loss of independence • Lack of a clear "common ground" leading to lack of policy efforts

"communion" and "association"; community thus refers to the "notion of a big family," while society "represents a colder, unattached and more fragmented way of living devoid of cooperation and social cohesion. Instead of a sense of neighborliness, people are isolated."

As Amit (2002) and Leunissen (1986) argue, conceptualizations of community refer predominantly to geography and ethnicity as structuring notions of the collective identity or the group relations. These structural conceptualizations of community are put into perspective by first introducing the concept of the "community of interest," emphasizing the importance of other factors in structuring a community. Although one cannot explicitly assume that a group of people has common interests (see, Merton, 1968; Clark 1973), the communality of interest can form conditions of possibility for the emergence or existence of a community. The analysis of the impact of information and communication technologies (ICT) on everyday life has shown that communities are not only formed in geographically defined spaces, but also in cyberspace, such as so-called usergroups (cf. Jones, 1995; Hollander, 2000). Verschueren (2006) argues that the differences between offline and online behavior appear to be of degree rather than of kind. The "new" communities have further altered the rather fixed idea about space, showing that geographical nearness is not in all cases a necessary condition for, or a quality of, "community." As Lewis (1993, p. 13) remarks, a "community of interest" can extend "across conurbations, nations and continents." The defining feature for "community" is the direct and frequent contact between the members and the feeling of "belonging" and "sharing."

A second type of reconceptualization emphasizes the subjective construction of community, where Lindlof's (1988) concept of "interpretative community" and Cohen's (1989) "community of meaning" are relevant. Although Lindlof's reconceptualization is specifically aimed at redefining the audience as a community, both reconceptualizations approach the concept of "community" from within. Cohen (1989, p. 70) pleads for a "shift away from the structure of community toward a symbolic construction of community and in order to do so, takes culture, rather than structure as point of departure". Community is not something that is imposed on people from the outside and that, like a machine, punches structure in big metal plates; it is actively constructed by its members, who derive an identity from this construction. People extract a "community identity" from their own constructed social communication structure. These different conceptualizations are summarized in figure 19.2.

Community media are thus oriented toward a community, regardless of its exact nature (geographical, spatial, or otherwise), but the relationship between the community medium and the actual community transcends "ordinary" one-way communication, where "topics are chosen in the same way, by professional communicators, and targeted towards the apparent needs and interests of the audience" (Berrigan, 1979, p. 7). As illustrated in AMARC's working definition (especially that community media should be "promoting the participation of this community"), relationships between

Community as close and concrete human ties, as "communion," as a collective identity, with identifying group relations.		
Traditional:	Reconceptualization 1: Supplementing the geographical with the nongeographical	Reconceptualization 2: Supplementing the structural/material with the cultural
• Geography • Ethnicity	• community of interest • virtual or on line community	• interpretative community • community of meaning

Figure 19.2   Defining Community

the broadcaster and community are defined by the concept of two-way communication. Access by the community and participation of the community are to be considered key defining factors, (Berrigan 1977; 1979; O'Sullivan-Ryan and Kaplun, 1979; Savio, 1990; Sjöberg, 1994; Fraser and Restrepo, 2000). As Berrigan eloquently summarizes "[Community media] are media to which members of the community have access, for information, education, entertainment, when they want access. They are media in which the community participates, as planners, producers, performers. They are the means of expression of the community, rather than for the community" (Berrigan 1979, p. 8). He (partially) links access to the reception of information, education, and entertainment considered relevant by/for the community: "[Access] may be defined in terms of the opportunities available to the public to choose varied and relevant programs, and to have a means of feedback to transmit its reactions and demands to production organizations" (1979, p. 18).

Others limit access to mass media, seeing it as "the processes that permit users to provide relatively open and unedited input to the mass media" (Lewis, 1993, p. 12) or as "the relation to the public and the established broadcasting institutions" (Prehn, 1991, p. 259). Both the production—and reception—approaches of "access" are considered relevant to the definition of "community media," and incorporated in figure 19.3.

Participation is defined here, following Pateman (1972), as a process where individual members (of a community) have a certain degree of power to influence or determine outcomes.

Production	Reception
Access to the content producing organization → Ability to produce content and have it broadcast/published	*Access to the content considered relevant* → Ability to receive and interpret content
Participation in the produced content → Co-deciding on content	
Participation in the content producing organization	
→ Co-deciding on policy	→ Evaluating the content

Figure 19.3   Access and Participation of the Community

Community media not only allows but also facilitates participation of members of the community in both the produced content and the content-producing organization. Prehn (1991, p. 259) illustrates this as follows: "Participation implies a wider range of activities related to involving people directly in station programming, administration and policy activities."

The Importance of Community Media in Approach #1: Validating and Empowering the Community

In Approach #1, the relationship between the broadcaster and the community is given importance. By choosing a specific community as a target group, the (concept of) community itself is validated and strengthened. The audience is not defined as the aggregate of individuals who only share sociodemographic or economic characteristics, but instead as a collective of people holding a series of identifying group relations. In this fashion, the situation of the audience, as part of complex set of social structures, is emphasized, deepening and bridging the traditional state-citizen and medium-audience dichotomies that tend to articulate the public and the audience as an aggregate of individuals.

Moreover, the aim of community media in Approach #1 to serve the community is often translated as enabling and facilitating access and participation by members of the community. "Ordinary people" (i.e., those who are not part of a societal elite) are given the opportunity to have their voices heard. Topics considered relevant for the community can be discussed by its members, thus empowering them by signifying that their statements are considered important enough to be broadcast. Especially societal groups that are misrepresented, disadvantaged, stigmatized, or even repressed can benefit from using channels of communication opened by community media, strengthening their internal identity, manifesting this identity to the outside world, and thus enabling social change and/or development.

Yet, this orientation toward a community can create a situation of dependency toward it, as two-way communication demands two partners who are more or less equally interested in communicating. The concept of "community"—central to the identity of community media—has often been reduced to its geographical meaning, trapping community media in the position of small-scale local media, gradually de-emphasizing their role toward serving the community, and eventually copying commercial media formats in their efforts to survive. One might be left to wonder: Which community?

Approach #2: Community Media as an Alternative to Mainstream Media

Approach #2 defines community media based on the concept of alternative media, introducing a distinction between community media and mainstream media.

Alternative media are sometimes defined as having a negative relationship with mainstream media, so the contingency of this concept should be

emphasized: What is considered "alternative" at a certain point in time could be defined as mainstream at another point in time, so societal contexts are important. Present day mainstream media are usually considered to be:

- Large-scaled and geared toward large, homogeneous (segments of) audiences;
- State-owned organizations or commercial companies;
- Vertically structured organizations staffed by professionals;
- Carriers of dominant discourses and representations.

Alternative media can take an (or several) opposite position(s) on these matters:

- Small-scaled and oriented toward specific communities, possibly disadvantaged groups, respecting their diversity;
- Independent from state and market;
- Horizontally structured, allowing for the facilitation of audience access and participation within the frame of democratization and multiplicity;
- Carriers of non-dominant (possibly counterhegemonic) discourses and representations, stressing the importance of self-representation.

The Importance of Community Media in Approach #2:
Supplementing, Contesting and Resisting
Mainstream Media Discourse
Approach #2 defines community media as an alternative to mainstream media, supplementing it on both organizational and content levels. At the organizational level, community media shows that media can exist independently from the state and market; as the pressure on mainstream media to become more market-oriented tends to be considerable, community media points that "the third way" is still open for media organizations. The same argument can be applied for (internal) structures of media organizations, as large-scale mainstream media organizations have a tendency toward more vertical structures. More horizontally structured community media show that alternative ways of organization, and more balanced and/or horizontal structures, remain actual possibilities.

On the content level, community media can offer representations and discourses that vary from mainstream media due to higher levels of participation of different societal groups and communities, and the aim to provide "air space to local cultural manifestations, to ethnic minority groups, to the hot political issues in the neighborhood or locality" (Jankowski, 1994, p. 3). Mainstream media tend to be oriented toward different types of elites, such as in newscasts favoring government sources, often resulting in structural bias (cf. McNair, 1998). The orientation of community media giving voice to various (older and newer) social movements, minorities, and sub/countercultures and the emphasis on self-representation, can result in a more diverse content, signifying the multiplicity of societal voices (Van de Donk et al., 2004). At the same time, the critical stance toward the production values of the "professional" working in mainstream media leads to a diversity of

formats and genres, and creates room for experimentation with content and form; in this fashion, community media can be rightfully seen as a breeding ground for innovation, later often recuperated by mainstream media.

Still, when community media are situated in an antagonistic relationship toward mainstream media, they may be in a less advantageous position. Being small-scale, independent, and horizontally structured organizations that carry nondominant discourses and representations hardly guarantees financial and organizational stability. One of the main consequences of marginalizing the alternative (or connotating it negatively, as naive, irrelevant, or superfluous) is the low political priority given to what is considered to be "marginal," causing a downward spiral for community media.

Approach #3: Linking Community Media to the Civil Society

The explicit positioning of community media as independent from state and market supports the articulation of community media as part of civil society. Civil society is deemed important for a variety of reasons, summarized here by Keane (1998, p. xviii):

- Civil society gives preferential treatment to individuals' daily freedom from violence;
- the importance of enabling groups and individuals freely within the law to define and express their various social identities;
- the impossibility, especially in the era of computerized networks of communication media, of nurturing "freedom of communication" without a plurality of variously seized nonstate communications media;
- the superiority of politically regulated and socially constrained markets as devices for eliminating all those factors of production that fail to perform according to current standards of efficiency.
- But of special interest [. . .] is the subject of democracy or, more precisely, the intellectual and political need to revive the democratic imagination.

By defining community media as part of civil society, it can be considered the "third voice" (Servaes, 1999, p. 260) between state and private commercial media. One of the clearest examples can be found in the Girard's (1992a, p. 2; see Girard, 1992b for the Spanish translation and Berqué et al., 1993 for the French translation.) answer to "A passion for radio"?: "[It] can be found in a third type of radio—an alternative to commercial and state radio. Often referred to as community radio, its most distinguishing characteristic is its commitment to community participation at all levels. While listeners of commercial radio are able to participate in the programming in limited ways—via open line telephone shows or by requesting a favorite song, for example—community radio listeners are the producers, managers, directors and even owners of the stations."

A starting point for defining community media as (part of) civil society can be found in Thompson's (1995) model (figure 19.4) that describes public and

Private domain		Public domain
Privately owned economic organisations operating in market economy and oriented towards profit Personal and familial relations		State-owned economic organisations (e. g. nationalised industries and state-owned public utilities) State and quasi-state organisations (including welfare organisations)

Intermediate organisations (e. g. charities, political parties and pressure groups, co-operatively owned enterprises, etc.)

Figure 19.4   Private and Public Domains in Contemporary Western Societies

private domains in contemporary Western societies, where organizations related to the state are seen as constituting the public domain. Privately owned economic organizations geared toward profit, and personal and family relations are considered part of the private domain. Based on this distinction, civil society can be defined as a group of intermediate organizations, separate from the privately owned economic organizations operating in the market economy, personal and family relations (see Cohen and Arato, 1992) and from the state and quasi-state organizations.

Although the nature and structure of civil society varies across regions and continents, this Western-inspired model tends to be applicable in most continents, as the neoliberal market economy has become the predominant form of organizing society. Even in societies where the public domain is considered repressive toward civil society, different forms of what Lewis (1993, p. 127) named "pockets of resistance" emerge, as could well be illustrated by the existence of the Samizdat in the former USSR.

When reworking Thompson's model for the specificity of media organizations, a series of changes should be implemented. Media deregulation, or more generally, the impact of the neoliberal discourse on media policies, has prompted some public broadcasting organizations to adopt more market— and efficiency—driven approaches—including an increased emphasis on audience maximization (cf. Ang, 1991), thus orienting these broadcasting companies' efforts (even) more toward the societal level, and less to the community level. Our reworked model in figure 19.5 shows how this reorientation has allowed the market-driven approach to penetrate the pubic domain.

The Importance of Community Media
in Approach #3: Deepening Democracy
Approach #3 defines community media as part of civil society, crucial for the viability of democracy. Although its nature can vary extensively across nations and continents, we argue, following Cohen and Arato (1992) that this concept is relevant to most contemporary societies and can be seen as an important locus for the expansion or deepening of democracy by means of increasing the level of participation.
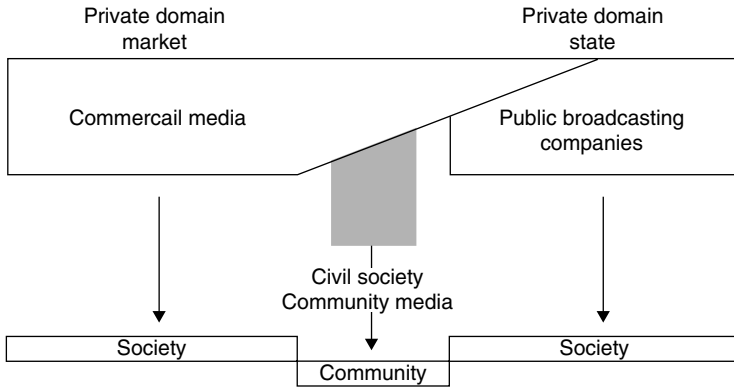
Figure 19.5   Media, Market, and State

Community media can first be seen as an *ordinary* part of civil society. The democratization *of* media, as Wasko and Mosco (1992) call this, allows citizens to be active in one of many (micro)spheres relevant to daily life, to exert their rights to communicate. Second, as different political philosophers (e.g., Rousseau, J. S. Mill, Wollstonecraft) have pointed out, these forms of microparticipation are important, allowing people to learn and adopt democratic and/or civic attitudes, thus strengthening (possible forms) of macroparticipation. Verba and Nie (1987, p. 3) summarize: "A participatory polity may rest on a participatory society." Held (1987, p. 280) uses another catchy phrase: "We learn to participate by participating."

When the specificity of broadcasters and their potential role as (one of the) major public sphere(s) is brought into focus, and community media are not defined as just "ordinary" parts of civil society, these media become important because they contribute to what Wasko and Mosco (1992, p. 13) call democratization *through* media. Community media offer different societal groups and communities the opportunity for extensive participation in public debate and for self-representation in the (a) public sphere, thus entering the realm of enabling and facilitating macroparticipation (Thomas, 2007).

This approach foregrounds the struggle between community media (as part of civil society), the state, and the market. Commercial (and public) media tend to see community media as "contenders in a Darwinistic struggle among commercially oriented media' " (Prehn, 1991, p. 266). Rejecting advertising as a primary source of income by community media places them in a financially hazardous situation. It becomes even worse when they (as part of civil society) are considered a threat to repressive states. The objectives of community media can cause some state apparatus to interfere, placing staff in sometimes life-threatening situations.

Focusing on the internal functioning of community media, it should be emphasized that "making democracy work" (Putnam, 1993) is a difficult task that needs constant attention. Organizations horizontally structured

and oriented toward community participation have to deal with a certain degree of inefficiency, sometimes making their functioning and the realization of their objectives impossible. As Held (1987, p. 281) says, "It is at least questionable whether participation per se leads to consistent and desirable political outcomes."

Approach #4: Community Media as Rhizome

The network-like approach of community media, seen at the crossroads of organizations and movements linked with civil society, creates room for approach #4, building on Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) epistemological model of the rhizome. Based on the juxtaposition of rhizomatic and arbolic thinking, our interest is in applications for organizational structures. The arbolic is linear, hierarchic, and sedentary, and could be represented as "the tree-like structure of genealogy, branches that continue to subdivide into smaller and lesser categories" (Wray, 1998, p. 3).

As rhizomes, community media tend to cut across borders and build linkages between pre-existing gaps: "A rhizome ceaselessly establishes connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences and social struggles' " (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 7). For community media, these connections apply not only to the pivotal role community media (can) play in civil society, but also to inkages it (and other civil organizations) can establish with (segments of) the state and the market, without losing their proper identity. In this sense, community media do not operate completely outside the market and/or the state, although its identity is often defined in an antagonistic relationship (as being an alternative to the mainstream) toward the market and the state. It establishes different types of relationships with the market and/or the state, often for reasons of survival, and in this fashion can be seen as potentially destabilizing ("deterritorializing," in Deleuze and Guattari's theory) the rigidities and certainties of public and commercial media organizations. Visualization of both the elusiveness of the rhizomatic network, and its deterritorializing potential toward the more rigid media organizations in the public and private domain can be found in figure 19.6.

The Importance of Community Media
in Approach #4: Connecting Civil Society

This approach builds further onto the importance attributed to civil society and democracy; here, the main emphasis for describing the importance of community media is not their role as part of the public sphere, but the catalyzing role they can play by functioning as crossroads where people from different types of movements and struggles meet and collaborate, such as people from different women's, peasants', students', and/or antiracist movements. In this fashion, community media not only function as instruments giving voice to a group of people related to a specific issue, but also as catalysts, grouping people active in different types of
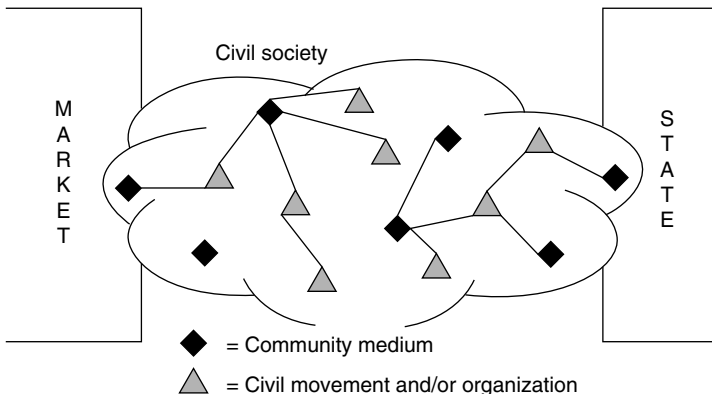
Figure 19.6   Civil Society and Community Media as Rhizome

struggle for equality (or other issues). Especially in the field of radical democratic theory, ample emphasis is attributed to the necessity for linking diverse democratic struggles to allow the "common articulation of, for example, antiracism, antisexism and anticapitalism," as Mouffe (1997, p. 18) puts it.

The approach of community media as rhizomatic makes it possible to highlight the fluidity and contingency of its organizations, in contrast to the rigid ways mainstream public and commercial media often (have to) function. Because of the elusive identity of community media, they can—by their mere existence and functioning—question and destabilize the rigidities and certainties of public and commercial media organizations. At the same time, this elusiveness makes community media (as a whole) hard to control and to encapsulate in legislation, thus guaranteeing their independence.

Approach #4 allows us to add some other threats to the existence and functioning of community media. Not only is it possible that its potential role at the crossroads of different social movements simply is not realized, when community media organizations choose an isolationist position or propagate one overpowering type of social struggle. Second, the complex relationship with state and market organizations creates the risk of incorporation of community media by them and/or the loss of the independence, such as financial. The approach of community media as rhizome uncovers a third potential threat to the existence of community media: These media may signify the fluidity and contingency of media organizations, in contrast to the rigidities and certainties of public and commercial media organizations.

The four approaches and the arguments that highlight both the importance and weaknesses of community media are summarized in table 19.1. This overview articulates community media as an important but vulnerable type of media organization.

Strategies for Change

Here, we focus on a series of possible strategies to improve the situation of community media. By using a combination of the four theoretical approaches, we have not only highlighted the importance of community media, but also their vulnerability; so, our conclusion discusses a series of strategies oriented toward improving its situation. Contending that these strategies should take into account both the diversity and the specificity of community media, we suggest two types of strategies: the first aimed toward strengthening niches in which community media often are located, the second focusing more at the societal context where community media function. By enlarging the network (or rhizome) community media are part of, their democratic function within civil society can be realized to a higher degree.

Strengthening the Niches

To improve the position of their community media, several countries have established media funds, specifically oriented toward direct project funding, and privileging community media (Gumucio Dagron, 2001). Examples are the French "Fonds de soutien à l'expression radiophonique" and the South-Belgian "Fonds d'aide à la création radiophonique." These funds could also function on a more transnational level, allowing community media from a specific continent, or different continents, to apply for direct project subsidies.

A second point of attention is the quality of legislation and its enforcement. It might not be limited to the protection of human rights (in their widest sense), but also to recognition of the specificity and difference of community media on technical, organizational, and content-related levels. As community media often find themselves in a more vulnerable position than market and state (or public) media, and their relation toward them is sometimes problematic, specific legislation is needed for their protection. This area includes access to good quality frequencies, necessary technical equipment at a reasonable price, alternatives to (usually expensive) technical innovations, and (legal) acceptance of organizational structures used by community media. These would help facilitate the position of volunteers, at the same time allowing for decent housing and protecting the independence and safety of community media and its staff.

Enlarging the Network/Rhizome

Also, policies could be oriented toward the important role community media can play for reaching, maintaining, and deepening levels of democratization—part of their role as a nodal point in the network of civil society. The first step in improving the strength of the rhizome is improving the network between different community media themselves, an aim that could be realized by the structural (financial) support for representative organizations of community

media at all levels. Contacts between community media collaborators from different countries and/or continents might be established, thus stimulating organizational learning and networking.

The number of connections between community media and non-media civil organizations clearly should be increased. Project funding specifically aimed at the collaboration of media and non-media organizations should be given priority. Contacts between the staff—working on compatible issues—should be stimulated. Exchange programs for training community media staff by members of non-media civil organizations in the areas of their expertise (and vice versa) should be organized; in this fashion, opportunities for partnerships between them are increased and the media-centrality that still (sometimes partially) characterizes most media organizations would be diminished.

These different strategies, when implemented with the utmost respect for diversity and specificity, can allow community media to remain in a position where they can (continue to) serve their communities, act as alternatives to mainstream media (discourse), push for democratization in and through media, and function as a crossroads of civil society.

Notes

This chapter is an updated, abridged, and amended version of Carpentier, Lie, and Servaes (2003a, b, and c). Lewis (1993, p. 12) offers an elaborate description of community media as an alternative to mainstream media that we have extended.

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Conceptualizing Community: Implications for Policymaking in a Cyberage

Concetta M. Stewart and Mairi Innes Pileggi

Introduction

Discussion surrounding the development of telecommunications policy has typically been framed in terms of communities of access and of interest. Indeed, communication technologies are often understood as a supplement to face-to-face communication, which is empirically understood as the basis for social interaction and the establishment of community (see McLuhan and Fiore, 1967). The Internet is no exception. There are, however, various and often competing definitions of "community" with respect to the Internet, thereby raising serious questions for both public policy and political activity, including but not limited to the following: What does it mean to be a citizen in this new cyberage? (See Jones, 1995; 1997.) With what rights is a cyber-citizen endowed? (See Etzioni, 2004.) What is public space? (See Stewart, Gil-Egui and Pileggi, 2004a; 2004b). What is communal? (See Fulk, et al., 1996).

While there is a need to redress the dearth of empirical work on the nature, meaning, and implications of what community actually is, there is a more pressing need for a renewed investigation of the concept of community as it evolves online. Furthermore, we must recognize that the characteristics of the concepts and metaphors we use to describe community have a direct bearing on how technology is deployed and how humans interact with it. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, foregrounding the effects of this conceptualization as well as the metaphors that structure it is critical. We must ask, for example, how the implementation of new technology affects power relationships and structures. This chapter examines specific instances of the concept of community and their relative implications for policy decisions.

Conceptualization of Community

Policy development is often framed in terms of fundamental community issues such as who is included, who is enfranchised, with what goods and with what services. A brief look at the Department of Defense's Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET) illustrates this point. Initially designed for Department of Defense-sponsored researchers and structured to meet their needs (Rheingold, 1993), ARPANET implicitly created an electronic space that separated its users from all others. As ARPANET evolved into the Internet, it opened this electronic space potentially to the entire world. This electronic space has become something else. Internet users are now so numerous and diverse as to beg the question of what constitutes a legitimate user. For instance, electronic-commerce seeks a community of buyers who can reliably pay for goods, as "E-democracy" might only seek the community of nationals of a certain age.

In effect, the traditional notion of computer-mediated communication has shifted from a primarily linear model of communication, albeit multiplex, as characterized by sender ➜ channel ➜ receiver to a network model. A network model may be seen as a matrix whose elements measure the degree of connection between a potentially infinite number of users. When a user engages in communication in cyberspace, he/she implicitly places himself/herself in a set of users. The characteristics of the relationships between these users map the topography of that particular cyberspace. No such thing as a cyberspace, as some all-encompassing monolithic entity, exists. Rather, there are potentially as many cyberspaces as there are distinct users engaged in specific communication processes at different times. Cybercommunities, then, are only transient aggregations of users.

Clearly, we cannot base policy decisions on an a-priori definition of community because the very meaning and structure of Internet communities are impermanent. Sociologists and historians understand this and have characterized community from several different perspectives: culturally, often based on the similarity of language and practices; geographically, based on physical boundaries and borders; and politically, based on civic responsibilities and participation. Each perspective presents a different lens through which the concept of community is viewed and filtered. Thus, when conceptualizing community politically, rights of access and participation are accorded based on an individual's membership in a given community, from interest group to "commercial tribe."

In our discussion of cyberspace community we must refrain from using key terms such as community, citizenship, culture, and identity interchangeably. Doing so will lead to an infinite regression of definitional refinement or conceptual incoherence. Instead, we must focus on the more complex issue of conceptualization and rigorously engage such questions as "what are the metaphors that help formulate our mental representations of the Internet? What is the implied conceptualization of community that each metaphor advances?"

The purpose of this chapter, then, is to clarify prevalent representations for the Internet to establish a framework for discussion and a focus for debate. We do so by examining the metaphorical language used to describe the Internet. Specifically, we focus on the information superhighway metaphor the then vice president Al Gore used to speak about because of its salience. Our aim is to deconstruct this metaphor so we understand the range of its implications as it pertains to the notion of community and of power relations. We also reexamine other metaphors used for this virtual environment as well as their implications and potentialities for policy decisions. We limit our focus to three seminal texts: Gore's speech to The World Telecommunication Development Conference in Buenos Aires (1994); his remarks for the fifteenth International ITU Conference (1998a); and his writing on "Telecommunications in an Information Age" from the Office of the Vice President of the United States (1996).

Examining the Internet as Metaphor

Metaphors make abstract theorizing possible. According to George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1999, p. 128), "We acquire . . . metaphorical modes of thought automatically and unconsciously and have no choice as to whether to use them." Metaphors are an ordinary part of our quotidian discourse that we take for granted. Metaphors are thus fundamental in forming the basis of a conceptual system that structures our perceptions of the world, our thoughts, and our actions. As Lakoff and Johnson (1999, p. 322) also explain, "We define our reality in terms of metaphor and then proceed to act on the basis of the metaphor." Metaphors are tied to our specific culture and to the specific values that our culture promotes. They help us understand a "concept in terms of another concept," but they also mask those "aspects of the concept which are not coherent with the metaphor" (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999, p. 292). Furthermore, as Lakoff and Johnson (1999, p. 321) underscore, metaphors may "Constitute a license for policy change and political and economic action." In our public policy discourse we rely heavily on metaphors "to think about the emerging telecommunications infrastructure" (Sawhney, 1996, p. 292).

Formulating the Concept of the Internet

Gore is credited with early recognition of the importance of what has become known as the Internet, speaking of high capacity data highways in the 1980s (Kahn and Cerf, 2000). He coined the term "information superhighway" and the term became a sort of mantra in his speeches (Wiggins, 2000). Gore was also applauded for "his ability to point to the technological land just over the horizon as a warm, friendly place" (Miles, 1998, p. 1). Web pioneers claim that just by coining the term Gore raised public awareness about the Internet's potential. Public debate has indeed become reliant on this prevailing metaphor of the superhighway but not without implications for public policy.

However, the superhighway metaphor has shortcomings (Bar, 1987; Gillespie and Williams, 1988; Panzar, 1990; Sawhney, 1996). Sawhney argues that a metaphor should be a temporary vehicle for change; its coercive force cannot mold technology when the technology offers a new and different "liberty of action," a capability that extends human control over its environment. Although a metaphor is useful when it serves as a signpost for exploration, it needs to be considered more carefully when it serves as a signpost for "sagacious choices among different alternatives the technology opens up for how we organize communities" (Sawhney, 1996, p. 303). The highway metaphor overlooks key issues of interactivity and time-space and cost-space convergence that make geographical distance less important. Sawhney goes so far as to argue that the metaphor is inappropriate and that we should "choose another." We do not wish to argue here the appropriateness of the metaphor, although we do underscore that not just anyone can simply choose a new metaphor. Those in positions of power like Gore, however, do uniquely have the possibility to impose specific metaphors.

The highway metaphor is in a sense borrowed from older technology, especially the railway system (Sawhney, 1996). As is the railway system, the highway is an important element in commerce: it is a conduit for the exchange of goods and services. Indeed, for Gore the highway is the underpinning of the market. He envisions an Internet that circles the globe with information superhighways on which people can travel, share information, connect, and communicate as a global community. From these connections we might "derive robust and sustainable economic progress, strong democracies, better solutions to . . . environmental challenges, improved healthcare . . . a means . . . to transcend the barriers of time and distance . . . and make possible a global information marketplace where consumers can buy or sell products" (Gore, 1994, p. 1).

The highway then offers connectivity, a means to share information or ideas, a way to communicate as well as a way to overcome constraints of time and distance. Although Gore couches these characteristics as vague social benefits aimed at promoting friendship, sustaining community and family life, and educating children, these conditions are also crucial to the development of a global marketplace. Connectivity extends the range of the marketplace, bringing new and remote buyers to sellers and their products. Transactions executed "at the speed of light" further stimulate the flow of goods and services. In effect, the marketplace is always open.

Highways, however, have other constraints. They are accessible mainly to those with the means to access them: if you don't have a car or the money for tolls, you can't enter. They also can limit one's options: You can only "travel" to specific sites. In addition, they can be a means of control, determining where you can go, when you go (as at toll booths), and how fast you go (as with radar and video), and a means of surveillance (as with smart card technology). Finally, highways ignore regional or communal needs as they cut through a geometric map. These aspects are implicit parts of the superhighway metaphor not foregrounded by Gore.

Most troubling is who Gore calls on to construct and to operate the information highway system: governments, regulators, and the business sector. Absent are poets, painters, hackers, the homeless, and children, among others. The metaphor implicitly limits the vision of what the Internet is or can be and who can participate. It is not an open space but one structured by government and increasingly by business.

The Superhighway Metaphor's Effect on Conceptualizing Technology

Gore (1998a, p. 1) proposes five principles or common values as the foundation of the Internet: "private investment, competition, open access, a flexible regulatory framework and universal service." If this is indeed the foundation of the information superhighway, then the values pertaining to public support or input, cooperative endeavors, and access for those without financial (or political) means to gain access are bypassed. We would agree that open access and universal service are important for the Internet, but we note that Gore frames this last principle mainly in terms of the market; for example, he refers not to citizens, but to "consumers." Gore (1994, p. 2) clearly states that the Internet is the "Key to economic growth . . . [T]he information infrastructure already is to the US economy of the 1990s what transport infrastructure was to the economy of the mid-20th century." The superhighway, then, is the road to a market primarily powered by developed nations, particularly the U.S. economy, in terms of infrastructure, services, and products.

The highway metaphor thus focuses on the Internet as an instrument of commerce. In fact, an emerging signification for the Internet is that of a "global information economy" framed around a notion of community. However, the Internet also seemingly promotes an "end of geography," which calls into question the effectiveness, validity, and existence of geographic boundaries (Spich, 1995; Kahin and Nesson, 1998). According to Herbert Schiller (1982), the "spillover" of technology systems and content across borders diminishes the effectiveness of sovereign states. In his discussion regarding global communication policy development, Mark Robay (1998, p. 97) characterizes this market-based community by the following: the diminishing role of national states, the transnational concentration of corporate economic power, the technologically based reduction of constraints of time and space, the questioning of received ideas about national and cultural identity, the emergence of new locally based global networks, and the progressive establishment of a new legal and political framework for world governance.

Such a vision keenly reflects a trend originating in the United States and extending worldwide to liberalize all national economies (McChesney, 1998). In its expansiveness, this vision holds out both prospects and problems. A case in point is the push among Internet providers to supply users with all manner of tools and services to enable them to create their own online communities. But the desire for greater profits gives the provider a "way to

ensure 'stickiness,' industry jargon for the ability to keep visitors coming back, [by giving] people places to convene—comfortably, enjoyably and around topics of common interest" (Napoli, 1998). Thus communities are "created."

Power Relations

Despite the highway metaphor's bias toward the Internet as an instrument of commerce, and despite the medium's implicit standardization through the provider's structure, the Internet remains a relatively open system. It is, then, hard to see how telecommunications policy can matter at all, since communication infrastructure is essentially "invisible" (Lenert, 1998). However, the highway metaphor that frames an Internet vision devoted to commerce and business can lead to profound changes in government structure, international relations, and legal systems. These changes are changes in the complex of power relations (McChesney, 2000). But since the Internet appears to be an open system, we remain unaware of the medium's ability to obscure power relations. On the one hand, it can veil existing power relations: a worker on the production line may be able to engage the CEO directly, thereby implying a level of equality that in reality does not exist. The power relations exist, if seemingly invisible.

On the other hand, technology can also change power relations. For example, with the help of technology, straight-edge adolescents. who participate in the hard-core punk scene are able to circumvent traditional or corporate channels of music production by adopting do-it-yourself practices (Pileggi, 1998). Uncovering existing power relations and examining how they operate within and throughout communication infrastructures makes the "invisible" visible. To do this, we must go beyond the recognition of corporate or state dominance of technology and foreground existing power relations (Foucault, 1980). Understanding information and communication policy, particularly in terms of its power relations, is important because we have become increasingly dependent on information technologies (Braman, 1995) that may effect shifts in power relations. Given the far reaching consequences of framing the Internet as a commercial enterprise, how we conceptualize community will have equally far-reaching effects in shaping and determining policy (Day, 2001).

Metaphors at Work

Examining the Internet's metaphorical representations is a richer approach than a seemingly finite definition of community. The notion of community that emerges from this approach is more flexible. Focusing on the metaphor also challenges the researcher to highlight the advantages and limitations of a specific representation. For example, we are led to question surveillance or control on the Internet from an inquiry into a highway's speed limit. However, this approach has its limitations. For instance, metaphors will, by

nature, break down. As we have seen with Gore's framing of the Internet as a commercial enterprise, metaphors also constrain how we think about a concept. Finding the best metaphor, something richer than the information superhighway, is perhaps the most common response to these. But a strategy that accounts for multiple but coherent perspectives offers a more robust alternative. Such an approach embraces a multiplicity of simultaneous metaphors that reinforce and complement each other, affording the emergence of a multiplicity of communal settings.

The Internet as an Organic Environment

The tree is another familiar metaphor for computer networks. Stone (1995) offers the example of the CommuniTree Group, a Bulletin Board Service (BBS) developed in the 1970s by a group of programmers who saw the potential of computer networks for new avenues of social interaction. The BBS that the CommuniTree Group envisioned was not "merely a virtual locus, then, but an extension of the participant's instrumentality into a virtual social space" (Stone, 1995, p. 100). Reminiscent of McLuhan's notion of the wheel as an extension of the foot, a part of the physical being, CommuniTree's creators saw the network as an extension of social beings. The notion of organicity emerges in the protocols defined for this BBS. Separate conferences are seeded by independent questions or statements that subsequently grow from the branching elicited by responses, and the proliferation of branches results from the diversification of discourses. Pruning the tree occurs "naturally" when a branch atrophies, when discursive interaction ceases.

The metaphor proposed by CommuniTree highlighted the importance of organicity, the direct involvement of individual members of society in shaping a social space. It also showed the potential for the growth of social interaction through computer-mediated communication, a potential for growth not explicit in the superhighway metaphor. However, CommuniTree fails to acknowledge the underlying structure of these social interactions. The hackerkids, who finally brought the system down, made CommuniTree's structure visible. We were able to see that an allegedly open communication arena was not as free and open as was believed. Moreover, we saw that system control went beyond administrative functions, when the system operator attempted to delete the hackerkids' messages. These issues of access and surveillance are present, no matter what forum is instituted. As policymakers, we must recognize that the explicit establishment of a context is critical for the expansion of computer-mediated-communication. The work of Levy (1997) offers another perspective that addresses this question of context.

Levy (1997) argues that we are beginning to realize a new perspective on our place in the world. In addition to our understanding of where we are on this earth, within a particular territory and with a network of economic relations, computer-mediated communication may lead us to position ourselves in a space of knowledge. Levy (1997, p. 2) believes that "knowledge has become the new infrastructure." Starting from the premise that no one

knows everything, but as a society we know everything known, it becomes imperative to facilitate the cross-pollination of knowledge. Technology helps define the "system of proximity" in the space of knowledge, which "will lead to re-creation of the social bond based on reciprocal apprenticeship, shared skills, imagination and collective intelligence" (Levy, 1997, p. 10). Based on this premise, Levy conceptualizes computer networks as a repository for practical knowledge that is structured as a tree. The trunk represents basic knowledge; the branches represent various skills of increasing complexity and multiple dependencies. This tree structure becomes the metaphor for a society of knowledge. Levy formally implemented these ideas in a client/server architecture called "the trees of knowledge," where users of a preexisting group (e.g., schools, business enterprises, neighborhoods, etc.) began to interact through computer-mediated trees of knowledge to discover new connections. Levy (1997, p. 13) defines the interactions within the structure of the trees of knowledge as collective intelligence, "a form of universally distributed intelligence . . . resulting in the effective mobilization of skills [whose aim] is the mutual recognition and enrichment of individuals rather than the cult of fetishized or hypostatized communities."

We can envision the implementation of those ideas on the Internet if we assume that trees of knowledge can be attached to all existing communities of interest (e.g., our work, our neighborhoods, our churches, and so on). The Internet would, in addition, help define "forests of knowledge" by linking trees of knowledge together. For example, we might link neighborhoods to schools to public institutions through a particular user at her initiative.

The tree metaphor is used again with the connotation of organicity and growth as noted in the CommuniTree metaphor above. However, for Levy (1997) the tree explicitly represents relationships of knowledge and is historically grounded. It describes the sedimentation of human space as a four-stage historical process: He begins from the space of earth, adds the space of territory, then the space of commerce or commodity and finally, the space of knowledge. Thus, Levy sees the knowledge space as a new layer in social consciousness.

Coordinating Metaphors

The two metaphors analyzed, the superhighway and the organic, point to the differences that each induces. Depending on the point of view, we ask fundamentally different questions. For example, the superhighway prompts questions of access (how many ramps do I need?). The organic metaphor may suggest questions of growth (how much sun does my tree need?); in other words, what commitment is necessary for interactions to continue and to expand? In policy decisions we often address one perspective and ignore others. However, both types of questions and others not delineated here are important in policymaking. The issue is to understand whether they can be addressed independently or in conjunction with each other. Bruno LaTour

(1993, 1997) argues that technological problems are inherently hybrid, that the world of people and things are interrelated, not separate. We would argue that since the highway metaphor is about things and the tree metaphor is intrinsically about people, the two perspectives must be considered simultaneously.

Another metaphor, that of architecture, may assist in viewing the superhighway and tree metaphors concomitantly. For our purposes, architecture is concerned with the design of a dwelling, for instance, a house. In the design process we must account for the various activities in which its inhabitants may engage and must consider how space will support these activities. How we configure this space must be informed by the relationships between these various activities. For instance, we would not design the dining room and the kitchen at opposite ends of the house. We must also recognize similarities: bathrooms and kitchen need water. This dwelling can also be seen as a house of metaphors. As the rooms of the house should flow from one to another, so should the metaphors for the Internet flow and illuminate one another.

Imagine each metaphor as a room in a house. This architectural vision helps us understand similarities, such as how schools and business may have the same security needs. It also shows how the Internet may open the possibilities for organic, yet interconnected communities. The tree metaphor, which may represent an evolving community, tends to isolate its branches from one another. But the interconnectivity of the superhighway metaphor suggests that alternate links, such as vines, and so on, could connect the branches of the same tree, or connect individual trees. In effect, the superhighway metaphor enhances the tree metaphor, opening the possibility for a richly textured canopy. Conversely, the tree metaphor with its ordered growth focuses our attention on the possible configurations of the highway in the superhighway metaphor.

Implications

Many national and international leaders have advocated "the withdrawal of public intervention in the market for telecommunication network and service supply" (Mansell, 1993, p. 3). This move is grounded in the capitalist credo that the dynamics of a competitive market will promote the most advanced telecommunication system as quickly as possible. Its rationale is to ensure the optimal contribution of telecommunication networks "to competitiveness, improved productivity, efficiency and widespread service diffusion" (Mansell, 1993, p. 3). We have seen, however that our conceptualization of community highlights functions for telecommunication that go beyond competitiveness, productivity, and efficiency. Levy (1997) suggests that with technology we can organize ourselves into "living cities." Indeed, Gary Chapman (1999, 2004) points out that without profit as their primary motivation, local governments and citizens are developing some of the most

innovative applications of the Internet. These applications and those yet to be developed are the voices of potential communities that we risk silencing by adopting a one-dimensional perspective of efficiency. If telecommunication is a significant component of community infrastructure, then the role of policymakers is to foreground the range of possibilities for the emergence of computer-mediated interactions.

Policymakers must encourage the unfolding of a variety of metaphors from many different sources: business people, poets, teachers, children, and so on. Moreover, when drafting policy, they must create and maintain a coherent framework of the multiplicities of possible communities suggested by these metaphors. The notion of community is ineffable; what can be said about it is never exhausted. Rather than developing models and definitions that represent community, policymakers would do well to shift their thinking to a multidimensional metaphorical approach that seeks to circumscribe the concept of community without closing it.

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Adbusters Media Foundation (Canada) (www.adbusters.org)

Academic Film Archive of North America (www.afana.org)

Active Voice (http://www.activevoice.net)

The Alliance for Community Media (http://www.alliancecm.org)

Alternative Media Global Project (AMGP) (www.ourmedianetwork. org/wiki)

AlterNet (www.alternet.org)

AMARC Africa country reports (www.africa.amarc.org)

Amnesty International (http://www.amnesty.org)

Article 19 (www.article19.org)

Aspen Institute (www.aspeninstitute.org)

Association for Community Networking (http://www.afcn.org)

The Audience Dialogue (www.audiencedialogue.net)

The Benton Foundation's Communications Policy and Practice Project (http://www.benton.org/cpphome.html)

Beyond Media Education (http://www.beyondmedia.org)

BBC World Service Trust (www.bbc.co.uk)

Center for Digital Storytelling (www.storycenter.org)

Center for Social Media (American University) (http://www.centerforsocial-media.org)

Center of Innovation for Media, Conflict, and Peacebuilding (US Institute of Peace) (http://www.peacemedia.usip.org)

Cine Institute (http://www.cineinstitute.com)

Common Frequency (http://beta.commonfrequency.org)

Communications Consortium Media Center (www.ccmc.org)

The Communications Initiative Network (Drum Beat, Soul Beat) (www.comminit.com)

Community Media Forum Europe (www.cmfe)

Community Media Workshop (http://www.newstips.org)

Community Technology Centers Network (http://www.ctcnet.org)

Center for Citizen Media (http://citmedia.org)

Center for Future Civic Media (www.civic.mit.edu)

Center for International Media Assistance/National Endowment for Democracy (www. ned.org)

Center for Media and Democracy (http://www.prwatch.org)

Center for Media Freedom and Responsibility (http://www.cmfr-phil.org)

Center for Media Justice (http://www.centerformediajustice.org)

The Center for Media Literacy (http://www.medialit.org/)

Center of Innovations for Media, Conflict, and Peacebuilding (US Institute of Peace) (http://www.peacemedia.usip.org)

The Chiapas Media Project (http://www.chiapasmediaproject.org)

The Chicago Coalition for Information Access (www.cs.uchicago.edu/cpsr/ccia)

Citizen Media Center (www.citmedia.org)

Citizen Media Law Project www.citmedialaw.org)

Clowns Without Borders (www.clownswithoutborders.org)

The Community Media Action Group of Syracuse (CMAG) (www.root-media.org)

Community Media Association (www.commedia.org.uk)

Community Media Database (http://communitymediadatabase.org)

Community Media Distribution Network (www.cmdn.tv)

Communication for Sustainable Social Change (CSSC) (http://www.css-change.org)

Damn (Direct Action Media Network) (http://www.tao.ca/earth/damn)

Deep Dish TV (www.deepdishtv.org)

Democracy Now! (www.democracynow.org)

The Demosphere Project (http://www.wiki.demosphere.net)

Developing Radio Partners (www.developingradiopartners.org)

The Development, Culture and Communication (DECCO) Network (http://star.hsrc.ac. za/socdyn/decco/decco-i.html)

Devmedia Links! Participatory and Community Media for Development and Democracy (http://tdg.uoguelph.ca/~drichard/devmedia/)

DIVA TV (Damned Interfering Video Activist TV) www.actupny.org/divatv)

Documentary Educational Resources (DER) (www.der.org)

Downtown Community Television Center (http://www.dctvny.org)

Equal Access (www.equalaccess.org)

Farm Radio International (www.farmradio.org)

First Voice International (www.firstvoiceint.org)

Ford Foundation (http://www.fordfound.org)

The Freeplay Foundation (www.freeplayfoundation.org)

Free Press (www.freepress.net)

Free SpeechTV (http://www.freespeech.org)

Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) Network (http://www.fes.de)

Games for Change (http://www.gamesforchange.org)

Global Action Project (www.global-action.org)

Global Forum for Media Development (www.gfmd.info)

Global Voices (www.globalvoicesonline.org)

GLOCAL (The Global/Local Electronic Communications Networks of Faith Communities and Non Governmental Organizations) (http://www. glocal.org/)

Grassroots Organizations Operating Together in Sisterhood (GROOTS) (www. groot.org)

The Green Belt Movement (www.greenbeltmovement.org)

GreenNet Educational Trust (http://www.apcwomen.org)

Guerrilla Griots (http://www.guerrilla-griots.org)

Homeless Talk (www.homelesstalk.org.za)

Human Rights Connection (http://www.humanrightsconnection.org)

Human Rights Watch (HRW) (www.hrw.org)

ICT Regulation Toolkit (www.ictregulationtoolkit.org)

IFEX (International Freedom of Expression exchange) Action Alert Service (http:// www.ifex.org/)

Igloolik Isuma Productions (www.isuma.ca)

The Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (www.icasa. org.za)

Independent Media Center (www.indymedia.org)

Independent Media Institute (IMI) (http://www.mediademocracy.org)

Independent Television Service (http://www.itvs.org)

The Information Subway (http://www.infosubway.org)

The Institute for Alternative Journalism (http://www.alternet.org)

Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex (www.id21.org/com-munityradio)

Institute of War and Peace Reporting (http://www.iwpr.net)

InterNews (www.internews.org)

International Association for Media and Communication Research (www.iamcr.org)

International Center for Journalists (www.icfj.org)

International Documentary Association (www.documentary.org)

International Media Forum (http://www.tao.ca/earth/ifim)

International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF) (www.iwmf.org)

J(ournalism)-Lab (www.j-lab.org)

Journalists for Human Rights (JHR) (www.jhr.ca)

Knight Foundation (www.knightpulse.org)

Knight Digital Media Center (USC Annenberg) (www.knightdigitalmedia-center.org)

The Latin American Association for Radio Education (www.aler.org)

Stephen Lewis Foundation (www.stephenlewisfoundation.org)

Link TV (http://www.linktv.org)

The Los Angeles Alternative Media Network (LAAMN) (http://home.labridge.com/~laamn/)

MacBride Roundtable (http://people.kfem.or.kr/macbride/)

Manhattan Neighborhood Network (MNN) (http://mnn.org/)

MED-TV (http://www.med-tv.be/med/)

Media Action Grassroots Network (http://www.mediagrassroots.org)

Media Alliance (http://www.mediaalliance.org)

The Media Channel (www.mediachannel.org)

Media and Democracy Coalition (www.media-democracy.net)

Media Democracy Project (http://www.mediademocracyproject.org)

Media Diversity Institute (www.media-diversity.org)

Media Education Foundation (http://www.mediaed.org)

Media Foundation for West Africa (www.mediafound.org)

Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) (www.misa.org)

Media Re:public (www.mediarepublic.us)

Media Tank (http://www.mediatank.org)

Media Working Group (http://www.mwg.org)

Migrant Workers TV (Korea) (http://www.mwtv.kr)

National Alliance for Media Arts and Culture (http://namac.org)

National Asian American Telecommunications Association (http://www.asianamericanmedia.org)

National Association of Telecommunication Officers and Advisers (NATOA) (http:// natoa.org)

National Black Programming Consortium (http://www.nbcb.org)

National Center for Media Engagement (http://mediaengage.org)

National Community Radio Forum (www.ncrf.org.za)

National Council of Voluntary Organizations (www.ncvo-vol.org.uk)

National Federation of Community Broadcasters (www.nfcb.org)

The National Lawyers' Guild Committee on Democratic Communication (http://www. nlgcdc.org)

National Public Radio (www.npr.org)

National Public Telecomputing Network (http://www.nptn.org)

New York Free Media Alliance (http://artcon.rutgers.edu/papertiger/ nyfma/)

Nonprofit Technology Network (www.nten.org)

One World Media Center (http://www.owmc.org)

One World Television (http://tvoneworld.net)

The Open Channel (The Global Village CAT) (www.openchannel.se)

Open Media Project (http://openmediaproject.org)

Open Society Foundation for South Africa (www.osf.org)

Open Society Institute (OSI) (www.soros.org)

Open Space (www.osisa.org)

Open Technology Initiative (http://oti.newamerica.net)

Organización Católica Latinoamericana y Caribeña de Comunicación (OCLCC) (http://www.oicc-al.org)

Pacific Islanders in Communication (http://www.piccom.org)

Pacifica radio (www.pacifica.org)

The PANOS Institute International (http://www.globenet.org/panos/)

Paper Tiger Television (http://www.papertiger.org)

The Participatory Communication Research Section and Network (PCR) of the International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR) (http://www.kubrussel.ac. be/psw/pcr/general/pcr_gen.html)

The People's Communication Charter (http://www.traverse.com/NonProf/ center/ synapse32/charter1.html)

Pew Center for Civic Journalism (http://pewcenter.org)

Placeblogger (www.placeblogger.com)

Platform for Cooperation on Communication and Democratisation (http://www. gn.apc.org/platform/)

Pressthink (www.pressthink.org)

Prison Radio (US) (http://www.prisonradio.org)

Prometheus Radio Project (www.prometheusradio.org)

Public Broadcasting Service (http://www.pbs.org)

Public Radio Exchange (http://www.prx.org)

Radical Software (http://www.radicalsoftware.org)

Radio Desi (www.desiradio.org)

Radio for Peace Building (http://www.radioforpeacebuilding.co.uk)

Radio Netherlands (http://www.rnw.nl/)

Reclaim the Media (http://www.reclaimthemedia.org)

Red Intercontinental de Comunicación Alternativa (RICA) (http://www.utexas.edu/ ftp/student/nave/RICA.html)

Reporters Without Borders (www.rsf.org)

Right To Play (www.righttoplay.com)

Search For Common Ground (www.sfcg.org)

The Society for Old and New Media (Amsterdam) (http://www.waag.org/Waagsite98/)

Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication (www.soulcity.org.za)

Street Level Youth Media (http://streetlevel.iit.edu/)

Tactical Media Networks (http://wwwwaagorg.intra.waag.org/tmn/frslogans.html)

UNESCO (www.unesco.org)

Union for Democratic Communication (UDC) (http://kows.web.net/udc/)

Videazimut (http://videazimut.org)

Videomove (http://videomove.org)

Video SEWA (Self Employed Women's Association, India) (http://www.videosewa.org)

The Video Voice Collective (http://video-voice.org)

Waves of Change (www.deepdishwavesofchange.org)

Who Makes the News? (http://www.whomakesthenews.org)

WITNESS (http://www.witness.org)

The World Association for Christian Communication (WACC) (http://www.oneworld. org/wacc)

World Association of Community Broadcasters (AMARC) (www.amarc.org)

World Health Organization (WHO) (www.who.int)

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Index