Community Radio in Ireland:
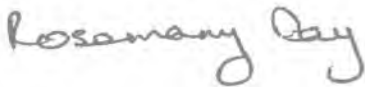## Building Community, Participation and Multi-Flow Communication

Rosemary Day
B.A., H.Dip in Ed., M.A.C.C.S.

Thesis presented for the award of Ph.D.
Dublin City University
School of Communication
Prof. Farrel Corcoran

August 2003

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of Ph.D. is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

Signed: Rosemary Fay

Id No: 96970065

Date: 06.02.04

Rosemary Day, 2003

Community Radio in Ireland:
Building Community, Participation and Multi-Flow Communication.

Abstract:

The core aims of community radio stations foreground the principle of participation by the people in the communication process. Community radio stations broadcast to build the communities which they serve. Six Irish community radio stations are studied to examine the implementation of these aims. The study asks how community radio stations

- try to build the communities in which they broadcast?
- promote multi-flow communication?
- facilitate participation?

Three main frameworks are employed in the analysis of the research. The ideal construct of community is understood to be formed on the four bases of place, relationship, time and belief. Enzensberger's dichotomy of repressive and emancipatory media is built upon to examine how multi-flow communication can be facilitated. A hierarchical model which identifies seven possible levels of participation in media is employed.

The key finding of the study is that it is the facilitation of participation which enables community radio stations to successfully implement their core aims. Irish community radio stations seek to build their communities. Many of them adopt a community development approach to their work. Irish community radio stations facilitate the human right to communicate. They do this by providing a communications link for their communities. This provides the basis for communication to flow in many directions rather than in the traditional, one-way flow of mass media generally. Irish community radio stations frequently target specific segments of their communities which enables the provision of multi, micro-public spheres.

Reflections on the observed practice of the community radio stations studied, when linked to the conceptual frameworks outlined, provide useful norms to inform the emerging communication theory of community media.

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Mo bhuíochas ó chroí le gach éinne a chuidigh leis an tionscnamh seo a thabhairt ar an saol........

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My heart felt thanks

.............go mba fada buan sibh.

SECTION I: CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Chapter Summary	
1.1.	**The Research Project**
	Outline of Research Questions
	Guide to Thesis Layout

1.1. The Research Project

This project is concerned with the essence of community radio. The absence of a generally accepted definition of community radio renders the formulation of specific research questions difficult initially. The first step in this research project consequently involves ascertaining what a community radio station aims to be and to do. This enables the determination of the primary goals of community radio as a movement. These are established in terms of the priority given to them by community radio activists themselves in their work and in terms of framing a communication theory for the sector as a whole. These priorities are taken as the foundation of this research project.

Community radio stations share certain defining characteristics. Some of these can be readily recognised, such as ownership by the community, not-for-profit status, broadcasting to a specific community and broadcasting programming specifically tailored to the needs of the community. However, other defining characteristics are less easily quantified or recognised. These require discussion drawn from the world-wide experience of community radio, from formal research and from academic theory. The key concepts so identified in this project are community building and community development, the establishment of communications links, the democratisation of communications and the facilitation of participation of members of the community in the communication project. Participation is identified as the primary link between each of these and its facilitation emerges as the single most important strategy in enabling their implementation in practice.

These concepts are interrogated at the levels of both philosophy and practice. It was found that there is an established body of literature relating to what participation in general activities might be and how it should benefit society and individuals. Equally, there is an established body of theory relating to two-way flows of communication and

to the democratisation of mass communication as a basic human right. However there is very little research which tests out how this may work in practice and less which describes practice and then withdraws to tie the lessons learned on the ground back to those philosophical concerns. Recent calls for theoretical perspectives on community media generally are timely (Jankowski, 1998, 2003; Wall, 1999; Lewis, 2002). This study attempts to answer those calls and theorises the project of community radio. It does this by drawing on the self-identified aims of practitioners and by observing that practice in six case studies. This is linked to critical, communitarian and communication theories which explore the basic concepts underpinning these aims. This thesis examines the implementation of these aims and highlights the strategies employed by community radio activists in achieving them. A particular feature of the qualitative findings is that the voices of these activists are fore-grounded. The findings are firmly based on the reflections of participants in Irish community radio stations. Their representation of their aims and practice provides a powerful, emic perspective. This is supported by long term observation and documentary analysis.

The main research questions for this study spring from the desire to articulate the aims and underlying common philosophy of community radio as the basis of a normative theory for community radio. The key concepts and core aims which separate community radio from other forms of radio are interrogated. These inform the research questions, the reading of the findings and the frameworks proposed as a result.

The theoretical underpinnings of the main frameworks employed in the research project are drawn from a number of sources and are used to identify the research questions above. From communitarian theory the notions of *Gesellschaft* and *Gemeinschaft*, social capital and community development principles are utilised. The discussion of communication flows draws on notions of emancipatory and radical media, current interest in the public sphere, civil society and new social movements (NSMs). The key concept of participation is explored drawing on development theory, participatory development communication (PDC) theory and campaigns to establish the human right to communicate and to democratise communication.

Three core aims and activities of community are investigated and these form the main research questions for the thesis:

- To what extent do community radio stations aspire to build the communities in which they broadcast?

- How do community radio stations promote multi-flow communication?

- How do community radio stations promote the participation of as many members of their communities as possible?

The three main frameworks which are developed from the research findings and from the investigation of the literature propose first, that community is built upon four bases, those of place, relationship, belief and time. Without these bases or components, community cannot be said to exist, nor can it be built. Communication should be organised collaboratively and collectively, particularly in a community development manner, along these lines of community organisation. Second, it is proposed that democratic communication must activate multi-flows of communication within the community. This should lead to the creation of multi, micro-public spheres which will empower participants and the community and effect real social change. Finally, the research draws the conclusion that participation is essential in achieving each of the other aims of the community radio project. This must be facilitated at all levels in the life of the community radio station including those of ownership, management and programme making.

This work is divided into two sections. Section one outlines the context, concepts and methodologies involved and section two presents the research findings and proposals. This introductory chapter outlines the main research questions and the anticipated development of a tentative grounded, normative theory for community media, particularly in regard to the facilitation of participation.

Chapter two investigates the essence of community radio. It takes practitioners' self-identified aims as a starting point and compares these to definitions in legislation. It queries the core concepts and ideals which mark community radio as a third sector, similar to, but separate from, public service and commercial radio. It then offers a brief history of the struggle to establish licensed community radios in Ireland. A profile of all community radio stations licensed between 1993 and 2002 is provided in Appendix A. This gives the acronyms by which stations are identified throughout the text and a brief description of each community radio station as an aid to the reader who is unfamiliar with the Irish situation.

Chapter three reviews the literature pertaining to the concepts identified in chapter two. In summary these are the building of community and the promotion of community development; the provision of a communications link for communities; theories of

emancipatory media and two-way flow communication; the practical exercise of the human right to communicate; the creation of multi, micro-public spheres and the awareness of community radio stations that their work is part of a political, global movement. Each of these depends on the facilitation of participation in the broadcasting process. Participation emerged as the lynchpin which enabled the other key aims or concepts to be realised within the community radio project and without which all else would fail. A model for measuring participation at various levels is proposed, and the research findings are tested against this. Operating as not-for-profit entities, owned by the members of the community and serving the needs of that community, community radio stations differ significantly from the other two sectors of public service and commercial broadcasting. Full ownership by the members of the community constitutes the most complete form of participation but stations operating at levels beneath this can be seen as facilitating participation. To this end, management structures are outlined and matched against actual practice, recruitment policies and training schemes are similarly described. Where a gap exists between written aims and actual practice, this is interrogated. Participation is seen as more than mere numbers involved in the station and so, the quality of that participation is assessed, largely through the reflections of the participants themselves.

The rationale behind the choice of the six stations examined in the research is discussed in chapter four, Design of the Research Project. As mass communicators operating on a micro-scale and from an ideological position far removed from commercial considerations, the six community radio stations provide practical instances of the democratisation of mass communications - the people broadcast to themselves. The multiple research methods employed in the study are outlined along with the manner in which the findings were analysed and the way in which they have been presented in section two.

Section two offers the research findings, grouped thematically around the key concepts which were identified in the early stages of reading the literature and from study of the community radio movements self-professed aims and ideals. These were honed during the course of the research (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) as common patterns or trends were identified as essential elements of community radio work and philosophy. In each case, the aims of stations are outlined. The practical implementation of these is described and the reflections of the participants in each station on this practice and on their aims are

added to the researcher's observations, thereby providing a thick description of the six community radio stations' projects. Chapter five, Community, looks for evidence of stations building their communities and of community development practice. Chapter six, Multi-Flow Communication, investigates the extent to which community radio stations act as communications links for their communities. It examines the understanding of and implementation of the aim of the democratisation of communication in stations. The findings pay particular attention to the operation of community radio stations as multi, micro-public spheres and investigate the extent of their operation with and as part of NSMs. Chapter seven, Participation, investigates the type of participation provided by stations and is divided into three sections. The first presents the findings in relation to the types of participants involved in Irish community radio stations. The second section reviews the structures for the facilitation of that participation. The final section discusses the strategies for the facilitation of that participation and the difficulties encountered. The broad conclusions which can be drawn from these findings are linked back to the review of concepts offered in chapter two to formulate three main frameworks for community media theory in the concluding chapter eight, Implications of the Study. These should feed into the nascent development of a normative theory for the community media sector generally and it is anticipated that they will prove of practical assistance to community media activists globally.

To date no major academic research into community radio in Ireland has been undertaken. Perhaps this is because of the recent history of licensed community radios in Ireland and its youth as a movement. As yet, community radio has barely made an impression on public consciousness. However, as the stations licensed in 1994 grow to maturity and as the number of new community radio stations increases, it should become an interesting and rewarding area of research both for academics and for the community activists who are working in the field. Although the community radio movement is relatively new in Ireland, the movement itself has been growing in different parts of the world for over thirty years. This project is the first comprehensive and independent study of the voluntary sector of Irish broadcasting. It is also one of very few studies anywhere in the English speaking world to ask what public participation in broadcasting really means and how this human right to communicate can be practically facilitated through community radio?

SECTION I: CHAPTER TWO

Community Radio

Chapter Summary	
2.1.	**What is Community Radio?**
2.1.i.	*What Community Radio is Not*
2.1.ii.	*Community Radio Activists' Understanding of Community Radio:* AMARC-International AMARC-Europe IRTC/CRF
2.1.iii.	*Community Radio in Legislation*
2.1.iv.	*Norms for Irish Community Radio*
2.2.	**The Establishment of Community Radio in Ireland**

2.1. What is Community Radio?

Many commentators discuss the difficulties in finding a single term to describe the diversity of types of radio station which could be contained under the broad term 'community radio' (Delorme, 1992: ix; Kleinstuber and Sonnenberg, 1990:91; Hollander and Stappers, 1992: 16; Servaes, 1999: 259). Servaes provides a comprehensive list of the labels most frequently used around the world to describe the phenomenon

> The movement of community radio encompasses a wide range of practices. In Latin America they are termed "popular radio", "educational radio", "miners' radio", or "peasants' radio". In Africa they refer to "local rural radio". In Europe it is often called "associative radio", "free radio", "neighborhood radio", or "community radio". In Asia they speak of "radio for development" and "community radio"; in Oceania of "aboriginal radio", "public radio", and "community radio". All these types of radio reflect a large diversity. (Servaes, 1999: 259)

Jauert and Prehn (1994: 137) identify the problem of terminology when reviewing local radio policy in Europe and Scandinavia. They recognise that the difficulty is not purely one of translation from one language to another but reflects deeper conceptual, structural and legislative differences between stations and across national boundaries. Kleinstuber and Sonnenberg (1990: 91) attempt to resolve this difficulty of terminology by using the term "non-commercial local radio". However this term has not become generally accepted in either the literature or in practice and they themselves recognise that it is rather unwieldy as an appellation. Hollander and Stappers note that

> Communication researchers found that community oriented alternative media were forms of communication and media formats that could not easily be conceptualised in terms of conventional theory and models available for the study of mass communications. (Hollander and Stappers, 1992: 16)

This they argue leads to problems in mass communications scholars' conceptualisation of community radio in two major ways. Firstly, community radio must be seen to operate in a distinct social setting, that is within a community which can be clearly defined and therefore identified. Secondly, community radio differs from most media, which usually operate as one-way information or entertainment channels. In community media the senders and receivers are members of the same social system. The people are not 'an audience' in the traditional sense, rather they are seen as potential and actual broadcasters, active participants in the communication project (Hochheimer, 2002: 321; Jankowski, 2002b: 369; Hollander et al, 2002: 20). This difficulty with the choice and definition of terms occurs in almost all of the literature surveyed, even in texts which deal exclusively with community media (Browne, 1984; Barlow, 1988; Barlow, 1998; Girard, 1992; Jankowski et al, 1992). General texts describing the various sectors of the media and mass communications either ignore community media or describe it dismissively and inaccurately. Even recent texts dealing exclusively with the study of radio devote little space to discussion of the phenomenon of community radio and illustrate little understanding of it where it is mentioned (Barnard, 2000; Crisell, 1994). A recent critical history of the media in Ireland in the twentieth century ignores community radio almost entirely (Horgan, 2001).

The president of the World Association for Community Radio (French acronym, AMARC International, see appendix B), opened the association's fourth global conference in Dublin in 1990 by describing the phenomenon as follows

> Since the beginning of these conferences we have used the term community radio to identify a reality, a movement. We have chosen the term community radio because we believe it expresses the democratic spirit, the sense of belonging to a specific community. Community radio implies a democratic dimension, popular participation in the management of the station as well as in production of its programmes. (Delorme, 1990: 2-3)

The most comprehensive, academic discussions of community radio in Europe to date have been in *The People's Voice: Local Radio and Television in Europe*, a description of community media practice across Western Europe (Jankowski et al, 1992), in a number of publications by Peter M. Lewis (1978, 1989, 2002) and in papers presented to the Ourmedia group and the Community Section of the International Association of Media and Communication Research (www.IAMCR.com; www.ourmedia.com). Although these works list some of the salient features which mark community radio, neither a working definition of community radio nor a normative theory for its practice

are outlined. This may be due to the nature of community radio stations themselves, as each one operates differently depending on the context in which it finds itself, but it is confusing and dissatisfying. The most recent addition to the field, *Community Media in the Information Age: Perspectives and Prospects* (Jankowski and Prehn, 2002) finds a number of authors calling for such work to be undertaken and suggestions are made as to how it could be conducted. The current research project attempts to answer some of these calls, recognising that it is necessary to determine the essence of a community radio station if a theory of community radio is to be developed. It is also essential for this research project that a clear understanding of the term is offered.

In the absence of such a definition in the literature to date, the next section attempts to provide a list of these essential elements and does so in three ways. First, it discusses what community radio is not. It is neither public service nor commercial broadcasting. It has often been called 'the third sector' but it will be shown that this category is itself too wide, community radio is not all that is "other", it is not necessarily pirate radio, educational radio or radical radio, although it can be all three. It is as Booth termed it "A Different Animal" (Booth, 1980). Then a discussion of what those who are involved in producing community radio say it is, is offered. The stated aims, charters and mission statements of the umbrella movements for community radio globally, in Europe and in Ireland are examined and reviewed. These are tested against the stated aims and practices of the six individual Irish community radio stations covered in this study as part of the research findings. Finally, the legislation in Ireland which allows for the licensing of community radio stations in Ireland is reviewed. Points of comparison with the legislation in other countries which has been published in English are offered in appendix C. This is not to imply that legislators have a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of community radio than practitioners, but it does provide some concrete points of ready comparison in formulating a definitive list of the essential characteristics of community radio.

It will be seen that many similarities exist especially between public service broadcasting and community radio, between access radio and community radio and between alternative media and community radio. This is hardly surprising given the use of the same technological medium by all groups and given the basic aim of 'service' shared by all four. However the elements which make community radio different are of principal interest here and these form the main headings for the body of the review of literature which follows and for the research which has been conducted.

2.1.i. *What Community Radio is Not:*

Until the 1950s there were two main models of broadcasting in existence world-wide –
public service and commercial (Beaud, 1980; Barlow, 1988; Barnard, 2000;
Crisell,1994; Lonsmann, 1990a). In Ireland and in most of Europe, the monopolistic,
public service broadcasting model was the most common model. This contrasts with the
USA where the competitive, commercial model held sway. However community radio
is neither public service nor commercial broadcasting.

While it is difficult to find a single definition of public service broadcasting which will
adequately cover all of the models of it found, in English speaking countries, the British
Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) is traditionally taken as a prototype. Public service
broadcasting is commonly understood to mean

> a system that is set up by law and generally financed by public funds (often a
> compulsory licence paid by householders) and given a large degree of editorial and
> operating independence. The general rationale for their operation is that they should
> serve the public interest by meeting important communication needs of the society
> and citizens as decided and reviewed by way of the democratic system. (McQuail,
> 2000: 156)

Originating with its first director, John Reith, the BBC's programming policy has
frequently been distilled down to the cant 'inform, educate and entertain'.

Ireland's public service broadcaster, Raidió Teilifís Éireann (RTÉ, is a variation on this
model. It is funded partly by a licence fee and partly by advertising and ancillary
commercial services. It has a remit to inform, educate and entertain and to provide for
this in the two official languages of the state, Irish and English. Most understandings of
public service broadcasting expect that there will be impartiality and objectivity in news
coverage. The RTÉ authority is appointed by the government of Ireland. Partly funded
through a licence fee rather than by taxation, it is independent from government
influence and interference but is answerable to Dáil Éireann (See appendix D) and
ultimately therefore to the citizens of the state.

Some commentators see community radio as attempting to 'do public service
broadcasting' albeit on a much reduced scale (Byrne, 1988; Thornley, 2001). Parallels
are also drawn on the non-commercial first principles of both types of broadcasting.
However issues of scale, of management and of organisation separate the two sectors
quite clearly (MacCain and Lowe, 1990: 87).

Community radio is not commercial radio. Commercial radio simply means that the
broadcaster is set up to make a profit. This is done mainly through the sale of

advertising and means that a commercial broadcaster targets a segment, or segments of the entire mass audience available, which it then sells to advertisers. (Crisell, 1994; Barnard, 2000).

Commercial broadcasters answer to their owners and are run on a for-profit basis. They can and do, carry socially relevant programming, current affairs and news. Many of them cater for minorities of taste in music, or for specific age and socio-economic sectors of society. However the primary reason for doing so is to raise profit. It is niche marketing rather than social programming or broadcasting from a sense of moral duty. Minorities that may be particularly wealthy or sufficiently large to generate the interest of advertisers, will be catered for. However, minorities which are too poor, or numerically too small, to be a source of profit are rarely catered for by commercial broadcasters. Travellers, Irish speakers or refugees in Ireland serve as relevant examples. Kleinsteuber and Sonnenberg explain that

> Commercial broadcasters, by contrast, have developed a strong profit-oriented approach both in organization and financing. Organized as private companies, they gain their profits solely from advertising that is spread within the programme schedules – by selling their audience to the advertising economy as a famous definition from US television economics puts it. Whereas the public broadcasters very much reflect different national experiences and traditions, the commercial broadcasters show a very high degree of homogeneity across borders: almost all of them just offer the same diet of pop music, short infotainment news and disc jockey talk. (Kleinsteuber and Sonnenberg, 1990: 90-91)

In general commercial broadcasting has led to networking (Wallis, 1994: 47) and to stations all over the world using the same style, format and programming. These stations sound very similar, whether they are actually using computer generated play-lists and formatting, or not. The sense of the 'local' can easily be lost where this occurs. Apart from their morning current affairs programmes and or chat shows which make liberal use of 'phone-ins', the local news bulletins and 'community affairs diary' paid for by those who place items on it, it could be argued that all of the local commercial radio stations in Ireland sound similar. A person travelling across Ireland who tunes in to Clare Fm, Radio Kerry or LMFM may not notice much difference in music, format or even in accent. Kleinsteuber comments on the relative cheapness of syndicated material which leads to very little locally originated programming being aired. This he calls "pseudo-local content" which is useful to station owners as the positive connotations of being local are used to sell internationally standardised programme material (Kleinsteuber, 1992: 149). While most commercial radio stations in Ireland and all community radio stations are locally based, a localised transmission area does not

automatically equate with locally originated and relevant programming. Neither does it necessarily mean that they operate in a close and mutually beneficial relationship with local communities. (Partridge, 1982; Blanchard and Coe, 1983:5; Local Radio Workshop, 1983; Drijvers, 1992b: 117; Kleinstuber, 1992: 151; Treutszchler and McQuail, 1992: 180).

The difference between these two types of radio, commercial and community, centres on the relationship with the listener. Barlow (1988), in his discussion of community radio in the U.S.A., explains that commercial radio stations regard their listeners as markets in which advertisers can promote their products and also as commodities which they can deliver and sell to the advertisers. This is in complete opposition to the perspective of community radio, which he explains, emerged as a counter-balance to commercial radio in the USA and consequently has developed radically different programming practices and management strategies. He argues that

> Commercial broadcasters are ruled by the profit motive – to be the best means to make the most money. Community broadcasters, on the other hand, are governed by their social commitments. They work to strengthen their communities through the cultural production and reproduction of radio programming which is used as a tool for popular education, social justice and socio-economic development. Commercial broadcasters use the airways to sell products to consumers, and conversely audiences to advertisers. Their programme formulas and formats are fashioned to maximise profits and maintain their cultural hegemony. In contrast, community broadcasters use the airways to promote community dialogue and to present audio evidence in support of movements for progressive social change. They seek to democratize non-commercial radio in the US. (Barlow, 1988: 101).

It is not just a matter of whether or not a station carries advertising, or is able to support itself financially, perhaps even to turn a profit. Many community radio stations world-wide carry advertising and rely upon it to differing degrees. Rather, it is an understanding, that the pursuit of profit leads a station to fundamentally different choices in the maximisation of that profit and that these choices are not necessarily for the benefit of the community or listeners. (Council for the Development of Community Media, 1977: 397; Kleinstuber and Sonnenberg, 1990: 90-91; Hollander and Stappers, 1992: 19).

More fundamentally the community radio station is owned and managed by the members of particular communities, the programmes are produced by the people to whom they are broadcast. The audience are real or potential broadcasters. Mass communication theories which deal with the dichotomy of senders and receivers are inappropriate and inadequate in describing the relationship between community radio

stations and their participant communities (Hochheimer, 2002: 321; Jankowski, 2002b: 369). Essentially the difference between commercial and community stations centres on the relationship which each has with its listeners. Commercial media are set up to make a profit and this underpins their relationships with their audiences, who they must sell to advertisers. Community media are not-for-profit organisations and their audiences are also potentially their broadcasters, managers and owners.

Community radio is similar to but is not the same as 'other types' of radio. Since the 1950s a third sector or strand began to emerge on the airwaves and this been discussed in the literature since at least the 1970s. The case of KPFA, which became the Pacifica alternative news network, is well documented (Barlow, 1988; Lewis, 1984; Girard, 1992) but many other examples emerged in the second half of the twentieth century, as Lewis explains

> The term 'community' was indeed applied to the handful of stations that were set up in the USA in the early 1960s, following the Pacifica model – that is, autonomous, non-profit in goal, listener-supported and controlled, and deliberately offering a content alternative to what was generally available to American listeners (for example, specialist music and coverage of local political affairs), while adopting a management structure and. broadcasting style that challenged the traditions of professional broadcasting. (Lewis, 1984b: 138)

However all stations which are neither public service nor independent, licensed, commercial radio stations cannot be considered community stations. A wider category exists. This includes pirate stations, clandestine stations, politically oriented stations and apolitical stations broadcasting legally into other jurisdictions, access stations, radical and alternative stations, religious and institutional stations. While they share many characteristics in common, and indeed some individual stations could be included under several of these sub-categories, these stations differ sufficiently to require separate treatment (Downing, 1984, 2000; Girard, 1992; Moran, 1995).

Pirate radio is perhaps the first category which springs to mind as the third type of radio to exist after public service and commercial broadcasters. Not only is it the most numerous but it was also the bridgehead which forced European governments to break state monopolies and open up the airwaves to independent, albeit usually commercial, stations. A pirate station is normally commercial in orientation but broadcasts without a licence (Henry and Von Joel, 1984; Mulryan, 1988; Barnard, 1989; Wallis, 1994). Generally working from a profit motive, centred on a large market of listeners with shared music tastes, they cater for gaps in the music or youth market of the time.

However a pirate station can also be political in nature and when this is the case they are known as clandestine radio stations. The attributes that define clandestine radio stations are that they are illegal operations and have a political message. This distinguishes them from pirate stations, which are illegal but do not intentionally carry political messages and from foreign service broadcasts, which carry political and sometimes revolutionary messages across national frontiers, but are licensed operations (Soley, 1983: 234). Clandestine stations are no longer as important in Europe as they once were with the disappearance of many dictators in the 1970s (Soley, 1983: 248) and the introduction of democracy in Central and Eastern Europe in the 1990s. The collapse of communism has meant that recourse to clandestine stations is no longer as necessary as it once was in Europe. They continue to be an important phenomenon in other parts of the world where freedom of expression is more limited by governments. Experiments with clandestine radio in Ireland were usually related to the nationalist cause in Northern Ireland and were short-lived (Horgan, 2001: 124).

Not all stations with a political message are necessarily clandestine or pirate. As Soley (1983) notes, some governments broadcast from one jurisdiction into another with a political message directed against that regime, for example Voice of America in Central and Eastern Europe in the past. Others broadcast into other jurisdictions but would deny any overt political message, for example the BBC World Service. Still other companies broadcast legally from one jurisdiction into another in order to maximise profits on the commercial model. An example of this is provided by ATLANTIC 252 which broadcasts to a British target audience from its base in West Meath, Ireland (Crisell, 1994: 39).

There is a category of stations, sometimes licensed, sometimes operating outside the law, which can be described as radical stations. Details of many of these which were operating in the 1980s are given by Downing (1984). Downing includes certain media groups and excludes others on the basis of their radicalism which, he declares must be evident not only in their political communication but also in their very organisation. He explains that radical media

> have articulated and amplified popular challenges to power structures; they have enabled people fighting injustice to communicate with each other; they have empowered communities and classes and women and ethnic minorities. (Downing, 1984: 2).

In Italy and in America, highly political, often radical, socialist stations operate legally on varying scales, for example Radio Citta Futura and Radio Alice. In most countries

radical media remain unlicensed as they are, by definition, a threat to very existence and security of the state which has taken upon itself the power to grant licences. They are organised in a non-hierarchical, usually non-capitalist and sometimes non-patriarchal manner. More recently, Downing (2000) has differentiated between negative and constructive radical media, providing an examination of repressive radical media such as neo-fascist broadcasters (Downing, 2000: 88-96).

Like the radical media discussed above, alternative radio stations can be overtly political. The term may also refer to the type of material aired if it is not covered by mainstream media. This could have an ecological or spiritual emphasis or it may simply refer to the type of music played or to the approach to programming taken. This varies from art-house radio to community, participative radio.

Access radio is yet another model whereby the state provides a channel with equal access for all groups to provide their own programming under the supervision of trained personnel (Moran, 1995: 149; Tebbutt, 1989: 140).

Hospital and other institutional types of radio have not been included in this discussion as they are generally more easily recognised and defined. Likewise limited festival or institutional licences such as occasional 'Rag Week' licences for third level colleges are not considered. Religious radio stations, which are on the increase all over the globe (Moran, 1995: 154), have also been ignored for these reasons. The defining characteristics of these types of radio station are quite clear. They are institutional radios set up, owned and operated by an institution, usually for a single purpose and religious radios are set up for the purpose of evangelisation.

The strongest group numerically, after the phenomenon of the pirates, and also the best organised or most unified of type of stations world-wide which are neither public service broadcasters nor commercial radio stations are community radio stations (Lonsmann, 1990b; Jankowski et al, 1992).

2.1.ii. *Community Radio Activists' Understanding of Community Radio:*

Community radio world-wide has developed and changed focus over time. Mattelart (1988) outlines three stages in that development for stations in the Third World. First the 'Radios of liberation', such as The Voice of Algeria or the African National Congress' (ANC) Radio Freedom, made their appearance in the latter half of the twentieth century. In many places in the 1960s, radio linked into new theories of popular education such as those of Paolo Freire. Then in the 1970s they became

engaged in, and were part of, the origin of the debate on the New World Information Communication Order (NWICO) as led by Sean Mac Bride. Finally in the 1980s the notion of 'participatory radio' came to the fore. This is based on the understanding that in order for participatory democracy to develop and flourish, participatory communication must first of all exist (Mattelart, 1988). Servaes describes community radio further

> AMARC uses a communication strategy that has participation as its main objective. This type of particpatory communication is not limited to sending messages to the public; it is an agent for social change, cultural development, and democratization. This implies for every community radio broadcaster a democratic dimension; popular participation in the management of the station and in the production of its programs. Community radio is accessible; it is neither the expression of political power nor the expression of capital. It is the expression of the population. It is a third voice between state radio and private commercial radio. Community radio is an act of participation in communication. It is controlled democratically by the population it serves. It is based on a non-commercial relationship with its audiences. Its mission is essentially one of community and group development. It informs, motivates discussion, and entertains while broadcasting music and poetry that regenerate the collective soul. (Servaes, 1999: 260).

AMARC-International:

Conscious of the great diversity that exists amongst stations operating under very different systems of government, under differing licensing laws and at various stages of economic development, AMARC-International attempts to articulate the common ground held by community radio stations. This work was undertaken in an effort to identify which stations would be appropriate to join its ranks as members and in order to forge an understanding of those common interests among stations on a world stage. After the first world conference in Montreal 1983 a Declaration of Principles was issued (See appendix B for full text).

AMARC-International now defines a community station as

> A station that responds to the needs of the community which it serves and that contributes to its development in a progressive manner promoting social change. It promotes the democratisation of communication by facilitating community participation in the radio station. This participation may vary according to the social context in which the radio operates. (AMARC, 2000)

This is deliberately broad enough to include many of the types outlined above and has been developed primarily through the networking of stations through AMARC-International. It was arrived at over the last twenty years through conferences and resolutions passed at them and serves to unite individual stations in a common network

or umbrella organisation. Four main points can be extracted from AMARC-International's declaration – community radio responds to the needs of its community; it develops its community by promoting social change; it promotes the democratisation of communication; it does this by working in a participatory manner. Definitions of 'community' itself, matters of size and of scale and are not included in this declaration in order to cater for the huge differences which occur around the globe. This vagueness is useful for an umbrella organisation (Delorme, 1992, ix; Servaes, 1999: 259) which needs to build strength through numbers and to allow for diversity but it is not particularly helpful in forming a normative theory which can be used in research and analysis.

AMARC-Europe:

AMARC-Europe, founded as a regional branch of AMARC International in 1991, has further defined its members' understanding of community radio in *The AMARC Community Radio Charter for Europe* which was adopted in Ljubliana, 1994 (See Appendix E for full text). This more prescriptive definition is particularly important for Irish community radio stations as the Independent Radio and Television Commission (IRTC/BCI, see appendix F) includes it as part of its contract with each individual community radio station. Applicants were informed after the initial public hearings of 1994 that licences would only be granted to groups who adopted this charter and it now forms an integral part of the contracts between the IRTC/BCI and all licensed community radio stations in Ireland.

The declaration of the charter states that community radios promote freedom of expression and freedom of information, that they develop local culture and debate and that they encourage active participation in local life in many different ways. It states that

> Recognising that community radio is an ideal means of fostering freedom of expression and information, the development of culture, the freedom to form and confront opinions and active participation in local life; noting that different cultures and traditions lead to diversity of forms of community radio; this charter identifies objectives which community radio stations share and should strive to achieve. (AMARC Europe, 1994).

The objectives of the charter are provided in full in appendix E but are summarised as follows: Community radios foster the right to communicate. They seek to develop the democratic process and a pluralist society through active participation in local life. They train and encourage local talent and traditions. Their ownership is representative of their communities and access is open to all. They promote editorial independence

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and cultural and linguistic diversity. They are organised on a not-for-profit basis with fair management practices, including respecting paid and unpaid workers' contributions and rights. They network for peace, tolerance, democracy and development.

This declaration grew out of a lengthy process of consultation during which the huge differences in the historical, political, social, economic and cultural contexts of community radio stations in Western Europe and in the states emerging from communist regimes in Eastern Europe became apparent. Some of these differences include varying understandings of civil society, a move from collective communist understandings of development to a highly individualistic capitalist mode of working, a mistrust of authorities and a lack of experience of working in a free speech environment for the Eastern Europeans. In an attempt to keep the definition as broadly inclusive as possible, some of the objectives are less than didactic. Even so, they include some very clear directives – community stations must promote and facilitate access to the airwaves for everyone; they must be editorially independent and informative; they must be representative of their communities in ownership, management and programming and be not-for-profit organisations and they promote peace, tolerance, democracy and development.

IRTC/CRF:

The more homogenous society of an island state such as Ireland with relatively little immigration until the late 1990s, has meant that a further honing of these principles was possible. Irish community radio stations spent almost two years (1995-97) during the IRTC pilot scheme for community radio (See appendix F) working on their own definition of what a community radio station should be. Their work draws heavily on the AMARC Europe Charter for three reasons. First, the charter forms part of the contract each station has with the IRTC and in order to be able to sign up to it, community radio stations needed to be able to hold these principles dear. Second, it is a true reflection of how community radios see themselves. Finally, Mr Jack Byrne, (Chair of NEAR and ex-Chair of the National Association of Community Broadcasting (NACB, see appendix G) was a chief architect of both the AMARC-Europe charter and the IRTC/CRF (See appendix F) definition. It also borrows heavily from the Canadian definition in law of community radio, which in turn, was used as a model by South African legislators in 1994 (see appendix C).

Once this wording was proposed and agreed by stations it was endorsed by the IRTC and is used in their policy document on community radio to describe this type of station

A community radio station is characterised by its ownership and programming and the community it is authorised to serve. It is owned and controlled by a not-for profit organisation whose structure provides for membership, management, operation and programming primarily by members of the community at large. Its programming should be based on community access and should reflect the special interests and needs of the listenership it is licensed to serve. (IRTC, 1997a: 2 ; BCI, 2001: 3).

This declares that any station which wishes to be granted a community radio licence must be representative of their community in ownership, management and programming and operate on a not-for-profit basis. It must be open to participation at the levels of membership, management, operation and programming and it must be able to define the community it serves.

This is considerably less prescriptive than the AMARC-Europe Charter, which lays an emphasis on workers' rights, on editorial independence and on the promotion of peace and of democracy in society in general. It is also less politically motivated than the AMARC-International declaration of aims which aspires to develop communities through social change. However the expectation is that all Irish stations will at least fulfil the IRTC/CRF set of criteria and most of those of the AMARC-Europe Charter. The aims of community radio as articulated by the world, European and Irish organisations to which they belong, are compared in the table below. This simple cross comparison clearly shows that Irish community radio stations are considerably less radical in their goals in relation to social change and levels of participation than their counterparts elsewhere.

Figure I. Table 1. Aims of Community Radio:

AMARC-International	AMARC-Europe	IRTC/CRF
Be owned democratically by the community	Be representative of their communities in ownership, management and programming	Be representative of their communities in ownership, management and programming
Be not-for-profit	Be not-for-profit	Be not-for-profit
Encourage participation and access	Promote and facilitate access to the airwaves for everyone	Be open to participation at the levels of membership, management, operation and programming
		Be able to define the community it serves
Be responsible to the needs of the community		
Develop the community through promoting social change		
Promote democracy though communication	Promote peace, tolerance, democracy and development.	
	Be editorially independent and informative	

The extent to which each Irish community radio station embraces these core ideals and works actively to achieve them, forms the core of this research project. Consequently, the major concepts which underpin each of these ideals or aims must be explored. A review of literature which discusses ways of understanding these concepts is offered in chapter three. In summary these are

- Community – what does the term mean, how is community built and what is community development?

- Not-for-profit – the voluntary sector, volunteers and paid workers, the financing of the sector

- Democratisation of communication – theories of emancipatory media, two-way flow communication, the right to communicate, the creation of the public sphere and new social movements

- Participation – including access to the airwaves, management and ownership.

2.1.iii. *Community Radio in Legislation:*

Community radio is not specifically legislated for in most developed countries in the English speaking world today, with the exception of Australia, Canada, South Africa and Ireland. Ireland lags behind these countries by not including a definition of

community radio in the relevant Broadcasting Acts, 1988, 1990 and 2001. However the brief given to the IRTC by the government and the policy document outlining the IRTC's approach to the licensing of community radio stations (IRTC, 1997a) borrows from and is similar to the legislation in these countries. A brief overview of the legislation in Australia, Canada and South Africa is offered in Appendix C for the sake of comparison and the Irish legislation is reviewed below.

The legislation introduced in Ireland in 1988 which allowed for independent radio, or radio which was not public service and state owned, to broadcast legally did not define community radio. This task was left to the commission set up by that act which, as explained above it did in conjunction with community radio practitioners who were part of a pilot scheme for community radio. The Radio and Television Act of 1988 itself is vague, stating only that any applicant for any sound broadcasting licence

> 6.2. (i) Serves recognisably local communities and is supported by the various interests in the Community, or
>
> (ii) serves communities of interest, and
>
> (j) any other matters which the Commission considers to be necessary to secure the orderly development of sound broadcasting services. (Oireachtas na hÉireann, 2001: 8).

This can be read as benevolent or as damaging to community radio, depending on the perspective taken. Successive drafters of legislation before and after 1988 have hesitated to produce a definition in legislation, claiming that this would lessen the scope for growth and development for community radio (JB, NEAR: 72). However community radio activists have consistently lobbied for just such a definition to be included, claiming that this would safeguard their right to the airwaves. The decision taken in 1988, and again in 2001, not to specifically mention or define community radio in either act, means that the IRTC and its successor the BCI had and have the freedom to call for applications for licences in the independent sector only and do not have a legislative responsibility to answer the needs of the community sector. The first two commissions delayed inviting applications for community radio licences and introduced commercial, independent radio stations only. It was not until a change of government led to the appointment of a more sympathetic commission that the first community radios came on air, five years after the first commercial, independent stations were licensed. A more complete discussion of this phase is offered below. It is now possible to produce a composite list of the core or essential elements which must be present for a radio station to be considered to be a community radio station

2.1.iv. *Norms for Irish Community Radio:*

A general consensus on the minimal elements which are required to be able to describe an Irish radio station as a community radio station can now be shown to be that it

- be representative of its community in ownership, management and programming

- be not-for-profit

- be open to participation at the levels of membership, management, operation and programming

- knows and can define the community it serves.

From the IRTC/CRF definition only, adherence to these aims would qualify a station as a community station at the minimal level. Added to this are the wider aims of the AMARC-Europe Charter, to which all stations adhere and the aims of AMARC-International to which all Irish community radio stations are affiliated and which would indicate that Irish community radio stations should

- Develop the community through promoting social change

- Promote peace, tolerance, democracy and development through communication

- Be editorially independent and informative.

Adherence to these aims qualify a station to be and act as a community radio station at a higher level.

While all Irish community radio stations had to subscribe to these ideals in order to be granted a licence by the IRTC, it is not clear how dear these ideals were to all stations initially. The history of the development of community radio in Ireland from the first group's pirate broadcasts in the 1970s to the current movement for community radio which is prominent in European development must be traced.

2.2. The Establishment of Licensed Community Radio Stations in Ireland:

Discussions with those involved in community radio broadcasting in Ireland as far back as the 1970s reveal that several individuals were inspired to use radio as a way of developing their communities. Many did this without realising, until the 1980s, that there were some others attempting the same project in their own country and several thousands of others engaged in community broadcasting world-wide. These men, (there is no mention or recall of women dating to this early stage) saw the ease with which people, in many cases young adolescents, set up pirate stations (Mulryan, 1988). They

believed that they could do the same thing but not for personal gain or profit. Rather they would use radio to bring the people of their communities together and to effect real change in those communities. DSCR was probably the first station on air in Dublin, (TM, DSCR: 5). Stations in Tallaght and Coolock quickly followed. At the same time, in Cork, four young men were broadcasting on an ad hoc basis from the attic of a barn on the hillside overlooking Youghal town (NC, CRY: 16).

The public service broadcaster, RTÉ was the only radio recognised and legislated for by the Irish government until the Radio and Television Act of 1988. In line with most European countries, Ireland's first Legislation in relation to broadcasting in 1926 established a publicly-funded radio station to serve the nation as a whole. There were few challenges to this until the late 1960s and early 1970s. There were short-lived exceptions and these were mainly political in nature, either by groups who were broadcasting against the partition of the island or by Irish language revivalists (Horgan, 2001: 124) and could be more properly termed clandestine radio than pirate or community (Soley, 1983: 234). A huge number of pirate radio stations came on air in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Mulryan, 1988; Horgan, 2001). They were spurred on by the successes of music driven pirates elsewhere in Europe, especially by the popularity of Radio Caroline which broadcast off the coasts of Britain and Ireland and enjoyed a high advertising revenue. They were also emboldened by the lack of serious deterrents, financial or penal, for pirates in the 1926 Act. The first station actually prosecuted in 1972, Radio Melinda, was fined the equivalent of Euro 2.60. Subsequently Sunshine 101 and Nova, 'super-pirates' with turnovers of hundreds of thousands of pounds were fined the equivalent of Euro 26.00 for broadcasting without a licence (Mulryan, 1988: 112). Several groups came on air, the popular Dublin events listing magazine, *In Dublin*, named twenty eight pirate stations (In Dublin, 1983: 41-42) while Doolan estimated the number to be sixty in the same issue (Doolan, 1983). Mulryan (1988: 97) estimates that there were between sixty and ninety pirate stations in Ireland in the early 1980s. There were many which, like mushrooms, appeared and disappeared, often set up by school boys in their garden sheds and bedrooms. The more commercially successful stations tended to be noticed, raided and to be listed in the media. The actual number remains unknown.

What is known is that there was a huge number of unlicensed radio stations broadcasting during the period and some of these turned substantial profits. RTÉ

suffered from a resultant loss of advertising revenue and tried to fight back. At first they appealed to the government and the law to take action against the pirates. This proved futile, fines were ludicrously low and police raids created publicity and sympathy for the pirate cause. Next RTÉ set up a music-driven, youth-oriented station, 2FM in 1988/89 hoping that they could do better than the pirates, but marketing surveys of the time showed that they did not succeed in outdoing them (Wilton, 1986; Horgan, 2001). Finally RTÉ ran a campaign across the print media and their own television and radio channels against the government's proposal to licence independent radio. RTÉ outlined an alternative plan for the development of local radio. They proposed that RTÉ would continue to be the public service broadcaster on a number of channels nationally and would also set up and run local regional stations throughout the country as they had been doing in Cork since 1975 (Horgan, 2001:125). These local regional stations would be further supported by community opt-in/opt-out studios in each area which would give more local news and access to local people to the airwaves, but would be under the ownership and control of RTÉ (Blanchard and Coe, 1982; Mulryan, 1988: 64). This plan had the support of the trade unions within RTE and could be interpreted as a last ditch attempt to save their long-held monopoly. Perceptions of government (Fianna Fáil, see appendix D) antipathy towards RTÉ and the party's strong associations with financial interests which were backing bids for local independent radio stations, contributed to the sense of desperation (Horgan, 2001: 153). Alternatively, it could be seen as a genuine effort by RTÉ to expand their remit and become more accessible to the people. After all, RTÉ had been running outside broadcast community based experiments called *Raidió Pobail* since 1975 (Cunningham, 1978; McCarthy and Manning, 1982; Horgan, 2001:125).

By the early 1980s RTÉ faced audience, and therefore financial losses, in the face of the pirate onslaught. They also realised that the single, most powerful, political party of the last quarter of the twentieth century, Fianna Fáil, did not appreciate their news coverage of political and economic events. Fianna Fáil were known to want to establish a second sector of private or independent commercial media which would provide an alternative source of news to that of RTÉ (Horgan, 2001: 155). At the time of writing, government tribunals of enquiry are investigating financial connections between pirate station entrepreneurs and the then Fianna Fáil minister for Communications. It is alleged that stations made cash payments to the minister in return for licenses. Whether this proves to be the case or not, it is certainly fair to assume that some prominent

personnel in RTÉ could see that legislation for licensing other broadcasters was imminent and they may have supported the community option under RTÉ control as the lesser of two evils. This option or proposal was also supported by the lobby group composed of pirate, community-oriented stations, the NACB (See appendix G). RTÉ conducted several community experiments throughout the 1970s and 1980s some of which have been well documented (Cunningham, 1978; McCarthy and Manning, 1982; Pine & Thomas, 1986; Mulryan, 1988) and all of which had a discernible impact on those who participated in these broadcasts. Several of those interviewed during the course of this research credited RTÉ for first introducing them to and training them in broadcasting skills and some community radio stations recall that their experience with RTE's *Raidió Pobail* gave them the impetus to first set up their own pirate community radio station.

The 1980s were a period of dense activity on the airwaves. No legislation meant a free market where the strongest not only survived, but flourished. The success of the so called 'Super-pirates' such as Sunshine, NOVA and Q102 has been well documented (Mulryan, 1988; Horgan, 2001). In line with the experience of other free markets, the actual creativity and diversity of programming of the early days of pirate radio was largely lost in the battle to win audience share. There were some exceptions, where individuals with esoteric, eccentric tastes and small groups of community activists took to the airwaves, but generally, pirate stations broadcast music introduced by DJs attempting to copy each others' mid-atlantic accents. There were a number of community radios on air in Ireland in the late 1970s and through the 1980s, some of these preferred to be called 'pilot community radios' (JC, TCR: 5) or 'unlicensed community radio' and found the word 'pirate' offensive as they did not recognise the authority of the government to grant or withhold access to the resource of the airwaves and as they felt the word itself made them illegitimate. In general however, these groups were more concerned with staying on-air and developing this new communication tool for improving the lives of their communities, than worrying about terminology. Information about some of these stations exists, as having survived through many different metamorphoses, they eventually became licensed in 1994. Many more of these community radio experiments died after a period of months or years and unfortunately, their experiences and the lessons that could have been learned from them, go unrecorded. Some of the early community radio pirates such as Radio Kilkenny, Tipperary and BLB received county licences and became commercial in

orientation and organisation. This was mainly due to the requirements for getting a license and because the larger transmission areas offered by the IRTC meant they could no longer maintain the intimate relationship they had previously had with their smaller communities. Other early community radio stations about which the researcher was able to gain oral accounts include CRY, Concorde, Connemara and DSCR, as all of these gained licenses eventually in 1994 and sufficient founder members were available for interview. Other pirate community stations simply disappeared, for example Community Radio Wexford, Middleton Community Radio, Kildare Radio, Muintir Raidió Chill Dara, Laois Community Radio, Arklow Community Radio (*In Dublin*, 1983: 41-42) although the inclusion of the word 'Community' in the title is no guarantee that the station actually operates as the term is used in this thesis.

Some of these unlicensed community radio stations began to meet and to discuss and to inform themselves about what was happening with community radio world-wide. In 1983, the same year that AMARC-International was formed in Montreal, the Irish equivalent, the national umbrella group for community radio stations, the NACB was formed, based in Dublin (See appendix G). The NACB had two main aims – to lobby for the inclusion of community radio in the legislation which was believed to be forthcoming and to provide information and support for aspirant community radio groups (Reynolds, 1988: 1). Acting as an umbrella group for pirate community stations which were on air, it employed a co-ordinator funded through a government employment scheme to organise and develop the movement. Study of the promotional literature of this time and of the many meetings held, shows that community radio stations clearly believed that licenses for this type of radio would soon be issued. Groups and individuals who would later prove to be ideologically quite different worked together at this time to draft a charter for the NACB. This charter stated that community broadcasters should serve recognisable local communities and communities of interest and be funded from within them. It proposed that they should ensure that democratic ownership and control rested within that community and that the stations should be not-for-profit entities which supported community development work. It further stipulated how democratic management and programming should be organised and stressed the facilitation of participation by members of the community to be served. It advocated broadcasting locally-originated material and supported the Irish language and culture and took a strong stance against racism, sexism and any discriminatory or unfair practices (See appendix G).

These general guidelines are, unsurprisingly, similar to the AMARC-Europe Charter of 1994 which, as already stated, all licensed stations in Ireland today must include as part of their contracts with the IRTC (see appendix F). The degree of consensus can be explained by the contacts built up by leading members of the NACB with community radio activists globally in AMARC-International, in particular, the major part played by the chairperson of the NACB and of Concorde (later NEAR) in drafting the AMARC-Europe Charter (See appendices, B, E, G).

A brief outline of the significant events which led to the licensing of an independent radio sector and ultimately to the establishment of the community radio sector as it stands today is useful at this point. In 1974/75 RTE began its first experiments in community radio or *Raidió Pobail* with Radio Liberties in the inner city area of Dublin (Cunningham, 1978: 43-48; McCarthy and Manning, 1982: 35-39; Mulryan, 1988: 27; Horgan, 2001: 75). Concentrating on middle sized towns an advance team visited each area and invited people to come forward for training and planning. A mobile unit then visited the area and broadcast for four hours a day, for one to two weeks as an opt-out service from Radio One (Pine & Thomas, 1986: 10). This proved massively popular with communities (Blanchard & Coe, 1982: 4), and as has already been noted, it was credited by some people with sparking their interest in community radio, leading them to set up their own pirate community stations when the outside broadcasting unit left. Coincidentally, pirate radio was beginning to take off in Dublin and elsewhere (Mulryan, 1988: 34). In 1978, 2,000 people marched in Dublin in protest at a raid on Radio Dublin (Mulryan, 1988: 29). This popular support was to grow in the 1980s. In 1979 Fianna Fáil introduced a Broadcasting and Wireless Telegraphy Bill to tackle the local radio issue. However this, and many subsequent bills drafted by different political parties during their terms in government, never passed into law as there were several general elections and it was a period of political and economic instability for the country. (For a clear date line covering all bills and acts from 1926 to 1986, see Pine and Thomas, 1986: 12). There were ideological differences between the Labour party and the other major political parties as to how local or independent radio should be owned and operated. Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael (See appendix D) were concerned that independent local stations should be commercially successful entities. Labour were reluctant to relinquish control of the airwaves to private business interests, insisting that RTÉ maintain a role and that provision be made for community involvement. Several broadcasting bills attempting to legislate for independent radio, some mentioning

community radio, more ignoring it, were drafted and presented to Dáil Eireann in 1979, 1981, 1983 and 1985. In 1983 the NACB made a submission to the Oireachtas Committee on legislation for local radio (see appendix D) detailing how they believed community radio could become a reality (NACB, 1983). Several other submissions to this committee were made which advocated forms of the community or co-operative model including those made by Gael-linn (Coe and Blanchard, 1982), *Muintir na Tíre* and the trade unions within RTE. In 1987 however, the Fianna Fáil minister for communication, Ray Burke announced that he was drafting such legislation and this in fact was passed into law in 1988 by a large majority (Mulryan, 1988: 143). The Radio and Television Act of 1988 set up the independent radio sector in Ireland for the first time. A commission appointed by the government, supported by executive staff, was set up to issue licenses and to monitor and develop the sector, this became the Independent Radio and Television Commission (IRTC) and subsequently became the Broadcasting Commission of Ireland (BCI, see appendix F). The act does not make any specific mention of community radio nor does it define it as envisioned by community radio activists. Rather it states that all sound contracts awarded will specify the area to be covered and have due regard to serve the local communities and be supported by them or serve communities of interest (Oireachtas na hEireann, 1988: 8). This does not safeguard or guarantee a space for community radio and the provision of community radio licenses and the development of the community radio sector is the responsibility of the commission of the IRTC, without direction. A commission with an interest in building communities and in culture generally, could use this freedom to develop the sector. However the first two commissions of the IRTC under the chair of Justice Henchy, were not concerned with these issues. They chose to interpret the act as referring to business interests and community of interests of taste and proceeded to licence commercial, county-based stations which they felt would provide employment, would cover areas sufficiently large to make a profit and would cater for the perceived need for a privately owned alternative to RTÉ's monopoly. As both pirate-commercial and pirate-community radio stations had ceased broadcasting in 1988 in response to the government's warning that any station still on air illegally would not be considered for a licence, this gave the commercially orientated stations a head-start in gaining the ears, hearts and pockets of the listeners. As the ex-chairperson of Community Radio Youghal put it

> They let the men in the cars take off and then said to the fellows on the bicycles half an hour later "Off you go now and try and win the race. (JF, CRY: 3)

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This perception of unjust treatment is keenly felt by those interviewed in the course of this research. The first two IRTC commissions consistently expressed their concern that commercial or 'professional' radios should not find their advertising revenue threatened by community radio stations and that community radio should wait until the commercial stations were well established. Community radio applicant groups eventually disclaimed interest in advertising and provided information on alternative funding models for community radio from other countries (Byrne, NEAR: 10). The third IRTC commission, which did finally grant community radio licences, did so on a pilot basis only and was more concerned that stations could prove that they would be financially solvent than with many other aspects of their plans. This commission was as concerned as its predecessors had been, that the small, not-for-profit community radio stations would not poach advertising from the established local, independent, commercial, radio stations. They imposed a ban on advertising and a cap of thirty per cent of income coming from sponsorship on-air.

Those who had been operating pirate community radio stations up to and during 1988 and new groups of activists, for example Irish speakers in Dublin, started to prepare for legal broadcasting. They were to lobby the commission and to meet and train members of their communities for nearly five years. According to the research carried out for the current study they believed on a few occasions that licences for the sector were imminent. In 1990 the NACB hosted the fourth world conference of AMARC-International, AMARC 4. Participants at that conference from all over the world offered to protest outside the IRTC offices to persuade the commission to licence community radios in Ireland. The organisers refused as they believed that licences would be forthcoming in the near future - the IRTC issued invitations to groups to apply for community radio licences coinciding with the organisation of the conference. The then chair of the NACB describes this as a very cynical move on the part of the commission and continued to struggle bitterly with them until 1994 when licences were granted (JB, NEAR: 14). In 1991 Dublin was Europe's Capital of Culture and a two week licence to broadcast was shared by any and all communities of interest and community groups. These included special interest groups with expertise in jazz and classical music, most of those who had been seeking licences under the 1988 legislation, many community groups from all around the city and the Irish language group, *Comharchumann Radió Átha Cliath*. As a result of this experience, many groups formed a new alliance and recognised the potential in working together. This was especially attractive, given the

antipathy of the commission towards granting frequencies to small geographic communities when they were considered a scarce commodity.

This co-operation also had a negative effect as the IRTC offered a single licence to a conglomerate of groups in Dublin. The offer was designed in the expectation that this single licence would satisfy the demand for community radio in Dublin, rather than a number of licenses for smaller, community based areas of transmission, (JB, NEAR: 17). The groups which had been involved in the Cultural Capital experience met but many were dissatisfied with the format proposed and with the lack of comprehension by the IRTC of the basic fundamentals of community radio. Most of the geographical community groups and the Irish language group withdrew and lobbied for separate licences. Some groups and individuals pressed ahead with the joint experiment. This whetted the appetite of many more and the demand for licences and for training grew.

In 1993 a new commission was appointed by a Labour minister, Mr Michael D. Higgins, who had an interest in community broadcasting and was well versed in the debates of the public sphere and of the democratisation of communication. Under the chair of Mr Niall Stokes, editor of a popular, music, youth magazine, this commission granted licences to two groups in 1993. The first was *Raidió na Life*, which was to broadcast to the community of Irish speakers in the Greater Dublin area and this is classed as a community of interest station. The second was to a conglomerate of disparate interests. This took the name Anna Livia and was to broadcast mainly talk-programming on special interest topics to the city of Dublin, it has since been classed by the BCI as a special interest station.

The following year, 1994, the commission issued invitations for a pilot scheme of community radios which, if successful, would pave the way for longer-term licences. It would appear that even a sympathetic commission had doubts about the viability of and the need for third sector broadcasting in Ireland. The long delay between going off-air in 1988 and returning as part of a controlled experiment brought many difficulties. Some community radio groups such as BLB, Radio Kilkenny and Tipperary Mid West had become licensed, commercial stations. Many more groups and individuals had lost faith and moved into other areas of voluntary, community activity. The NACB had split due to ideological differences, the financial strain of hosting AMARC 4 and the long wait for licenses. However, one respondent in the current study (NEAR, JB: 15),

believes that, in retrospect, this delay may not have been entirely negative. He believes it gave groups the time to reflect on their pirate experiences, to research other models of community radio abroad and to hone their plans and train their volunteers. He believes that when these community radio groups finally obtained licenses in 1994, they were more aware of the dangers of being 'hijacked' by people who wanted a licence under any name and were better prepared to actually deliver true community radio.

The invitation to apply for community licences and the process itself were vague and difficult for aspirant groups. It was unclear for instance how many stations would be licensed and where they might be expected to be based. The initial time scale for applications did not suit third level colleges who were on vacation at the time, but an extension was granted. Eleven groups were successful in gaining licences for eighteen months. They were to participate in a pilot scheme which, if it proved the viability of community radio, would form the basis on which future community radio licences would be granted. Although only one third level licence was initially envisaged by the IRTC, four college based groups were issued with licences. These four campus stations, three geographic rural community groups and four Dublin based geographic community groups made up the initial pilot scheme (For a list of these stations see Appendix A). The successful applicants were issued contracts which were adaptations of the contracts of commercial stations and were not always suitable for the community model. Advertising was not allowed in most cases, although some groups negotiated more successfully than others with the commission and were excepted from this general rule. All stations had to accept the AMARC Europe-Charter (See appendix E) as part of the contract, although this had not been mentioned when the invitation to apply for licences was issued. No account was taken by the commission of the suitability of that charter to the aims and missions of the stations licensed, rather it was tacked on, almost as an afterthought.

All stations had to commence broadcasting by October 1995 and a community radio officer, Mr Ciarán Kissane was appointed by the IRTC in mid-1995 to oversee the experiment and to facilitate the stations in formulating a viable model on which future IRTC decisions in relation to community radio would be based. Community radio in Ireland was fortunate that Mr Kissane was both well informed about, and well intentioned towards, community radio world-wide. He was sensitive to the needs and fears of the fledgling stations and played a faciliatory rather than supervisory or

inspectorial role, gaining the confidence of all concerned. He enabled the group of stations to meet twice a year and a Community Radio Forum (CRF) was set up and still meets with significant financial and other support from the IRTC/BCI (See appendix F).

Licences were extended beyond the pilot period in 1997. Nine of the eleven stations which had been part of the pilot scheme applied for five-year licenses and all were granted. Some stations put considerable effort and time into evaluating their progress in that time and drafted applications that reflected considerable changes in their structures and styles of management. Others resented, what they considered, as being 'put through hoops' by the IRTC at a time when they were under severe financial pressures. Many of these stations assumed that they would be licensed without difficulty and barely amended their previous applications. These licences were to run for five years from 1998 to 2003, but these have since been extended until 2005 without the need for stations to re-apply.

During the life of the pilot scheme the IRTC's community radio officer conducted a comprehensive evaluation of the work of the stations (IRTC, 1997c). This was based on regular self-reportage to a schedule devised by the officer, facilitated internal evaluation workshops in each station, a commissioned evaluation report by an external agency of six of the stations (Ó Siochrú and Dillon, 1997) and personal observation during regular visits by the officer to each station. He facilitated meetings of the CRF at least every six months and thus ensured that a model for and a definition of community radio was prepared for approval by the IRTC. This, the commission adopted and published as a policy document on community radio in Ireland in 1997 (IRTC, 1997a).

The value of the network of the CRF and of its facilitation by the IRTC to fledgling community radio stations was notable and was observed many times during the research period. Initially suspicious of the IRTC, of its community development officer and to an extent of each other, community radio stations came to trust each other and to work closely together. They assisted each other in practical ways and formulated a philosophy of community radio in Ireland based on the sharing of their experiences in discussion. Some examples of the practical benefits which accrued to these community stations include the operation of a programme exchange bank, a successful bid for funding on a capitation basis in the college stations, a new model for advertising and the exchange of staff and trainers. This work continues and new groups have joined the

CRF since 1997. These include newly licensed community radio stations such as Radio Corca Baiscinn, Co. Clare, Raidió Pobail Inis Eoghain, Co. Donegal, Phoenix Fm, Blanchardstown, Dublin, TCR, Tallaght, Dublin and Cashel Community Radio, Co. Tipperary. Community radio groups who hope to apply for licences in the future have also joined in the network, for example groups from Shannon, Co. Clare, Dundalk, Co. Louth, Knock, Co. Mayo and Roscommon. The network provides advice, training and support to these aspirant groups. At the time of writing the BCI is reviewing applications from a further sixteen groups who wish to set up community radio stations in their communities.

This research project chose to examine the stations serving geographic communities to the exclusion of the campus stations and of the community of interest station, *Raidió na Life* and of the public radio station, Anna Livia, for a number of reasons. Student radio caters to a community which is unlike most others. Generally there is a very narrow age base and the members of the community only stay together for a short time and for a single purpose – the duration and completion of a course of study. Anna Livia was excluded because it does not serve any specific community but rather broadcasts to the entire city of Dublin. *Raidió na Life* was not included because it is classed as special interest and communicates with a language-based community which lives scattered throughout a wider community. It was decided that a study of stations based in geographic communities could offer useful information about the work and philosophy of community radio generally from which other researchers and theorists could draw. The insights gained and conclusions drawn should be applicable to those stations excluded from this research project. The particular foci and communities of those types excluded, mean however, that the reverse cannot be assumed.

The establishment of a pilot scheme by the IRTC in 1994 means that a common starting date is shared by the six stations chosen. They all began broadcasting in 1995 and continued to do so during the active field research period which ended in 2000. This provided a common time-frame and facilitated the cross comparison of stations. A full discussion of the rationale behind the particular choice of stations as case studies and the research methodology is provided in chapter four. The conceptual issues which surround community radio and the practical concerns which these issues raise, are discussed in the next chapter which reviews the literature and research to date on these issues.

SECTION I: CHAPTER THREE

Review of Literature

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3.0. Introduction:

The essential characteristics which a radio station must have in order to be to be licensed by the IRTC as a community radio station were established through discussion by the community radio stations participating in the IRTC's pilot experiment in community radio, 1994 -1997. This was subsequently adopted by the IRTC as their official policy (IRTC, 1997a: 2) and sets out the following conditions - a community radio station must be representative of its community in ownership, management and programming and operate on a not-for-profit basis. It must be open to participation at the levels of membership, management, operation and programming and it must know and be able to define the community it serves (See appendix F). Beyond the minimum

requirements expected by the licensing authority, the discussion in chapter two established that a community radio station must also seek to develop the community through promoting social change, to promote peace, tolerance, democracy and development through communication and to be editorially independent and informative.

The extent to which Irish community radio stations embrace these core ideals and work actively to achieve them is the main focus of the active research. Consequently, the major concepts which underpin each of these ideals or aims must be explored. These have theoretical and conceptual ramifications, which require clarification and review before any meaningful analysis of practice can take place. They also inform reflections on that analysis which leads to the proposals presented in chapter eight. A review of literature which builds a conceptual framework for the analysis of the data and for the discussion of the project of community radio normatively is now offered.

The key issues identified by the literature and confirmed by the fieldwork include understandings of the term 'community' and how it can be built. The practice of community development is described and compared to work practices and aims for community radio. Theories of emancipatory uses of the media are reviewed, in particular the creation of two-way flows of communication and various public spheres. How community radio operates as a New Social Movement (NSM) is considered and the human rights issue of the democratisation of communication is also discussed. The not-for-profit status of community radio stations places them firmly within the voluntary or third sector. This has implications for ownership, management and finances. These are discussed and lead to the final theorisation of participation in media which is of central importance to the research project.

3.1. Community:

The IRTC have interpreted the Radio and Television Act, 1988, in relation to the granting of licences to community groups as belonging to two types – geographical communities and communities of interest. While a definition of community radio is given in their policy document on community radio (IRTC, 1997a: 2) no further definition of the two types of community to be served by these radio stations is offered. This may facilitate the granting of licences, as it is left open to interpretation in each individual case and context. However, it does not help with the construction of a normative theory for community radio, as it does not adequately describe 'community' as a way of organising social life, relations and communications. The description of a community in terms of the physical space it occupies works well in terms of geography

but does not allow for an account of the closeness or interconnectedness of those who dwell within that space. The community of special interest, taken as a listing of all those people who share common interests does not account for the importance of those interests as primary markers of identity nor does it allow for differences in what is real, potentially achievable and imagined. It is more useful for an investigation of what community radio is actually attempting to do in Ireland to look at community in terms of what goes on within it. O'Farrell (1994: 17), has defined community as the place where people communicate and interact. If this is the case, a role for community radio can easily be imagined. A description of community as social practice entails looking at the patterns of association and engagement, essentially of communication, which bind a group of people together. An understanding of how that social practice of group communication is organised to form community is now offered.

Tönnies (1963/1887) distinguishes between two ways in which people relate to each other in social groupings. These are often translated as 'Community' and 'Society', but the original German terms *'Gemeinschaft'* and *'Gesellschaft'* allow for a less preconditioned investigation of social organisation than the English terms do.
The notion of *Gemeinschaft* is closer to the comfortable idea of community in the traditional sense – a group of people living in small units and in close harmony, an idealised, pre-industrial, usually rural, way of life. *Gemeinschaft* is seen as evolving naturally overtime and its right to exist and the manner in which it conducts itself are not questioned – it is based on natural will and is seen as an end in itself often conceived of in terms of friendship. It is dependent on proximity or place.
Gesellschaft is formed by the exigencies of the market and is based on rational will. It is more typical of life in modern or post-modern society where people choose and contract to work with and for and to live beside other people in certain ways. It is more alienating as it is based on the individual making decisions and contracting to do things in a certain way. It is not based on feeling or traditional ties and relationships. It is dependent on relationships contractually entered into.
However, as Loomis and McKinney (1963: 7) explain, *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* do not exist as polar opposites of the other nor as mutually exclusive states of being. In fact Tönnies points out that they are ideal types or mental constructs which do not actually exist empirically in a pure form. No society could exist if one form or type existed to the exclusion of the other. People behave on the impulse of their emotions as well as from a rational basis. The two intermingle in all human relations, be they

family, friendship or work based. These two constructions provide a method of analysing the way people organise their lived reality in relation to others.

Tönnies' two ideal constructs explain the human yearning for the softer, family or neighbourhood-based community of caring set in opposition to the capitalist imperative which drives people to live in a state of alienation and isolation, even when in close physical proximity to others.

Understanding that these are not concrete realities but felt realities or perceived realities helps to explain the rise of the particular understanding of 'community' which has currency today – as some kind of magical land which can lift the individual out of the harsh, mechanistic, individualistic, uncaring, material-driven, money-based society which seems to be the reality of the late twentieth and early twenty first centuries in Western Europe (Silverstone, 1999; Bellah et al, 1985, 1991). 'Community' is more than an empirically verifiable group of people based in place and time; rather it is a way of interrelating and of organising social existence. The components of time and place are certainly easy to describe in concrete terms but any understanding of 'community' must also include a description of the patterns of relations therein and of the affective/emotive expectations which people have of this entity. O'Farrell (1994:17) sees it as "a state of mind, a disposition of involved neighbourliness" which depends on communication, trust and confidence.

Putnam (2000) charts the growing crisis of civic disengagement in America. Explaining that social capital is what builds community and binds it together, he warns that it is declining rapidly. People no longer socialise together and younger generations fail to perform the voluntary work communally undertaken by their elders in former times (Putnam, 2000: 119). This means that people not only do not know each other outside of very small units but the social capital gained from these activities and relationships is also lost. Putnam's work has not been replicated in other developed countries but it seems reasonable to believe that this trait of civic and social disengagement is symptomatic of the American lifestyle followed in most developed countries today. Community is more an ideal construct than a reality but the longing for it is evident in popular culture. The community radio movement seems to tap into this longing and to offer one way of stemming the tide of anomie and of alienation.

3.1.i. *Four Bases of Community:*

Community is built on concrete platforms such as place and relationship. More abstract factors also assist in the formation of a sense of community. The role played by belief and longing and by the passage of time are important components in building communities. Taken together these four bases of place, relationship, belief and time can lead to a more complete understanding of the term community as used colloquially, professionally and theoretically.

Place (Geographic Community):

The notion of community as fixed to a locality is an old one and may well be the first image that springs to mind. This type of community has identifiable physical boundaries - for example a town or an island such as Ireland. Alternatively it can be less easily delineated - for example a nation which may stretch beyond natural boundaries or state borders. If 'community' is used as a noun rather than as an adjective, as in 'working with the community' or 'in the community', it seems to be bound to a sense of place. It is difficult for the popular imagination to conceive of a community without some locality (Silverstone, 1999: 97), although notions of the Irish Diaspora and evidence of enduring strong communities which have been scattered across the globe by time, such as the Jewish and the Rroma peoples, provide obvious exceptions. The teaching of history in the western world tells us that in the pre-industrial age people lived in close harmony with their neighbours. They relied on each other for survival, for social and cultural outlets and knew each other or had the possibility of knowing each other. They were therefore living in close proximity to each other – they were 'geographical' communities and we believe them to have shared the characteristics of a *Gemeinshaft* as defined by Tőnnies. Whether this is an accurate record of life in the agricultural age has been questioned since, but the belief that it was so is strongly held, it is a popular myth in western culture. Williams (1958) articulated this romanticised view of community, claiming that for the working classes in cities, towns and villages in Britain, even in the first half of the last century this sense of community, with strong feelings of *Gemütlichkeit*, was the norm. These were places where everyone knew each other or had the possibility of knowing each other - places where people worked together to help each other. Places where, at the very least, people recognised their need for each other and shared certain requirements, aims, values and morals in common.

Radio always exists in a geographically defined space, one which is as large or as small as the area in which a signal can be received. That space may not coincide with physical boundaries such as rivers and mountains or national borders, but radio has a definite footprint, where the signal is transmitted. With cabled TV and radio only those who are cabled can be in the listening community, with short-wave that community of listeners can conceivably include a continent or the entire world. With FM in Ireland and the low wattage licences granted by the IRTC and ODTR (See appendix D), it has meant, to date, that very small geographical areas are covered by community radio licenses. Generally this is a three mile radius which neatly covers a small town, though not its hinterland. Examples of this implementation of policy in rural Ireland are Community Radio Youghal (CRY) and Community Radio Castlebar (CRC). In these cases, the towns are covered, but the communities in the surrounding countryside which have a mutual relationship of dependency with them are not. Examples of the implementation of the policy in urban areas can be found in the current division of Dublin into five areas for community broadcasting, although the density of the populations and the terrain mean that most signals travel much further than the physical boundaries cited for each community.

In the context of this study, which looks at community radio stations licensed in Ireland by the IRTC and informed by the popular understanding of the term, the notion of place is one of the strongest markers of the existence or otherwise of a community. The six stations chosen as case studies for investigation have all been granted geographically-bounded licenses to broadcast. They are North East Access Radio (NEAR), Dublin South Community Radio (DSCR) and West Dublin Community Radio (WDCR) in Dublin and Connemara Community Radio, (CCR), CRC and CRY in the rest of the country. Other Irish community radio stations in this category but outside of the scope of this study are Radió Pobail Inis Eoghain, Radio Corca Baiscinn, Tallaght Community Radio station (TCR), Phoenix Fm, Cashel Community Radio and Knock Community Radio (see appendices A and H). These were granted licences after the pilot experience proved to the IRTC that community radio was viable.

In the fast moving twentieth and twenty-first centuries it may be that the shared occupation of an actual physical place is no longer as important as the symbols which signify that place (Lewis and Booth, 1989; Andersen, 1991). The use of radio to forge the nations of Germany and of Britain in the interwar period are proof of how radio can

form a sense of national community and communality in times of peace and of war (Silverstone, 1999: 100). It is even claimed that a community exists and can function without a geographically shared space for example virtual communities (Rheingold, 1994). Networks of people, who communicate with each other around a range of topics or interests held in common, are springing up on the internet and are being hailed as virtual communities. These are said to fulfil the functions of older and lost communities in the modern world (Rheingold, 1994; Schuler, 1996; Herman and McChesney, 1997; Malina and Jankowski, 2002). Rheingold claims that membership of a virtual community allows people to connect, communicate, care and to share in meaningful ways without face-to-face interaction. He claims that these are every bit as real as a geographical community of neighbours - they are based on real or perceived commonalties of interest. However he undermines his own argument when he gives examples of on-line communities who arrange to meet face to face (Rheingold, 1994: 20). It would appear that, no matter how satisfying the communication within the virtual community, the need to have face-to-face interaction is still strong. Networks which enable regular communication amongst like-minded people or amongst people who choose to band together to achieve certain aims or share may be termed 'virtual'. They are virtual because they exist in cyber-space or have no physical locus but the use of the word 'community' rather than 'network' or 'group' does not seem appropriate. Jones (1995) understands believes that the provision of connections in itself cannot form community, he explains

> Everywhere we go we can "tap into" that community with a cellular telephone, a personal digital assistant, a modem, or a satellite dish. But connection does not inherently make for community, nor does it lead to any necessary exchanges of information, meaning and sense making at all. (Jones, 1995: 12)

Community radio may operate in this way also by offering a sense of proximity without actual face-to-face interaction. However, the fundamental difference between the new virtual communities forged by ICTs and those developed by community radio, lies in the physical component of shared geographical space. With community radio, those who participate in the communication know there is a possibility that they may meet face-to-face; the bone-fides of the other can be checked and discussion and interaction is centred on a shared environment and on common needs.

Relationship (Community of Interest):
Another understanding of community, one that is based on relationships and on shared needs and interests allows for an understanding of 'community' which does not include

all those living within a particular transmission area. If the word 'community' is used as an adjective rather than a noun it seems to confer the status of group ownership upon the noun qualified, for example 'Community hall' or 'Community development'.

Within the larger and less homogenous groupings of modern society, subsections, subcultures or smaller communities which seem to share many of the characteristics of the older, romanticised notions of community offered, are found. These are frequently ethnic, often linguistic or religious communities which exist within larger groupings, which may or may not fully accept them, or which are scattered amongst other linguistic and ethnic groups over a widely dispersed area. These are often termed 'communities of interest'. Religious affiliations, blood lines, the language(s) spoken and other cultural practices are deep definers of the identity of a person and of a group and they tie individuals together far more fundamentally than membership of a group which simply shares an interest or a hobby. Licensing bodies in some countries, such as America and Australia, have sometimes chosen to interpret 'of interest' so widely as to name those who share an interest in classical music, or in rhythm and blues as a community of interest. Although the IRTC has not defined the term 'community of interest', it granted the first of these licenses in 1993 to the Irish speakers of Dublin – *Raidió na Life*. In their annual review of 1998, the IRTC placed the student community radio stations into a new section entitled 'community of interest' for the first time, thereby marking them as different to the other 'geographical' community radio stations (IRTC, 1998).

This study uses the term 'community of interest' to mean a group or groups of people who share specific, fundamental, defining interests and who are living in a given place. By definition it excludes some people, maybe the majority of people, who reside in the same geographic space but who do not share these defining interests. It will not consider a community of interest where the interest is purely one of hobby or taste, such as the country music station in Dublin which is termed 'special interest radio'.

Community of interest therefore covers people who share certain characteristics or needs and who may or may not live in close proximity to each other. Bellah et al maintain that

> In a "community of interest", self-interested individuals join together to maximize individual good (Bellah et al, 1985: 134)

This is close to Tönnies explanation of *Gesellschaft* which looks on modern day communities forming as a result of a series of contracts. These contracts or formal relationships are freely entered into in order to connect, to co-operate or to operate in certain ways which will be mutually beneficial to the contracting parties. If this understanding is accepted, it could be said that all groups which profess to be communities in existence in the western world today are communities of interest. With the development of modern transport and of the market economy in particular, people no longer need to depend on neighbours with whom they may or may not relate well. Any 'reaching out' or sharing or combined activity which is engaged in today is, at some level, voluntary, a choice, a form of contract.

Communities of interest often seek special recognition or services for themselves within, but separate to, those of the wider population for example media services, special schooling, meeting places or centres for worship. Such communities are often scattered over larger distances than the 'communities' which are served by the local radio station, the local school system or the municipal hall.

It is the sharing of mutual concerns, needs, beliefs, goods or existence which are essential for a community to be said to exist. The definition of a community provided by Bellah et al is useful here, community is described as

> A group of people who are socially interdependent who participate together in discussion and decision making and who share certain practices that both define the community and are nurtured by it. Such a community is not quickly formed. It almost always has a history and so is also a community of memory; defined in part by its past and its memory of the past.   (Bellah et al, 1986: 333)

This definition contains three main elements – social interdependence and participation, shared practices and nurturing, and history. For a group to be considered a community there must be a sharing of some sort, of needs and of relationship in a mutually beneficial way and a common memory time shared in the past.

This notion of shared interests, needs and concerns is a strand which runs through all contexts in which the word 'community' is used (Bellah et al, 1986; Mercer, 1995; Silverstone, 1999). These may be easily recognised, as in the case of a 'community of interest' such as a language group or an ethnic minority. They may be less obvious on an initial examination of geographical communities, but they do exist in, for example, the common interest in and need for security in a city community made up of people of very different 'types' and backgrounds. Whatever the composition of the group, if the term 'community' is employed, it always contains the notion of shared interests. The

extent to which these are recognised by all members to be held in common differs. Religious, ethnic or political communities of interest often work to protect their shared interests. A geographical, but not closely knit community in a city which shares the needs for good transport, decent living conditions and a crime free environment may not be mobilised to work together to satisfy these needs. Calhoun describes the many nexes of different relationships which build a community

> Community life can be understood as the life people live in dense, multiplex relatively autonomous networks of social relationships. (Calhoun, 1998: 391)

The sharing of needs and of ways of addressing these needs forms a strong element in determining whether a collective of individuals can be considered to be a community or some other form of social grouping. These needs, held in common and answered through a variety of relationships, contractual and freely entered into as in *Gesellschaft* or traditional and familial as in *Gemeinschaft* can be concrete and real or felt and imagined and are just as strong in their consequences of building a community. Where the two components of place and relationship overlap the ideal construct of community comes closer to a reality. For a community radio station to cater to such a community of interest there must be a real need for people to share and to relate to each other. Examples of such stations of community interest in the Irish context, outside of the scope of this study are the Irish language station *Raidió na Life* and the student stations FLIRT, Cork Campus Community Radio and WIRED FM.

If community is based around, and grows through, communication (O'Farrell, 1994; Silverstone, 1999), then a community radio station must build new communication networks and strengthen existing ones in which all members of the community can participate so that they can build their community together.

Belief (Longing for Community):
The notion of place automatically calling forth a community built on soft, kind and pleasing characteristics is not the lived experience of the majority of people in the western world (Prehn, 1990: 9). There is a strong belief in the popular imagination that it has only recently been lost, that it can be recaptured and that it merely needs a catalyst to recover this sense of community in the place. Community radio taps into this yearning or longing; it offers an idealised view of how a place or group could be one which people, through shared cultural longing and memory, believe in.

The felt need for recovering a sense of community could be read on a psychological level as a wish to return to the happy, secure days of childhood, a nostalgia for a golden age as presented by Williams (1958), Hall (1993) and others. It can be understood in terms of the post-modern malaise at the quick rate of technological and subsequent sociological change in our society, as Mercer has observed

> 'Community' has come to be a keyword of contemporary life, not because we all live in one, but because most of us do not: it is the lack of it that makes it valued, it is the loss of it that makes it desired, it is the envisioning of it that makes it real. (Mercer, 1995: 12)

There is a deeply felt sense of loss and desire for this community evident in popular culture. Popular culture is the expression of our needs and wants today. In post-modern society all is fragmented; traditional logic, rationality, one-truth philosophies and religions are under attack, if not already decimated. There is a longing to return to a time of stability, of the comfort of knowing who and what we are, where we belong and what we believe in (McQuail, 2000: 75).

Whether or not community as people recall it or imagine it ever actually existed, does not matter. Silverstone says it is something which is desired and perceived of as lost (Silverstone,1999: 96-7). It can be seen as something which is yearned for, something which may never really have been there. Notions of closeness, of people looking out for one another, of helping each other, of knowing each other, of looking, talking and acting the same way, of holding certain values and aims in common, of having a shared history of memory - the perceived loss of these is felt keenly in modern day society (Williams, 1958; McQuail, 2000; Rheingold, 1994). As Mercer describes

> To be part of a community implies a kind of belonging that is more wished for than actually achieved, a feeling of connectedness that is more dreamed of than materially attained. And it is this wishing and wanting that makes community something that matters to all of us. (Mercer, 1995: 12)

People feel a need to belong to a group. Sociologists note that group formation is often based on a recognition of how those within the group are dissimilar to others outside the group as much as in recognising how they are similar to each other. The Lacanian concept of 'The Other', of defining oneself as a part of an 'in-group' off the back of an 'out-group' based on a simple Structuralist understanding of binary oppositions 'them and us', leads to group and thus community formation. Sampredo explains that

> Collective identities are invented by defining certain social spaces and their memberships through exclusive and inclusive symbolic borders. Exclusive boundaries are negative definitions made up in terms of rejecting difference and

> inclusive boundaries are based on ratifying alleged sameness. (Sampredo, 1998: 136)

This brings the longed-for, comfortable sense of closeness, of belonging, but it can prove negative when groups use this process of self identification to turn on 'The Other' (Andersen, 1991; Halcli, 2000).

Silverstone (1999) believes that individuals participate in activities that bring them together with others, just so that they can be together with others. Human beings need to reaffirm their own sense of belonging. Sometimes this is oppressive but it cannot be avoided – if a person leaves one community, he or she immediately identifies with and tries to join another, the need to belong is a basic human need. Mercer (1995) agrees, seeing it almost as an inherent human characteristic or a spiritual desire

> Community is probably an inescapably universal human value because mortal individuals need to believe they belong to something that goes beyond their finite edge. (Mercer, 1995: 17)

Our identity and our distinctiveness from others is defined through our membership of a community or communities and with the development of broadcast communication technologies we reaffirm and reinforce this increasingly through the media. As Silverstone explains

> … as physical boundaries became more porous and institutional constraints more lax, the ties that bind were increasingly to be sought, and indeed came to be found, in the realm of the symbolic. (Silverstone, 1999: 98).

It is through the symbolic order that we realise who we are and to what group we belong. We creatively find ways to reinforce that understanding of who and what we are symbolically as part of a subculture (Hebdige, 1979) or to a nation (Anderson, 1991). As the institutions of church, formal schooling and family, which formerly instructed us as to who and what we are, wane in power, the mass media take over this role of telling or reminding us of 'the way things are'. Media images daily reinforce, not only the hegemonic order and our subject positions within that order, but also our understanding of these and hence our very identity. We define our own distinctiveness through our membership of a community and with the development of broadcast communication technologies we reaffirm and reinforce this increasingly though the media.

Throughout the analysis of community radio stations and especially of the realisation (or not) of their aims, it must be remembered that community is imagined. It is an ideal construct and comes closest to existing when it is lived, shared, in process. So community can be imagined, people can strive for it but it may never be perfectly

achieved. Andersen (1991) talks of the building of national communities and the use of symbols in their formation. The same is true for any community of any size. To a degree it is not so much a matter of where these communities are, or of who is in them but of how they are built, of what is being done within them. As Silverstone explains

> We find our identities in the social relations that are imposed upon us and those that we seek. We live them out on a daily basis. We have a sense of a need to belong. And we need reassurance that we do indeed belong. We construct ideas of what that thing to which we belong is, and we define and make sense of it in the images that we have of it, or in those that are offered to us. We need constantly to be reminded, reassured, that our sense of belonging and our involvement is worthwhile.   (Silverstone 1999: 98)

It is the process of building a community which forms a feeling or sense of community. 'Community' may not exist - it is always in the process of becoming. The benefits, joys and comforts of being in a community accrue in the moments when individuals build it together rather than in any end point of stasis. By believing in the existence of a community and by living according to that premise, people make the desire to be in community a reality. Community radio, by providing a communications link for communities, can provide one of the tools necessary to translate the dream or belief of community into a lived experience.

Time (Community Past and Future):

Bellah et al (1986: 333) note that communities of their nature evolve. They do not form instantly nor can they be planned externally and created where they do not previously exist. They believe that there must be a past, one cannot create a community out of a vacuum. Community is something which is built over time, this may not need to be a long time but there must be a shared past or history, or a belief in such a shared past or history. This points to serious difficulties for activists, such as community development workers or community media practitioners who may wish to create a new community. While community radio may be able to strengthen and develop a community which is weak in organisation, caring strategies or self-recognition, it must build on one which previously exists or believes itself to have existed. Sociologists have noted the importance of shared memory in group formation. These include myths of creation for tribal peoples and visions of history for the modern nation state (Andersen, 1991). Where there is no shared memory or myth it is extremely difficult to imagine a thriving and self-confident community. A good example of this may be found in recent Irish history with the failure of the Shannon town experiment to build a sense of community

in the early years of its existence. The town and its people struggled with huge problems of identity and lack of community spirit in the early years of its existence despite attempts to provide or create one by the Irish government and the forerunner of the Shannon Region Development Authority. It is only recently, now that the town is nearly forty years old and has a past, short though that may be, that any sense of pride in the community or hope for building a better future has begun to emerge.

For a community to grow and develop, it would appear that it is necessary for the members of that community to believe that it has a future - a chance, at the very least, of surviving and of sustaining itself. However communities which are weak, which may not have been recognised historically or which are suffering from marginalisation and are threatened with extinction can be strengthened and developed. This is most often seen in community development work for example the rise in pride and confidence of many Aboriginal peoples in Australia and of Travellers in Ireland with the work of Pavee Point and a recent publicity campaign entitled 'Citizen Traveller'.

When there is neither a shared sense of the past nor any hope in the future it would seem futile for a community radio station to attempt to broadcast. Where these two time orientations do exist, however weak they may be, there may be some basis for founding a station to develop the community.

3.1.ii. *The Understanding of 'Community' for this Project:*

Drawing from the discussions above it is clear that for community radio, the groups and individuals that can be reached are always to some extent geographically determined – the radio can reach only as far as the waves can be transmitted. The community of a community radio station exists in a physical space and may or may not include all people within that space. However the first distinction is that the IRTC's geographical community is said to include all those living in the franchise area. For the community of interest licence, specific communities such as students, ethnic minorities or linguistic groups can be targeted within the transmission area which they share with others. Communities of interest, as are currently found in America and Australia, where the interest can be based around musical tastes or other hobbies, are not considered in this discussion. Rather, a community of interest is understood as an entity which reaches

deep into individuals' and groups' understanding of themselves, of their subjectivities and their relation to society as a whole.

The perceived sense of loss and a yearning to return to a golden age where people cared and where they shared things in common is important here. The concept of ideal constructs from Tönnies is a useful one, which will be of assistance in analysing the perceived success or failure of stations to live up to their aims of promoting, fostering and developing community. Jankowski (2002a) provides a useful overview of the changing formulations of community in the research literature over the last one hundred years (Jankowski, 2002a: 37-38).

It is clear that community is not just a simple and empirically-measurable grouping. It operates on at least four major bases – those of place, relationship, belief and time. Community must be understood as a process rather than as a goal. The implications of such an understanding for this thesis then emerge as the following questions:

Does community radio build community? If so, how does it do this? Is the work undertaken in a self-conscious manner or are participants unaware of this dimension to their broadcasting and does the difference matter? Is community development an issue for community radio activists in Ireland? Finally, and based on the answers arrived at, the question for forming a normative theory of community radio must be – should community radio build a sense of community, develop community and/or engage in community development?

3.2. Community Development :

Media do not create community but they can help to build it. Community radio activists see radio as a useful tool in furthering their aims of improving the society and community in which people live. The emphasis on participation, on non-hierarchical ways of working, on self-management and on process rather than on goal achievement bears strong resemblance to the established professional discipline of community development. Community radios, in their aims and organisation, are similar to the community development projects pioneered by Saul Alinsky in the U.S. in the 1950s (Rubin and Rubin, 1992). They also owe a great deal to development practices in the third world, for example the liberation theology of Paulo Freire in Latin America from the 1970s (Freire, 1972, 1994) and the participative communication practices of the 1980s and 1990s in much of the developing world (Levi and Litwin, 1986; Bordenave, 1994; Moemka, 1994; White, Nair and Ascroft, 1994). Finally they have learned from the community development projects sponsored by governments in Western Europe and

elsewhere since the 1980s (Bell and Newby, 1978; Cullen, 1994; Hawtin et al, 1994; Craig, 1995; Department of Social Welfare, 1995). Voluntary organisations in Ireland are moving away from the status of charities run by religious orders, as they were in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to community development style projects from the late twentieth century on (Donoghue, Anheier and Salamon, 1999: 8).

An inherent question for this investigation must ask if community radio in Ireland is a community development endeavour using the medium of radio or is community development a by-product of radio broadcasting in the community context?

3.2.i. *What is Community Development?*
Community development describes particular work practices usually undertaken by paid professionals. As a term, it describes ways of working with groups to develop the community and to empower those who are marginalised, particularly by poverty, racism and sexism, to help themselves. The term describes an actual practice and a way of working rather than a concept. The development of community is one of the goals of community development but is much more broad and describes an ideal rather than a practice. Community development as a practice is far more focussed, and of necessity, more narrowly confined, than the ideal of the development of a community. Community development has evolved as a recognised discipline within academia and a wide ranging literature and body of research has grown around it.

Christenson and Robinson, (1980: 9-10) provide a list of definitions of community development taken from a review of the previous ten years of *The Community Development Journal*. These describe the planned and co-ordinated efforts by community people to work together to guide the future of their communities, the participative and democratic nature of the work, the educational and empowerment process this calls for and the ultimate goal of improving the life of the community and of the individuals within it. Warren describes community development as

> A process of helping community people analyse their problems, to exercise as large a measure of autonomy as is possible and feasible, and to promote a greater identification of the individual citizen and the individual organisation with the community as a whole. (Warren 1978: 20).

Community development practice and theory have evolved since, although the basic principles remain the same. Professional community workers in Ireland see community development as a powerful tool for engineering social change from the personal,

through the communal and on to the political level. The Community Action Network, (CAN, see appendix F), describes this process

> Community Development aims to encourage people to take control of their lives, to develop fully their human potential and to promote community empowerment. It involves people coming together in groups to identify their collective needs and to develop programmes to meet these needs. The process or the way the work is carried out is as important as the programme of development being undertaken. The process of Community Development stresses the need to develop community awareness, engender group cohesiveness, and promote self reliance and collective action. This logically leads communities to seek change at policy and institutional levels, often highlighting the need for the redistribution of societies[sic] resources. (Kelleher and Whelan, 1992: 1)

Rubin and Rubin (1992), in their definition of community development, highlight five terms which provide a bridge between the individual and collective aspects of community development. They explain that

> Community development involves local **empowerment** through **organized** groups of people **acting collectively** to **control** decisions, projects, programs and policies that affect them as a **community**. (Rubin and Rubin, 1992: 42, original emphasis retained)

They illustrate the connections between the individual and collective aspects of community development in a model which is reproduced below:

Figure 2. Model 1. Linking the Personal to the Collective, Rubin and Rubin, 1992:

The Personal	Empowerment	Control
The Linkage	Acting collectively	
The Collective	Community	Organization

(Rubin and Rubin, 1992: 43)
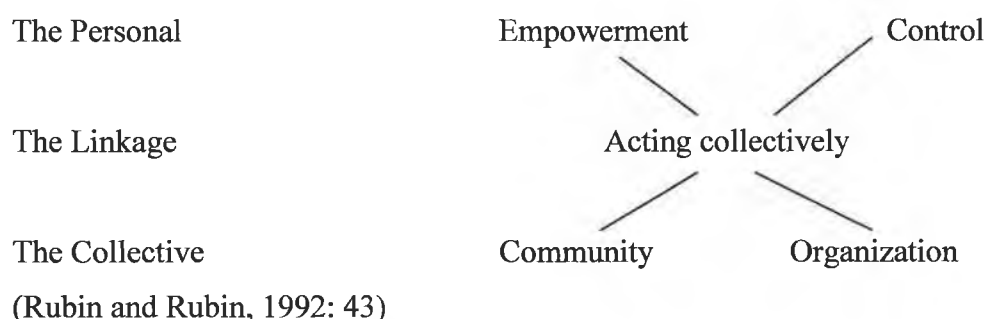
Drawing primarily from the work of Christenson and Robinson, 1980 (but also from Berrigan, 1979; Levi and Litwin, 1986; Midgely, 1986; Bordenave, 1994; Toner, 2000) a number of understandings and principles of community development as practice can be added to those of Rubin and Rubin. For example, community development practice aims to improve the quality of life through the resolution of shared problems and to reduce the level of social inequities caused by poverty, racism and sexism. It aims to exercise and preserve democratic values as part of the process of organising and as an outcome of community development. It accomplishes this by enabling people to achieve their potential as individuals and by the creation of a sense of community in which

people can feel more efficacious, not only as individuals but as part of a broader society toward which they are contributing.

The social goals of improving the quality of life and of reducing the levels of social inequities are not necessarily part of the remit of Irish community radio stations. However, the goals of developing greater understanding in support of peace, tolerance, democracy and development are specifically mentioned in point 10 of the AMARC Europe Charter (See appendix E). Community development is an ongoing activity which requires regular evaluation and is a powerful force for changing society, developing individuals and their relations with each other. Its practitioners believe that by working in a democratic, facilitative, participative and empowering manner it can change the operation and balance of power in a society fundamentally.

Community development stresses the importance of being political rather than neutral or objective. This can cause difficulties for community development workers in Ireland in particular, where most community development projects are funded by the government through the Department of Social, Community and Family Affairs. In many cases in the 1970s communities began the process themselves. The influence of Catholic clergy and of other people returning from voluntary service overseas who had experienced participative development at first hand was crucial. These groups quickly began to seek funding and recognition from government agencies and NGOs. This they received, sometimes in recognition of their service to the community, and this resulted in the formation of partnerships. More frequently, however, they received funding as a cheap way of providing much needed care and services in those communities (Donoghue, Anheieir and Salamon, 1999). This means that community development in Ireland differs from the community development experience in the United States of America and as originally outlined by Saul Alinsky (Rubin and Rubin, 1992). It remains an approach committed to working 'from the bottom up' but those who lead, instigate or animate the projects are often paid professionals rather than members of the community itself. Rubin and Rubin, (1992), drawing from the experience of community development in the U.S.A., claim that the radical politics of community development often lead to violence or at least to conflict. This does not appear to be the case with community development work in Ireland today. This may be because community development activists are generally paid by the state or by long established NGOs or it may be because of the more passive and generally conservative nature of Irish society in the South of Ireland, which lacks a significant history of radical, protest, grassroots politics. Community radio, in particular in stable political systems such as those of

Western Europe, tends to have less radical objectives and agendas than community radios in Latin America where activists find themselves at the front line and community radio is used as a soapbox for social movements seeking radical social and political change (Hein, 1984; O'Connor, 1990a). It is no accident that many of the professional community development workers in Ireland are trained social workers and are funded through the Department of Social, Community and Family Affairs. Where these are involved in community radio stations it has implications from the perspective of funding and also in terms of formulating a political agenda.

3.2.ii. *Community Development and Community Radio:*

It is clear then that community radio shares many of the same aims as community development but defines a wider role for itself in society. In many instances community radio can assist community development work as a channel of communication. Community radio specifically aims to

> promote the right to communicate, assist the free flow of information, to encourage creative expression and to contribute to the democratic process and to enable the development of a pluralist society. (Point 1, AMARC-Europe Charter, see Appendix E)

Community development supports and attempts to enable the democratisation of society at all levels but does not make communication a priority as community radio, almost by definition, must do.

Generally, community radio stations can and do define the communities with which they work. In many cases these may mirror the communities targeted by community development work, such as marginalised and disadvantaged minorities. In others it may encompass a wider range of socio-economic groupings and come closer to the remit of a public service broadcasting station. The definition of the community or groups within a community which a station chooses to target will influence its work practices and organisation and will have implications in relation to sources of funding, for programming choices and for station ethos.

Community development is frequently the mode of practice used by community radio stations to organise their work. As outlined later in this chapter, community radio aims to work in a participative and democratic manner. The projects are owned and managed by the community on a not-for–profit basis. Stress is laid on the process more than on the achievement of goals. The empowerment of individuals and of communities is of primary importance. In summary it is fair to say that community radio can use

community development as a work practice, as a useful tool, while encompassing many but not all of its aims.

It has been recognised for some time in the field of development in the third world that media can help a community development project to achieve many of its aims (Moemka, 1981, 1994; Nair, and White, 1993; White, Nair and Ashcroft, 1994; Servaes, 1999). Moemka (1994: 127-138) reviews the five strategies for the utilisation of radio in rural education outlined by McAnany (1973). These are Open Broadcasting, to an unorganised audience; Instructional Radio, which uses radio for social change and development and targets organised learning groups; Rural Radio Forum, which uses radio to facilitate discussion which leads to group decision making; Radio Schools, which mainly consist of small groups of adults who meet to learn with a guide or leader; and Radio as Animator, which trains leaders to mobilise the community in a participative manner to solve problems identified or suggested by the radio station. Moemka concludes that a combination of three of these (Radio as Forum, Radio School and Radio as Animator) is the most likely to succeed. He terms this an "ideal radio strategy" (Moemka, 1994: 136) or a "local radio strategy" (Moemka: 1981). It shares many of the features of community radio, in particular the emphasis on participation, on training, on empowerment and on social issues. However, it lacks the key elements of ownership, self-management and of being funded from a diversity of sources to protect independence which are discussed later in this chapter. He acknowledges that personal and community development are successfully enabled through interpersonal or face-to-face contact. However he believes that where this is augmented by locally based participative communication ventures, such as community radio, the expansion of activities and the pace of that expansion is very much enhanced (Moemka, 1994: 125).

Nevertheless, community development is a very slow process, (Toner, 2000; Levi, 1986:7). Chetkov-Yanoov warns that it can take between three and ten years for results to be seen (1986: 33). Participants and workers can often be tempted to take short cuts in order to achieve successes in the short term, for example to press ahead with the building of a community centre when the community has not identified a need for one. This runs counter to the principles of community development where the process is more important than the goal. It is obviously very important for a community, especially for volunteers, to see that their efforts are bearing fruit and to this end it is wise for the community to set short term achievable goals as well as planning longer term initiatives.

However the community development worker or project which is too goal-oriented can leave many of the members of the community behind. When this happens the project is not 'owned' by those it should be serving and the members of the community do not learn the skills and values of working co-operatively together which would enhance the life of the community and the achievement of further goals in the future.

As Rubin and Rubin explain

> It is not simply achieving a better future that counts, but getting there in a way that is empowering for the individual. Respectful listening to the opinions of others and broad participation in decision making lead to more effective actions. Getting people to participate in democratic organizations at home, at work, and in government, is an end worth achieving. Democratic institutions are the manifestation of a society that believes in human equality and individual dignity. They must be cherished and strengthened. (Rubin and Rubin, 1992: 458)

This has serious implications for the evaluation of a community development style project. In community radio stations where this ethic is adopted, outside observers and those integrally involved in it must be aware of the extremely slow nature of the work and of the reasons behind this way of operating. Levi (1986:7) terms this the "Community Development Dilemma". If the work proceeds too slowly, participants and the community lose faith in the project; if concrete goals are pursued too quickly, participation suffers. Referring to Khiduka (1969), Levi maintains that

> Community Development is rather a soft strategy for social change. As a method of social service however, its contribution can be very significant. (Levi, 1986: 7)

Individual community development workers in Ireland are inclined to stress the importance of working with the dis-empowered, the voiceless and the disenfranchised and seek to effect these changes through the grassroots or 'bottom up' approach. This may be because funds are made available to work with the most marginalised of communities - with Travellers, the long-term unemployed and recently with refugees. In Ireland, community development has come to be very narrowly focused on working with those who are marginalised by society especially through poverty, racism and sexism, as the Area Development Management project (ADM, See appendix F) describes it

> Community Development is about enabling people to enhance their capacity to play a role in shaping the society of which they are a part. It works towards helping groups and communities to articulate needs and viewpoints and to influence the processes that structure their everyday lives. It is recognised that the ability to participate fully in society is open more to some groups and individuals than others, therefore the priority for those engaged in integrated

local social and economic development is to work with the most disadvantaged. (ADM, 1999)

Government interventions via community development projects to alleviate the effects of poverty in rural and urban Ireland do not aim to build all sectors of the community equally. Self-organised community groups which seek to build a strong sense of community, to create a public sphere in which all members can participate and to improve the quality of life for all have a wider and potentially more radical role to play. Community development by paid professionals is a vital and important way of developing community, but it is not the only way. The current focus by state sponsored community development workers in Ireland may not be helpful to community development long term, to communities in general nor to community radio in particular. By concentrating on those who are marginalised in isolation from the community as a whole, they risk institutionalising their marginalisation. All community development projects need to bring all sectors of the community along together if real change is to occur in attitudes and values, as well as in material conditions. Funding agencies and community development workers need to be aware of the need for the integration of marginalised people into mainstream society. Those who are not considered to be marginalised also need to be educated and to be persuaded of the benefits of working collaboratively, equitably and inclusively. Toner (2000) calls for the location of one or two community development projects in more affluent areas in Ireland as state sponsored initiatives currently operate in areas of poverty or disadvantage only. This could counteract the identification of community development with disadvantage only and he believes it would be interesting to see what kinds of initiative would ensue. He maintains that many of the problems targeted by community development projects in less advantaged areas are equally present in more affluent neighbourhoods. He says that

> Everyone rich or poor, needs to *belong*, and a caring local community can give a great sense of security, as well as a chance to contribute to our shared society. (Toner, 2000: 6, author's own emphasis)

He believes that

> There is also the considerable value that derives to individuals, and thus to the community, from involvement in community affairs. A democracy cannot be said to be strong where people's only ambition is to get a job, put their feet up and live private lives after work, and delegate every other issue 'upwards' to local and national politicians. The kind of personal development that takes place through community involvement cannot be obtained in any other manner. (Toner, 2000: 6)

Putnam agrees, outlining the benefits of social contact to both individuals and communities (Putnam, 2000: 19). This he terms "social capital" and he notes that the

advantages of contracting to work as volunteers or to socialise in an organised fashion with others in the community result in benefits for the individuals involved, for the group with whom they associate but also, and often in unseen ways, for the community as a whole (Putnam, 2000: 20). He also identifies a difference between social capital which bonds participants together in an exclusive manner and social capital which forms bridges between those who participate and other sectors of society (Putnam, 2000: 22). He elaborates the difference as follows

> Bonding social capital is good for undergirding specific reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity....Bridging networks, by contrast, are better for linkage to external assets and for diffusion. (Putnam, 2000: 22)

Many community radio activists do not view their role as being exclusively that of working with the powerless or the disenfranchised. Many Irish community stations operate in middle class or mixed socio-economic aareas and they see their role as serving all of the members of those communities. This may include a special remit for the less advantaged members of the community as is the case in WDCR, or it may not. Some community radios broadcast in the most affluent communities of Ireland, for example DSCR, in south county Dublin. In these cases and in rural stations with a mixed socio-economic demography, it would be dangerous and unhelpful to concentrate solely on the disempowered, ignoring the talents and needs of the better educated, wealthier and more privileged members of those communities. Community radio seeks to connect the entire community to itself and to enrich the entire community as a whole, not just parts of it, although it may employ community development tactics to do this. The divisions of class, gender, religion, ethnicity and language are all important considerations but truly inclusive community building will seek to accommodate all and to build bridges across these divides within communities. The type of social capital which community radio stations try to build will reveal the priorities for each individual community station. Does it attempt to bond members of that community closer together or to build bridges between diverse elements of the community or, ideally, does it attempt to do both? The philosophical orientation of the community radio movement in relation to building community can be identified, in part, by an examination of the benefits which Irish community radio stations hope will accrue to their communities by virtue of the participation of members of their communities in their ownership, management and programming.

Community media have been recognised as useful tools for community development (Moemka,1994). Several of the community radio stations currently licensed in Ireland were set up initially by 'parent' community development organisations. These include

Connemara Community Radio (CCR), set up by ConWest Plc; *Raidió Pobail Inis Eoghain*, set up by Inishowen Rural Development Ltd and *Raidió Corca Baiscinn*, set up by Éirí Corca Baiscinn. In these areas where community development is strongly established, the stations are seen as an ideal way of providing information and education to widely dispersed populations. They are seen as providing a communications link for the community and of presenting the community to itself in a positive light. They are also seen as sites for training in basic skills, of enabling people to return to the job market, through community employment (CE) schemes (See appendix I) and of increasing the self-confidence of individuals and therefore their ability to become actors in the life of their own communities.

In conclusion, community development as a practice should be extremely useful to community radio stations in pursuing their aims of access, participation, empowerment and of responding to the needs of their communities. The extent to which this is the case within the six community radio stations in this study will be examined. The presence of community development workers in the community radio stations under study and the awareness of community development principles generally amongst participants in the stations will be assessed. The impact this has on each station's outlook and work practices will be discussed and comparisons with stations which do not have this input will be made.

3.3. Democratisation of Communication: The Right to Communicate:

3.3.i. *The Right to Communicate:*

The concept of the human right to communicate stems from the declaration of freedom of opinion and information as a human right in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, which states that

> Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948).

However this right is not been widely supported by legislation, either protective or enabling, which would ensure that it is seen as a non-derogable human right. Provision is not made in Article 19 to ensure that lack of resources – financial, educational or technological – do not form a barrier to freedom of expression. Hamelink (1994) notes that it is fundamental to the exercise of human rights that they be protected in law - where there is no redress, the rights will be violated and cannot be guaranteed.

Concluding that people do not seem to matter in the politics of world communication, he calls for

> .....the design of a robust political practice on the people's right to communicate. This implies the formulation of binding norms, strong enforcement procedures and effective implementation mechanisms to secure the right of all people freely to participate in world communication, to share its benefits and to enjoy protection against its abuse. (Hamelink, 1994: 293)

Hamelink traces the transformation of the understanding of the right to information into a demand for the right to communicate (Hamelink, 1994: 284-318). He reviews the international treaties, declarations and working groups relating to the human rights of freedom on information beginning with Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948; including Article 13 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989; the constitution of UNESCO; the Charter of the UN and concluding with the MacBride report on the New World Information Order, 1980 and the debates which it initiated.

The Mac Bride Commission called for a new understanding of communication in democratic societies as a universal and social need which must be satisfied by the recognition of specific rights such as the right to be informed, the right to inform, the right to privacy and the right to participate in public communication. The extension of these communication freedoms to all individuals and as a collective right was deemed to be essential to the evolution of the democratic process (MacBride, 1980: 265). The MacBride Commission defined the democratisation of communication as follows

> The process whereby
> a. the individual becomes an active partner and not a mere object of communication
> b. the variety of messages exchanged increases; and
> c. the extent and quality of social representation or participation in communication is augmented. (MacBride, 1980: 166)

It was believed that this right to communicate should extend to all individuals and groups and would lead to a new world order (Pine, 1985: 144). Subsequently human rights activists, academics and those encouraged by the possibility of establishing a New World Information Communication Order (NWICO) began to determine what this might mean. A wide literature now exists dealing with the concept of the democratisation of the media and the right to communicate (See Raboy and Bruck, 1989; Splichal and Wasko, 1993; Hamelink, 1994 and special issues of the journal *Javnost: The Public,* Vol.V [1998], 2 and Vol.II [1995], 4 for discussion on this). One

UNESCO initiated study group in London in 1980 determined the right to communicate should

> ...be based on a positive notion of communication and express such positive social values as democratisation, public participation and access, equality and self-management. The right to communicate should recognize the relationship between communication and development and take into account individual and communal levels of communication. (Hamelink, 1994: 296)

The group also maintained that this right was universal as communication is a fundamental social process which enables individuals and communities to exchange information and opinions. Recognition of basic human needs calls for their satisfaction as a human right. The determination of communication as a basic human need and as the foundation of all social organisation therefore calls for that need to be recognised as a basic human right (Hamelink, 1994: 296).

Splichal (1993) drawing on Fisher (1981) outlines four rights or freedoms which are the corner stones of the right to communicate. These are

1. The right to publish opinions in the mass media, as an extension of the traditional freedoms of thought and expression, and as a right complementary to the right to receive information;
2. The right to participate in the management of the mass media and communication organizations;
3. The right of free association and mutual interlinkage for realizing individual and common needs;
4. Equality of citizens in rights and duties of which the first requirement is that this equality is not limited by or dependent on their social status and uneven distribution of material resources. (Splichal, 1993: 11)

The MacBride Roundtable on Communication has continued to push this agenda. The Harare Statement of 1989 notes that the mass media are key players in fostering the democratic process and in promoting peace and international understanding. The statement recognises that the key to this is participation in terms of the right of reply and access to the media and to the decision making bodies (Wasko, 1993: 164).

However the right to communicate has not yet been recognised in international legislation as a universal human right and Hamelink expresses concern that the campaign to have it adopted seemed to lose momentum in the 1990s. So concerned is he that he is part of a pressure group, *Voices 21,* which seeks to ensure that the right to communicate is recognised by governments and international treaties and has developed a *People's Communication Charter* (See appendix D). *The People's Communication*

Charter is an evolving document which is receptive to changes in reality and to input from interested parties. It recognises 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......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. (http://www.pccharter.net/about.html)

Using this charter as a framework around which others can mobilise, *Voices 21* aims to form a new social movement (NSM) which will actively shape the cultural, educational and media environments of the world.

AMARC- International is a signatory to the People's Communication Charter but it has made its own call for the recognition of the right to communicate in *The Milan Declaration, 1998* (See appendix J for full text). It actually makes twelve separate declarations and calls for eight actions. It claims the right to communicate

> As a universal human right which serves and underpins all other human rights and which must be preserved and extended in the context of rapidly changing information and communication media (Declaration 1).

It insists on just and equitable access for all members of civil society to all communications media (Declaration 2). It calls for respect for and the inclusion of women and indigenous peoples in all communication processes and for a strengthening of pluralist society, particularly through encouraging cultural, linguistic and gender diversities through access to the media (Declarations 3-6). It highlights the potential of community media in achieving these goals (Declaration 7). It calls for training and education to enable access to communications media (Declaration 8) and it rejects the market economy as the only model for the development of mass communications. It warns against the development of audiences as consumers, the concentration of media ownership and the development of technologies which all serve to further marginalise people (Declarations 9-12).

The Milan Declaration calls for international recognition of community broadcasting as a form of public service and as a contributor to media pluralism, freedom of expression and information (Call 1). It specifically demands funds and legislation for the development of the telecommunications infrastructure of the developing world and beyond (Calls 2, 5 and 6). It calls for the establishment of independent regulatory authorities, the prevention of the concentration of media ownership in the hands of the few and the protection of community media from take-over by commercial media or

from eviction from the spectrum through the development of inappropriate new digital technologies (Calls 3-4).

The Milan Declaration further advocates a watchdog role for community media to guard against the rising power of trans-national corporations and for community media groups to work together to implement the measures the declaration calls for (Calls 7-8). It advocates a lobbying and an educational role for community media to ensure that communications rights are promoted and achieved. The Milan Declaration taken with The AMARC Declaration of Principles (See Appendix B) and the AMARC-Europe Charter for Community Radio (See Appendix E), illustrates an understanding by the community radio movement of participation in the media as a human right. The commitment to providing this access and of facilitating participation at all levels of broadcasting, organisation and ownership is demonstrated as one of the most fundamental principles of community radio. Participation is viewed as a process which will lead to empowerment and change in civil society and improvement in the quality of community life.

This is the culmination of years of development by community radio stations as a network within AMARC-International and is closely connected to and informed by The MacBride Roundtable, *Voices 21* and discussions in other academic and activist fora. It shows AMARC-International articulating itself as a New Social Movement (NSM) on the world stage, one which is closely aligned with other NSMs in terms of ideology, methodology and alliances.

The current study investigates the level of awareness of the aim of facilitating the right to communicate amongst the participants in Irish community radio stations. It assesses the practical strategies employed to further this goal, in particular the facilitation of participation at all levels. Many of the principles outlined here are echoes of the basic aims of AMARC-International, AMARC-Europe and the IRTC/CRF which were summarised in chapter two. These include the focus on access and participation for all, an emphasis on inclusion for those traditionally excluded from the communication process and on the promotion of diversity in a number of fields. How seriously and how consciously Irish community stations pursue these objectives in their daily work is one of the research interests of the current study.

The human right to communicate seeks access to communication processes at all levels - community, national and international and in all forms of the media - public service, commercial and the third sector. Issues of access and participation are paramount and relate directly to the notion of the public sphere and the growth and development of democracy in society, especially the growth and development of civil society. Hamelink outlines a normative structure for the right to communicate which consists of four binding standards which cannot be transgressed. These are information rights, protection rights, collective rights and participation rights (Hamelink 1994: 301). Recognition and protection of the first three of these normative components can be, and frequently are, found and promoted within public service and commercial broadcasting corporations. However, only community media allow for all four components of the right to communicate as defined by Hamelink. Only community media have the capacity to allow for participation in decision making and the acquisition of the skills necessary to actualise the human right to communicate. This study asks if Irish community radio stations accomplish or attempt to accomplish this?

Hamelink (1994) regards participation rights as the human rights of access to and representation on all decision making bodies which affect human rights. This is a call for the extension of participation and access to all levels of influence and, as he points out,

> This moves the democratic process beyond the political sphere and extends the requirement of participatory institutional arrangements to other social domains. In this extension also culture and technology should be subject to democratic control. (Hamelink 1994: 310)

Noting that the current trend world-wide towards deregulation has led to important areas of social life being delegated to private rather than public control, he is worried that the privatisation and commodification of information and of cultural production means a loss of democratic control and of public accountability over the channels of communication and a block to participation by the people - in short, a diminution of the public sphere (Hamelink, 1994: 310). Preston and Grisold (1995) agree, in discussing competition policies in relation to broadcast media in Europe, they say

> The right to purchase or otherwise consume (from a particular menu of choices) cannot be equated with the right to participate in debates and decisions determining the rules that regulate market transactions. In other words, the identity and role of consumers cannot substitute for that of citizens. (Preston and Grisold: 1995: 78)

What is at stake is the erosion of democracy and a removal of power from the people to the control of the dominant and most powerful in society; from the public sphere to the economic sphere.

McQuail (1991) discusses the western assumption of communication as a basic and universal human right and assesses the performance of the mass media in general in providing for this right. He concludes that

> Most generally, if we suppose there to be "right to communicate", then it implies an equal individual claim to hear and to be heard. The fact that the mass media have, in practice, appropriated and almost monopolised a good many of the real opportunities for public communication does not diminish this claim. (McQuail, 1991: 72-73).

Raboy and Bruck (1989) insist that the commodification of cultural production erodes democracy and civil society. Drawing on Fisher and Harms (1983), they call for the creation of alternative media spaces and for access to these as a logical extension of the right to communicate and as a method of ensuring that right is facilitated and adopted. They insist that

> ... the form of struggle we are calling communication and cultural democracy involves a quest to flesh out the formal right to communicate with the creation of independent institutions and social spaces that extend the right to acquire information into the right to produce one's own. The right of access to the products of mass culture, therefore, is enlarged to include new possibilities for cultural expression and creation. This struggle has to be waged against statist and commercial dynamics alike. (Raboy and Bruck, 1989: 6)

This is not realised through the passive consumption of media products, but by active participation in the production of them. Splichal explains that

> Instead of providing only passive access to the consumption sphere, democratization implies primarily the development of conditions for active participation, that is, a direct and indirect incorporation of citizens into the production and exchange of messages in different forms of communication from interpersonal communication to the mass media in which the individual can realize his interests and meet his needs in collaboration with others. (Splichal, 1993: 12)

Mere numbers of participants in the production of programmes will not ensure the democratisation of the media. Rather it is necessary for new forms of communication and democracy to expand the social basis of communication and include those who have been excluded heretofore, such as minorities, women, youth and the unemployed. Community radio stations can provide such a space, how alternative or emancipatory they prove to be, is another matter.

In order to be able to exercise the human right to communicate through broadcasting, access to the airwaves must be provided. Participative communication is seen by community radio activists as being the best way to ensure this. To be able to communicate, to enable individuals and communities to be to be heard, mechanisms must be put in place to facilitate participation. Bordenave (1994) discusses the concept

of participation in communication as a human right which is not an extra benefit or a bonus which may or may be granted or withheld. Unless the final goal for stations in their facilitation of access and participation is the empowerment of individuals and their communities, only a form of "pseudo-participation", as outlined by White (1994:17) is offered. Bordenave states this position in strong terms, saying that

> Participation is the process in which a person sees himself or herself as a unique individual and at the same time as a member of a community. Accepting participation as a basic human need implies that participation is a human right, that it should be accepted and fostered for itself alone and for its results. And if participation is denied, the individual personality is mutilated, its growth impaired and its potential for building a community thwarted. In other words, participation is not simply a fringe benefit that authorities may grant as a concession, but a human being's birthright that no authority can deny. (Bordenave, 1994: 36)

Videazimut, an international NGO which enables the networking of broadcasters and organisations in the audio-visual media interested in the democratisation of communications, explains

> The right to communicate has always been at the heart of social struggle. As times change, as geographical contexts shift, and as technology marches on, this right has also evolved: freedom of opinion, freedom of expression, freedom of the press, the right to information and, now, the right to communicate. The latter is the embodiment of its precursors in the era of globalization. (Videazimut, 1998:4)

The authors in Splichal and Wasko's *Communication and Democracy* (1993) agree that a democratic communication system must be imagined, as no full model currently exists (Wasko, 1993: 165). Such an ideal is not possible unless society itself is fully democratised. Thomas claims this is impossible in Ireland where she says "real democracy" does not exist (Thomas, 1986: 177-8). Brecht (1930/1983: 171) calls for the destruction of the social order through the innovative use of radio and theatre. However most commentators observe that media, on their own, cannot accomplish this and urge that, together with other social and political movements striving for radical change, community media activists try to make the ideal of democratic communication a reality. The democratisation of communication must be part of a greater redistribution of political power and production resources if it is to become a reality (White, 1999: 235). In striving to make the human right to communicate a reality in law and in practice, many of the advantages of empowerment and social change can begin to be realised. Claims made for new media and new ways of using media must remain rooted in reality (Berrigan, 1977a: 7, 77-79; Splichal, 1993: 15; Sholle, 1995: 31).

The concept of the human right to communicate raises questions for this thesis on two levels. First, do community radio stations facilitate individuals and groups in their communities to exercise their right to communicate? This depends entirely on the strategies for enabling participation put in place in stations - hence the primary focus of the investigation into the facilitation of participation by the six stations studied. Secondly, it raises the question of whether or not the stations operate as, or as part of, a new social movement for the democratisation of communication?

3.3.ii *Emancipatory Uses of the Media:*

Two-way Flow Theory:

Accepting that communication is a human right leads to the practical question of how this is to be actualised and provided? How can media be used in democratic, emancipatory and radical ways? Critics have long noted the repressive, hegemonic rule of the one-way channels of mass communication which predominate in society. Herman and McChesney (1997) quote Eduardo Galeano on the title page of their discussion of media and global politics. Galeano encapsulates much of the frustration and distress expressed by observers of the mass media when he says

> The communication media are monopolized by the few that can reach everyone. Never have so many been held incommunicado by so few. More and more have the right to hear and see, but fewer and fewer have the privilege of informing, giving their opinion and creating. The dictatorship of the single word and the single image, much more devastating than that of the single party, is imposing a life whose exemplary citizen is a docile consumer and passive spectator built on the assembly line following the North American model of commercial television.   (Galeano, in Herman and McChesney,1997: title page)

Baudrillard believes that the mass media actually prevent communication from taking place. He states that the mass media are

> Anti-mediatory and intransitive. They fabricate non-communication – that is what characterizes them, if one agrees to define communication as an exchange, as reciprocal space of speech and a response…they are what always prevents a response, making all process of exchange impossible.   (Baudrillard,1981: 169-70)

The democratic potential of radio was noted by idealists and political activists from its infancy. The fact that it did not develop into a two-way flow, participative and emancipatory medium was deplored. This was passionately argued by Brecht in 1930

> Radio should be converted from a distribution system to a communication system. Radio could be the most wonderful public communication imaginable, a gigantic system of channels, could be, that is, if it were capable not only of

> transmitting, but of receiving, of making the listener not only hear, but also speak, not of isolating him but of connecting him.   (Brecht, 1930 [1983]: 169)

This quotation has been over-rehearsed and under-analysed. Cited, at some stage, by most commentators on the emancipatory, community and democratic uses of the media, the original article from which it is extracted offers very little advice on how this two-way flow can be actualised, either ideally or practically.

However Brecht's influence on Hans Magnus Enszensberger was significant and he is one of the few who took up the challenge of Brecht's question as to how the potential function of radio as a tool for deep political change could be made into a reality. Enzensberger (1970) complains that communications media do not deserve their name as they prevent communication rather than serving it. He believes that the form of modern broadcasting

> allows no reciprocal action between transmitter and receiver, technically speaking it reduces feedback to the lowest point compatible within the system. (Enzensberger, 1970: 97)

Enzensberger lays down the challenge of enabling two-way communication through the broadcast media. Recognising that they have not been developed in this manner, he believes that people, by changing the way in which they use the media, can overcome the technological determinism which, to date, has served to exclude and subjugate them. Enzensberger poses the challenge of utilising changing technologies such as video and film and asks why the masses have not taken up the radical potential of these media when their cost, ease of use and distribution are finally within their grasp? He claims that technically there is no contradiction between transmitter and receiver. As Brecht had hoped, each receiver could become a transmitter. In reality, this facility has not been developed due to commercial and regulatory controls – the authority and dominance of the state and the market over the individual or citizen. He explains the reasons for this

> The technical distinction between receivers and transmitters reflects the social division of labor into producers and consumers, which in the consciousness industry becomes of particular political importance. It is based, in the last analysis, on the basic contradiction between the ruling class and the ruled class – that is to say between monopoly capital or monopolistic bureaucracy on the one hand and the dependent masses on the other. (Enzensberger, 1970: 97)

Even where forces seeking change in society from the left use the mass media through music which could subvert the hegemonic order, they rapidly become colonised by

commercial interests (Fiske, 1989, 1990; Price, 1993; White, 1989). Enzensberger does not believe in radical groups remaining outside the systems of mass communications and of mainstream culture generally. He warns that

> Capitalism alone benefits from the left's antagonism to the media as it does from the depolitization of counter culture. (Enzensberger, 1970: 103)

However he believes that mass media can become a tool for social change if correctly wielded. This is based on the promise that mass media can be made available to all on the same terms (access and participation), the fact that broadcast media exist in the present (despite the subsequent development of home recording and re-playing facilities, this is still largely the case) and the operation of mass media in a predominately social manner. Mass media can become the tools of those committed to effecting radical social and political change in society. He warns however, that as long as the newly portable media of his time (and, by extension, of ours) remain in the hands of the isolated individuals, their messages and the possible effects of their work will be negligible. No progress can be made as long as the individual remains alone. If communication is to become truly democratic and emancipatory then individuals must work co-operatively in groups, he warns that

> A naive trust in the magical power of reproduction cannot replace organizational work; only active and coherent groups can force the media to comply with the logic of their actions. (Enzensberger, 1970: 115)

This is borne out by Downing's research on radical media (Downing, 1980, 1984, 2000) where media operations linked to political groups were more successful than those which lacked this organisational structure and support base. Enzensberger is not calling for every reader to write his or her "own book". He believes that this would go against the structure of the broadcast media and would lead to a noisy "free wheel" (Enzensberger, 1970: 127). Rather, specialists must devote time and energy to training others in the skills required to broadcast. He exhorts the media professional to realise that

> Meanwhile his social usefulness can best be measured by the degree to which he is capable of using the liberating factors in the media and bringing them to fruition. ...The author has to work as the agent of the masses. He can lose himself in them only when they become authors, the authors of history. (Enzensberger, 1970: 127).

Enzensberger developed a comparison which shows how mass media can be used in repressive or in emancipatory ways. In an effort to examine how community radio may fulfil this function, a third column has been added to Enzensberger's original

dichotomy. Figure three illustrates one possible concrete realisation of his ideal of emancipatory uses of the media, that which is promised by community radio:

Figure 3. Table 2: Enzensberger's Dichotomy of Media Uses Applied to Community Radio:

Repressive use of media (Enzensberger)	Emancipatory use of media (Enzensberger)	Community radio (Proposed for this study)
Centrally controlled programmes	Decentralised production of programmes	Programmes produced locally and by community
One transmittter, many receivers	Each receiver is a potential transmitter	Open access and communal ownership of transmitter and station
Immobilization of isolated individuals	Mobilization of the masses	Access and participation, listeners = broadcasters
Passive consumer behaviour	Interaction of those involved, feedback	Access and participation, listeners = broadcasters
Depolitization	A political learning process	Empowerment, education and conscientisation, political agenda
Production by specialists	Collective production	Collective production
Control by property owners or bureaucracy	Social control by self organisation	Community and democratic ownership and management

(Enzensberger, 1970:113; see also a discussion of Enzensberger's dichotomy in Prehn, 1990: 8).

Community radio offers the possibility of operating as an emancipatory medium. Programmes are produced by the members of the community who are the owners and managers of the station. There is no distinction between broadcasters and listeners, although the technology of transmitters and receivers remains unchanged, the transmitter is owned by the community. "Genuine participation" by the community is a priority of the station which ensures its facilitation by communal and democratically organised ownership and management.

Jankowski criticises Enzensberger's dichotomy for lack of clarity (Jankowski, 1988: 20). He points out that it is not clear if each category constitutes a separate entity in an ordered list or if all of the categories are interrelated. Neither is it clear if the points are intended to be an all encompassing description of the media. Notwithstanding these weaknesses, he finds Enzensberger's alternative approach to the use of mass media a useful framework for assessing the measure of access and participation provided by broadcasters (Jankowski, 1988: 20-21). He identifies five distinct elements in Enzensberger's list of characteristics of emancipatory media. These are (1) issue awareness; (2) feedback or interaction, (3) role change between receivers and transmitters (4) self control and management of the medium (5) activation or mobilisation of other individuals and groups. The first two of these can be provided by any broadcaster, commercial, public service or community. Changing the role of the audience into that of producer and granting control of the medium to that constituency is far more radical, dynamic and emancipatory. This, by definition, can only be provided for by community or radical media. The final element which Jankowski extracts from Enzensberger's list introduces the wider arena of the public sphere and shows how emancipatory media, in this case community radio, can facilitate participation within that sphere for all.

Habermas (1989[1962]: 249) and Splichal (1993: 8) among others, refer to a similar dichotomy drawn up by Mills (1956: 303-304, see appendix K). What Enzensberger terms repressive media, Mills terms mass communication and his description of emancipatory media is similar to what Mills terms public communication. Mass communication is a reality - public communication is an ideal to which broadcasters can aspire. Because it has not been fully implemented to date, does not mean that public communication is impossible. To echo Brecht, community radio activists can ask

> If you think that this is Utopia, then I would ask why you consider it is utopian? (Brecht, 1930 [1983] 169).

If mass communication is subverted by economics (Negt and Kluge, 1993) then community radio can provide one channel of public communication as outlined by Mills and approved by Habermas. However, while community radio activists may aspire to the ideals of ideal speech situations and communicative competence they may not always reach them. Splichal (1993) maintains that this democratisation of the media cannot happen unless a "socialisation" of the media occurs first. This involves three basic elements – social management and control of the media; social participation in the media and social influence on communication policies and programmes. This requires a

rejection of the market and of profit by the media. The development of communication activities would be a matter of common concern and decisions would be taken communally. However these measures would only succeed if social relations generally become democratised (Splichal, 1993: 12).

Salter (1980), speaking from her experience of working with community radio in Canada, queries the simplistic view of the media and politics offered by Mills. She claims the emphasis placed by academics on dialectics in the 1970s led to a mapping of opposites that often masks the complexity of differences and the similarities between traditional mass media and more radical or community forms of communication (Salter, 1980: 116).

Certainly community radio as a means of communication has much in common with commercial and public service radio. It is the differences which are found in terms of philosophy, ownership, control, goals and the uses to which each type of radio is put which sets them apart, rather than the technical processes of broadcasting. Enzensberger and Brecht believed that each radio receiver could become a transmitter. This has not happened due mainly to the controls and interests of both the state and the market. However an overemphasis on the technological adaptation of a machine should not distract from the fundamental point which is that media can be used in an emancipatory way once the process is fundamentally changed. The manner in which programmes are resourced, planned and broadcast, the relationship between broadcaster and listener, radical changes in management and ownership patterns, these are the ways in which repressive, one-way channels of communication can be transformed into potentially democratic and emancipatory, two-way or multi-flow media in the community.

In other words, the use to which a technology is put, rather than the technology itself, determines the type of communication that takes place. As each new communication technology was developed, it was marketed, at least partially, on the premise that it would restore power to the individual; that it would allow greater participation in society and the world of information (McQuail, 1994: 90). However this was not to be the case. Certainly, each communication technology contains within it the potential to be used in a radical, pro-active and democratic way, but as each technology was developed commercially, this potential was suppressed and control entered into the hands of the few who broadcast or delivered information which supported the hegemonic order amongst the many. The claims made today for ICTs were made for each new medium as it was developed throughout the twentieth century. The telegraph,

the telephone and radio itself were all marketed, in part, claiming to contribute to the free-flow of communication and the empowerment of the individual in that communication process. If this did not happen in the past within the two predominant and powerful models of broadcasting which have been developed, what reason is there to believe that new technologies of themselves will lead to greater empowerment of the individual through two-way communication? As McQuail observes

> If the institutionalisation of all technologies has led until now to the suppression of any radical tendency, there is no particular reason that this will be different with the latest inventions. (McQuail, 1994: 90)

Claims made for the Internet as a tool of group or public communication are possibly previous. While the potential of information communication technologies (ICTs) to facilitate democratic communication exists, it is far from being realised despite the current rhetoric which surrounds them (Rheingold, 1994; Jones, 1995; Schuler, 1996; Herman and McChesney, 1997; McQuail, 2000). Jankowski, (2002a) in his review of the role played by new media in community, raises serious doubts about the contribution of Internet-based discussions to public debate, while the potential contained within the networks is undoubtedly great, it appears that the actual degree of involvement is minuscule and often irrelevant (Jankowski, 2002a: 43).

It would seem that ICTs are the technology most able to deliver the ideal of two-way flows of communication. ICTs can enable multi-flow communication between freely participating individuals who have access to the software. However, ICT communication, at the time of writing, is for the privileged; it takes place amongst those who are computer literate and wealthy enough to have computers at home or in the workplace which allow them access to these technologies. There is some development of wider access to ICTs through community centres (Baym, 1995; Malina and Jankowkski, 2002). Email and server lists provide the opportunity for individuals to interact on one-to-one or one-to-many bases. Webpages can be interactive, although the extent and quality of participation invited should be queried. Generally, it is wealthy and privileged individuals and groups who are communicating amongst each other rather than entire communities, including those marginalised within them, in a general shared, public space, although this may be changing (Herman and McChesney, 1997). Radio on the other hand is relatively cheap to produce and can be understood and participated in by those of little or no formal education (Aw, 1994). For the community dimension to take precedence, community participation, not just reception is required. People working in groups, rather than as individuals, are the basis of community radio.

These need some mandate from the community and this is not the same scenario as one individual deciding to broadcast on the web. However community radio stations and NGOs throughout the world have realised the non-broadcast potential of ICTs to assist their work and are using them on a daily basis, (Gomez, 1997; O'Donnell, 2000). At the time of writing some Irish community radio stations are experimenting with internet radio transmission and relay with varying degrees of success. Those who are broadcasting on the internet and report feedback from all over the globe include Connemara Community Radio (CCR) and Community Radio Castlebar (CRC).

Community radio does not have the capacity to be as immediately interactive as ICTs can be, but it is situated in the physical locality of the community and it does have 'an open door' access policy. This enables face-to-face communication, which many internet users avoid. Community radio is run democratically by groups chosen democratically from the community to which they broadcast and with whom they are communicating.

Given the history of control and co-option of other technologies of communication throughout history, it is far more likely that the potentials of new ICTs will also come under government control or regulation. Commercial interests have already managed to colonise "the last frontier of cyberspace" (Ó Marcaigh, 1995). If this is so, it is more reasonable to look to ways of using technology rather than to the technologies themselves in order to guarantee a space for the individual and the community in the mass media.

Looking at radio as a medium, is it in fact impossible or unreasonable to expect it to be a medium of two-way communication? Interactivity is not actually built into the medium in the same way as it is in computer generated communications. Attempts to overcome the medium's limitations in this regard and to provide some form of two-way communication are being made by both the public service and commercial sectors. In the large, bureaucratic public service culture of RTE this may be more limited than in small, commercial, local stations where the phone-in is seen as the mainstay of programming (Hargrave, 1994). An effort is made to engage the listener in some kind of dialogue, but this must be seen as "pseudo-dialogue" rather than free and equal communication (Higgins and Moss, 1982).

It is interesting to see a third sector emerge which attempts to reclaim the potential of a medium which has been developed mainly in two strands – one public service, the other commercial, both of which interpret mass communication as being 'from the few to the

many'. Both of these sectors are aware of the human need or desire for communication to be reciprocal and both build in mechanisms to cater for this partially. However the participation of all in the communication process is a fundamental principle of community radio rather than an extra consideration.

Community radio must promote two-way communication, from the station to the community and back again. However one of the questions for this research project asks if community radio promotes the multi-flow of communication? Multi-flow communication extends beyond simple bi-directional communication and describes what happens when sectors of the community talk to themselves and to others on the airwaves and through their interaction at the station in ever-widening linkages. The extent to which Irish community radio stations facilitate and promote this type of dynamic, multi-directional and relational communication is examined in chapter six.

It may be all that community radio can do is to wed the medium to its context. A radio station that is situated in a very small group or locality and one that is owned and controlled by the people in that group or locality should be capable of being far more interactive than very large scale and commercially owned and operated media. These may be merely matters of scale and ownership.

Mindful of the dangers of oversimplification and the risk of being too naively idealistic, Mills' explanation of the difference between public and mass communication and Enzensberger's normative theory of emancipatory media are found useful in the analysis of the operation of community radio. To what extent can community radio be said to operate in an emancipatory manner? Do stations provide for participation at all levels and so use the medium to facilitate two-way or multi-flow communication? If so, does this participation lead to the provision of a public sphere in which people who are generally excluded from the fora of power can take part? If this is the case, community radio could be said to create a space in which members of a particular community can communicate on a free and equal basis and hope to have an impact on the society, environment and culture in which they live. In this way community radio could be seen as contributing to the public sphere or as building a micro-public sphere. These can help to build civil society so that members of groups, no matter how disempowered or marginalised they are as individuals, can influence the other areas of influence within society – the state, the market and the private or intimate sphere. These concepts and the role community radio can be considered to play in their development and implementation within Irish society are discussed below.

3.3.iii. *Community Radio and the Public Sphere:*

Jürgen Habermas' discussion of the public sphere facilitates the interrogation of one of the aims of community radio today – to preserve and foster the operation of democracy in society and in particular to enable and develop democratic communication. Habermas viewed the public sphere as a forum for free or non-institutionalised communication by the people, a forum which did impact on the workings of both state and commerce. This provides a useful frame of refernce against which to measure the importance of the facilitation of participation in community radio stations for this study.

Based on his understanding of the liberal bourgeois public sphere centred on the coffee houses of the eighteenth century, Habermas believed that all people, regardless of education, economic or social status could debate issues of the day and ideas in an equal and free manner. These discussions and debates in turn impacted upon the actions of government over and above the formal mechanisms of elections and on economic practices and institutions (Habermas, 1989 [1962]). For Habermas the process through which public opinion was then formed was crucial – it was a rational and open debate in which all participants were granted respect, the right to speak and the ability to share in the formation of consensus.

Unfortunately, according to Habermas, this public sphere was seriously eroded over the next two hundred years. The public is now managed by the media working as agents of the first two spheres. The public is no longer really consulted but is led, influenced, and directed rather than informed, stimulated and encouraged to reflect and react. 'Public opinion', 'Publicity', 'PR' are phrases used today which indicate how the public sphere as an active agent has declined or has been transformed (Habermas, 1989 [1962]: 244). No longer is public opinion the product of measured, rational and free debate amongst equals in the public sphere, but now, it is conceived of by others and packaged and produced by the mass media for consumption by the public as isolated units in order to manage and manipulate a semblance of democratic or common agreement. As McCarthy notes

> The press and broadcast media serve less as organs of public information and debate than as technologies for managing consensus and promoting consumer culture (McCarthy, 1989: xii)

Similarly, it is mistaken to view opinion polls and plebiscites as the traditional public sphere in operation. In such instances, the agenda or questions are set externally and there is no opportunity for those consulted to debate the issues amongst themselves and to come to a rational and mutual consensus.

In charting the decline or "Transformation of the Public Sphere" Habermas is calling also for its reconstitution. He sees it as operating in the space between the economic sphere and the sphere of the state but recognises a need for laws or rules which will ensure that his goal of the facilitation of ideal speech situations can be realised (McCarthy, 1989). He calls for the development of a new and unified public sphere which would be more inclusive and therefore would be a real actor or force in society. Habermas believes there is no possibility of real political change or progress as long as the public sphere is abused by those in power, be it administrative, legislative or economic. Authentic communication, the possibility of unmediated and reciprocal interaction is necessary for emancipatory communication to take place. Social emancipation is thus predicated on the creation of ideal speech situations within the public sphere (Jacubowicz, 1993: 48). Splichal (2002) sees five clusters of rights and conditions which he lists as constituent elements of the citizen right to communicate (See appendix L). The rights are to be given information, to transmit information and to express opinions, to have free access to the media and to participate in public communication, decision making and in management of the media. Exercise of these rights calls for rationality, reflexivity, communicability and educativeness (Splichal, 2002: 90-91). Provision of these rights is only possible through the radical democratisation of the media and the political and economic systems in which they communicate (Splichal, 2002: 98). As he concludes

> Without such a broadening of the deliberative space for the exercise of citizenship bestowed by the right to communicate, *in-situ* citizens will remain mere consumers of the modern media with an occasional experience, perhaps, of participating in "the public of the letters to the editor".   (Splichal, 2002: 103)

The creation and maintenance of a public sphere is one way in which the multi-flows of communication expected of community radio can be activated.

Many Public Spheres:

The universality and unity of this public sphere have been challenged. Feminists such as Fraser (1992) and critics such as Negt and Kluge (1993) point out that many more people were excluded from these talking shops than were included, for example all women and most working class males. Where Habermas saw a public sphere which could be homogenous, later theorists describe the multiplicity of partial, counter, subaltern, micro or alternative public spheres (Fraser, 1992; Negt and Kluge; 1993; Keane, 1995; Sholle, 1995; O'Donnell, 2000). Despite the differences in their

theoretical groundings and politics, taken together they describe more fully the reality of the public sphere as one which is made up of many groupings and differences whether these be consciously identified or not.

Keane identifies three types of public sphere

- Micro-public spheres in which tens, hundreds or even thousands of people participate. These function at the regional, local or community level
- Meso-public spheres, where tens of thousands or millions are involved. Here participation is liable to be more passive, e.g. as consumers of national television
- Macro-public spheres, where hundreds of millions and even billions are reached across transnational borders by global networks (Keane, 1995: 8).

The capacity to participate as an individual within anything approaching the Habermasian rules for the ideal speech situation and communicative competency can only be actualised at the level of the micro-public sphere. The sheer scale of the other two demand that the management of communications be by large institutions. These have traditionally been hierarchical and bureaucratic, be they commercial or public service stations and networks. The micro-public sphere however operates with small numbers of participants at local and often face-to-face levels of interaction. Community radio stations can be one of the actors within this small and/or local sphere and simultaneously provide the space for the debates and discussion to take place. Keane (1995) believes that these micro-public spheres, which may be very tiny, for example discussion circles, a chat about politics over a drink with friends, the church

> …are the sites in which citizens question the pseudo-imperatives of reality and counter them with alternative experiences of time, space and interpersonal relations.   (Keane, 1995: 10)

Recognising that these can sometimes develop into publicly visible media events such as demonstrations or sit-ins, he believes that their real strength is in their latency. He believes that

> Although they appear to be 'private', acting at a distance from official public life, party politics, and the glare of media publicity, they in fact display all the characteristics of small group public efforts, whose challenging of the existing distribution of power can be effective exactly because they operate unhindered in the unnewsworthy nooks and crannies of civil society.   (Keane, 1995: 10)

While class based analysis is always useful, later criticisms of Habermas's unified public sphere, by feminists in particular, but also by other cultural theorists, offer a more interesting and fertile understanding of the composition and operation of the public sphere(s). Negt and Kluge (1993) propose a tripartite division of classic bourgeois, production and proletarian sections of the public sphere, but this is too

simple and too inflexible to accommodate the diversity of late or postmodern experience. Rather than nominate specific and finite subdivisions of the public sphere, it is more useful to discuss a multiplicity of micro-public spheres.

In her introduction to Negt and Kluge's (1993) major review of Habermas's *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, (1989 [1962]) Hansen (1993) develops the notion of the fragmentation of the public sphere and introduces the concept of counter-publics. (Hansen, 1993: xxxvi) These differ from traditional notions of minority or ethnic groupings or of community. The ideal of community she claims

> ...is a model of association patterned on family and kinship relations, on an affective language of love and loyalty, on assumptions of authenticity, homogeneity, and continuity, of inclusion and exclusion, identity and otherness. (Hansen, 1993: xxxvi)

She describes a counter-public as

> ...a specifically modern phenomenon, contemporaneous with, and responding to, bourgeois and industrial-capitalist publicity. It offers forms of solidarity and reciprocity that are grounded in a collective experience of marginalization and expropriation, but these forms are inevitably experienced as mediated, no longer rooted in face-to-face relations and subject to discursive conflict and negotiation. (Hansen, 1993: xxxvi).

A counter public, by definition, is constituted in opposition to the prevailing and dominant forces and systems within society. It is an obvious site for alternative and radical media. Participants in a counter-public are aware of their difference and opposition to the mainstream and they organise around this position. They communicate with each other and outside of their group in order to oppose or to counter prevailing hegemonies. At the very least, they interact with the intention of finding an accommodation for their difference(s) to exist and to be expressed within society. Given the heterogeneous nature of late twentieth and early twenty-first century society there are many counter-publics in operation at the same time. As Hansen explains

> Once the public sphere is defined as a horizon for the organisation of social experience, it follows that there are multiple and competing counterpublics, each marked by specific terms of exclusion (class, race, gender, sexual preference) in relation to dominant publicity, yet each understanding itself as a nucleus for an alternative organisation.   (Hansen, 1993: xxxvi)

Negt and Kluge did not discuss the plurality of counter-publics because, Hansen believes, the critical public of West Germany in the 1970s seemed relatively homogenous (Hansen, 1993: xi). They simply did not notice and therefore did not need to account for the differences which became evident in the economically advanced countries of the West in the 1980s and 1990s. Ireland may only now be beginning to

become aware of the existence of many different communities of people within a nation previously presumed almost homogenous.

The existence of many counter-publics does not ensure a multiplication of forces and voices unless alliances are formed and promoted (Faser, 1992; Hansen, 1993). However their very existence and their communications outside of the more dominant public spheres offer spaces wherein NSMs can take root and express themselves. This ultimately adds to the richness, diversity and democratic nature of the public sphere(s) of the twenty-first century. When and if alliances are formed, they can and will become a powerful force for and within democracy.

Partial-publics have proliferated in recent years (Hansen, 1993: xxxviii). These are generally interest groups formed through and around modern communications, some examples of these are TV evangelical groups, sports fans and computer bulletin boards. These are not the same as counter publics, as they are neither opposed to, nor are they interested in enquiring about, the operation of power in society. However they are a useful indicator of how highly fragmented the public has become.

Sholle warns of the seriousness of the present situation in which democratic activity seems to be reduced to

> ...hollow electoral politics in which the media systems are nearly wholly shaped by economic and state interests.   (Sholle, 1995: 25)

There is a need for alternative space for the dissemination of information and for free discussion, especially for alternative media practices geared towards emancipatory communication to develop (Sholle, 1995: 23). Community radio can occupy and develop this space along with many other initiatives such as alternative media, radical media and new social movements (NSMs).

Civil Society:

Micro-public spheres operate outside of the state and the economy within a sphere which is often termed 'civil society'. Originally the term 'civil society' described the economic sphere of commodity production and the exchange of private property and individual rights (Bruck, 1993: 208). This was the understanding Marx and, to a large extent Habermas, had of the term. However this has changed, particularly since the so-called Velvet Revolutions of Central and Eastern Europe. It has since come to mean the social space in which people can assert themselves through association and expression, particularly through membership of voluntary organisations and through non-violent group action. As Bruck explains

> Civil in this sense, connects conceptually outward behavior with a state of mind and mode of desire, creating a continuity between the individual and the social, between the spiritual and the political...The struggles of civil society arise not only from its conflicts with the state but they also encompass the conflicts which have given rise to the new democratic or social movements in the West...these conflicts center around the security and improvement of the life-world, questions of environment, self-realization, gender and equal quality of life.   (Bruck, 1993: 209).

Sparks and Reading explain that civil society is a separate realm of voluntary association

> This new definition of civil society included structures of family and kinship and the multitude of voluntary organisations that one finds in any community. Civil society is thus logically and practically distinct from those forms of interaction determined by the inequalities and coercion of political and economic systems. The effects of these latter are to be circumscribed and democratised by the effects of a vigorous civil society. (Sparks and Reading, 1995: 37)

With the huge political changes in the East of Europe since the late 1980s, the concept of civil society has grown beyond Marx and Habermas' idea of the economic sphere and has come to mean the area in which citizens can debate and influence the workings of the state and of commerce. Civil society is not everything else that is left over outside of the economic and political arenas but rather the space in which conscious association takes place, where self-organisation and organised communication take place. It comes into being when people make it happen through their interactions and communications with one another, but it needs to be recognised and promoted through the laws of the state and protected from incursions by commerce and industry.

Cohen and Arato (1992) warn that because of the popular use of the term in relation to the struggles against the old communist and military dictatorships of recent years, many commentators do not believe that there is either the need or the potential for civil society to critique modern, complex societies. They urge for a concept of civil society to be separated from the economy, as capitalism in all its manifestations is just as much of a danger to social solidarity, social justice, autonomy and freedom of expression as any state administration (Cohen and Arato, 1992: viii).

In the countries of East and Central Europe, civil society has come to mean a space for individual action, in Western Europe it more frequently refers to communal action (Cohen and Arato, 1992: X). In essence however, it is a space for the individual to be an actor with others outside of the systems of formal politics and commerce.

3.3.iv. *A Space for Community Radio:*

Despite the differences between theorists, all of these definitions attempt to describe the complex nexus or space wherein different groups can or ought to be able to meet and communicate. These interactions should inform and impact upon the political, economic and cultural operations of society and the ideals of democracy should be defended, promoted and practised. Whatever term is used – 'micro' or 'counter' public spheres or civil society - the realisation that many groups form their own spaces at local level for argument, discussion and debate organised around marginality, difference or opposition is a useful one. These spaces can be used to explicitly oppose prevailing hegemonies and experiences or may be used as a way of gaining recognition for and expressing difference from mainstream norms. The idealised aim of communicating in 'an ideal speech situation' where free and equal access to the channels of communication are guaranteed, depend upon both aspirations and rules or laws.

Dahlgren (2002) urges caution in claiming benefits which are too fantastic for "the public" to deliver. He recognises that there is an element of mythic belief which surrounds the existence of "the public" and sees "the public" as an entity which is largely constructed by representation (Dahlgren, 2002:15). He identifies a "Hole in the literature" which he would like to see filled by

> ...a perspective that aims more at the practical features and dynamics of engagement in terms of culture and meaning, and that situates civic talk or discussion as part of a larger set of what we might see as "cultural prerequisites" for political engagement.   (Dahlgren, 2002:19)

It would appear that the logical home for community radio is within the realm of civil society. Community radio, given the tiny size of the audience with which it interacts must logically operate within and form one of many multi, micro-public spheres. Some community radios may be political and radical in outlook and aims and these one would expect would operate within the context of counter-publics. Community radio is only one of many channels through which marginalised groups and those in opposition to the mainstream can express themselves. Other alternative and radical media (Downing, 1984), NSMs (Melucci,1989, 1996; Cohen and Arato,1992), and the manipulation of mainstream media (McLaughlin, 1995) also provide opportunities for this and help to build this forum or space. However the space itself, the orientation of the other actors within that space and the norm of democratic communication make the nexus of these micro and counter-public spheres within civil society the ideal location for community radio.

A number of issues now arise from the debate outlined above. Does community radio in Ireland facilitate the provision of micro-public spheres? If it does, is this the result of conscious strategies on the part of stations or is it something which is a beneficial by-product? If Irish community radio stations go some way towards facilitating the free-flow of communication and forming these new multi and micro-public spheres, can community radio in Ireland be counted as an NSM striving for the democratisation of communication?

3.3.v. *Community Radio as a New Social Movement:*

The rise of New Social Movements (NSMs) in the late twentieth century has been well documented and theorised (Cohen, 1984, 1985; Melucci, 1989, 1996; Tarrow, 1998; Scott 1990). Many authors lament the use of the adjective 'new' arguing that they are in fact very similar to the collective action seen in former times, for example workers' movements such as trade unions or the Chartist movement or organisations looking for national sovereignty (Frank and Fuentes, 1990: 142). Others argue that they are fundamentally different (Cohen, 1985:97; Offe, 1985: 826) in terms of goals, actors, issues and organisation (Scott, 1990: 19). Some prefer the term 'Contemporary Social Movements' (Melucci, 1989; Cohen, 1985) and this is attractive as it avoids many of the difficulties raised in the literature. However, the term 'New Social Movement' (NSM) seems to have gained ascendancy and is therefore used throughout this text.

Examples of movements that have been the focus of NSM research to date are the ecology, gay and lesbian, feminist and student movements. All of these have grown since the late 1960s and they are all progressive and international in character, (although Halcli makes a claim to include other groups that are neo-conservative or religious fundamentalist (Halcli, 2000: 468-9)).

Halcli explains how such diverse groupings can be seen as part of the same phenomenon

> These movements differ widely in terms of goals and ideological positions but what links them is that they represent a style of political engagement distinct from that typical of the institutionalised realm of political parties and other formalised systems of representations   (Halchi, 2000: 463).

Drawing mainly from the work of Melucci, 1989 and 1996; Scott 1990; Cohen 1984 and 1985 and Halcli, 2000, certain unique features of NSMs can be identified. They are based around information, communication and communities (Melucci, 1989: 74). The issues which concern them are increasingly cultural and social, rather than economic and they frequently centre on the rights to information and to communicate. Halcli

believes that the transformation from industrial to post-industrial society has led to the rise of NSMs. She believes that people no longer need to be as concerned about the material issues which were the concerns of the past such as economic and military security and she explains that

> Rather post war cohorts exhibit post materialist values, and place more importance on quality of life issues such as environmental protection, increased citizen participation, and individual freedom and self expression. Generational replacement means that the proportion of post-materialists in the population has steadily increased over the last few decades and therefore their impact on politics has grown (Halcli, 2000: 469).

With the right to communicate cited as an aim of AMARC-International and the AMARC Europe Charter (See appendices B and E) and the emphasis on participation and open access at all levels, community radio world-wide would appear to operate as an NSM.

NSMs recognise the intrusion of the spheres of state and the economy into the intimate and public spheres - Habermas' 'colonisation of the life world' - and they work against the regulation of so many areas of life by the state and by the market (Halcli, 2000: 469; Cohen, 1985: 664).

Melucci (1989, 1996) contends that NSMs challenge codes and operate increasingly in the realm of the symbolic

> Contemporary movements operate as signs, in the sense that they translate their actions into symbolic challenges to the dominant codes. This is understandable, since in complex societies signs become interchangeable: increasingly, power resides in the codes that order the circulation of information. Melucci, 1989: 12)

Community radio can function as a sign in the very fact of its existence and organisation as the NSMs discussed by Melucci do. But it should go further, given that its primary function is to provide a channel of communication for the community to itself (Bonin & Opoku, 1998). It is a potentially powerful channel of signification, as it is a mass medium operating on a local scale. In doing so, it should challenge the established media in the areas of access, participation and representation. The extent to which this occurs in Irish community radio is assessed in the research findings.

NSMs emphasise the importance of participation and believe in collective action. Therefore, the organisation of a movement and the processes of communication and association within it are as important as the goals aimed for (Melucci, 1989: 74). Taking part, working with others, often with others who are very different, yet who hold

the same aims in common and in public – these aspirations are prized as much as the achievement of those aims as Cohen explains

> Democratically structured associations and public spheres, plurality of types of political actors and action within civil society are viewed as ends in themselves. (Cohen, 1984: 670)

Community radio stations which believe in participation and empowerment, and which work in a community development manner, place greater emphasis on process than on goal achievement. This corresponds with Melucci's observation of NSMs that see their way of working and organising as a goal in itself (Melucci, 1989: 60).

They can be seen as social laboratories, testing ways of working (Melucci, 1989: 74). They organise in democratic, non-hierarchical ways. They work collectively and test their ability to challenge dominant cultural codes. They depend on a new relationship between the implicit and explicit sides of their organisation and form and are effecting change, even when they are not acting in the public spotlight. Change can happen at a deep, fundamental level because the values and attitudes of those involved are being shaped while they are participating. This frequently involves the formation of a sense of identity (Melucci 1989:74; Cohen, 1985: 694). If the shaping of personal values and the formation of identity are considered as central to the work of NSMs rather than as incidental by-products of their actions, then the achievements of NSMs must be assessed in these terms as well as in terms of a check list of legal rights won, nuclear plants closed down or numbers of listeners to a community radio station.

Groups and series of groups which are considered to be NSMs generally display the following characteristics. The membership is fluid, it is often part-time, working through networks that are not highly visible. Individual participants and whole groups within a movement disappear once (or even before) their goals seem to have been achieved. Activists do not have to be 'militants for life' but can mobilise and demobilise as it suits them. They can and do take part in many different and seemingly contradictory activities at the same time (Melucci, 1989: 73, 79). This flexibility and flux in membership leads often to a large measure of invisibility, of perceived weakness but it is, on the contrary, often one of their greatest strengths (Melucci, 1989: 207).

Most NSMs neither seek to seize power nor to change all of society, generally they are happy to work within existing power structures. A dominant tendency towards a self-limiting radicalism means that they work to make changes in existing power structures and institutions so that these can work more democratically. (Halcli, 2000: 470, 489;

Offe, 1985:830; Cohen, 1985: 669) They seek to make fundamental changes in patterns and systems of communication and association rather than to overthrow the existing power systems completely. So they try to gain access to the mainstream press and airwaves and frequently set up their own press, or broadcast on alternative and community media.

They generally do not believe in totalising systems and therefore have not developed any one single philosophy or 'grand theory' which will solve all of the problems of post-modern society. If anything they are examples of Hartley's "theory shopping", an offspring of postmodernity (Hartley, 1995). While they may have identifiable ideals, such as the protection of an ecologically sound planet or the universal right to communicate, they do not prescribe one single way of achieving this and are happy to adapt to local realities and contexts. Unlike their predecessors in the older Marxist and nationalist movements, they reject notions of Utopia and of unity and celebrate diversity and fragmentation. Building on the work, the organisational schema and the approach to effecting change of the older movements, NSMs exist internationally while working at local levels to promote progressive change within the existing structures of society. They have grown from the work of the old social movements. Cohen and Offe recognise that NSMs no longer want to dismantle the state and economic spheres as older workers' movements did, believing that to do so would incur the loss of the benefits of modernity (Cohen , 1985: 666; Offe, 1985: 849). NSMs do, however, seek to defend and democratise the public social realm that has been won and is in danger of disappearing in the late capitalist age. As Cohen explains

> Contemporary actors abandon what they see as the "productivist" cultural model of the old Left as well as its modes of organisation. Instead of forming unions or political parties of the socialist, social democratic, or communist type, they focus on grass-roots politics and create horizontal, directly democratic associations that are loosely federated on national levels. Moreover they target the social domain of "civil society" rather than economy or state raising issues concerned with the democratisation of structures of everyday life and focusing on forms of communication and collective identity. (Cohen, 1985: 667).

NSMs seek to preserve and extend the spaces in which civil society can operate. They try to create new alliances, channels and opportunities for individuals in society to be able to act collectively and democratically. This is an obvious role for community radio to play in the creation of and provision of access to the multi, micro and counter-public spheres in which this communication can take place. This communication could provide a forum for members of various NSMs and members of civil society to connect

with each other and with the community as a whole. In this way a community radio station could be the concrete realisation of the operation of civil society on an ongoing basis within a community.

Community radio fits the pattern outlined above very closely and can be declared an NSM in its own right. NSMs locate themselves in civil society, frequently on the airwaves. NSMs aim to effect changes in values and lifestyle and community radios seek to do this also, particularly to empower communities and individuals through their participation in the communication process. NSMs seek to defend civil society, community radios try to do this by democratisng the airwaves. For NSMs the process undergone is as important as goal achievement, for community radios, process is a goal in itself and participation in that process is of paramount importance. NSMs organise in networks, most community radio stations are members of national and international networks such as the CRF in Ireland, the CMA in Britain, FERL in France or AMARC globally (See appendix B). However the survival of each community radio station is independent of the collapse of such a network or secession from it. This phenomenon was noted by Melucci as a new trait of NSMs (Melucci, 1989: 73-74). NSMs work at the level of grass roots participation and each community radio is staffed by the members of its own community at the grass roots. NSMs favour two forms of action – direct action and cultural innovation. Community radio stations take their direct action by taking to the airwaves with or without licences. They prove themselves to be culturally innovative when their approach to programming is innovative but more importantly by providing access to the broadcasting process for the people. The actors in NSMs are usually the new middle class, the unemployed and those marginalised by contemporary society (Offe, 1985: 835; Scott, 1990: 139). The participants in community radios generally prove to be drawn from the same groups and the employment of community development practices leads many stations to proactively recruit such people. The membership of NSMs is fluid and the voluntary nature of participation in community radio stations likewise, leads to a high turnover of volunteers. (For a mapping of Scott's summary of the characteristics of NSMs onto community radio, see appendix M).

Community radio may be an NSM in its own right but it also seems to be an ideal channel of communication or area of activity for other existing NSMs. NSMs believe

in working in the realm of the public sphere and reclaiming it for non-hierarchical, alternative modes of communication. As Melucci explains it

> There is a need for public spheres of representation for example the media, the universities, the social services in which it is possible to express the conflicts and demands that develop in civil society. (Melucci, 1989: 79).

This is one of the most fundamental aims of community radio - to democratise the airwaves; to allow people the opportunity of exercising their right to communicate. Hamelink calls on all NSMs to incorporate the call for the establishment and protection of a universal human right to communicate (Hamelink, 1994: 315). Melucci insists that power in modern or complex society resides in the signs and sign systems which mediate the life experience and in the codes which regulate the flow of information (Melucci, 1989: 55). These include all forms of mass communication – public service, commercial and community broadcasting. Certainly NSMs should and do use the mainstream media to impact on the general consciousness of the greater public (McLaughlin, 1995). One way of doing this is to utilise the media to publicise a movement's existence and the issues of concern to it; *Greenpeace* is an example of a NSM which has managed to do this successfully on many occasions. However such coverage is usually brief and centres on sensational and occasional events rather than educating those unaware of the issues or stimulating deeper debate for those who are. Mainstream media are organised hierarchically and are owned by either the state or private wealth and are not as accessible to NSMs as community radio can be. Communicating through the mainstream media can carry the danger of compromising NSMs while bringing the reward of reaching audiences of millions. A combination of channels of communication would seem to be the best option for NSMs.

Community media offer the possibility of constructing messages and of communicating with audiences in radically different ways which are compatible with the organisational forms of NSMs themselves. The actors in both the NSMs seeking access and in the community radio stations providing that access and training will often be the same people. Hence a high level of interactivity is to be anticipated.

Community radio is compatible with and can provide the communication needs of NSMs where it operates as a narrowcaster informing those who already have a deep interest in the issues. It can assist NSMs when it provides a forum for debate amongst potential members or participants within an NSM on a regular basis enabling issues to

be discussed in depth. It can serve the purposes of NSMs and enable the functioning of civil society when it provides a communication nexus for various micro or counter-public spheres (Fraser, 1992; Keane, 1995). Community radio can provide these opportunities. It is not the only provider – alternative video production units, consciousness raising workshops, street theatre and increasingly the creative use of information technology can do this as well (Rheingold, 1994; Schuler, 1994 , 1996). But community radio is an inexpensive, effective and accessible channel of communication available to NSMs in the community.

To an extent community radio stations and NSMs differ in the animators who inititate activity. Professional community development workers are found to operate in the community radio sector in Ireland. This leads to a potential contradiction in aims and a toning down of the radical agenda which may otherwise emerge. While these professionals work with volunteers and in open and transparent ways, their agendas are more definitively set by outside, (usually state), agencies, than those of NSMs. Their wages are usually paid through government agencies, although they are often employed by local community enterprise and development groups. However the very nature of NSMs as outlined by observers of modern society, in particular Melucci, 1986, 1996 and Cohen, 1984, would deny the possibility of the involvement of such individuals in their professional capacity. The potential to think and act in a radical manner, counter to the prevailing hegemonic order would be seen as seriously undermined should crucial actors be dependent on funding from establishment sources. There is nothing to stop these individuals being involved in a personal capacity however and, indeed, Scott identified the high proportion of such actors in NSMs (Scott, 1990: 19). The involvement of paid, professional, community development workers in the community radio stations in this study will be an interesting aspect to be considered.

The research will assess the extent to which Irish community radio stations can be considered to be part of the wider, global NSM of AMARC-International, which is, itself, a part of a movement which seeks to establish acceptance of the human right to communicate. This may be established through an assessment of the extent to which Irish community radio stations seek to promote the right to communicate, to enable the creation of multi, micro and counter-public spheres, to facilitate multi-flows of communication and to provide for the participation of all members of the community at all levels of operation and power within the community radio station.

3.4. Participation:

The understanding of participation in community media is far wider than more generally allowed for in narrow definitions of participation and access in the mass media. Community radio, through its mission statements and charters, (See appendices B, E and F) claims participation as a primary and underlying principle for its work. Unlike access and participation in other types of mass communication, the community radio listener is encouraged to participate in the work of the station at all levels. Through the process of participation he/she is empowered and in turn empowers and enhances the community in which he/she lives. Access to all levels is open, from full ownership, to management, to the facilitation of individual voices being heard on air. Public service radio and commercial radio cannot and do not attempt to provide that extensive a range of participation opportunities. Other fundamental principles dictate their ethos and work. For public service broadcasters this is often simplified to the Reithian ambition to " inform, educate, entertain". The participation of members of the public in broadcasting may be useful in achieving those aims sometimes, but it is not an end in itself. For commercial broadcasters the main aim is to maximise profit and participation is allowed only when it is seen as serving this goal. For community radio participation is a central goal in itself.

Bordenave (1994) explains that participative communication calls for a radical inversion of the normal broadcaster/listener relationship where the flow of communications is almost totally one-way. Community media seek to provide equal opportunities for all people to take part in the communication process. The real aim of providing these opportunities to take part in the mass communication process is that of enabling people to improve the community in which they live by working co-operatively together and by communicating with themselves. He explains

> Participation communication can be defined as that type of communication in which all the interlocutors are free and have equal access to the means to express their viewpoints, feelings and experiences. Collective action aimed at promoting their interests, solving their problems, and transforming their society, is the means end. (Bordenave, 1994: 43).

Ownership of stations and, therefore, control over work-practices, schedules and content, are seen as markers of full participation.

White (1994) points to the frustrating absence of theory and of definitions of the term 'participation'. She complains that it is a kaleidoscope term that has become part of the

development discourse and which projects employ without any clear definition of what it might be. White draws on Deshler and Sock's 1985 paper which identifies two levels of participation and provides a useful general distinction between "pseudo participation" and "genuine participation" (White, 1994: 17). "Pseudo participation" is tightly controlled, heavily mediated and is facilitated for reasons such as the provision of cheap and popular programming or the projection of an image of inclusivity and localness. "Genuine participation" is enabling, relatively unmediated and provided for its own sake. Commercial media and public service broadcasters in general tend to work at the level of "pseudo participation" while community media aim for "genuine participation". How far this is true in the case of community radio in Ireland is one of the central research questions of this project.

3.4.i. *Levels of Participation:*

McCain and Lowe (1990) see involvement in the media as occurring on three levels. To access and participation they add self-management in an ascending hierarchy of involvement in the media (McCain and Lowe, 1990: 95). According to McCain and Lowe access is understood to mean a concrete point of entry where 'the people' or non-professionals can be heard on-air. It is a purely physical thing and, in their definition, tends to begin and end with the ubiquitous 'phone-in'. Access, as they define it allows for "citizen input" but not for responsibility for station maintenance or management. This type of participation is provided by all three types of radio in Ireland today. Participation calls and allows for greater involvement. Members of the public present shows or are consulted in regard to programming choices. At the highest level, it extends to involvement in the production of programmes. When it does, training is provided by the station but the decision making process is in the control of the participants. This, McCain and Lowe, term self-management. Again all three types of radio, public service, commercial and community, can provide this participation, however, in practice, large national and public service type stations rarely invite this type of participation.

Berrigan's overview of access to the media in the USA, Canada and Western Europe (1977a) found that no access was devised for groups on either television or radio within public service or privately owned stations (Berrigan, 1977b:165-166). There was only one example of participation in the production process and none of participation in planning. Access, she concludes, usually means access to decision-makers where the

listener is cast as protagonist. This means that access tends to be confrontational in the form of discussion and within formats devised and controlled by the stations studied (Berrigan, 1977b: 160). While the study is dated, it is extremely comprehensive and has not been attempted on such a scale since. There is little to suggest that the situation has changed radically in the countries studied since that time.

Self-management, where the people who listen actually decide on programming schedules, content, ethos and work practices is far more rare, but is seen by McCain and Lowe (1990) as the most complete type of participation. Commercial radio cannot, by definition, provide this, as such stations are run as private businesses and control remains in the hands of the shareholders or individual owners as the case may be. It would be most unlikely that those stations which need to turn a substantial profit would hand over control to a large and frequently ill-defined group. Viewed from the most idealistic level, Ireland's public service stations are owned by all of the people of the country and are potentially controlled by them through the appointment of the RTÉ Authority by the minister for Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands. However, in practice this operates as a long and attenuated line of ownership and tends not to impact on management practices and styles. It is difficult to imagine how national media could be managed by the people in a democratic and non-chaotic manner. It would appear that only small scale media, operating on a not-for-profit basis, staffed mainly by volunteers, can operate through self-management. Indeed McCain and Lowe conclude that

> The best alternative by far for satisfying the public demand for self-management is community local radio. (McCain and Lowe, 1990: 96)

They do not discuss or consider the issue of ownership.

3.4..ii. *Towards a New Model of Participation:*

While McCain and Lowe's hierarchy is helpful it does not adequately cover the range of levels of listener involvement provided by each of the three types of radio operating in Ireland. Access and participation occur at a number of levels from the 'phone-in' to complete ownership. Determining the type of access or participation offered by a station is essential if stations are to be judged on the basis of people's involvement. McCain and Lowe's three step hierarchy can be expanded to build a seven level model which forms a more complete description of the possibilities for participation in the media. This goes from the minimum levels of access (which are available to citizens in all three sectors of radio) to the fullest form of participation, which is only available in

community media. This understanding will be used as a frame of reference for assessing the levels and extent of participation actually provided for by the community radio stations in this study.

Some elements of these types of participation exist in all sectors but only community radio is capable of providing all of these levels of access. It is not possible for commercial media to provide this extent of participation, nor is it their aim. Working from the profit motive they need to maximise the number of listeners they can sell to advertisers (Barnard, 2000; Crisell,1994). This is usually done through music radio, with some daytime and drive-time chat-shows where there is not much room for "genuine participation" as outlined in the model below. Access for some people, usually young men, to spin discs is not what community radio is about, (Beatson, 1999: 4; Günnel, 2002: 334) this does little to connect and empower a community.

Talk radio is not the most popular radio with listeners (Barnard,1989: 161) and it can be difficult and expensive to produce high quality talk radio. Having members of the general public on-air without the strict control exercised by talk-show hosts and their producers may be worthwhile radio, but it is not necessarily riveting radio. It certainly does not fit in with the mood flows dictated by scheduling software or programme directors. Commercial stations need to maximise profits and therefore the provision of access for people to air serious issues, on their own terms, is not a viable option for privately owned stations.

The public service sector is by definition owned by the people but, in practice, as with the operation of democracy through politics on a national scale, the amount of input and influence one person or a small group can have on this is limited to 'phone-ins', letters of complaint or the actions of a lobby group. Barnard argues that

> Public sector broadcasting in no way breaks with capitalist social relations of production, neither do the workforce have a say in its management; the very structures and ideologies of professionalism from which public service broadcasting draws its strength inhibit the public from any involvement in broadcasting at anything more than the mundane level of phone-ins, game shows, question-and-answer discussions or vox-pops in the street. (Barnard, 1989: 182)

This is as true in the case of RTÉ in Ireland as it was in the case of the BBC which Barnard was discussing, notwithstanding the presence of staff representatives on the RTÉ Authority, (at present, one staff representative on a board of nine). Public service

broadcasters such as RTÉ aim to serve and cater to a pluralist society. They do this in a variety of ways, for example by segmenting the audience on the basis of age, taste or income and providing dedicated channels to cater to them (Crisell, 1994: 24). RTÉ does this by subdividing into the following radio stations: 2 FM for the youth market, Lyric for AB1 listeners and lovers of classical music, Raidió na Gaeltachta for Irish speakers and Radio 1 for everyone and everything else. Although such measures do provide a *service for* different groups in society they do not facilitate *access to* and *participation in* their provision.

The attraction and scope of community based media fills a large gap that the other two sectors neither want nor are able to fill. The model below sets out the various levels of access and participation which can be, or could be, provided by each of the three main sectors or strands of radio broadcasting today. The model is cumulative; each level encompasses the levels below it. The aspiration and ability of different broadcasters from the three different sectors in relation to participation by members of the public in radio is discussed below.

Figure 4. Model 2: A New Model for Participation in Radio:

Level	New Categorisation	Type	Example	McCain and Lowe's Categorisation of participation
1	Reactive access	Responding to content broadcast	Phone (not on-air), fax, letter, email	Access
2	Controlled access	Speaking on air	Phone-in, talk-back radio	Access
3	Controlled participation	Presenting programmes with professional producers	Guest spots, some documentary programmes	Participation
4	Mediated participation	Producing and presenting programmes	Access radio, open channel	Participation
5	Participation	Schedule and programme planning, autonomous production after training by the station, open to all members of the community	Access channels, community radio	Participation
6	Self-management	Management and decision making, unmediated by outside groups	Community radio	Self-management
7	Full and active participation	Full ownership	Community radio	Not allowed for

Level 1   The reactive access provided for at level one is merely a response by listeners in the mass audience to content broadcast by the radio station. It is reactive communication, feedback as defined by Westley and McLean, (1957) and is so minimal that it can be discounted as any form of meaningful participation for the purposes of this study.

Level 2   Level two is reactive and mediated access. Here listeners speaking on air appear to be offered some measure of participation. All three types of radio can and do make use of the 'phone-in' and for a number of reasons. Chat-based programmes

without studio guests are cheaper to produce than many other types of talk-based programming. They are usually popular with listeners and therefore attract advertisers and they are a way of adding 'colour' to content by providing a variety of voices. In many cases they are seen by station personnel as a way of providing democratic access to the airwaves but this assumption merits investigation. Crisell, (1994: 61-62) maintains that 'phone-ins' provide the illusion of a two-way medium. They can be used as an audience monitoring system to check that people are listening to a programme and that they understand the codes being transmitted. Shingler and Wieringa (1998: 125) maintain that 'phone-in' programmes are popular with audiences as they provide the listener with other listeners with whom to identify. They are obviously live and unscripted and therefore have a veracity and excitement that other programmes cannot match. However Berrigan (1977) believes that most of these programmes, no matter what type of call is aired, are providing "pseudo-access". She does not view this as dangerous in itself, but sees it as undesirable as it

> creates an illusion of freedom and accessibility which does not exist. (Berrigan,1977: 162)

Shingler and Wieringa (1998) are concerned about misunderstanding this type of access and dispute the democratic claims made for radio. They believe that 'phone ins' are neither as emancipatory nor as empowering as they may seem. They offer two reasons for this. Firstly, the station has control over the selection of its callers, many of whom never get on-air as all calls are screened. This may be because of the sheer volume of calls, because an unpopular viewpoint is expressed, because callers are deemed too boring or frequently, because their views are deemed to be insufficiently shocking or titillating to maintain listeners' attention (Browne, 1998). Secondly the presenter maintains and exercises control at all times over content. In some stations this is done through the use of a delay button, in others with the use of the fader, but generally it is as simple as choosing the questions and therefore the direction of the discussion. The fact that the presenter is a professional and that the callers are usually nervous, is another factor in maintaining station control (Shingler and Wieringa,1998: 118).

Higgins and Moss (1982) studied the relationship between talk-back radio hosts and their callers on Australian commercial radio. They maintain that talk-back radio actually disempowers people by lulling them into believing that they are participating in and shaping the discussion which they are hearing. In fact they are merely used as players who take up assigned and unquestioning roles in the greater ideological messages

broadcast by the station. These shows ultimately promote consumerism through a seamless flow of calls, the host's comments and advertisements. Summarising their findings, Shingler and Wieringa explain that

> rather than enabling listeners towards self-empowerment, self-determination and autonomy etc, these shows dictate patterns of consumerism, fostering a culture in which problems are solved by purchasing mass-produced goods rather than individual action, intervention or the free circulation of information and ideas. (Shingler and Wieringa, 1998:120)

Higgins and Moss (1982: 32) claim that the ability of people to make their own culture is actually inhibited, rather than enhanced by these programmes, and that their potential to democratise both the airwaves and culture as it is lived and experienced is thwarted by this form of talk radio. This, they claim, is because the comments and values of the callers are overpowered by the authority of the host and by an acceptance of that authority which results in a mediated vision of the world.

Crisell (1994: 192) concludes that 'phone-ins' are a synthesis of private and public media. They involve two individuals speaking to each other but being heard, and conscious of being heard, by a mass audience, essentially a private channel of expression within a public forum. He explains that 'phone-ins' are about the audience, they are an inversion of the normal relationship. Audiences use 'phone-ins' both actively and passively and the relationship between callers and listeners is a complex and varying one. This is true of all three sectors in radio broadcasting but there is an expectation that community radios' use of the 'phone-in' show should be less manipulative than that of commercial or public service radio stations. In community radio, the 'phone-in' is only one of many access points and should be viewed as an initial introduction for individuals who will progress to further levels of participation. A study of the number of people who phone into a community radio station and a content analysis of the topics which they cover in those conversations would not, therefore, reveal whether the community radio station was facilitating "genuine participation". Rather, such a study would place community radio in the same category as public service and commercial stations with regard to lower levels of access to the airwaves and would completely neglect the deeper reach of "genuine participation" covered in the higher levels of the model. Summary listening to the six radio stations in the study revealed that all of them made copious use of the phone-in as a programming device but these are not considered as providing meaningful access or "genuine participation".

| Level 3 | Level three provides for controlled participation in the communication process. Ordinary members of the public are invited to present spots on shows and these are produced by station staff. This is another example of White's "pseudo participation" (1994: 17). It happens most frequently within the second or commercial sector, where articulate members of the public, usually experts in a particular area, present regular spots or even whole shows which are produced by a professional station employee. This work may be paid or unpaid, but the central issue for participation is that it does not provide open access for all on an equal footing. The station chooses a small and non-representative handful of non-professional broadcasters and maintains tight control through the selection and production processes.

| Level 4 | Level four provides for mediated participation. Here, members of the public can produce and present their own programmes. This offers a less mediated and more empowering form of participation. It is provided for in many countries both by public service media on mainstream channels or through government funded channels dedicated to access programming such as Offener Kanal in Berlin, or public-access cable television in the United States of America. Many of the benefits claimed for participation in community radio apply here also - individuals are empowered through their involvement and issues of importance to the community and to groups within that community can be aired by the people themselves. However the final three stages leading to total, full and "genuine participation" as outlined by Bordenave (1994) and White (1994) can only be achieved through community media.

| Level 5 | Level five is the first level at which participation is open to all members of the community in any autonomous form. Programme planning and production form the most basic level within self-management as outlined by McCain and Lowe (1990). Listeners undergo training and become broadcasters in every sense of the word. The opportunity to take up any of the roles undertaken by paid broadcasting staff in either of the other two sectors is now open to them. Through the democratic process individuals can gain access to committees which make scheduling decisions which affect the entire output of the station along with programme planning, production and presentation. To an extent this is still a form of "pseudo-participation" however as the ownership and management of the station remain in the hands of others, for instance government-funded and professionally run access channels.

| Level 6 |

Level six requires participation at the level of self-management. Members of the public have a direct input into management practice and the decision making process and the participation approaches the ideal of "genuine participation". There may be stations where this level of influence is granted to the community but again the concept of 'granting' rather than the concept of 'having by right' means that self-management does not enable the fullest level of participation (Bordenave, 1994: 46). Some examples of these types of station are those owned by churches, as in Australia (Beatson, 1999: 5), or those owned by companies drawing from both public and private funding as in Germany (Antonis & Sourbati, 1997: 270) or by political lobby groups as in Tahiti (Habe, 1994). In practice, local people may feel the station belongs to them and operate accordingly. This brings many of the benefits of participation to their communities. However legally, financially and therefore ultimately, the stations remain in the hands of others. Even with representation of the community on a board of management, participation may be restricted. Salter (1980) warns that the fact that people have a place at the table does not ensure that the board works participatively and unless structures are changed fundamentally it may be little more than window dressing. She explains that participation is linked to an analysis of power relations and that decisions in current industrial societies are often made without reference to those who are affected by them. Even experiments in community or worker participation in boards of management do not necessarily alter existing power relations, as decision making is structured and institutionalised within a system of power relationships. However, she views this level of participation as potentially empowering and explains

> Decision making is structured and institutionalised within a system of power relationships. The mere inclusion of the citizen, student or worker on a planning or management board does not, in itself, alter the pattern of decisions that will eventually be made about workplace, university or community relations. Nonetheless, the demand for participation, even if only for representation, can have a radical effect, if the political activity that emerges from the ensuing conflict exposes the full dimensions of power-in-operation. (Salter, 1980: 107)

| Level 7 |

Level seven, ownership, is the most complete form of participation. This offers the "genuine participation" proposed by White (1994:17). Here the listeners own and manage the station. They make scheduling decisions and they produce and present their own station to themselves (Rosen and Herman, 1977: 86-87; Downing, 1984, 2000; McCain and Lowe, 1990: 96; Douglas, 1994: 91; Jakubowicz, 1993: 46).

Collective ownership without input in management, policy development and actual broadcasting is available in the public service model. However it is not recognised as such by the majority of citizens nor is it encouraged by these stations themselves as a possible way of operating. It cannot, by definition, be a possibility in commercial media (Jakubowicz, 1993: 48).

Community radio activists around the world differ as to how far participation must spread in order for a particular station to be considered as a community radio station. The model outlined here, however, allows for a distinction to be made in types of participation and shows how community radios must offer at least the first five levels of participation in order to be deemed as enabling "genuine participation". It also demonstrates that the other two sectors of the media, public service and commercial broadcasters, cannot, and are not expected, to provide more than the first four levels. Community radio can, and must, provide opportunities for participation beyond these basic levels to at least level five where members of the community participate in decision making. Community radio stations should strive to facilitate the ultimate level of participation, which is ownership of the station by the community which it serves.

This research project investigates the types and extent of participation aimed at and provided by Irish community radio stations. How effective they are in achieving their stated goal of providing "genuine participation" for members of the communities they serve will be assessed in relation to the seven levels outlined in this model. Where a gap between the stated aim of stations to provide for "genuine participation" by their communities and that actual provision is observed, it will provide useful insights for the construction of a normative theory for participative communication.

3.4.iii. *Why Provide for Participation?*

Commercial media allow for some participation which means listeners' voices are heard on-air. Because this provides cheaper, more relevant, and more popular programming, it generates more listeners - hence more advertising. Issues such as the empowerment of individuals and the development of the community are not considerations for those in the business of broadcasting for profit (Kleinstuber, 1992: 150).

Public service media does have a commitment to empowerment and development. However the hierarchical and bureaucratic structures of such stations, coupled with the scale on which they operate, frequently broadcasting to an entire country, mean that

participation at anything but the most basic of levels is precluded. The size of public service stations such as RTÉ, serving even as small a nation as Ireland with a population of less than four million people, works against the possibility of "genuine participation" at all levels. This does not deny that the public service aspires to act on behalf of all of the different groups within society. However speaking for or about a set of people is not the same thing as those people speaking for and to themselves (Bonin and Opuko-Mensah, 1998: 2).

Reviewing the state of British music radio, Barnard explains the impossibility of either of the first two sectors of radio providing sufficient or suitable access for members of the public, minorities or otherwise

> To assume that all communities of taste and interest can be served adequately and fairly with the existing two-tier system of radio is naïve: limited outlets and limited airtime, quite apart from the editorial parameters imposed both from within and without the radio institutions, render it impractical. So called "specialist" and/or minority output on British radio therefore depends on the exercise of editorial selectivity, choosing the communities most "deserving" of sectional coverage, a process which can come dangerously close to the granting of "rights": those editorial decisions are exercised only in indirect acknowledgement of public consultation, the machinery for which is in any case suspect. (Barnard, 1989: 170)

Community media can offer participation at all levels because they believe that this will empower people and enable them to make significant changes in the life of their own community. It is a primary aim of community radio to provide and facilitate access and participation for all. For community radio the empowerment of participants through radio is of the essence. The empowerment of individuals also empowers and enriches the community. Community radio offers a better chance of providing more access and better participation to more people at a local level than do either of the other two sectors because of its ethos and the scale of operation. The involvement of members of the community means that issues and problems of relevance to the community are aired by those who are directly affected by them. Through discussion on-air and the networking which community radio facilitates for groups and organisations within the community, the members of the community are able to find communal solutions and approaches to solutions for these problems themselves. This is the guiding principle of community development practice which was described above. It is sufficient to note that participation in the communication process enables this powerful form of community development to work.

3.4.iv. *Limitations to and Difficulties with Participation:*

There are concrete limitations to participation, even in the most open of access channels and programmes (Berrigan 1977: 150-157). There is a limit to the amount of voices which can be physically heard on radio and there must be a limit to the amount of time any one person or group can have on air. Unless of course all our receiver sets are to become transmitters as dreamed of by Brecht (1930) and Enzensberger (1970), in which case radio ceases to be a medium of mass communication and becomes one of group communication. There seems to be some move towards this with audio streaming and radio broadcasting over the internet. However, at the time of writing, simultaneous and live mass audio communication between many people is not yet possible over the Internet. Berrigan (1977: Preface) notes that complete access is never achievable even on access channels. It is logical to assume that the same holds true for community radio, although this may be on a lesser scale due to the far smaller target audiences of community radio stations. Berrigan warns that in practice not everyone can have their say. She found that it was well organised minority groups and pressure groups who were heard on the airwaves in the stations which did provide measures of access (Berrigan, 1977: 19). This can mean that the people for whom the benefits of access and participation are claimed, namely, the disenfranchised, the marginalised and the disempowered in society are not, in practice, involved.

The simple provision of access is not sufficient to ensure that all people can approach a station on an equal level as urged by Bordenave (1994: 43). Disparities in education, income, confidence and status levels can preclude full participation. Constant checks and reappraisals must be made. Otherwise community radio will be positioned on the lower levels of the hierarchy of participation in the media outlined in the new model for participation radio proposed on page 92. The danger is it will be used only by the more articulate, better educated and wealthier members of society. Measures which can be taken to protect against this happening include education, positive discrimination in favour of less advantaged groups and individuals in the community and the rotation of presenters. Education must be provided for on at least three levels - technical and basic training to equip people with the skills required to go on air or to contribute at committee level; assertiveness or confidence building exercises to enable people to attempt what might otherwise seem beyond them; and conscientisation, so that the principles and ethos of participation are recognised by all and the benefits of participation are shared and passed on and so that a new power clique is not formed.

Again it is important for groups to reflect on their attitude towards and facilitation of open access and full participation. Access and participation are difficult to facilitate. As Berrigan noted, even the most open of groups can become closed over the passage of time despite their best intentions (Berrigan, 1977: Preface). After a time even the most alternative of new forms of programming form their own rigidity or exclusivity. Those involved in a community radio station must keep interrogating their practices to ensure that they do not become an exclusive clique.

Full access, for all, at all times, may not be possible in any form of the media. It may not even be desired. It is certainly not currently demanded by large sections of the public. Not everyone wants to stake a claim to media involvement (Berrigan, 1977: Preface). Not all members of all communities will want to take up the offer of participating in a community radio station beyond, or even as far as, the point of listening.

Those staking a claim to provide access for all should not expect all people to take up this offer and should not view less than one hundred per cent take-up as failure. Jackubowicz (1993) warns that assuming that every individual in society will want to participate in the communication process is a fallacy. It is sufficient to provide and encourage open access and to facilitate full participation at all levels but in the final analysis take-up rates are a matter for each individual him/herself (Jakubowicz, 1993: 37-38, 42).

An examination of the concrete strategies put in place to continually foster participation at all levels and a review of these as they operate in practice, would provide more useful insights into the facilitation of participation than a review of aims and mission statements alone. This study aims to provide such an analysis and the stated aims of Irish community radio stations, the strategies planned to effect them and their implementation are all reviewed in the research findings.

The term 'participation' can be abused or misinterpreted for various reasons. Bordenave (1994) warns against three forms of distortion of the participative process

- Manipulation, often by governments, of volunteers to provide services for which they are unwilling to pay.

- Inclusion of the community in planning solutions to problems which are identified by other agencies.

- 'Participationitis'. (Bordenave, 1994: 45-46)

Each of these forms of distortion is outlined below.

Manipulation of volunteers by government agencies to provide community radio is unlikely to be a problem in Ireland given the lack of government interest in the sector to date. However it may be possible that other agencies or individuals could use volunteers instead of creating employment and paying for the provision of essential services. This has already happened extensively with the care of the elderly and infirm in Ireland and in the voluntary sector in general (Donoghue, Anheier & Salamon, 1999). Anecdotal evidence of the abuse of Community Enterprise (CE) workers by using them to provide necessary services in the absence of trained personnel or the reluctance of government to pay for same is emerging but has not yet been formally researched. Clarke (1995) warns against the exploitation of low paid workers and volunteers however.

The inclusion of the community in planning solutions to problems identified by others can occur where the idea for a community radio station originates with one group. This group identifies the problems and issues to be addressed and then attempts to lead the rest of the community, believing that they are working in a participative and inclusive manner. However, by not allowing for a wider discussion of what the community really needs, they are distorting and abusing the true meaning of participation. It may be that the particular community needs something else entirely and that a radio station may not be the best solution at all.

'Participationitis' is where all decisions, however minor, must be made by all of the people involved in the project. This way of working can cripple any organisation, leading to interminable meetings over trivial issues. Kletter, Hirschorn and Hudson (1977: 72), in their appraisal of access stations in the United States of America, warn that stations need to develop a management philosophy which facilitates access but retains some structure and continuity.

Responsibilities must be delegated, as in all organisations, but the lines of accountability are far shorter and clearer in community media than in other media institutions. All policy and other major decisions are made through the democratic, consultative process. The small scale on which community radios operate and are organised, facilitates this process but it also calls for a radically different way of

working, one with which most media professionals are not familiar (Shingler and Wieringa, 1998). As Kletter, Hirschorn and Hudson point out

> To undertake and sustain a community access venture requires an organisation similar to that of a community development project...In fact, the community development model of resident field-workers has been used to start stations in Canada. Station managers have had to be animators. Animation means exactly that – stirring people to action to solve their own problems. But clearly more than exhortation is required, working out of strategies, organization and planning, and learning the requisite skills, are all part of the process. (Kletter, Hirsch and Hudson, 1977: 74).

To avoid being crippled by overzealous applications of the principle of participation and to avoid being manipulated through calls to "pseudo participation", it is necessary to put clear, agreed strategies in place and to evaluate the success or failure of these regularly. The extent to which Irish community radio stations do this is assessed in the course of this research.

Participation can sometimes mean 'poorer' quality programming in the generally accepted sense of the word. Volunteers without resources are not likely to reach the standards of their professional counterparts. To view this as failure on the part of community radio is however, to miss the point of participative communication. Many argue that the process of empowering individuals is more important than programming standards. Rosen and Herman from their observation of community use of the media in Canada note that

> ...recognising that the learning that takes place for the group producing the programme is just as important and often more important than the learning that takes place among the audience. In most cases it is at least more identifiable. (Rosen and Herman, 1977: 122)

Beatson (1999: 4) warns against allowing all people who approach a community radio station free and unqualified access. He wonders how truly accountable to the community many of those who gain access to the airwaves actually are. He believes that radio attracts many who

> ...appear socially dysfunctional, people unable to work with others who see radio as the ideal medium – one mike, one studio and them. (Beatson, 1999: 4)

Many community stations, even in their training programmes, model themselves on commercial radio, thus producing poor copies of formulaic programmes which do little to empower people by breaking the hegemonic mould. Rather than borrow creatively from theatre and film productions where teams of people enable and support a small

number of actors to carry their message, many Australian radio stations assume that all recruits want to, and should be, presenters (Beatson, 1999).

Beatson believes this lack of creativity in programme design originates in a loose and uninformed understanding of the operation of participative communication. The lack of suitable, transparent and agreed principles for the operation of an open access policy results in an impoverishment of the community radio sector in at least three ways which he outlines. It causes a steady drift towards commercialism amongst community radio stations. It leads to a rise in the number of "disciplined Christian" churches' radio stations (40 out of 240 'community stations' are now run by the churches in Australia) or there is a steady increase in the number of "new community radio stations" which offer access for would be DJs (Beatson, 1999: 5) rather than for the reasons outlined in the AMARC Declaration of Principles (See Appendix B).

Where programming standards are high, this can also lead to another block to participation where those perceived to be 'stars' are given more and more airtime and less articulate or less confident members of the community are discouraged from coming forward on air or serving on committees. Despite these difficulties, community radio strives for the fullest participation possible.

3.4.v. *The Importance of the Study of Participation for the Current Research:*

Participation for community radio activists means much more than the three levels of access, participation and self-management outlined by McCain and Lowe (1990). The seven levels outlined in the model proposed on page 92 must be facilitated if "genuine participation" as outlined by White (1994) is to be achieved. Participation in community radio is expected to lead to participation in the broader life of the community. As Berrigan points out

> In the end, the interest in community media is not simply about producing programmes and finding a means to distribute them. It is a concern with the need for local communication processes, which provide a means of self-expression and which can trigger greater participation in all aspects of community life. (Berrigan, 1977: 200)

As a first principle community radio aims to be inclusive and to enable "genuine participation". The extent to which this occurs in practice will be tested in the six case studies chosen. However the assessment must be tempered by realism, as previous

experiments from around the world show that it is a difficult process and has never been achieved fully, anywhere (Berrigan, 1977).

Thomas explains that the purpose of participative communication is to build community but warns once again of the dangers of distortions of participation as outlined by Bordenave above (1994: 46). Thomas says that

> The purpose of communication is to create community. Participation is both the basis _for_ and the milieu _of_ community. By revolting against authoritarian structures and patriarchal styles, we have rightly stressed the need for increased participation. But we need to watch for the gimmick of authoritarian engineering. (Thomas, 1994: 58, author's original emphasis)

If community is based around and grows through communication (O'Farrell, 1994; Silverstone, 1999), then community radio stations must build new and strengthen existing communication networks in which all members of the community can participate, so that they can build their community together. Participation in the communication process is the foundation of this construction. It has been shown that the participation of members of the community is a key element of the practice of community development. This depends on the provision of a communications link built and maintained by the people of the community itself. All of these point to the central importance of investigating the ideal and practice of participation in assessing how the philosophy of community radio can be translated into practice.

If the principle of participation is fundamental to the community radio movement and if participation leads to the empowerment of the individual and his/her community then the measures adopted by Irish community radio stations must be studied as a matter of priority.

The framework of analysis of participation in the media, proposed by the model on page 92, will be applied to the six community radio stations under study. The extent to which they aim for and enable participation by their target communities in their stations will be assessed.

3.5. The Not-For-Profit Sector:

Participation by members of the community in the communication project places community radio in the voluntary sector. This section explains what the term 'not-for-profit' means for an organisation. It places community radio stations within the voluntary or third sector. The importance of the not-for-profit sector to the Irish

economy and to the quality of life in many areas of Irish society is also discussed. A discussion on finance is provided in appendix N. This reviews some of the main sources accessed to fund community stations outside Ireland and discusses suggestions by community radio activists and observers of the Irish scene in the mid 1980s. The actual sources of funding for Irish community radio stations at the present time are presented briefly. The dangers of depending on a single source of finance are then discussed.

3.5.i. *Not-for-Profit, the Voluntary Sector, the Third Sector*

Varley and O'Donoghue, in their review of the research into paid employment for professional workers in the voluntary sector, remark on the various names used to describe the voluntary sector, advising that

> It is possible to find it identified as the non-governmental sector, the independent sector, the third sector, the intermediate sector and the non-profit sector. (Varley and O'Donoghue, 1996: 1)

They explain that it is usually defined negatively, in terms of what it is not, rather than in terms of what it actually is

> The voluntary sector comprises of activity which falls outside the confines of the profit-oriented private sector, the state sector and the informal world of family and friend based assistance networks. (Varley and O'Donoghue, 1996: 2)

They acknowledge the huge diversity of activity which is covered by the voluntary sector, ranging from tiny self-help groups with very limited funding, to huge national organisations with multi-million Euro budgets.

Deacon explains that the voluntary sector exists at the intersection between the state, the market and the community (Deacon, 1996:175). He points out that the word 'voluntary' does not necessarily equate with unpaid work; indeed many workers in the voluntary sector are full time, paid professionals working with and on behalf of others. Deacon points to the very large amounts of money received by British voluntary associations from their government and from other grant agencies in order to provide these services. He shows that they are private rather than public agencies and, although they are monitored and regulated by the state, they are not governed by statute. Kuhnle and Selle (1992: 3-4) agree that the state and voluntary sectors are not necessarily autonomous. They are, in fact, interconnected, in the area of service and in regard to funding. Rather than being in conflict with each other, they often work together in partnership. They

note that the voluntary sector throughout the western world depends more on government financial support than on any other source of income (Kuhnle and Selle, 1992:5).

Deacon explains that all voluntary groups try to formalise their activities to some degree, even if this is only at the level of regularising meetings and procedures and this differentiates voluntary organisations from the work of informal philanthropists. Finally, he notes that although most voluntary organisations have an interest in money–making schemes, unlike the corporate sector, they are non-profit making and should they generate excess income, it is re-invested in the project. Deacon observes that political parties, trade unions and other professional interest groups share many of these characteristics but they are not counted as part of the voluntary sector because of their partisan or party-political nature. The voluntary sector is non-partisan and separate to political parties, although a voluntary organisation may have overtly stated political or radical aspirations such as the extension of the franchise or the rights of women or of the underprivileged. In the case of community radio stations this may be as radical as seeking to change civil society and to democratise communication or it may simply mean a desire to build and to develop a sense of community.

The Nathan report on the voluntary sector in Great Britain (1990) defines voluntary organisations as

> Self-governing bodies of people who have joined together voluntarily to take action for the benefit of the community and have been established otherwise than for financial gain. (Nathan, 1990: 16)

The report identifies the core values which underpin the work of those who participate in the voluntary sector as being personal commitment and enterprise, shared concerns, caring, compassion and altruism. These values influence every aspect of the work of a voluntary organisation, regardless of whether the participant is a paid professional. Paid staff are necessary for voluntary organisations to achieve their aims and the altruism of these people does not mean that they should not be properly remunerated for their contribution (Nathan, 1990: 16).

The Nathan Report noted that voluntary organisations matter, to all who benefit from their services, to those who work for them in a paid or unpaid capacity and to those who pay for these services to be provided. The report notes that in Britain, much of the care and services hitherto provided by private citizens or by the state itself has fallen upon

voluntary organisations and this dependence is growing (Nathan, 1990: 13). Anheier and Salamon (1994) discovered the same trend across North America and much of Europe. Ireland proved to be no exception in their follow-on study undertaken with Donoghue (Donoghue, Anheier and Salamon, 1999). Not only does paid and unpaid work in the voluntary sector in Ireland equal seven per cent of the non-agricultural workforce, but its income and expenditure are economically significant and point to the value of the not-for-profit sector to the Irish economy (Donoghue, Anheier and Salamon, 1999: 25).

While acknowledging that this partnership between government and community development groups can be beneficial to communities, Clarke (1990: 8) notes that it can create difficulties. These include being used to provide services with little or no training or support; an over-reliance on the good will of volunteers and poorly paid workers, again often without adequate training and support; the introduction of paid staff from outside the community and poor and irregular funding structures. Kelleher and Whelan (1992) note the paradoxical trend of voluntary self-help organisations in Ireland becoming involved in partnership with the government. They see this as springing from four particular trends in recent Irish history - the widening polarisation of Irish society, the move by community groups to compensate for the lack of provision of social services and care, the inability of the centralised state to manage many social problems at local level and the strong emphasis on partnership between the state, private enterprise and community groups within the Third E.C. Poverty Programme (Kelleher and Whelan, 1992: 9-10; Donoghue, Anheier and Salamon, 1999: 8). This can be a real difficulty for voluntary groups. Kelleher and Whelan identify this difficulty, explaining that

> The paradox for many community groups which enter partnership arrangements with the state is that they risk being co-opted on the state's terms, without real needs and potential of community based development being acknowledged and catered for. (Kelleher and Whelan, 1992: 12)

The value of voluntary organisation should not be measured solely in terms of the services they may provide more cheaply than their provision by the government or by paid professionals without the input of volunteers, although this is considerable (Nathan, 1990; Anheier & Salamon, 1998). The involvement of volunteers in a project means that the community takes responsibility for the provision of these services and this includes a strong measure of control and ownership of the objectives of the project

and of their implementation. This brings with it the benefits of participation outlined above.

3.5.ii. *Ownership and Management:*

If the most complete level of participation is ownership of the project, how many stations in Ireland are truly owned by the communities which they are licensed to serve? The IRTC policy document requires only that the station be

> Owned and controlled by a not-for-profit organisation whose structure provides for membership, management; operation and programming primarily by members of the community at large.   (IRTC, 1997a: 2)

It does not insist that ownership and management are solely by the members of that community, merely primarily. This has implications for the levels of participation facilitated by different stations in the study and these will be highlighted in the analysis of the findings.

According to the model proposed on page 92, "genuine participation" expects full ownership of the station by the community. However ownership in partnership is not disqualified. An example of such a situation could be where another institution or body, such as a university or an urban district council, forms a partnership with a particular community in order to set up a community radio station. This is quite common in Europe (Jankowski et al, 1992). The IRTC have noted that this is the case in Ireland and that it may be unrealistic to expect all groups to establish a separate legal ownership structure, especially in the short term. However the IRTC believes that having ownership vested in the community served is the best way to ensure that control remains in the hands of the members of the community (IRTC,1997a: 4). Three community development bodies in Ireland have founded and funded community radio stations, these are Connemara Community Radio, Raidio Pobal Inis Eoghain and Raidió Corca Baiscinn. The difference between legal ownership and actual control in all stations must be an important consideration for this research project.

Participation does not preclude the necessity of establishing efficient management structures (Nair and White,1993; Clarke,1995). These must be transparent, openly accessible, particpative and accountable to the community if they are to be counted as truly participative and empowering. As Clarke puts it

> Management is the organisation of people and resources in order to fulfil the aims of a group. People involved in community development groups need this in order to work together efficiently to achieve what they set out to do. However it is crucial to develop a style of management that is appropriate for community development. It must promote the work of the group and also

promote the participation and empowerment of all of the people involved. It must allow and enable the work of the project to happen in a way that is participative and efficient, organised and flexible, representative and in touch with members. The style of management must combine a concern with getting the work done with concern for how it is done. (Clarke, 1990: 5)

Tensions between those who are paid to work for voluntary organisations and those who are not and who give of their time voluntarily, are to be expected and have been widely noted and observed (Clarke, 1995; Anheier and Salaman, 1998; Nathan, 1990). An organisation committed to the principle of participation must seek to overcome these difficulties. Sometimes this can be as simple as ensuring that unpaid volunteers who are on low incomes or social welfare are assisted financially to enable their participation. This can take the form of the provision of childcare facilities or the provision of travel and subsistence expenses. Traditionally in Ireland volunteers were drawn from the middle classes, who were financially buoyant and could afford these 'incidental' expenses (Kelleher and Whelan, 1992: 165). Research conducted in Germanay (Günnel, 2002: 334) and in Australia (Barlow, 2002: 146) suggests that this is the case generally. The issue of payment of expenses for volunteers or community enterprise workers is an imposrtaant one in areas where the majority of participants are on low incomes or are unemployed.

It is equally important that all staff, paid or otherwise, are treated fairly. Points **8** and **9** of the AMARC Europe Charter specify this as a fundamental principle

8. Community radio stations recognise and respect the contribution of volunteers, recognise the right of paid workers to join trade unions and provide satisfactory working conditions for both;
9. Community radio stations operate management, programming and employment practices which oppose discriminations and which are open and accountable to all supporters, staff and volunteers (AMARC-Europe Charter, see appendix E).

This can be difficult when funds are scarce, unreliable and irregular, as Clarke notes

A major block to voluntary and community organisations providing good working conditions for their employees is the nature of the funding provision. In general funding is inadequate, short term and unreliable. The implementation of higher standards of employment practices in the voluntary and community sector will help to strengthen the argument for increased, long-term core funding for voluntary and community organisations. (Clarke, 1995: 5)

Participative and democratic organisations need to have regard to the rights of all, including those who are working to achieve these goals. Anecdotal evidence of the exploitation of CE workers (See appendix I) and of the burn-out levels of poorly paid

staff and managers throughout the not-for-profit sector points to the importance of establishing fair work practices.

The model for participation in radio proposed on page 92 places ownership at the top or most complete level of participation possible. This implies the granting of full control of programming, management and responsibility to the community. This determines a different relationship between the community radio station and its listeners to the traditional relationship between mass media and their audiences. Being democratically owned requires that clear structures for elections and for management must be put in place. This ensures that participative management practices are therefore outlined. These follow a democratic, horizontal line. The rights of all workers, paid and unpaid, must be safe guarded. The role of the manager is envisaged as being consultative, mediating and enabling. The question of legal ownership and actual control in all cases must be an important consideration for this research project. The management styles and structures which are employed in each case need to be interrogated. Are these participative and democratic or do they mirror the hierarchical and essentially capitalist styles of management found in other sectors of Irish society?

Using the understandings elaborated above, this research accepts that Irish community radio stations operate on a not-for-profit basis and can be counted as part of the voluntary sector in Ireland. The models of ownership, access to that ownership, the management structures and styles in each station are scrutinised in the research findings in order to ascertain how open, democratic and participative these structures and practices are in Irish community radio stations generally. The key concepts which have been discussed here form the research questions for this project. The methods which were employed in investigating the aims of stations in relation to them and the practical implementation of those aims are described in the next chapter, Design of the Research Project.

SECTION I: CHAPTER FOUR

Design of the Research Project

Chapter Summary	
4.0.	**Introduction**
4.1.	**Key Research Questions**
4.2.	**Research Context**
4.2.i.	*City Stations*
4.2.ii.	*Country Stations*
4.3.	**Research Methods**
4.3.i.	*Documentary Analysis*
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4.6.	**Research Limits and Suggestions for Further Research**

4.0. Introduction:

This chapter outlines the key research questions for the project and the multiple methods of investigation employed in seeking answers to them. It also explains how the data was analysed and presented so that the reader can evaluate the findings and their usefulness in forming norms of community radio theory.

4.1. Key Research Questions:

It is not possible to answer a question as wide as 'What is community radio?' simply. It is relatively easy to observe and describe what particular community radio stations do and this indeed formed part of the active research. As a philosophical question, it requires a review of the underlying principles and stated aims of the community radio movement. The core concepts which define community radio as a separate entity within broadcasting were outlined in chapter two. Chapter three reviewed the discussion of these key concepts in the existing literature.

This research project was designed to bring both types of research and understanding together, to describe the daily practice of six case studies of community radio in the Irish context and to examine that practice in the light of the philosophy espoused by the community radio movement in order to provide a clear picture of that practice and to propose some norms to inform future practice and academic research.

The core concepts identified which prompted the research questions were essentially the areas in which community radio parts company with the other two sectors in broadcasting, namely public service and commercial radio stations. They were deemed to be that

- Ownership of the community radio station is by the community. It is a not-for-profit entity and belongs in the voluntary or third sector. As these are concrete facts they are easily established in principle. Further investigation of management styles and practices is required if a more complete answer to the question of what constitutes community radio is to be attempted.

- Facilitation of participation for all members of the community is a defining feature of community radio. This was established as the key to understanding the essence of community radio and thus formed the main focus of the research project and more than half of the discussion of the research findings. Community radio stations were to be examined to see if they facilitated participation by all members of their communities at all levels, from ownership, through the decision making and programming processes, through the employment of a community development approach and by providing the community with a communications link through radio.

- Community radio aspires to build the community. It promotes social change, and seeks to democratise communications. The practical implementation of these aims is more difficult to determine, both for the researcher and for the stations themselves, than those described above. They require multiple methods of investigation and analysis informed by reflection on the findings in the light of the discussion in chapter three.

These core ideals were arrived at by cross checking the stated aims of the various umbrella movements for community radio in Ireland, Europe and globally and against the definitions of community media offered in legislation in countries where this exists in English.

The research questions which have been extrapolated from this process can now be stated as

- To what extent do community radio stations build the communities in which they broadcast?
- How do community radio stations promote multi-flow communication?
- How do stations promote the "genuine participation" of as many members of its community as possible?

Each of these was further defined during the course of the field work and as a result of progressive focussing during the writing up period (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), the

literature reviewed and personal reflection as a participant in the community radio movement. These subdivisions are detailed in the research findings in each case.

4.2. Research Context:

It was decided to test out the practical application of these core definers of community radio in the Irish context. Ireland proved a useful testing ground for a number of reasons. Community radio globally has a short history. It is generally accepted to have started with the foundation of KPFA Pacifica in San Francisco in 1949 and it began in Ireland in the late 1970s in pirate form. The Radio and Television Act, 1988 opened the way for licensing community radio stations and the IRTC's pilot experiment, consisting of eleven community radio stations to broadcast for eighteen months, began in 1994. This provided the researcher with the opportunity to select stations as case studies which began to broadcast at the same time, under the same licensing body and under the same constraints. An eight year time frame for the study was chosen, beginning in 1994, the year in which all stations were licensed and finishing in 2002. This is considered a reasonable time span in which to conduct a longitudinal study. The active field research took place from 1998 to 2000 when observation visits to stations and interviews with participants were conducted. Findings relating to the early period of setting up stations and commencing broadcasting were arrived at retrospectively through a combination of interviews, pre-observation and documentary analysis of station literature, applications for licenses and contracts with the IRTC. Contact with stations and research involving observation and documentary analysis continued throughout the writing up period and informs the findings up to 2002. The personal involvement of the researcher as a founder member of two different community radio groups since 1988 (*Raidió na Life* and Wired, see appendix A) and in the national and international associations for community radio, CRF and AMARC Europe (elected member of Council of AMARC-Europe, 1998-2002, see appendices F and E) facilitated such observations greatly and contributed to the emic approach adopted.

Six of the eleven stations from the original pilot scheme were selected to provide the case studies for this project. By 1997, two of these original eleven stations (DWR and 9711) were no longer on the air and were therefore not considered as suitable case studies. Three more were campus based stations and were deemed to serve communities of a more homogeneous or specific type, that of third level students. As it is the purpose of this study to identity and examine some of the larger philosophical common denominators of the community radio experience through the use of case

studies, it was decided not to include any of these type of stations in the study. This also caused the exclusion of two other stations licensed by the IRTC as community of interest stations which had been broadcasting since 1993 and were not part of the original pilot scheme, *Raidió na Life* and Anna Livia (See appendix A). The remaining six community stations are based in geographic communities providing a rich mixture of city, small town and rural populations of all ages and socio-economic backgrounds. They promised to reveal more information which would be relevant to understanding community radio world-wide than the more narrowly focussed community of interest stations, be they student or language based. However a significant proportion of community radio stations world-wide are based on and in communities of interest and a similar, in-depth study of these type of stations would be beneficial in the future. It is the intention of this research to study the philosophies which underpin the community radio movement and to examine their operation and implementation in practice.

The six Irish community radio stations chosen for this study are now described briefly and are marked on map B, appendix H. A list of all of the community radio stations licensed by the IRTC up to 2002 is included in appendix A, offering the reader further context and the capacity for drawing comparisons. Three of the stations in the study are based in the capital city of Dublin, two are in small towns in the country and one covers a scattered rural community. This provides a neat basis of comparison between different types of geographic communities – city and small town or rural. As each of the two small towns have populations of under 15,000 people and both have close links to their rural hinterlands, these are categorised as country stations for the purposes of this study. Two of the Dublin stations broadcast to a predominately working class population, while the communities in the other four stations are more mixed in socio-economic backgrounds.

4.2.i. *City Stations:*

DSCR, Frequency 104.9 Fm. DSCR, (Dublin South Community Radio) broadcasts to approximately 100,000 people in the south eastern part of Dublin, primarily to the parishes of Churchtown, Rathfarnham, Dundrum, Ballinteer and Sandyford (See map C, appendix H). It has a long history as a pirate station and was involved in lobbying the government and organising within the NACB (See appendix G) for the granting of licenses to broadcast to community groups. DSCR broadcasts to a population composed of mixed socio-economic backgrounds and experiences difficulties in embracing this lack of homogeneity in the community and from the size of its

transmission area. In contrast to the other stations in the study, it appears to lack a clear sense of identity and purpose. It is housed in a community-owned centre. It is staffed by CE workers and people on a government funded long term job initiative scheme (See appendix I). It is poorly resourced and funded.

NEAR, Frequency 101.6 Fm. NEAR (North East Access Radio) is licensed to broadcast to approximately 100,000 people living in the North East of Dublin. The studio and offices are located in Coolock but its remit extends to the parishes of Baldoyle, Sutton, Raheny, Donaghmede, Beaumont and Artane (See map C, appendix H). A predominately working class to lower middle class area, it has five 'natural' centres which developed from the villages of former times. Unemployment was high in this region throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. NEAR was founded by a group which had been broadcasting to a much smaller area, as a community radio station and without a license since the early 1980s, under a variety of names, including Concorde. This group and their station were highly politically aware and were motivated to bring about fundamental social change in their community and they remain so today. Initially they were influenced by the principles and organisation of the credit union movement and tenant rights organisations. The core group of founders and organisers became involved in AMARC-International (See appendix B) at an early stage, the chairperson was instrumental in founding AMARC-Europe and he was one of the main authors of the AMARC-Europe Charter, 1991 (See appendix E). NEAR were the main organisers of the National Association of Community Broadcasters (NACB, see appendix G) and they hosted the fourth bi-annual world conference of AMARC in University College Dublin in 1990. NEAR is staffed primarily by people on the CE scheme (See appendix I). It receives funding from the CE scheme, from grant aid, including European Union and Irish government schemes, and through a mixture of local sponsorship/advertising and fundraising events.

WDCR, Frequency 96Fm: WDCR (West Dublin Community Radio) ceased broadcasting in 2001 after the active field research had been concluded, however the insights it provides are deemed useful and so it remains a part of the study. WDCR's contract was revoked by the regulatory body due to failure to comply with correct accountancy procedures and at the time of writing it is expected that the core group will return to the air in the future. This being the case, the station is discussed in the same

manner as the other five which are broadcasting without interruption and the present tense is generally used in the discussion of the findings.

WDCR broadcast to approximately 100,000 people in the area of West Dublin, primarily to people living in the Ballyfermot, Inchicore, Kilmainham and Walkinstown areas (see map C, appendix H). These areas are predominately working class and include catchment areas which have been officially designated as disadvantaged. The station was set up by the local Vocational Education Committee (VEC, See appendix D) as a media laboratory for its adult education and post-Leaving Cert (PLC, see appendix D) students with a remit to broadcast to the local geographic community. It quickly underwent radical review and renewal internally and turned its attention to the local geographic community. It focused particularly on target groups within that geographic community which suffer from exclusion from mainstream society and from disadvantage, for example drug addicts undergoing rehabilitation and early school leavers. It was funded primarily through European initiatives, it was supported by the City of Dublin VEC and was staffed mainly by CE workers and people on the long term job initiative scheme.

4.2.ii. *Country stations:*

CRC, Frequency 102.9 Fm. CRC (Community Radio Castlebar) broadcasts to 15,000 people in the town of Castlebar and its immediate surrounding area only (see map D, appendix H). CRC would prefer to cover a far wider transmission area. The station serves a population with a mixed socio-economic demography. The town is a traditional market town which had suffered greatly from the agricultural and general economic recession of the 1980s and early 1990s. It is recovering with the introduction of IT related industries and courses in a new third level college in the town. The station has a strong orientation towards the provision of information and education. It was set up and is still supported by the adult education office of Mayo VEC (See appendix D). It is staffed by a large scheme of CE workers. It is funded through the CE scheme, by grant aid primarily from the European Union and by advertising.

CRY, Frequency 105.1. CRY (Community Radio Youghal) broadcasts to 10,000 people in the towns of Youghal and the villages immediately surrounding it (See map E, appendix H). It was founded by a group of men who had been broadcasting as a community radio station to a larger area from the 1970s until the Radio and Television Act of 1988 brought the opportunity of becoming a licensed station. The town of

Youghal was affected greatly by the recession of these years, with the closure of many factories but it has always been a popular tourist destination and it is currently undergoing extensive renewal. A mixed socio-economic demography exists with an interesting relationship between town dwellers and their country neighbours. CRY is based on the first floor of a Roman Catholic Church-owned building which is situated a distance from the main street and business area of the town. It is staffed by workers on the CE scheme and is poorly funded, mainly through this scheme and by some advertising and local fundraising.

CCR, Frequency 87.8Fm & 106.1 Fm. CCR (Connemara Community Radio) broadcasts to a rural population of 10,000 people scattered across three hundred square miles of rugged terrain which makes transmission difficult and expensive (See map F, appendix H). It includes the tourist town of Clifden and two offshore islands, Inishbofin and Inishturk. It broadcasts from the northernmost end of its transmission area, from a community development funded complex in the village of Letterfrack. It was founded by the community development organisation, ConWest Plc to assist as a communications tool in the social, cultural, educational and economic development of this community. Its staff are paid through a variety of sources – ConWest Plc and various government and European Union funded schemes, but it has moved away from its initial dependency on the CE scheme. It is funded through grant aid, advertising and local fundraising. It proposes a radical political agenda for social change and community development and was to the fore in lobbying for community radio licenses and in fostering and developing community radio in Ireland in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Its manager was a council member of AMARC-Europe (See appendix E) for two terms, was a member of the commission of the IRTC (see appendix F) and reflects and writes on the community radio experience regularly.

4.3. Research Methods:

A number of research methods were employed in order to provide a thick description of the phenomenon of Irish community radio. This thick description can then be analysed and interpreted with the confidence that a more complete investigation has been carried out than by reliance on a single method. Insights into the nature of community radio found through the employment of one method can be cross checked and interrogated by at least one other method and this leads to greater confidence in the quality of the research and its interpretation and goes some way towards alleviating the dangers of

researcher subjectivity. The employment of multiple forms of data collection over a period of eight years means that this qualitative investigation of community radio in Ireland is both extensive and thorough.

The six stations chosen as case studies were examined through documentary research, through in-depth interviews with principal participants and through long-term observation. This has enabled the analysis which discusses findings 'between' and 'within' the six cases. Such comparisons are made to further inform the norms presented in chapter eight and should not be confused with assessment or 'judgements' of any kind. Each of the research methods employed deserves further elaboration:

4.3.i. *Documentary Analysis:*

The documentary research consisted primarily of the collection of written data generated internally by the stations themselves and of a trawl of secondary material where this existed. Each station had to produce a lengthy application for a licence from the IRTC, initially in 1994 and for licence renewal in 1997/8. Both of these documents provided a rich description of the aims and philosophies of the stations along with plans for the management, funding and programming of stations. The application guidelines specified by the IRTC formed a template for applicant groups and they all used the same headings and format. This greatly facilitated comparison across stations, while remaining sufficiently flexible to allow the perspectives, aspirations and contexts of the applicant groups to emerge. These applications for licences became part of the contracts issued by the IRTC and provide a rich insight into what the founders of the stations and the board members of stations believe they are doing and hope to do. In most cases a mission statement was not included, but a clear statement of aims and objectives was outlined in each case. All applications present a discussion of the type of service to be provided and an indication of the depth (or lack) of understanding of the community to be served. These provide a clear statement of the intentions of each station which are later measured against the practices observed on the ground.

Other documents, which were produced internally, are for the participants in the station - new volunteers, visitors and the members of the communities to be served. These include programme schedules, literature for recruitment drives, fundraising literature, newsletters, in-house training manuals and mission statements and volunteer charters in some cases, but not in all. There is less uniformity across stations in these documents than in their contracts with the IRTC as they were produced to meet specific needs in each station and to no particular template. Some stations are more disposed to produce

written documentation than others. However, where they exist, these prove useful, as they are not for the approval of the IRTC or for outside agencies, but express the aims and plans of the stations to their own constituents, on their own terms.

The IRTC both conducted its own research and commissioned external research to be conducted on Irish community radio stations and this external research was also accessed. This includes the final report of the IRTC's Community Radio Development office, Mr Ciarán Kissane (IRTC, 1997c), a report on the financial state of Irish community radio stations, by his successor as the IRTC's community radio development officer, Ms Margaret Tumelty, (IRTC, 2000) and the IRTC annual evaluations of the six community stations in question from 1998 to 2002 where these were conducted (See appendix O). This research project is indebted to the BCI (Formerly the IRTC) and its staff for making these reports readily available. The IRTC also funded (or part-funded) two research projects which investigated aspects of the sector, one which conducted evaluation workshops with members of the communities served by four of the stations in this study (O Siochrú and Dillon, 1997) and one which examined the gender and employment patterns in both the community and commercial radio sector in Ireland (Gibbons, 1998). Both the internal IRTC documents and the externally conducted research reports were read in the early stage of planning the research project but they were not relied upon to any great extent to generate findings.

Documents relating to the activities of community activists over a period of twenty years informed the section on the history of Irish community radio offered in chapter two along with a review of the scant published material on this material. These documents were collected and stored by Mr Jack Byrne throughout the late 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s. Mr Byrne is the chairperson of NEAR, former chairperson of the NACB (See appendix G) and a former chairperson of AMARC-Europe (See appendix E) and a published author on community radio (Byrne, 1988, 1990). The collection of documents include minutes of meetings of the NACB, notices of public meetings and a series of pamphlets and papers campaigning for legislation for community radio in Ireland. They have never been accessed before and form a valuable archive for researchers in the area of community media generally and in the early history of community radio in Ireland. They were catalogued by the researcher as part of an agreement with Mr Byrne and were presented to the archives of Dublin City University.

4.3.ii. *Semi-Structured Interviews:*

It was decided to conduct a number of interviews with key people in each community radio station in the study. These were identified in each case as being

- Each and every manager of each station since it went on air
- Each and every chairperson of each station since it went on air
- The CE supervisor, where one existed
- At least one volunteer of long standing, selection dependant on the time available to the volunteer to give to the researcher and the level of his/her involvement with the entire project.

This provides a good cross section of the types of participants in a community station – representatives of paid employees and unpaid volunteers are included, current and past participants, those who are in the station on a daily basis and those in positions of responsibility. The reason it was deemed necessary to interview all of the past chairpersons and managers in each station is due to the actual experience on the ground. Although the six community radio stations had only been broadcasting in Ireland for four years at the commencement of the active research period, there had been a high degree of turnover among staff and volunteers. In many cases this is because the stations cannot afford to pay well, managers become 'burned out' and, with the expansion and development of the media in Ireland in the latter half of the 1990s, many attractive career opportunities were available to people who had gained some practical experience in broadcasting and management. In the case of chairpersons, it was deemed important to talk to those who founded the stations, particularly in ascertaining aims and the rationale behind them. In many cases those who had put community pirate stations on air and who had struggled from 1988-1994 to get licences to go back on air had become exhausted by the time they had achieved their dream. In other cases people felt it was more in keeping with the democratic principles espoused by community radio to step down in favour of others. Consequently most stations had had at least two managers and two chairpersons since applying for a licence in 1994, going on air in 1995 and the conclusion of the active interviewing period in 2000.

The selection of interviewees was relatively simple. In the case of the chairpersons and managers, they needed only to be contacted; the selection of volunteers proved more problematic. As the project is descriptive and historical it was deemed more appropriate to interview volunteers who had been with the station for a long time, those whose commitment to the station was deep and those who spent a lot of time in the station. It

may be that recent, transient or occasional volunteers would provide a different set of insights, however the risk that they would not know enough about the station and the need to use time and tape efficiently meant that they were not chosen. Contact was made with this second type of volunteer on a random basis as they appeared in studio while the researcher was observing the day to day operation of the station and their opinions were solicited, noted but not recorded on tape.

It was difficult to know who best to select from the body of long-term volunteers in each station and the current station manager was consulted and usually suggested a number of people. This was further short-listed by finding out who was available to be interviewed, who had the time and who was willing to give up an hour of their time for the interview. In most cases only one volunteer who was not also a board member was interviewed. As all chairpersons during the interview period were also volunteers, this gave a roughly equal mix of paid/unpaid interviewees in the sample.

A semi-structured interview was decided upon as being the most flexible and therefore most suitable way of conducting the research (May 1993: 93). A pilot schedule was drawn up and tested. The pilot interviews took place in May 1999 with participants in the researcher's home station of Wired, in Limerick. These responses were not taped but were noted on the pilot schedule and the final schedule adapted as a result of this experience (See final schedule attached, appendix P). All interviews using the final schedule were taped for transcription.

Interviews were between 50 and 90 minutes long, with one or two exceptions depending on the length and extent of the respondent's experience with the station and with the community radio movement in Ireland. After a series of personal questions to establish the demographics and to set the interviewees at their ease, the interviews took whatever direction the interviewee was inclined to go in while still ensuring that the main headings of the schedule were covered. The interviewer followed the interviewees' lead by picking up on comments made where possible. The schedule was made up of groups of questions under headings. The headings are the main research questions for the project and as each area was covered the interviewer could tick them off. The actual phrasing of questions varied from interview to interview but having questions grouped together and written out helped to keep the interview focused and to ensure that the interviewer did not repeat questions unnecessarily or neglect to ask important ones. After each question was answered the interviewer drew a line through it and in the

closing stages of each interview checked through to see had all relevant points been addressed.

This grouping of questions also facilitated the analysis of transcripts later on. In this way the researcher could be confident that all the main issues were discussed while interviewees were free to develop points as they occurred to them.

The design of the schedule was such as to allow the interviewee to speak freely and to enable the interviewer to pick up logically on points made by the respondent rather than skipping around and losing both the flow of the conversation and the comfortable, trusting atmosphere created. Many questions were included under each heading and some were returned to several times until the interviewer and interviewee were satisfied that the topic had been sufficiently explored. The headings under which each set of questions was grouped were arrived at from the pilot schedule, which in turn was designed by drawing on the review of literature and from pre-observation, particularly from the researcher's previous experience of community radio in Ireland and globally over a number of years.

Taping the interviews meant that the interviewer did not have to take notes obtrusively and could concentrate on winning trust and engaging in more normal style conversation. This put the interviewees at their ease and enabled the discussion to develop points of interest which, it is believed, led to a better quality of responses than sticking to a strict schedule could have done.

In total thirty participants from the six stations under study were interviewed. A full list of the names of those who agreed to give up their time to be interviewed is included in appendix Q, along with a key to the referencing convention used when quoting from their responses. The in-built microphone on the marantz recorder was used rather than an extension microphone which would have been more intrusive and each interview was conducted in a place chosen by the respondent, generally the station manager's office. However none of the interviewees had any difficulty with being recorded. As all are involved in radio, they are used to recording interviews and in fact, may talk more than respondents encountered in other areas of research as a result of this involvement. As an activist in the area and a participant observer, the researcher did not feel hesitant in introducing opinions in order to provoke a reaction. In many cases these opinions were provocative rather than the researcher's own and were prompted by prior knowledge of the respondent's practice and previously expressed views. On other occasions respondents, when faced with a question that they had not previously considered or an

example of different ways of working, said "That seems like a good idea" or "No, we're not doing that" and wondered why. This frequently led to the more interesting and reflective responses and are deemed to have been useful practice as a result by the researcher. (Oakley, 1990; Reason, 1994). Some of the interviews may have led to respondents returning to their work and questioning or reviewing their own practice and their station's performance but this is in the nature of engaged observation and again is to be noted and welcomed. One of the most attractive features of this form of research is that the respondents' views are easily fore-grounded. The findings which emerged are predominately the self-representation of participants in the community radio experience in Ireland today. The input, both editorial and interpretative, of the researcher is detailed in the next section but the reader is presented with sufficient data to draw his/her own conclusions. Those of the researcher are presented in the main in the final chapter, chapter eight, which proposes some norms for future community radio practice and theory. Chapters five to seven allow the participants to describe and reflect on their own practices, albeit through the frameworks devised by the researcher and supplemented by the contexts observed during the course of the longitudinal research.

4.3.iii. *Long-term Observation:*

Most qualitative research calls for direct observation of some kind and it is generally held that the longer a researcher spends in the research environment observing, the richer the findings that will accrue. Jankowski and Wester (1991) believe that this may be "the ideal method of qualitative research", stressing the need for the employment of multiple methods of investigation. May claims that participant observation

> ....is about engaging in a social scene, experiencing it and seeking to understand and explain it. The research is the medium though which this takes place. By listening and experiencing, impressions are formed and theories considered, reflected upon, developed and modified. Participant observation is not an easy method to perform or to analyse, but despite the arguments of its critics it is a systematic and disciplined study which, if performed well greatly assists in understanding human actions and brings with it new ways of viewing the social world.   (May, 1993:130-131)

The observer can be overt or covert, and may be an outsider or someone from within the group or from a similar group. Each of these options has its advantages, but in this case the researcher chose to be as open as possible about being an observer and explained the aims and parameters of the research to every person encountered during observation visits and interviews. The researcher was well known to all community radio activists

as she herself was a co-founder of two community radio stations and has been actively involved in the community radio movement in Ireland since 1988 and in Europe since 1996. This meant that a relationship founded on familiarity and trust was already in place in most cases which facilitated the researcher in performing interviews and in spending time in each of the stations. For those participants in community radio stations who did not already know the researcher, she was introduced by the station manager in each case as a fellow community radio activist, from a community radio station in Limerick who was conducting research on participation in community radio stations across Ireland and was greeted with a high degree of friendliness and openness. In most stations, space is at a premium, people work in close quarters and are used to visitors and new recruits. The pressure of on-air broadcasting and all of the attendant work which surrounds it, meant that those who were observed did not appear to have time to worry about the presence of a researcher. Indeed, the fact that participants in community radio stations are generally involved in on-air broadcasting and are predisposed to talk, meant that most people seemed to enjoy the attention. They were extremely forthcoming with opinions and comments and wished the research well.

Examining aims and ideals and asking how people feel they are putting these into practice, requires an ethnographic rather than an empirical approach. This researcher was ideally placed to conduct qualitative research through long-term, first hand observation and in-depth interviews within the community radio sector because of her position within that sector. This means that she was seen as an 'insider' rather than an external researcher or examiner. This has led to a deep level of trust and open and easy access to stations, to documents and to all participants which may not be the case for another researcher without this history or these connections. Consequently this research adopted an emic approach to the investigation of the aims, philosophy and practices of community radio in Ireland. Of course this could lead to the danger of loss of objectivity but without replaying the old debate on the possibility of any research being objective (Bell, 1987; Kane, 1985; May, 1993) and the acceptance that research always leads to deep engagement with the subject (May 1993) the researcher was aware of these dangers and built in a number of checks to alleviate this danger.

The principal guard against a subjective skewing of research methods and the interpretation of findings depends on an adequate grounding in the communication theory and research methods generally. Allied to this, the researcher spent three days in

each station initially and this was supplemented by further visits over the active research period, 1998-2000. Visits generally lasted for five to six hours at a time and, after the initial visits, were staggered to ensure that all times that the stations were broadcasting were covered. For example some stations broadcast from early till late, some operate on a different basis on weekends to weekdays and it was deemed important that each distinct time period should be observed. In stations where the broadcast hours were more limited than others, visits were made to view the work practices and working atmosphere while off-air, as well when broadcasting.

On each visit field notes were recorded of the studio and station layout, of the interactions between all those who entered the station for example between CE workers and volunteers, between managers and participants, paid and unpaid, between board members and others and between all participants and any visitors who appeared. Notes were also kept of the signs and notices in each station, of the spaces and times used for socialising and for working. The researcher made a point of talking to everyone within the station, although in-depth interviews were only conducted on a select basis as outlined below. This gave the opportunity to test the findings in the documentary research and in the interviews conducted with selected interviewees and also gave an insight into how participants feel about their station, their participation in it and all of the key questions raised by the research. It also alleviated the researcher's fear that she may be too closely connected with interviewees and gave her the chance to meet and talk with participants who had not previously encountered her or her views. The observation visits were generally conducted at the same time as the semi-structured interviews. A different form of investigation was also possible, at least twice a year, when representatives of all of the community radio stations met as part of the community radio forum of Ireland (CRF, see appendix F). The researcher regularly used these meetings to arrange further visits, to clarify information received and to review and modify the research findings as the research was progressing. In particular, this regular and extended contact with activists in each of the stations studied provided opportunities for principal protagonists in the stations to correct, confirm or contradict the observations being tentatively formulated and to re-inform the direction of the research project, acting effectively as a modified form of respondent validation. This form of long-term, emic observation proved extremely valuable in informing the research findings.

The time spent on these studio visits and necessitated staying in each local community for several days and nights throughout the active research period. This provided the opportunity of listening to stations' output and provided valuable insights into the type and quality of programming. This was supplemented by the collection and perusal of stations' programming schedules, which in turn fed into the interview process both semi-structured and informal. Rigorous content analysis was not conducted as this study is primarily concerned with the producers of the text rather than with the text itself. However, the many hours of listening, coupled with the information contained in programme schedules over a period of eight years, informed the findings and the discussion of them in section II.

4.4. Analysis of Research Findings:

The full text of each of the interviews conducted was transcribed and carefully analysed. Two methods were employed here. Firstly, the transcripts were read to see if the questions posed by the research were directly addressed by the interviewees. The text was appropriately annotated in each case and a file of the comments of each respondent in each station was compiled. This made it relatively easy to cross reference the findings sourced through observation and documentary research for each question and provided ready access to useful substantiating quotations of real experience in each case. The second method of analysis involved reading each transcript several times and highlighting points which had not been anticipated when the interview schedule was devised but which offered interesting insights into the work and philosophy of the entire station in question.

The headings which emerged became lines of enquiry and transcripts for each station were again searched for evidence in each case. To this were added the observations made by the researcher on field visits and the insights gained from the analysis of each station's literature. The value of this method proved to be that the voices of participants in community radio are heard and their perspectives and reflections are allowed to emerge. The context of each station and the implications of their responses are explained by the wider overview provided by long-term observation and documentary analysis. However this led to a lengthy compilation with a large measure of replication as quotations and examples from each station, in each case were compiled. It was decided to prune the original draft to concentrate on the three key questions which had emerged and to use this larger body of material to inform the work generally.

The interview protocols were analysed by hand, computer software programmes such as Ethnograph and Nudist were investigated as possible aids in the analysis but were rejected in favour of the more traditional method of analysis by hand. The immersion of the researcher in the data without the mediation or assistance of computer generated tools of analysis has resulted in a deep engagement with the material and assisted in the development of a sensitive understanding of the attitudes and affective values of respondents. This is not to deny the value of analysis conducted with the aid of software packages. It would appear that the Kwalitan software package in particular may be useful for future research of this type. However these packages were not availed of for the analysis of this data. The richness of the data which emerged during manual transcription and analysis struck the researcher forcibly and evoked clear images of the respondents' emotional responses while being interviewed. This facilitated continuous and engaged assessment of the research data and the researcher is confident that the method of analysis employed is both useful and valid.

4.5. Presentation of Research Findings:

The research findings are presented in section two, in three chapters which relate to the three central questions of this study – does community radio build community and if so how? Does community radio provide a communications link for its community and activate multi-flows of communication which create multi, micro-public spheres and facilitate the democratisation of communication? Does community radio promote and facilitate the participation of members of its community in its work, and if so, how? The chapter divisions and the sub-sections into which they are divided are informed by the review of literature pertaining to the aims of community radio identified early on in the project. The interview schedule was divided into headings which proved useful in defining the areas of enquiry but the final presentation of the findings and indeed the framing of the larger research questions emerged through a process of progressive focussing during the writing up phase of the project. Each section is introduced by reference to the research questions and the discussion of relevant concepts from chapters two and three. The findings are summarised and presented as a synthesis of the methods described above. These are supported by sample quotes from the thirty respondents and from stations' applications for licences. A full list of these along with the key for identifying speakers is given in appendix Q. Stations are referred to by their initials at all times for the sake of consistency. In most cases these initials correspond with the names by which the stations are generally known, the two exceptions are

Community Radio Castlebar, which is referred to as CRC and Connemara Community Radio, which is referred to as CCR.

4.6. Research Limits and Suggestions for Future Research:

The notion of testing reaction to and perceptions of the station amongst listeners was considered but rejected. It is extremely difficult to determine who is listening to radio - even long established and national stations have difficulty in accessing this information let alone conducting deep, meaningful dialogue with representative samples of this public. Such research is extremely scarce, the BBC research into radio audiences in Britain in the 1980s (Barnett and Morrison, 1989) is a rare exception and took huge resources to conduct.

However in the community sector it is even more difficult to access 'listeners in the raw'. Not only are the stations tiny and newly established, but the understanding of 'listener' is fundamentally different to that of listeners in other sectors. In community radio the listener is encouraged to be active and to become a participant - passive listening at home is not the aim. This means the stations themselves are not concerned with numbers and frequently only know the listeners who have become active as volunteers. It would be extremely difficult to formulate a method of accessing listeners who were not participants as a result. Progressive focussing led to the identification of participation as a primary aim for community radio stations. For all of these reasons this research study concentrates on the participants in, rather than on the listeners to, community radio. This does not make this research less objective or less valid than more usual audience based studies but rather offers a different way of examining a medium at work and allows community radio to be measured in terms of its own aims, within the constraints of its sphere, instead of being measured in ways that have been developed for other broadcast and mass media where the flow of communication is predominately in one direction.

Foxwell (2001: 8) warns about the dangers of researching community radio in terms of numbers of listeners. This, she claims, removes the focus from the social and cultural value of local, participative communication. Instead quantitative research into audience figures leads to unfavourable comparisons with audience figures for commercial and public service broadcasters. These are always unfavourable to community media as they do not measure like with like. The aims, orientations and structures of community radio are so different to those of broadcasters who need to maximise audience figures to maintain profit or licence fees, that such research misses the point and poses

inappropriate questions. This study focuses on the ways in which community radio stations try to involve its listeners as real participants in the broadcasting, social and political projects. Community radio conceives of its audience in terms of co-communicators and owners of the station. The traditional research schema of audience research do not offer any useful or ready avenues for accessing or researching the real relationship between listeners to community radio who have not taken up the offer of participation and their stations. Given the resource constraints of the project, it was decided to concentrate on those members of the community/audience who have been or who are being encouraged to take up the offer of participating in the community radio station. Nonetheless, qualitative research into the relationship between listeners/pre-participants and their local community radio stations would provide valuable insights into the work of community radio and would make an interesting research project for the future.

Likewise a study of the programming broadcast by community radio stations would make extremely interesting reading. The output of all six stations was listened to at intervals and programme schedules were accessed and analysed but this work supports the primary methods of investigation outlined above and is neither a principal tool of investigation nor an area of study in its own right. It would be useful to contrast both the content and the programming styles of community radio stations with those of commercial or public service stations. An investigation of the content and presentation styles of community radio programmes would be relatively easy to conduct and comparisons could be made across the sectors. However this could form the basis of a doctoral research project in its own right. While such text-based studies could and should be conducted, the interest behind the current research project was to see how the aims and organisational structures of Irish community radio stations differ from those of the stations in the other two sectors. A cross-comparison of programme content, while interesting is deemed to be capable of delivering insights on the surface level only and the process of facilitating "genuine participation", as outlined in chapter two, is deemed to be the primary focus of this research project.

If community radio stations prove to be significantly different in their aims, ownership, management and employment practices and are found to be alternatives to more patriarchal, capitalist modes of working then this would be clear evidence of radical intention and a real alternative to mainstream media. Two-way or multi-flow

communication, the creation of multi, micro-public spheres and the provision of a practical way of exercising the human right to communicate are deemed to be sufficient areas for investigation for this project, at this time. Each of these is deemed to be provided for, at least in part, through the participation of the members of the relevant community. Consequently the research focuses on an examination of participation as process, through an overview of the ownership and management structures and styles of community radio stations, of the strategies put in place to facilitate participation and of the difficulties encountered by stations in its provision. The research necessarily also investigates the role of stations in building their communities – in providing a communications link or nexus for their communities and in the employment of community development practices.

SECTION II: CHAPTER FIVE

Findings: Community

Chapter Summary	
5.0.	**Introduction**
5.1.	**Building Community on the Basis of Place**
5.2.	**Building Community on the Basis of Relationship**
5.3.	**Building Community on the Basis of Belief**
5.4.	**Building Community on the Basis of time**
5.5.	**Facilitating the Work of Community Activists to Build Community**
5.6.	**Community Development**

5.0. Introduction:

The review of literature in chapter three proposed that the concept of community is best understood as a way of organising social life. Four components or bases which underpin the understanding of community in the world today were proposed - those of place, relationship, belief and time. Community is never a concrete, empirically verifiable reality, rather, it is an ideal construct towards which people strive. It is a felt or perceived reality and can be built through the symbolic order - in the context of this study, through the opportunities for communication offered by Irish community radio stations. The process of building an ideal community is deemed to be as important as the goal of achieving one. Community comes into being only as it grows and changes, in other words, as it is being built. Tönnies' (1963 [1887]) ideal construct of *Gemeinschaft* describes the cosy feeling which community suggests. His concept of *Gesellshaft* is found to be useful in understanding how people contract to be with one another in various communities in modern society. Both of these concepts underpin the notion of community which emerged from this study.

This section describes how the six Irish community radio stations in the study build and aspire to build a sense of community. The discussion is based on the four components of place, relationship, belief and time and it discusses the practical steps taken by stations to achieve their main aim of building their communities physically, socially and culturally. While all stations try to develop and improve their communities, some take a community development approach to this work. The similar but distinct projects of building a community and community development are dealt with in separate sections.

5.1. Building Community on the Basis of Place:

Each of the six stations is based in a clearly delineated geographic location. In each case they use the name of the area to define themselves. Two of them call themselves by the name of centre of their areas - Community Radio Castlebar (CRC), Community Radio Youghal (CRY), three of them describe the area they have been licensed to cover, West Dublin Community Radio (WDCR), Dublin South Community Radio (DSCR) and Connemara Community Radio (CCR). NEAR uses the acronym for North-East Access Radio to describe the physical area to which they broadcast and they include the notion of participation as integral to their operations.

However these names also reveal a problem for most of the stations, one which was repeated time and again in interviews with respondents – that is the fact that the transmission areas granted by the IRTC do not match the communities which the stations wish to serve in at least four of the six cases. In formal documentation, for example in their applications for licences in 1994 and 1998, stations describe the physical areas they cover as their communities, as these are the transmission areas granted by the IRTC. However the stations based in two rural towns, CRY and CRC believe that they are hindered by not being granted licences to broadcast to what they consider to be their natural hinterlands and two of the Dublin stations believe that the areas granted, almost one quarter each of the entire Dublin area, are too large to be considered communities in any meaningful sense.

CRC agreed to the IRTC restrictions in order to get a licence and to begin developing a broadcasting service but they have continuously stated that they need to serve a wider population if they are to be self sustaining and viable, both financially and realistically as a service. In 1998 they applied for what they understood the IRTC would grant them – an area of five miles surrounding the town of Castlebar but they state that they would like to serve a larger geographical area

> Given the dispersed nature of the population of Mayo, an extension to 10 miles would prove a more viable area in terms of resources, both financial and human and would still only involve a population base of 15,000 to 17,000. (CRC, 1998: 7)

Shortly after the end of the active research period, CRC were preparing a case for submission to the IRTC to extend their transmission area and they have strong support for such a development from the neighbouring town of Westport (PS, CRC: 8; MW, CRC: 11, see map D, appendix H).

Finding themselves prohibited from broadcasting to the rural hinterland which they had served with great success in their pirate days, CRY face the exact same difficulty as CRC (NC, CRY: 48; SM, CRY: 5; JF, CRY: 16). They recognise that their listenership is much higher in the rural surrounding areas than in the town itself (NC, CRY: 46) and long to spread out to the two neighbouring towns of Middleton and Dungarvan, including all of the villages in between, as they did in their pirate days (JF, CRY: 15 ; see map E, appendix H).

Some of the founding members of DSCR felt that the transmission area was too large and unwieldy to be successful from a community perspective. The original driving force behind the station in its pirate days was a single residents' association. However, nearly fifteen years later, many of the most active participants in the station are still from this group

> We like to think that it was various resident' associations in the locality but to be absolutely honest about it, looking at it in retrospect "we" was Churchtown Residents' Association. And people who are still involved in greater or lesser degree are ex-members of the Churchtown association. (TM, DSCR: 1-2)

They continue to try to broadcast blanket-coverage to a huge, heterogeneous population spread over a wide area.

NEAR coped with the problem of being granted too large a transmission area differently. They set up radio clubs in outlying parishes; they target specific minority groups within that area and, to a large extent, they concentrate on the area which they had served as a pirate community radio station in the late seventies and throughout the eighties. During that time the station was mainly based in the parish of Coolock (See map C, appendix H) and communicated with its inhabitants in a *Gemeinschaft* manner - all of the people involved lived in close proximity, shared common needs and found themselves bound together through the ties of locality and similarity. When it was granted a licence for a transmission area of one quarter of the city of Dublin, the north eastern area of its current title, it suffered. The sheer size of the new area has caused problems for the station in terms of recognition, ownership and participation. Respondents consider the area too large to operate successfully as a community project in its truest sense.

WDCR and CCR did not complain about the transmission areas granted to them but both concentrated on target groups within their communities almost from the start. WDCR decided to target marginalised groups within that transmission area as a result of their initial interactions with the community in which the station is located. The decision to focus on target groups sprang from the desire to do something about the

problems devastating that area of Dublin, in particular drug abuse and poor levels of education. CCR were happy that the transmission area granted, mapped on to the communities which they wanted to serve but they suffer difficulties because of the nature of the terrain of that area. The transmission area is three hundred square miles, much of it in mountainous, under-populated country and includes two tiny islands in the Atlantic ocean (See map F, appendix H). This originally made the erection of effective transmitters far more expensive than for any of the other stations in the survey. However, it is the area covered by the community development company which founded station and the community which they aim to serve. The station management board were concerned that some areas in the transmission region were unable to pick up the signal sufficiently well and lament the lack of finance to remedy this situation

> We have problems with transmission. There are areas we can't get to and realistically we probably won't for many years unless we get a great handshake from somewhere. The likes of Recess and Maam, it would mean putting in extra transmitters which are terribly expensive and not only that you have to get your frequencies from the ODTR and they're not easy got either. (PS, CCR: 7, see map F, appendix H)

CCR began working through nine local community councils and hoped to develop nine radio clubs in the style of communications programmes in developing countries discussed in chapter three and of NEAR. This did not happen, partly because many of the community councils themselves ceased to exist, but also because the demands of running the station and the logistics involved, meant that they had little time to do so. They noticed that the further a person lives from their studio in Letterfrack, the less likely they are to become involved in any meaningful and sustainable way in the work of the station. The station manager described the situation in terms of concentric circles with the greatest concentration of participants living closest to the station

> If you were to draw a map of the area or to draw a circle of say a five mile radius of the studio, you'd probably have 60%. If you make that an eight mile radius you'll have 80-85% of all of our volunteers are from that area but in fact our area stretches south of us here. Over 30 miles, so certainly people in the southern area are underrepresented. Again it's purely a question of physical access. (MR, CCR: 22-23)

However they did manage to open a remote studio on the island of Inisbofin and they have conducted training and left recording equipment on the neighbouring island of Insiturk. Conscious that Clifden, with a permanent population of 1,000 people, is the largest town and the commercial and social centre for the area, they hope to open another on-air studio there in the near future.

The findings show that there is a strong case for the licensing authority, in this case the BCI, to let the aspirant community stations determine the size and spread of the communities which they believe are their communities. This can mean that a frequency is not fully utilised, but participants believe that it is preferable that the frequency be partly used to narrowcast effectively, rather than be fully employed, broadcasting to an area which does not constitute a community. This relates equally to the organisation of community on the bases of time and belief. It is also important for those who wish to assess the success or otherwise of licensed community radio stations to consider that the communities delineated by license may not be the communities the groups studied identify for themselves and that this may be due to technological or political reasons. The six Irish community radio stations studied display a strong sense of community as located in place. They deal with the mismatch between the area granted by the BCI for transmission area and their own delineation of the community served either by employing compensatory tactics or by ignoring it and concentrating on the community as they have identified it.

5.2. Building Community on the Basis of Relationship:

The review of literature concluded that all communities today depend to a large degree on the recognition by individuals in an area that they share mutual concerns, needs and interests. People no longer have to cleave to the relationships which were given at birth but rather they contract to live and to act in partnership with others. Community is organised in modern societies as *Gesellschaft* according to Tönnies (1963 [1887]). There is a belief that in modern society a wide measure of relationships are based on shared needs and are freely entered into in terms of social contracts. The BCI makes a distinction between licences for stations which are geographically based and those which form around interest but, in fact, all communities are based to a degree on contracts based on mutual self interest.

The two stations which recognised this most clearly, WDCR and CCR strive to cater for specific clusters of people with shared interests and needs. However all stations target groups to some degree in their programming choices. CCR spend a full page in their 1998 application for a licence (CCR, 1998: 13) describing the community which they serve. This is in contrast with the other stations in the survey who do not give a detailed breakdown of the demographics of their communities and indeed in two cases only the geographic area is outlined. The community development ethos of CCR, which is

discussed in detail later in this section, means that this station clearly identifies the relations and the inter-connections of specific sub-groups within its transmission area. The component of relationship is clearly an essential component of CCR's construction of community. WDCR came to know their community differently when discussing the teething problems associated with finding the right management structures initially. The former manager of WDCR revealed how the group came to recognise the importance of the different relationships which exist in their community and the need to represent them carefully within the station, she reflects

> I think they work well now, I think we had a lot of struggles and I think the struggles did us great good in the sense that people came to a much better understanding. I'm glad we had all the struggles over more meaning and what community meant and how it operated on a day to day basis and what is an infringement of whose rights and where does everything fit in all of that. We would have had an awful lot of teething problems in that area, in the area of how far it should be used [i.e. management structures] and what is power? (CF, WDCR: 13)

All stations recognise that community is built on relationships and seek to strengthen these through facilitating communication between all members in that community. This is discussed in detail in the next chapter which deals with the community radio station as a communications link for the community, however some examples of how stations work to involve groups in partnership with others are now outlined.

NEAR divide up the population they are licensed to serve in a similar way to WDCR and CCR. In their application for licence renewal in 1998 they describe the diversity of groups within the community and their belief that a community radio station could and would link them together, they state it is

> An area of mixed social and economic background. There are large areas of social deprivation, environmental and social cohesion problems. We believe that the station can unite and support these community associations in their work of community development. (NEAR, 1998: 8)

NEAR have consistently identified and targeted such groups in their work and the strategies they employ are detailed in chapter seven.

In 1994 the group which founded CRC, Community Radio Mayo, described themselves as a

> A group representing a range of community interests. It is also a partnership between the public and voluntary sectors. (CRC, 1994: 11)

Forty different local organisations are involved and have the right to elect directors to the board of management of CRC (CRC,1998: 4). This was seen as a valuable and important strategy which enabled the widening of access to a network of other groups and individuals beyond the local organisations themselves (CRC, 1998: 4).

DSCR originally grew out of the collaboration of a number of residents' associations led by one active group. One of the founders believes that a communications link was needed to build a sense of community in the new suburbs of south county Dublin in the 1970s, he recalls

> We were all in new housing estates, there was nothing provided for us and nobody knew anybody. How were we going to get know about anything, get anything done, unless we talked to each other and it seemed to me that radio was an ideal way to do that. (TD, DSCR: 1)

CRY believe their station serves as a nexus for these relationships at the level of information provision. They view the station as a communication connection point which they provide as a service. One of the founders explained this concept clearly when he compared it to other services which communities, especially small mainly rural communities, need. He believed that it would be important for funds to be made available to enable community radio stations to serve their communities

> It's like the rural post offices, like you know they mightn't pay, we'll say in a commercial sense but I think if they backed them up more, they're community points for people that are out in rural areas and have nowhere to go and find out what's happening. That is the way the radio is kind of – following on that angle – whereas they have contact with their local community, they can be community watch, they hear local people, they get the local notices, if somebody like now did the mass now, just the mass only, I think that's a great thing for the community. They hear the notice of the mass, they hear what's going on, they are not in the church, so you have it in the home. (JF, CRY: 14)

In conclusion, the research shows that the stations which are best able to identify the disparate groups within them and to serve these as target groups which can then relate on more equal terms with each other are the most successful in building a sense of community. This is further elaborated upon in the sections on communications links and on the democratisation of communication, in particular in relation to multi-flows of communication and the provision of multi, micro-public spheres through community radio. It became apparent during the course of this research that stations which are unable to clearly identify the groups in their communities are unable to serve them and are unable to see the relationships which bind their communities together and which must be served. Such stations remain operating at the level of service provision in a traditional one-way flow process of communication rather than embracing the interactive and radical community development approach to community building which is outlined later.

5.3. Building Community along the Basis of Belief:

The review of literature concerned with the concept of community established that a group of people must believe themselves to be living already in a community for one to exist (Bellah et al, 1986; Silverstone, 1999). While community radio stations can be expected to enhance this belief and to enhance the life of such communities, they cannot be expected to create a community where people do not believe one exists. This has already been discussed in relation to the building of community on the basis of place. Where stations were granted transmission areas which did not match the community which they originally set out to serve, they encountered real difficulties in trying to form a sense of community where no community was believed to exist. The community radio stations in this study believe that they are engaged in the work of building on a belief in the existence and in the right to exist of their communities. They further believe that their work offers their community the opportunity to enhance the quality of that existence. They provide a communications link to people where they can address themselves as a community and can affirm their sense of togetherness, of identity and of self-worth by talking to one another.

There is a strong sense in the stations which employ a community development approach to their work that community radio can build and benefit the community. CCR is explicit in explaining just how their station will build a community which exists, but which needs to be strengthened. Drawing on the ideas of different relationships within a place, it strongly identifies those who belong to the community but who are not active members of it. It details the ways in which it believes the radio station can build its community

> The proposed structure contains a number of features which we think important in a proposed community broadcasting service.
> - It will ensure opportunity is given to all communities in the area to become active participants in the radio;
> - It will involve new groups and individuals that are not involved in other forms of community activity;
> - It will increase involvement in and awareness of community initiatives;
> - It will ensure that the radio service will be accountable to all communities in North West Connemara;
> - It will encourage involvement of people from more traditional community activities to look at a new way of working;
> - It will encourage communities to work closely together on initiatives that are of benefit to the whole area. (CCR, 1994: 12)

The community radio movement also taps into the belief that it is possible for a person to live in a better communion with others. The movement strives to promote good

relations, understanding and tolerance. This is covered in point 10 of the AMARC-Europe Charter (See appendix E) to which all stations must subscribe as part of their contracts with the BCI. However it is also evident in the work observed and in the comments made by participants in all stations during the course of this research. NEAR articulates it most clearly in quoting the AMARC Europe Charter in its volunteers' handbook when it explains the underlying premise of all programming as

- Being proactive in support of marginalised people and issues
- Challenging all discriminatory, communally divisive or destructive ideas or actions
- Supporting positive community development perceptions and movements. And
- Opposing all forms of intolerance and exploitation.

In practice this will mean that while all points of view have a right to be aired, it is station policy to encourage the emergence of a tolerant, consensual, society. While guests may articulate intolerant, divisive opinions, station personnel should challenge such opinions and seek more tolerant reflection. (NEAR, 1999: 10)

The chairperson of DSCR believes that community radio provides a space for disparate groups to come together

> We aim to co-ordinate different groups in our area. To try to form local community involvement. To try to bring different types of ethnic type programmes, they would get on the other airwaves, like religious programmes, community information, classical, jazz music, Irish programmes. (JOB, DSCR: 2)

WDCR recognises the need for a community to present itself, on and in its own terms, to itself, to celebrate its own strengths and to articulate its belief in itself. This ideal is expressed succinctly in the introduction to their application for licence renewal in 1998

> Despite this lack of economic development there is a vibrant community life from which the station has benefited and to which it has contributed. There is also a strong community support for innovative means of self definition as the community feels it is often described by outside media in terms which it does not recognise, let alone identify with.
> The trademark of our broadcasting service has been authentic community interaction at all levels of broadcasting delivery including planning, management, training, community networking, programming and evaluation. (WDCR, 1998: 1)

Silverstone (1999) reminds us of the need to continually reinforce this belief in the existence of a community and of one's membership of it

> We need constantly to be reminded, reassured, that our sense of belonging and our involvement is worthwhile. (Siverstone, 1999: 98)

The symbolic order and hence community radio, helps us to find, use and listen to our own voice. All of the community radio stations researched believe that their communities were worth working for, usually on a voluntary basis. All of them strive

to include as many groups, sub-groups, clubs and societies as possible and they all cover issues of local interest, using local people on air, thus constantly reminding the members of their communities of who they are and that they belong. Community radio taps into the important personal quest for recognition of the self as part of a group. One of the founders of CRY expressed the role of his station in building self-esteem for the community as follows

> Basically we found that the whole idea of community radio, our philosophy here and my philosophy is, bringing the people together.
> And what community radio is all about, I firmly believe, it's a community looking at itself, examining itself and portraying itself in a positive light. (NC, CRY: 26)

5.4. Building Community along the Basis of Time:

One of the easiest ways for people to believe a community exists is if they can see evidence of its existence over time. One of the best ways of building that community is if people believe it will prosper in the future. Where these two time orientations can be exploited, the possibilities are immense, difficulties arise where they are not, or cannot be fore-grounded.

This is directly related to the problems experienced by NEAR and DSCR because the areas granted for transmission were seen as far too large. People in the city of Dublin do not know and will never know most of the people who live three miles away. In the case of both stations' transmission areas, there is no shared sense of history of the quarter of the city granted as having been a community in the past nor any expectation of it becoming a sustainable one in the future..

CRY specifically wanted to help a town and hinterland which are changing economically and socially. They aim to serve

> ....the traditional mix of industrial and agricultural backgrounds, all of whom are enjoying the benefits of the present buoyant economy. (CRY, 1998: 9)

as opposed to the smaller region described in the 1994 which was

> Just recently begun to recover from the effects of many years of recession. (CRY, 1994: 8).

They have a long history as a pirate community radio station dating back to the early 1970s and are recognised by members of this community which is experiencing economic flux as part of the fabric of that community (NC, CRY: 54; JF, CRY: 12). This gives credibility to the station and to their vision of "bringing the people together" (NC, CRY: 26).

CCR was set up by a parent community development group – ConWest Plc specifically to revitalise an area ravaged by time. The station was seen as a tool to enhance this

recovery particularly by providing a communications link and working in a community development manner as will be discussed later.

Each of the stations can identify the communities from which they spring and which they aim to serve. These are recognised as having existed over time and there is a strong belief in each case that it is worthwhile endeavouring to build these communities in the future.

5.5. Facilitating the Work of Community Activists to Build the Community:

The aim of building the community which they serve is the primary aim for all stations. The manner in which they set about doing this and the priorities they place on different objectives varied. Analysis of the first round of applications and of the interviews conducted during this research, shows that the commitment to the development of their community through radio was always at the top of these stations' agendas. While it is more difficult to identify these aims where they are not explicitly expressed as aims, further analysis decodes the responses. Phrases such as 'access', 'participation' and 'empowerment' which are often clichéd and hackneyed are easier to spot on a surface reading than such responses as

> Every group can come in (Castlebar, PK: 3)

or

> We want to get the people together (CRY, NC: 25).

However they are none the less valid and may even be more so, as they express a sincere belief which drives the participants, rather than a managed or mediated approach for the stations.

All of the stations recognised the power of community radio to build their communities and were concerned that community activists locally used their stations to accomplish their own goals. In reflecting on the development of CCR in its first five years as a licensed broadcaster, the station manager believes that people gradually came to realise the benefits of community radio in advertising or promoting their own group's activities. The situation has changed dramatically from the early days when it was difficult for other groups to visualise the benefits of participating in the station. Today groups and associations are reported to be keen to go on air in order to have an impact on the community at large. They believe that the community radio station is a good way to promote themselves and their activities. The station manager explains

> I think people do use the station as a tool and increasingly I think like there was a time , initially when we started doing commentaries for example, we found the GAA [See appendix D] impossible to depend on. Now they come to us and they

> will sort out where we will get access to a telephone line, they'll look for sponsors…And I think, certainly it raises awareness of what the groups are doing and you mentioned yacht clubs therefore example the RNLI (See appendix F) would frequently have made contact with us about say a new development, a new boat, how many rescues they had, how many call outs they had and I think it just makes people aware of "God, I wouldn't have thought the Clifden RNLI would be that active" or so on. I think as well that one of the things that generally it does is it makes people aware of the level of activity in the area. (MR, CCR: 39-40)

Comparing their usefulness, commitment and loyalty to community groups with the coverage offered by local commercial stations Galway Bay Fm and Mid West one volunteer said

> We get mad with them, for example on show day, Galway Bay arrive with a big fancy unit for an hour and are gone but we say to people "We're still here, six hours later when there are only two people and one pony left." They know we care about them all. (BOS, CCR: 15)

The chairperson believes that the station is used as a resource by writers groups, the elderly, sports clubs, FÁS [See appendix I], the local schools and other local clubs and societies. However he believes there is potential for much greater and more beneficial participation and he believes in it as a policy for increasing meaningful interaction and for community building (PK, CCR: 9).

NEAR believe that they have succeeded in making their station available to community groups to broadcast their message to the community and that these groups recognise the value of the station to them in doing so. The station chairperson quoted several examples of groups who had experienced the positive benefits of going on air with NEAR and of groups who consequently became closely involved with the station (JB, NEAR: 41). They are convinced that the access they can offer groups is more meaningful than that offered by other media because it is continuous

> I think community radio's real strength is that it allows individuals and organisations this continuous access to keep telling their story and as it evolves, to tell people where they're at now and to bring people along with them. (JB, NEAR: 41)

They gave the commitment to continue providing this level of access to community groups in their 1998 application for a licence and see their operation as a communications link, as an integral part of their role in the life of the area

> We will continue to strive to get the community thinking radio, to understand that it is their own radio; to appreciate that community radio is another dimension in their range of activities to be used by them to promote themselves and in furthering whatever aspect of community activity they are involved in. (NEAR, 1998: 9, emphasis in original text)

The station manager believes that NEAR is a useful tool for community activists in the area but he believes that the potential to be a dynamic and essential communications link is not yet fully recognised or exploited. This he blames on the lack of resources which means that the station has been unable to advertise its existence sufficiently

> As a tool for community activists it's not bad but we have the potential to be better. I think it's happening but I think it's a slow process. If I could get £50,000 tomorrow I'd probably spend it all on promotion. I'd put NEAR Fm on the back of a bus so everyone knew we were here and I know that's not enough, 'cos you've got to get the concept across but still....(CM, NEAR: 10)

The chairperson is convinced that groups within the community recognise NEAR as a useful tool promoting and supporting their own activities but he is aware that, in the tradition of community development, this is a slow process

> Increasingly I know people are listening and when I go networking with other organisations in the area they are telling me that they're getting a response to their programmes when they come on air so it's a slow, slow process but it is getting there – it's going in the right direction. People are not falling way, I think we are gaining listeners. (JB, NEAR: 44)

CRC provides an opportunity for groups in the area to publicise their activities and develop and support their work. These can be voluntary, as in the case of Conradh na Gaeilge (See appendix D) who produce an Irish language show or the Catholic church which runs a youth-oriented mission programme. They can also be related to state services as in the health programmes funded by the local health board. Speaking of the importance of the station to the community, the current chairperson says

> It's every aspect of the community in Castlebar, from professional to voluntary organisations and businesses. If there's any thing in their leisure activities they want to publicise - Sports is very strong – they are able to push their own agenda. For example, I'm involved in the women's refuge and we use the radio to publicise that (MW, CRC: 10)

He is pleased that the station is having an impact on the community through its ability to rally individuals and groups around issues vital to the well being of the community. As an example he quoted the locally contentious issue of the town plan, which he claimed had been halted in order to allow for revisions in the light of the discussions on-air and the consequent mobilisation of the community to object to it (MW, CRC: 5). He believes that the station functions as a way of focussing attention on local issues of importance and then provides a means for people and groups to organise around them. He explains that the station actively attempted to

> To bring out stuff and say, like warts 'n all, if there's a glue problem in the town that we publicise that if, in the hospital, the breast cancer testing, if women have to go to Galway, whatever, we'll cover it. (MW, CRC: 7)

CRY has the potential to function as a valuable tool for the promotion of the activities of community groups but analysis of the fieldwork suggests that this has not been realised to the same extent as it is in other community radio stations. The term 'community development' does not appear in any of this station's literature. They have the least amount of funded projects specifically aimed at marginalised groups of all of the six stations in this study. They do not have a formal social policy in regard to those who are marginalised by society. Nonetheless, CRY has a strong belief that it plays a key role in building the community of Youghal. Since its early success as a pirate station, its motto has always been 'Bringing the people together'. In the early seventies the main protagonists were members of the local Junior Chamber of Commerce (see appendix D) and, from its inception, they intended the station to be a community resource for building the community (NC, CRY: 15). They therefore included the word 'Community' in the name of the station from the outset, long before the concept was generally heard of in this context in Ireland. The evidence from this study suggests that this group tend to 'make it up themselves' and are hardly influenced by outside factors or by the community radio movement in Ireland or abroad, despite being members of both the CRF and of AMARC-Europe (See appendices F and E). CRY invented itself as it progressed and found that it went the road of community programming and building rather than music because of those who joined its ranks. It was essentially organic and unplanned growth, a real case of working from the grassroots and people's demands. However they lacked, and still lack, the rhetoric and the planning which could help them achieve their aims, formulate them more succinctly and apply for funding from sources other than the CE scheme (See appendix I). In reminiscing about their early days in pirate radio, one founder member explains how they came to place the emphasis on the community, rather than on the provision of music programming only

> The real community radio came in then, people started looking to us for advice. They wanted to find out what was on around the place so we very, very soon found that we had a load of volunteers coming up to the station. We had people that wanted to, you know, basically, wanted to get involved in the thing. Local clubs, organisations, so we found that we were on maybe a couple of days and we found that we had to extend. We originally came on for just an hour a day. We found that we had to extend our broadcasting to four or five hours a day. You know to accommodate all this like and the local clubs and everyone got involved. (NC, CRY: 15)

The station manager gives examples of local clubs and organisations, particularly sporting associations who recognise the value of the station in publicising their work

> Some groups and organisations, certainly the soccer club and the GAA [See appendix D] – we've had an impact on them because of the coverage we've given them. That translates into membership for them, pride, the fact that they are regular contributors. (KC, CRY: 8)

The unselfconscious and haphazard approach to building community encountered in CRY may have been a feature of all of the community radio stations which broadcast before licenses were issued to the sector. Analysis of the aims and practices of the other five stations, and in particular of the language which is used to describe these, shows that the other five stations in the study have elaborated more conscious social and political agendas.

One of the original founders of DSCR explained that he became involved in the project in the early 1980s because he believed that radio could provide a powerful communication channel for groups active in the community to promote themselves and to build the community

> I always felt that there was a tremendous need for some source for the local voluntary organisations to advertise themselves and disseminate their wares and so forth. I'm not a real radio buff, as such, but I felt that there was the need for this as such and that if we could possibly get it, it would be a marvellous source for the development of the community and that's really our purpose is the development of the community. (TM, DSCR: 1)

The current chair agrees, emphasising that south county Dublin did not have a strong tradition of community activism

> One of the advantages of the radio was to gather the community together. Unfortunately the history of Dundrum (See map C, appendix H) around this area is not great for community work and maybe people are a bit more affluent and it was a little bit separated. Community groups never got either and we were trying to draw them together and use it as a dissemination of knowledge and get the groups together to get them involved in the radio and get people to listen to them and see who they were. (JOB, DSCR: 1)

One member of staff believes that the community valued the station as useful as an information source. He says that certain organisations regularly advertise their events and activities on air and that local shopkeepers also find it beneficial. He explains

> You're inclined to think there's nobody out there and you, then you hear something like that – heard back or you get organisers telling you that they'll have a pub quiz and have only advertised with us and had a good turn out and then they credit us and next time they make sure that we're their first port of call. (BH, DSCR: 5)

However he understands that building the realisation amongst groups that community radio is a beneficial tool for them to use takes time. He estimates that a community radio station may have to wait between five and ten years before it is established in the community and is fully utilised by clubs and societies in the same way that they have traditionally used local newspapers (BH, DSCR: 7). The station chairperson is proud of

the role the station has played in bringing different community groups together and gives the following examples of how this works in practice

> There's a huge number of different groups – community information, Glór na nGael (See appendix D) they're very strong, sport, all different groups and nobody really knew who they were and what they were and we got them all together and now a lot of them have spots on our radio and religious groups and various churches. (JOB, DSCR: 1)

As in other community stations, local community activists are involved in and do use WDCR to promote their activities. However, the paid staff feel that this potential for community groups to promote their activities has not yet been fully realised. One staff member believes that

> People find it a good tool to use, they could use it more. I'd still have an ambition for a greater immediacy with it, "this is our station", an attitude that they'd immediately turn to us. I don't know if you can ever achieve that in a city and a community radio station but it would be nice if the issues were so lively that they'd feel "we'll tune in there to see what's going on". (CF, WDCR: 21)

One indication that the station is seen as relevant by local community activists was offered by the former station manager when she cited the help she gets from local anti-drugs activists in the community in her work. She sees this as a direct recognition of the central role which community radio can play in improving the quality of life of the community

> I'm getting all my support for my project absolutely free from two community drug leaders in the area and the amount of support that they give. For instance, if I have a problem with somebody that has slipped back on heroine, right? I'll ring this person up, this person detoxes the person, gets them back on the programme, gets them nicely set up, with the anti- drugs group, I have huge support from people on the ground who recognise the work we do. (CF, WDCR: 35)

Further examples of the success of WDCR in bringing people together to identify their problems and to seek collective solutions to them include resolving some of the difficulties of city children keeping horses in high rise flat complexes and organising local resistance to traffic plans which would rip the area apart to facilitate commuters from the outer suburbs (CF, WDCR: 31).

Each of the community radio stations studied provides examples where issues of local relevance have been exhaustively debated and positive action has occurred as a result of the time offered and the approach taken. The six stations can quote many practical examples of how they work as a tool for development by raising an issue and by giving the space to people in the community to identify the causes, discuss the issues and eventually to propose their own solutions and organise to implement them. This mode

of working is the basis of community development practice which is consciously employed by some stations in the study.

5.6. Community Development:

Community development and building the community are complimentary goals but they are not synonymous. As outlined in chapter three, community development describes a practice as well as a philosophy. It describes the process of working co-operatively, from the ground up where the people identify their needs and problems and work together to find and implement their own solutions, rather than a top-down approach where experts come in and provide a service to the community.

Some stations express their approach to their work in community development terms more clearly in their written documentation than others. It is no coincidence that these stations generally have at least some involvement from professional community development workers or from people familiar with the philosophy and usually with third level education. In these stations the objective of working in a community development manner appears to have been discussed at all levels and is now 'owned' by all of the personnel in the stations. This ownership of aims and objectives is part of good community development, indeed of democratic practice and shows the benefits of long-term planning and careful implementation of those plans by people who understand these processes. However, this is not to say that the other stations are not community development oriented just because they may not be able to articulate that orientation clearly. The differences in the applications between 1994 and 1998 show that most of the stations have adopted the discourse of community development, they have learned to use the jargon, to 'speak the speak'. However this research suggests that the change may be semantic only, as the original intention remains the same. Analysis of the transcripts of interviews show that the fundamental belief in the power of community radio to change society, to be a tool for community development, has been strong in most stations since their foundation, although the rhetoric has been more recently adopted.

In CCR, the founding parent group, ConWest Plc is a community development organisation. The goal and the ethos of community development were the founding principles of the station. These principles and aims were clarified over the first four years of the station's existence and their second application for a licence in 1998 rephrases them as follows

> The aim of Connemara Community Radio is to operate a community radio
> station that adheres to the principles of good community practice, i.e widespread
> participation, empowerment, ready access by all especially the most
> marginalised. We are firmly located in the community development tradition
> and see radio as a highly significant and appropriate vehicle in this process.
> (CCR, 1998: 2)

They elaborate on this and state their aims clearly and concretely as

being:

- To establish a community radio service in the context of being aware of the
  potential of radio to enhance the process of community development in novel
  and innovative ways
- A commitment to the establishment of a radio service which is truly community
  owned, managed and operated
- A commitment to the development of a service which acknowledges the
  complexity and diversity of communities and of different interests within them.
  (CCR, 1998: 2)

These aims were formulated through a process of self evaluation and discussion at

volunteer meetings and workshops, an essential part of any community development

project. The observation visits reveal the same picture and it is clear that each volunteer

and worker believes in the community development goals and principles of the station

and is proud that this is what they are about. The station manager clarifies their position

as follows

> I think really what I would say about community radio that it's a tool for
> community development but obviously it's a specific one. It's a broadcasting
> one, so a lot of your concerns will be as they are with commercial and the public
> ones, you know programming, problems with programming, transmission
> problems, technologies you know so we will share these things with
> broadcasters, but the other end of it, you know "the why we're there", the kind
> of more philosophical end of it, is more comfortably located in the community
> and voluntary field. (MR, CCR: 41)

CCR describe the decline in the fortunes of the area, the poor economic realities for

most of the 10,000 people living in this remote 300 square mile region

> The area suffers from severe structural disadvantages evident in poor transport
> and communications infrastructure, in the organisation and delivery of health
> and educational services and fundamental handicaps in establishing a viable
> economic base. (CCR, 1998: 13)

They also list the strengths of this small and isolated community as

being

> ...equally characterised by a vibrant community development sector that has
> participated in and indeed pioneered initiatives unique in Ireland, an energetic
> social and artistic community and an increasingly enterprising business
> community. Within this community of approximately 10,000 persons, there are
> over 160 active community, social and sporting organisations. (CCR, 1998: 13)

This was borne out in all of the interviews conducted in CCR. In each case respondents

described the community in a block and then as specific subgroups. Some of these

subgroups are to the forefront in programming provision, such as the community of local artists and local community activists. Others are targeted as marginalised and become empowered through training and participation, such as women and early school leavers.

NEAR sees itself as bringing the various groups in the community together and enhancing their own development work through their involvement with the station and each other. The chairperson reflects

> So a lot of these things link in together. I think what, for me, the richness of community radio is that it can actually allow people with compatible but slightly different approaches to this issue of development to use the radio station to pursue their own particular developmental aims and I think they're all complimentary. I don't see a conflict in that (JB. NEAR: 38).

He is disappointed that this has not been much more widespread and dynamic than he had originally imagined it would be. However he firmly believes in the potential of community radio to create a space for people to interact with each other in an open and free way and in turn to have an impact on their community

> I think it has the potential, I don't think, I mean I'm still impatient. It hasn't achieved my vision yet. I think, yes the station has huge potential for groups to achieve their aims to motivate, to lobby, to mobilise support for themselves, to initiate dialogue, all of that area. I think it's, but I think only a small number of groups are starting to realise its potential. Most groups don't use it in that way yet, but I still think the potential is there. It's imminent in the resource. (JB, NEAR: 39)

The population of 100,000 is described in their application for a licence in 1998 as

> An area of mixed social and economic background. There are large areas of social deprivation, environmental and social cohesion problems. We believe that the station can unite and support these community associations in their work of Community Development. (NEAR, 1998: 8)

NEAR began as a pirate experiment in the late seventies and grew out of a strong belief in the need to unite and build the local community. One of the main protagonists, then and now, was very involved in various community development-type projects including tenant rights associations and the credit union movement. He summarised the early history of the station and its adoption of a predominantly community development role as follows:

> My involvement came through community development, it would have been. I suppose going back to the 1970s, looking at some of the pop pirates coming on air and seeing that if these people could do it with their agenda of playing pop records and selling advertising and making some money, I felt that possibly, community activists could adopt this technology to community development purposes. So from about'79, '78/'79, we were, I was trying to encourage people to use radio as a tool for community development. Most of them hadn't a clue what I was at, at that stage but gradually, throughout the '80s, it began to gather a bit of momentum, the whole idea you know. (JB, NEAR: 1)

The understanding of community development itself and of the role which radio could play in enabling this practice was not fully understood at first but it grew and evolved as the founding group experimented and interacted with other community radio activists from around the world. As the chairperson explained

> I think there was an instinctive grasp that media and radio could be good for community development now it was as nebulous as that. Everybody, sort of it was like one of these things, you run it up the flag pole and everybody saluted it and .. no one quite knew what it meant. What did we mean by access and participation and that sort of thing? (JB, NEAR: 5)

NEAR also takes its role as an educator very seriously. It works to educate the community in a number of ways, as an information source certainly but also by equipping people with the skills, both radio-specific and personal development, to hear their own voices, to articulate their problems and to find the solutions to them. The chairperson explains

> I mean be educative rather than a formal education programme it's not sort of distance learning but just to alert people to their own abilities and their own potentials that's the sort of educative role of community radio. (JB, NEAR: 29)

Examples of this aim being translated into practice include the work they do with refugees, prisoner rehabilitation, early school leavers and travellers. Not all of these have been successful but the station manager explained that people in NEAR understand the slow nature of community development work and do not view a high drop-out rate or the collapse of a project as outright failure. This is common in community development projects where the emphasis is placed on the process rather than the product, on working at the level with which people can cope. The station manager gives two examples of projects which he considers to have been beneficial, if not earth shattering

> Youth Reach projects, our finding is that usually these people are very difficult to motivate and radio is something that grabs them and they enjoy it. One out of six stayed six months later. We have a hostel for prisoners on release from jail in our catchment area. That's been quite good, you get the feeling that you're bringing people in from prison who are totally on the outside of normal society and nobody here knows what they are doing. They get to mix in quite easily and it was very good all round. (CM, NEAR: 2)

The goal of empowering the disadvantaged and in being an instrument in enabling people to change their own environment and circumstances is very strong in this station. The chairperson described the role he believes NEAR can play in this way more clearly and more personally than any other interviewee in the course of this study

> It's community development but for me, for me I think it is about personal empowerment, I really would love to think that the station was empowering people, that just to help them, just to help people to realise their own uniqueness and their own potential. I'm sort of getting in to something maybe even more

> spiritual than that, I would love to think that people understood their own ability to change things, that in the sort of world of chaos each person can have an impact, each person can have an impact on the situation and if they just realise their power to organise, then, of course, I feel you need to be informed, to organise, to do certain things, rather than always sort of acting to other people's agendas, that they start writing their own agendas and for me that's when I think the station will have arrived and I don't see that happening in the next twelve months even. I'd love to be at the stage where the station, through its programming was making people aware of this power that they have and to question, not to be complacent, I mean, for me, we should be asking what is an economy for? Is it just about the Celtic Tiger or is it about the weakest and the poorest and ensuring that they have a say in the whole thing? (NEAR, JB: 27)

In tune with the principles of community development practice NEAR believes in the people leading the project and becoming powerful, independent and successful in improving the quality of their own lives and of their community through the process of working in the station. This is actively pursued through the programming provided but more importantly in the care given to those who prepare and present these programmes and in their integration into the life of the station. For example, programmes for refugees are made by refugees who are full and equal participants in the life of the station rather than invited guests or target audiences who are provided with a service.

WDCR revised the whole thrust of their operation in response to the needs of their community. Unlike most stations, which grew from a grassroots demand for a licence, WDCR grew from a college's need to provide practical work for its media students and only got to know the community which they served when they started to work with them. Their aims changed fundamentally when the station staff recognised the realities and the needs of the community they were serving and began to respond to them. This is expressed in their mission statement

> By providing access for the community to a service of information, education and entertainment, West Dublin Community Radio seeks to act as an impetus for the stimulation of community activity, identity and well-being. WDCR, 1998: 2)

In speaking about their change of direction, one WDCR respondent says:

> That type of deep community development, that people use it as a tool and that the idea for the use can come from anywhere. It sometimes comes from us because sometimes I think you have to prod the community, you see things that can be done and sometimes I think you have to have a leadership role. Then again, if someone comes to you and they're very confident about what they're doing or what ever, that you can give them the leadership role, depending on the circumstance. (WDCR, CF:16)

All of the station staff are keenly aware of the potential their station has to develop the whole person. This is carried through in the personal relationship which they nurture

with each volunteer, CE worker, board member or causal visitor to the studios. They believe in working co-operatively, non-hierarchically and in assisting people in finding their own voices. The station manager explains one of the important effects which the foundation of the radio has had as follows

> In this area very few go on to third level, the radio has made the college accessible to them – they can walk in. Their own confidence, their own speech, it gives more options to them and I think that's a huge thing. (EB, WDCR: 2).

He himself is a good example of this. He started with the station as a participant in the CE scheme, is now working as station manager and is studying for a degree at night. Without using the rhetoric of community development, staff at WDCR are concerned about facilitating the participation of those most marginalised by society and of working in a non-hierarchical and empowering way. The former station manager who is now in charge of the drugs rehabilitation through radio programme explains that this is what makes their working day worthwhile

> I get a great buzz out of watching someone come on, people who mightn't say a word for the first three months and then do every thing on the one day – talk, write, go on air. (WDCR, CF: 14).

DSCR is owned by

> ......a co-operative which was formed in 1985 by local residents' associations and voluntary groups to use radio as a medium for Community Development and communication. (DSCR. 1998: 4)

The station chair believes that community radio provides a space for disparate groups to come together

> We aim to co-ordinate different groups in our area. To try to form local community involvement. To try to bring different types of ethnic type programmes, they would not get on the other airwaves, like religious programmes, community information, classical, jazz music, Irish programmes. (JOB, DSCR: 2)

The ex-chairperson agreed, giving the example of the successful involvement of Irish speakers living locally who use the airwaves to broadcast to their own community (TM, DSCR: 27). However, those normally classed as disadvantaged or marginalised by society have neither taken, nor been equipped, to take to the airwaves in this predominately 'middle class' station and a community development approach was not identified in this station during the research project. An overview of the research generally suggests that had this station employed at least some of these practices, it may have managed to extricate itself from the crippling inertia and disillusionment observed which appear to have hindered its development.

DSCR, CRC and CRY do not employ a community development project to their work. They were not observed to be as dynamic in terms of promoting social change or as relevant to the lives their communities as the other three stations in the study which do take a community development approach (CCR, NEAR, WDCR). Some stations express their approach to their work in community development terms more clearly in their written documentation than others. It is no coincidence that these stations generally have at least some involvement from professional community development workers or from people with third level education who are familiar with the philosophy. In these stations, this aim appears to have been discussed at all levels and is now 'owned' by all of the personnel in the stations. CCR and NEAR provide particularly good examples where both stations benefit from the involvement of key personnel who are committed to community development values and practices. All of the other stations desire to build their communities and may sometimes employ community development practices, almost instinctively. It is clear from the analysis of the applications for licences made by all stations in 1994 and again in 1998, that most of the stations have adopted the discourse of community development in their documentation since going on-air. A commitment to community development practices and principles has not been embraced by participants in all stations however. The fundamental belief in the power of community radio to change society, to be a tool to build community is strongly felt in all stations, but the language of community development and, consequently, the ability to assess the work in which they are engaged, has not been passed on in every station.

One of the interesting questions which arose during the course of the research was the question of employing paid, professional, community development workers in community radio stations. There are many advantages in doing so. From a financial point of view they can successfully apply for funding because they understand where and how to look for it. But the most important reason why stations should seriously consider employing managers with a background in community development rather than in broadcasting, is because such people can manage the project so that it progresses slowly, keeping everyone involved and ensuring that their participation is meaningful for them. Stations have realised, as all community development literature points out, that the work is a long, slow process (Toner, 2000; Chetkov-Yanoov, 1986). The chairperson of NEAR expresses this general understanding when he explains that he

believes their work will have an impact on the community, but that this will take a long time

> That's it for community development and I targeted community activists people who were doing community work. I explained to them that I felt this would be a good tool for them to use for their own particular work. I was trying to pitch it to self-interest, if there were football clubs or sports organisations or cultural groups, there was an outlet here for them to promote their own particular interests, but it's still a slow, slow hard slog. (JB, NEAR: 2)

It is a long, gradual process which is very hard to quantify. This makes it hard for potential funders to see the benefits in supporting such projects. However the employment of community development personnel and the use of community development phrases and approaches in funding applications have paid dividends for some stations (CCR, NEAR, WDCR).

The disadvantages of employing people with a community development background are less obvious but it is worth questioning how radical and challenging a person employed through a government scheme can be with the regards to the system itself? Community development has a radical socio-political dimension in most countries, as it seeks to effect social change from the bottom up. Building the community is a more all encompassing ideal and a less restrictive term than that of community development, it describes the ideal of improving and enhancing the community. This can be as dynamic and fundamental as community development or as simple as improving the general tidiness and appearance of a village. It is hard to see evidence of radical, political and social change in the Irish community stations in this study. Perhaps this is because traditionally the political culture in the South of Ireland has been conservative. Or it may be partly due to the fact that stations are licensed and depend upon government and European Union funding to varying degrees. However many Irish community radio stations have come to class themselves as community development projects.

Community development practices benefit community radio enormously, but community radio's aims are wider than those of community development. The current research shows that stations strongly informed by and guided by community development principles and with involvement of community development inspired workers are achieving more of their community radio aims along with their community development goals than those which are not. Since this research was undertaken two more community development bodies have established community radio stations to

enhance their work (Corca Baiscinn Community Development and Inishowen Community Development, see map A, appendix H). This seems a logical step for all community development activists as the community radio station provides a communications link and a way of networking and empowering people through participation. Particularly obvious aims, held in common by community development bodies and community radio activists, are the establishment of communications links, the provision of useful and local information and the desire to effect radical change in the quality and structures of the communities in which they are based.

The research findings show that all stations find over time that the community development approach is a good way of working, although not all stations recognise that this, in effect, is what they are doing. Stations and aspirant stations should look to community development projects for ideas and if possible employ people with a community development background, at the very least people who are open to the principles and approach of community development practice. Many stations are beginning to learn the importance of applying the community development rhetoric in their applications for licences and for funding for projects. This is not generally a cynical exercise, stations do hold these principles dear, but are only beginning to acquire the language to articulate it. The community development process assists stations in evaluating and refining their practices as they realise the potential benefits of using the discourse of community development to achieve these deep-seated aims.

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SECTION II - CHAPTER SIX

Findings: Multi-Flow Communication

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Chapter Summary	
6.0.	Introduction
6.1.	'To Inform, Educate and Entertain'
6.2.	Communication Networks
6.3.	Democratisation of Communication
6.4.	Some General Conclusions

6.0. Introduction:

Radio is a medium of mass communication. The term 'community' itself stems from the same root as 'communication' and 'communion' (O'Farrel, 1994). Anyone interested in improving their community has to want to bring the people within it together. Community radio acts as a communications link or nexus for its community in a variety of ways. The provision of information is a first step and is provided by all three sectors of broadcasting - community, commercial and public service. It is the traditional form of mass communication, providing information predominately in one direction or one-way communication. The facilitation of multi-flows of communication is a far more empowering way of building community. Community radio has the potential to facilitate these multi-flows of communications through the networks it builds and through the opportunities for public participation in them. By creating multi, micro-public spheres, community radio puts the ideal of emancipatory communication envisioned by Ensenzenberger (1970) into practice. Community radio seeks to democratise communication and to facilitate the human right to communicate. It acts as a NSM and frequently has an alternative and radical dimension to its programming.

The extent to which the six Irish community radio stations in this study were found to act as a communications link or nexus for their communities in each of these radical manners is now presented. For the sake of clarity, three subsections have been devised, although a large area of overlap exists between them:

- The extent to which the stations claim a public service remit or adhere to the Reithian aspiration to 'inform, educate and entertain' is revealed. This includes an examination of the extent to which each station is an information source for its community. The approach taken by the station to education in all its forms is discussed, this varies from traditional forms of teaching over the air to community

development practice. The types of entertainment offered, where they differ to those of public service and commercial broadcasters are discussed. As the focus of this research is not text based, programme content is not analysed in detail, such a discussion is more properly the work of a future research project.

- The extent to which stations see themselves as providing opportunities to build a series of networks which in turn build and strengthen the community is examined. These include communication over the air and bringing groups together through their participation in the radio project.

- The extent to which stations attempt to democratise communication is discussed. This includes the stations' perceptions of their role in promoting and facilitating the human right to communicate, in creating multi, micro-public spheres, in acting as a radical or alternative force in society, and in operating as part of a NSM.

6.1. 'To Inform, Educate and Entertain':

Participants in five of the six stations in the study regard themselves as micro-public service broadcasters. The old Reithian aspiration to 'inform, educate and entertain' was directly quoted in at least one interview conducted in each station. Almost all stations described themselves as 'public service broadcasters on a local scale' in their literature and saw their dual responsibilities of providing information and education as primary objectives. The ethos of service and of working for the public, discussed in chapter three, was observed during the research in all stations and emerged as a powerful motivating force in each case. All stations regard the provision of an information service to their communities as a high priority. All six stations believe they alone can deliver information that is truly local and relevant to their communities. Some stations believed they had a duty to inform people of their rights as citizens. Most stations saw a role for themselves as educators, giving people the information, but also teaching them how to use it to enhance their lives. A significant proportion have come to believe that it is the learning process participants experience that is the most important part of this education, be it in formal training or through their general involvement in the station. Nonetheless, all stations carried programming that could be described as educational in the traditional sense. Half of the stations in the study (CRC, CRY, DSCR) favoured the one-way flow of communication when providing information and education services, these are discussed first. The other three stations (WDCR, NEAR, CCR) experimented with programming and illustrated innovative approaches to the generation of

information and interactive learning for life which require the activation of multi-flows

of communication.

In their initial application for a licence in 1994, CRC stated that it was their aim

> To provide a quality community broadcasting service, which will reflect the
> needs of the community and also entertain, educate and inform (CRC, 1994: 11).

The local VEC adult education officer (See appendix D) believed that it would be

beneficial for the community to set up their own station to provide this service to adults

with literacy problems in the county (PS, CRC: 1). He realised the potential for

delivering other educational services and for community development but believed that

this could not be wholly an information and education service to the exclusion of all

other types of programming. Such a service would be too unpalatable he believed.

Entertainment programmes, music and light chat were regarded as essential in order to

attract an audience. He describes their reasons for setting up the station

> That was our interest in it but at the same time we were aware that there was a
> need for a station to entertain and inform and it had to be broader than just an
> educational type project, OK? Plus the fact that we saw it as a means for people
> to develop as well, you know and the whole range of skills and training and
> educational opportunities within the whole project of community radio. That
> was the kind of motivation behind it. (PS, CRC: 2).

This attitude prevails throughout all of the work of CRC. Respondents in the station see

themselves primarily as communication providers of services to the community.

Parallel to the aim of providing education and training on and off the air the station aims

to provide a local information service. The current chairperson states

> Our aim is to keep people informed of all activities within the area. To publicise
> local activities, all the clubs that are operating within the community, to bring
> issues to the fore. (MW, CRC: 5)

This echoes the specific objective stated in their 1998 application for a licence, which is

> To inform listeners to the service on a wide range of topics of interest (CRC,
> 1998: 11)

An examination of the programme schedule, listening to the programmes broadcast and

analysis of the structural organisation of the station, reveal that this aim is put into

practice. CRC is the only community radio station in the study to have a dedicated

newsroom with paid (CE) staff. Their emphasis on providing locally relevant

information is deemed by the station to be successful. Examples cited by respondents

as fulfilling this aim include a daily local issues programme, two sports programmes

and a weekly, local, current affairs programme and these are reported as being the most

popular shows with listeners (PS, CRC: 9: MW, CRC: 1).

Analysis of the transcripts and fieldnotes from observation visits suggest that CRC try to package the information and educational content in a palatable form through the provision of entertaining programming and much of the schedule is taken up with music shows and chat shows. However this is time consuming and the VEC adult education officer who started the project was aware of the difficulties this raised, he reflects

> The problem we find with community radio, we were too ambitious, we tried to produce what is a kind of community/commercial station in a sense and that's been difficult. It would probably have been a lot easier for us to have concentrated in a kind of narrow framework over perhaps a limited area of broadcasting. Practically it would have been easier (PS, CRC: 11)

The CE supervisor agreed but saw the difficulties of ensuring that programming was entertaining as a challenge

> I suppose we're here to provide a service to the community. The idea I suppose is to get more and more of the community involved in providing that service – providing an information service for the community as well, you know that old thing about entertaining the community. But I think, in so far we talk about educating, informing and entertaining the local community, I think the one thing that we would fall down on is the entertaining. We've gone a bit too worthy, I think we're addressing that. We're addressing that, but I think we would have missed out on the entertainment side of things a little bit. But we're doing something on that and our programmes are getting a bit lighter. We're not as heavy (TL, CRC: 1).

CRY also sees itself as a provider of information and educational services. Many of those interviewed in the station used the term 'public service' to describe their work, as one of the founders of the station claimed

> Our aim here is to educate, to inform and to entertain, because I think that is the whole ethos of community radio (NC, CRY: 26)

The station manager believes that CRY is essentially a public service broadcaster on a community level but he makes the distinction that community radio is owned and controlled by the public

> Community radio is supposed to represent all strands of the community so it's effectively public service and it isn't up to the radio what gets broadcast. It's up to the listeners who are effectively the owners. (KC, CRY: 11)

CRY states the intention of operating as a source of information on local issues for the community in its application in 1998 for a licence renewal

> The main objective of the application is to provide the proposed area with a community information service through the medium of radio. (CRY, 1998: 3)

Some of those interviewed believed that it was successful in accomplishing this goal (NC, CRY: 63). The station manager provided some concrete examples of their success in this regard. He believes that people tune in to the station because CRY provides local

and essential information which is too insignificant to feature on county or national airwaves but which is of interest and of value to members of the local community

> People tune in to find out what's going on, who's died, who's got married, who's had a baby, whose birthday is it, what's coming up in the local community centre, who won the 45 drive. There's an element of voices that they can put a face to, or that they can actually bump into on the street. (KC, CRY: 7)

In spite of this, there was no evidence of the local offices of state agencies using CRY to advertise their services nor of any co-ordinated attempt to provide empowering information such as citizen advice bureaux or active retirement associations do in other community radio stations.

Educational programmes, while mentioned as one of the so-called public service aims of the station, were not in evidence in CRY's programme schedules nor did such programming emerge as a priority for any of those interviewed. Some Irish language programming for learners of the language were relayed, but the emphasis in the station was firmly on entertainment. This was predominately in the form of music and on coverage of events of local interest such as local news, sports coverage and some local history. Local musicians and the style of music favoured by older people in rural areas appear to form the backbone of this entertainment.

DSCR is the third station which seems to favour a one-way flow approach to the provision of information and education. In applying for a licence in 1994 and again in 1998 DSCR claimed that

> The primary function of our programming will be to present the community to itself with coverage of local information, issues and events. (DSCR, 1994: 5)

They added in 1998 that this develops the sense of community by keeping everyone informed (DSCR, 1998: 7). There was no further elaboration of how this is to happen, except that the community can be enabled to grow through listening to and learning about itself (TM, DSCR: 8). However the chairperson did give the example of the practice of the station of relaying public meetings live over the air. This enables those who cannot be present at a meeting to get a real sense of the issues debated (JOB, DSCR: 1). Overall, the station appears to lack any clear strategy for operationalising this aim and appears to be stuck in the role of information provider rather than of being a facilitator of communications between groups and individuals in the community.

WDCR prefers a more interactive approach to information and education provision. Their first mission statement claimed a public service broadcasting role for the station

(WDCR, 1994: 6, 9) but this changed radically once they encountered their community and by 1998 it reads

> By providing access for the community to a service of information, education and entertainment, West Dublin Community Radio seeks to act as an impetus for the stimulation of community activity, identity and well-being. (WDCR, 1998: 2)

All comparisons to the public service model are removed and the emphasis is now on the community providing for itself rather than being broadcast to.

The objective of providing training and education was, not surprisingly, a strong motivating factor for the VEC college which founded WDCR (See appendix D). From providing a media laboratory for students of the college, this objective has changed to creatively link training and education in the college with newly developed second chance education in the station. (WDCR, 1998: 5). This includes skills and personal empowerment training on a long-term funded basis with drug addicts in rehabilitation, technological training for women and work with early school leavers. Other educational endeavours are more traditional on-air broadcasts, for example a series on women's health and programmes which assist with foreign language teaching for Irish Leaving Certificate students (See appendix D) and English for foreign students (WDCR, 1998: 10). In general, a community development approach to education is taken. Participants are involved in determining what they need to learn, the pace at which they will work and the use to which they will put the new skills and knowledge acquired. The emphasis is on empowering people, on learning and working co-operatively in a safe environment in the hopes that participants will then work towards improving their own external environment.

The type of information provided by WDCR is mainly of local interest and local groups use the station for advertising their activities, events and fixtures. The station has a full-time, paid member of staff to collect and collate such information and this ensures that the station is up to date on local issues and therefore relevant to its community (CF, WDCR: 41). WDCR also maintain an extensive database of contact details for members of their community. They use this to identify people as sources of information, as interviewees and as listeners who are alerted by phone in advance of a programme dealing with their area of interest. This leads to a far greater degree of on-going interactivity than is normally the case in radio and is one concrete way in which the multi-flows of communication can be facilitated.

CCR state in their application for a licence in 1994 that one of their objectives is

> To provide a good quality information, education and entertainment service with a strong emphasis on local material. (CCR, 1994: 4).

This has been the core of their broadcast programming but it is an objective which supports their primary aim of developing their community. This is radically different to the case of CRC, where the provision of information and education is seen as a primary aim. The approach taken to education is also qualitatively different. While some 'teaching programmes' are broadcast, in general the education is part of the process of participation and seeks to equip people with technical, communication and personal skills which will empower them and, through this, empower their community (MR, CCR: 15; PK, CCR: 9; BOS, CCR: 13; MG, CCR: 7).

The community development organisation which founded CCR surveyed the needs of people in the area in the 1980s and found that the feeling of isolation was one of the biggest problems in the area (BOS, CCR: 2). One of the volunteers explained his understanding of the aims of the station as being

> To give out and disseminate information. To be an information gatherer as well. We often discuss the whole idea of education – someone getting an experience of something they hadn't before. We help people over their isolation even it it's just having some music and nothing else. (BOS, CCR: 4)

He believes that the station may have been started in order to communicate information on people's rights and citizen information to the community but that it has evolved into something more now

> Initially we thought of to be purely information – rights based – but it probably has gradually moved quite a way from that. But I'm not sure a station like that would necessarily be very popular. You need new programme ideas, new ways of doing things. (BOS, CCR: 6)

The programme schedule includes a wide range of special interest talk and music shows which, the station believes, keeps the public tuned in. This enables it to reach a wider audience on a regular basis so that it can deliver information, education and the invitation to participate in the radio and in the life of the community in general. Along with the rights-oriented information which is broadcast, the talk content of CCR relies heavily on local information. People tune in precisely because of the depth and degree of 'localness' of the information available to them only on this station. As one presenter puts it

> We always look for the highlights as the local involvement. Like Sis Nee's 80th birthday party, which was a big thing. You know, this kind of stuff. These are the highlights and it's something like that that won't be covered anywhere. They love, people love to hear their own voice, or their neighbour's voice or their name read out on air or something like that. I suppose that the topics that

> we're covering are very, very local. So that if we're doing a kind of historical, a history programme, it's the history of your village rather than the history of the battle of Clontarf. (BOS, CCR: 14)

NEAR was the station which appeared to be the most aware of the potential it has of being a catalyst and a conduit for communication within its community. Among the objectives stated by NEAR in its applications for a licence in 1994, and again in 1998, is the commitment to communicate to the community and to facilitate communication by the community to itself

> To address the information, education and entertainment needs of people living in the coverage area of the service

and

> To provide an accessible forum for local opinion and debate. (NEAR, 1994: 6; NEAR, 1998: 3)

As stated in chapter two, all of the licensed community radio stations in Ireland are affiliated to AMARC-Europe and the AMARC-Europe Charter (See Appendix E) is included as part of their licensing contracts with the IRTC. However only NEAR explicitly foregrounds the first point of that charter with its participants. In its handbook for volunteers it states that the role of community radio is to promote the right to communicate, to assist the free-flow of information and opinions, to encourage creative expression, to contribute to the democratic process and to build a pluralist society. An examination of NEAR's programming confirms this commitment. NEAR broadcast programming which is relevant to the broad heterogeneous community in which they are situated but they also focus in on minority groups and subsections of this diverse city community in order to provide tailor-made information for these groups. The information required or desired is identified and provided by people from the target groups themselves - for example, various ethnic groups of refugees and other immigrant language groups.

NEAR appear to fulfil their educational objectives throughout the full range of their activities. Outside of basic radio training they believe in working in participative and empowering ways. The chairperson sums up the station's approach by comparing community radio to the other two sectors in broadcasting, public service and commercial enterprises. He says

> Public service radio is there I think to inform, broadly to inform you know the cliché "inform, educate and entertain?" and I think clearly, God help us, the commercial stations think they entertain and sell ads. So, I think we're talking about maybe an educative, maybe in a broad sense community radio can educate people both about their own, as I say I don't want to go back over it all again, but be educative rather than a formal education programme. It's not sort of distance learning but just to alert people to their own abilities and their own

potentials. That is the sort of educative role of community radio. (JB, NEAR: 24)

Information itself is redefined. Station personnel believe that it is not just a matter of 'facts' or knowledge, but the manner in which it is presented and the use to which it can be put which is of importance. The station's volunteer handbook explains it like this

> Community radio also has a different approach to news and current affairs. Commercial media see news as a commodity: information is bought and sold. In community radio, we can experiment with ways to make news better serve our information needs. A restructuring of how information is assembled and presented will offer us, both inside the station and outside, the power to control our own definitions of ourselves, of what counts as news and what is enjoyable and significant about our culture. (NEAR, 1999: 2)

All stations try to provide entertaining programming. Some recognise that music programmes and lively, light hearted chat shows are a vehicle which can carry other 'more worthy' programming. Some respondents worry that their programming is too heavy, but all stations provide several hours of light programming in a style very similar to that of the other two sectors of broadcasting. This is frequently of a high standard but even where it is not, the local accent of presenters and the emphasis on local issues are observed to make the shows entertaining in their own right, to their own people. Such programming does not distinguish community radio from any other form of broadcasting and it is not the principal aim of the community radio stations studied to provide it. The alternative nature of much of Irish community radio stations' output is discussed below. In summary, this includes not only hearing from those normally excluded from the airwaves, but in the presentation of 'facts' or news received on other channels in an alternative way which is appropriate to the locality and to sub-sections of the community. This includes cases where the output runs counter to the hegemonic messages of other media and even to the goals of the station itself. NEAR is taken here as the main example to illustrate the attitude of Irish community radio stations to programming. Some insights into the perspectives of other stations on programming issues are also offered where these add significantly to the case example provided by NEAR.

NEAR believes that community radio is different to other popular mass media; it can offer people programming which is relevant to them and in ways which are new or different. The station chairperson explains

> Community radio has more freedom to do things that public service broadcasters can't and I think that print media doesn't want to do. I think community radio has a unique ability or facility to do and I think they have far more flexibility in programming terms that none of the other media have or want to do. And I

think that's the challenge to us to rise to that, to experiment with the medium (JB, NEAR: 49).

One practical example of how NEAR tries to be different and to stick to its principles in its programming is their refusal to take advertising in the conventional sense. The station manager explains

> The station feels that in order to be a community radio station and to provide an alternative media, if you keep on hammering people all the time with the same ads that they get all the time on the television and radio, basically telling you to buy the things that you don't really need... well, living in an area where people are on a low income, the idea that children feel they need to spend £75.00 on a pair of Reeboks, it's reinforced on TV and radio all the time, we feel that it's not our place to be doing any of that. (CM, NEAR: 1)

Some stations re-define what information provision means and take a different angle on 'news' trying to cater for the local angle certainly, but also interpreting 'facts' differently. NEAR try to make local connections for global occurrences and vice versa but always encourage their broadcasters and their community to challenge hegemonic thought and reportage. NEAR believes in the adage that the global is local and tries to incorporate that in its programming (JB, NEAR: 28). One example of how this is done is where the station has been funded by the National Committee for Development Education (NCDE, see appendix D) since 1996 to examine how community development is linked to global development and what does development education mean for local communities? The station manager elaborates

> This year, it's "Common Aims, Common Themes" a programme where the local sports manager and someone in development work in Africa in sports discuss and compare. A lot of it is looking at why volunteers give up their time. Examining issues like the senior citizens in a traditional society do better in a world that's a lot poorer (CM, NEAR: 21)

Other examples include on and off the air programmes which centre on the needs of ex-prisoners, early school leavers, Travellers and refugees among other disadvantaged and marginalised groups.

The chairperson of NEAR views the entertainment aspect of the station as

> Generally, it's a good service now, I wouldn't like to say we're the best community radio station but generally it's a good service to the community. Both entertainment wise – the mix of music is good and very informed (the specialist music is quite informed), the information programmes are definitely about the area, we've a huge amount of information going out – very current, people know what's happening a great deal more in the area, we're more immediate than the local newsheet...and people know they can fax us in and within half an hour of faxing in the stuff it is out on the air. We're near the coast here and we supply the marine weather service, so the boat people tell us they tune in. Our information is good, our content is good, a lot of the debates are

> getting better – a lot of the community organisations who are using the station regularly are becoming more radio literate, they are becoming better at using the medium to impart their ideas, so I think the listeners are benefiting from that in that they are getting a better quality of debate and presentation. (JB, NEAR: 45)

Much of the programming in CCR can be classified as progressive, alternative, seeking social change and political in a life-embracing sense. The station manager expressed the view that the station is not really about broadcasting at all but about empowering people to take charge of their own lives and community and to improve it in the tradition of community development, (MR, CCR: 38, 70). In their initial application for a licence the station declares that it intends to be an alternative medium

> It is the intention of the applicant group to be open to considering new approaches to community broadcasting and to investigating ways by which community radio could be developed imaginatively in a wide range of possibilities viz [sic]. From education/training to links with other similar initiatives in Ireland or abroad. (CCR, 1994: 4)

NEAR see themselves as an alternative medium and they believe that participation in their station also teaches people to question the one-way flow nature of all other media. They see this as empowering the individual and leading ultimately to social change. The station manager expressed this belief when he said

> It's a tool for community development, more than that, it's to provide an alternative media, to actually be a different voice, to get people to question what is coming across on the media and what is relevant and what message they get each day when they listen to the mainstream radio, when they turn on the television and they see the newspaper and to consider why that's important and then to come in here and to make their own programme. (CM, NEAR: 6)

WDCR's programming content is as mixed a bag as any of the other community radio stations. The participation of many of those who are marginalised by society and WDCR's determination to give these people a voice, mean that issues of relevance to the local community, sometimes extremely contentious and controversial are discussed and debated on air.

There was no evidence that DSCR want to produce programmes which are alternative to those aired on the mainstream media whether this be in terms of style or in content. This lack of political vision and creativity may be a symptom of the general tiredness and disillusionment which appears to be affecting the station. In any case, there was no evidence of the desire of presenters or of staff in general to push boundaries or to create waves. The emphasis is on the provision of local news and information in a format which is familiar to listeners.

The CE supervisor in CRC is alone amongst respondents from his station when he explains his belief in the potential of community radio to be an alternative voice for the community and to provide real alternatives to mainstream media information and news

> I think the other thing I'd be concerned about – we're only slowly beginning to look at our role as a media in challenging the society that exists. To look at our role in terms of talking about issues that are controversial, addressing issues that are as relevant in Castlebar as anywhere else. I mean Castlebar is no different than any other major town, it has the difficulties, the station ought to address them (TL, CRC: 5)

However he is disappointed that in his experience, the majority of those working, as paid or voluntary presenters, in the station are not aiming to achieve these goals

> Community radios came along to provide an alternative. Are they doing this or are they a poor mimic? Can we justify our existence? We want to be alternative, to be different not to be a poor mimic, as one trainer of ours said "if you're not doing something that's different – stay in bed" and I can see concerted efforts to do things differently since but.... (TL, CRC: 6)

It is important that all stations ensure that their emphasis is on the two-way flow provision of information rather than being from the centre-out only. Stations which did not make the transition from the more traditional role of broadcaster as information provider, educator and entertainer were observed to be less successful in working with their communities and were more like a poor imitation of commercial or public service broadcasters than those which did. People do not so much listen to community radio as they participate in it – this is a radically different understanding of the uses of mass media than those usually articulated in communication theory. The impact that this interactivity has on the communities where their stations facilitate it is obvious. NEAR provide a good example of this and state that they do not believe that they are a public service broadcaster on a smaller or less well resourced scale. They recognise the differences between the sectors and are happy to occupy a different space. As their handbook for volunteers states

> We are not a failed large commercial medium, but a successful small community medium. We are right where we should be to do our work effectively. We are not public service media in a new guise, we are a small accessible social and cultural tool to be used by our community. (NEAR, 1999: 3)

6.2. Communication Networks:

One of the ways in which community radio acts as a tool for the community activists in its community is by creating and facilitating multi-flows of communication. Community radio is ideally placed to facilitate the formation of communications networks. This is done explicitly in the broadcasting of programmes to target groups in the community which helps those who are similar to bond. It also helps when

marginalised people present themselves to the wider community on their own terms, as is the case with Traveller and Gay programmes in several stations. In CCR, one of the primary aims of the station is to combat the isolation and loneliness of many people. In other stations, it is a case of enabling people to hear their own voices and through this to become engaged in the life of their community. Many of them try to employ the community development practice of enabling people to identify their shared needs through dialogue. They then facilitate further debate so that the people themselves can identify the solutions to their self-identified problems and set about collectively implementing the necessary changes.

All the stations see themselves as forming the central node or nexus for a number of communication networks which benefit their communities. CCR express this most clearly and are taken as the primary example here. Brief examples from the other five stations further illustrate the community radio stations' efforts to build communication networks and facilitate the flow of communications in many directions.

The chairperson of CCR summarises the aim of providing a communications link to people and the attitude of those working in community radio stations to this as follows

> Community radio is driven by the community. I mean it's there to be used. If the community have a valid reason to use the radio, they'll be on air. They'll get the time. No commercial radio could work that way. (PK, CCR: 11)

CCR was started as a way for the community development organisation ConWest Plc to strengthen the communication networks which would enable it to communicate with members of the community. The station believes that the communication facilitated can build the community and sees it as providing many of the tools of community development through this way of broadcasting

> A well organised and run community radio service can make a significant contribution to the development, especially in a rural area like Connemara, because it is capable of providing critical elements of the development mix – information, stimulation, debate, pride, discussion. Its programming should reflect not only a local dimension but also a form and type of relationship with listeners, which promotes dialogue and exchange. (CCR, 1994: 3)

The station manager, who was also the community development officer charged by ConWest Plc with investigating the possibility of setting up a radio station, explains that

> Under the first anti-poverty project [See appendix D] we were doing a newsletter on just local issues and development issues particularly and just questions about poverty and one of the shifts we had after a couple of years was, in fact, that while the newsletter was really useful, that when you print something there's no kind of dynamic in it or it doesn't create a kind of a forum. It's sort of "Oh that

> was the argument and this is how it was resolved." That was our sense of it anyway for a kind of local audience and at the time. (MR, CCR: 1)

The chairperson agrees

> I think anybody that's involved in community development in a rural area, one of the biggest obstacles you face is information and communication. So, we would have seen the need for some tools or some form of communication for years and years before the radio began. Several attempts were made – newsletters and fliers but regular communication with other groups and other parts of the community – that was missing and we always saw the radio, it was always felt that radio would be the way to do that. Radio is interactive, I mean a leaflet or a pamphlet comes in the door and nine times out of ten it's in the waste-bin before it's read. (PK, CCR: 1)

The station is primarily interested in improving the quality of life for members of its community and plays a role in connecting those who are isolated through infirmity or location to the wider community. One of the objectives it set itself at the outset in 1994 was

> To combat isolation and loneliness which is a feature of life in dispersed communities, especially for the elderly, disabled and housebound (CCR, 1994: 4)

A concrete example of how this happens regularly was offered by one presenter who played a request for an elderly woman. She had moved only ten miles away from her childhood home on her marriage some sixty years previously. However this part of Connemara is rugged and rural and travel was extremely difficult in those times. Many of her childhood friends and neighbours were delighted to discover she was still alive and made contact with her once more on hearing the request (BOS, CCR: 1).

The station manager believes that radio is a particularly attractive way for people to become involved in the life of their community and sees regular examples of people who are not active in other associations or clubs participating in the life of the station

> One of the interesting things about radio, I think, is that it seems to appeal to other people in the community who wouldn't normally see themselves as kind of community activists but there's something about this as an activity that they seem to feel they can get involved in. (MR, CCR: 1)

The station chair agrees, seeing the potential of community radio to be a two-way channel for communication, a way of bringing people together into dialogue and on to working co-operatively to improve their community (PK, CCR: 14). He believes that radio is the perfect tool for this

> I don't see, there's nothing as personal or as intimate again as radio. It's interactive, it's people dealing with other people and thinking about it and airing their views on it and their opinions so I don't think there's anything there to replace it. (PK, CCR: 14)

CCR is concerned with giving local people a voice, in many cases for the first time. Coming from a community development perspective, they believe that when people

hear themselves articulating their problems they can then begin to find their own solutions to these. In their initial application for a licence in 1994 they express this view as follows

> The force and quality of radio lies in the potential of its programming to become a means of expression of the population. Through it, a community has the opportunity to get information and local news; listen to and take part in discussions and debates; raise issues of concern; play the music it enjoys; tell its own stories and history; and learn to acknowledge its diversity as well as its homogeneity. In an area such as Connemara, which has suffered through loss of young people, there is great need for a communications service which allows us to articulate and validate our experiences and to identify and define our needs and responses. (CCR, 1994: 4)

In outlining the differences between community radio and commercial, local radio the chairperson again articulated the important role the station plays in providing a communications link to the community for clubs and societies

> The whole idea or philosophy of community radio, and commercial radio wouldn't survive on it, is that we have a commitment to 60-40 speech, that's not an effort, as I said before, it's not an imposition on us, we wanted that, that's the way we wanted it. We see the radio as a tool. Alot of the issues that would be dealt with by community radio would be minority issues which a commercial radio would have to bypass, you know. Simply say, we're not going to get the majority of people listening to that, it's not of majority interest that's not, never, an issue with community radio. If it's relevant and it's affecting the community and there's a community angle to it, we'll have it on air.(PK, CCR: 11-12)

Analysis of the transcripts show that the other five stations also demonstrate their commitment to establish communication links. The group who founded CRY as a pirate station in the early 1970s stated in their application for a licence in 1994 that

> The primary objectives of the group are to provide a service which will benefit the entire community by providing unique communications link available to all (CRY, 1994: 2)

NEAR believe in the power of their station and their way of working to turn individuals and groups in the community from being passive receivers of media messages to become broadcasters themselves, although they recognise that it will take time for people to "find and hear their own voices." Their 1994 licence application states that

> We anticipate that initially, individuals and community organisations, unused to the wide ranging access options opened up by community radio, will opt for the press release and interview type of response. Our task will be to turn each person and each organisation into broadcasters with growing competence and confidence in their ability to use the medium to tell their own story and to clear a cultural space for themselves. (NEAR, 1994: 21)

Networking and community building appear to take priority over broadcasting standards for WDCR. The current station manager would like to see this element of the station's

activities being developed further and for the station to serve as a catalyst for awareness in both constitutional and social politics. He elaborates

> I'd love to see it becoming the centre of a network, it is sort of, where information would come through and fighting issues that are important to the community. The turn out in elections, even in local elections, is very low and politicians are too far away from them. We see it as a tool which can raise awareness about things that are happening in the community. To highlight it and to promote it and I suppose also it's to promote these people who work in the community that don't get recognition for what they do. People are starting to know who's involved in what issues, so it's starting to work. (EB, WDCR: 2-3)

This echoes the claim made by Wright (1980) reported in chapter three, that a truly local radio station could bear dividends in the struggle to get people to take an active interest in politics, both local and national, for example in turning out to vote.

The findings discussed so far demonstrate that community radio provides a practical manifestation of Enzensberger's hopes for the emancipatory use of media. Emancipatory media is decentralised - each receiver is a potential transmitter. Community radio is located in its community and the listeners are to be the broadcasters. Community radio mobilises the masses and elicits the interaction of those involved thereby engendering a political learning process. It is produced collectively and social control is by self-organisation. Irish community radios were found to fulfil each of these aspirations. The current research shows that each of the six case studies are owned and controlled by their communities and they are based on the fundamental principle of open access and participation at all levels. The data testify to their aspiration of building their communities and the individuals within it through this participation in the communication process as equals. Through this they not only provide examples of multi-flow communication through the mass media but they provide the opportunity for individuals and communities to exercise their human right to communicate. They form multi, micro-public spheres and connect globally to other NSMs to further the democratisation of communication. The next section details how Irish community radio stations are attempting to do this.

6.3. Democratisation of Communication:

By facilitating participation in the communication process, community radio stations provide the ideal opportunity to create a space approaching Habermas's ideal construct of a public sphere. This ideal public sphere allows each individual equal access and the right to be heard on the basis of the opinions offered rather than be excluded from

participation on the basis of wealth or education. This public sphere was redefined as a micro-public sphere which operates at the local or community level in chapter three. It is frequently a multi-public sphere, in that many different voices outside of the mainstream hegemonic order can be heard and it has the potential to be a counter-public sphere when it articulates points of view which oppose that hegemonic order. In the context of Ireland's community radio stations it is to be expected that each of them provide a micro-public sphere through their primary aim of being a communications link for their communities. This is fundamentally political as, despite the democratic nature of the Irish state, the opportunities for self expression and the extent of formal debate in society have lessened rather than grown and developed over the last century. Some of the stations were observed to provide a multi-public sphere as they work to facilitate the participation of sectors of their communities. Fewer were found to actively promote the participation of those subsections of their community that are most marginalised by mainstream media and by society. No station in the study was found to operate as a counter-public sphere, working radically to oppose the prevailing hegemonic order. The extent to which activists in the Irish community radio movement facilitate the operation of multi and micro-public spheres is now discussed.

This section asks how alternative Irish community radio stations are in a political or radical sense rather than in a purely stylistic or entertainment sense? An investigation of the extent to which Irish community radio stations facilitate and promote the human right to communicate is offered. The question of how consciously empowering this is for the community is also considered. Where there is a strong political dimension to the work of a community station, comparisons with the phenomenon of NSMs as they exist globally today can be made. These were outlined in chapter three. The extent to which Irish community radio stations function as a NSM is also discussed here. The connections radios make with each other in Ireland and globally and the relationships between stations and other NSMs are explored. The question of stations' awareness of the political dimension of these connections is then posed. These concepts are not only very closely associated but are inter-dependant and it is neither easy nor desirable to subdivide them for the purpose of the discussion below.

NEAR provides an example of a station which actively promotes the human right to communicate and is fully conscious of the political dimension of this work. Historically, the chairperson of NEAR was one of the main authors of the AMARC-Europe Charter (See appendix E) which lists the right to communicate as the first

objective of community radio. The station has very close links with AMARC-Europe and AMARC- International (See appendices E and B). Approximately fifteen people from NEAR have been abroad on exchanges with other community radio stations and have attended AMARC conferences, some of which dealt specifically with the human right to communicate and how community radio can play a role in this for example AMARC 7, Milan, 1998. The commitment to actualising this right is evident in their strategies for promoting and facilitating widespread participation and also in their programming and in comments made during the course of the research. The volunteers' handbook states this aim very clearly when it says

> We are attempting to democratise the communications media.

and

> Community radio…aims not only to participate in the life of the community, but also to allow the community to participate in the life of the station. Only Community Radio is based, unequivocally, on this reason for being. This is why it should always be distinguished from commercial and state radio – neither of which seeks public participation, except when it suits them to do so. Other stations offer ready-made programmes; community radio offers democratic access to the activity of programme-making itself. Rather than being communicated at, people are offered the opportunity to communicate themselves. (NEAR, 1999: 2)

The handbook quotes point one of the AMARC-Europe Charter directly. It explains to volunteers how it has set up a programming committee to ensure that this principle is followed in the design and execution of the station's broadcasting schedule. It then outlines how volunteers can play a role in that design and execution (NEAR, 1999: 7).

The handbook also takes point 6 of the AMARC-Europe Charter (See Appendix E) as a guide and explains to every person working in the station that there is a two-way dynamic in operation both on and off the air. This runs from the station out to the community and from the community back in to the station (NEAR, 1999: 2). Their attitude to participation, access and alternative news sources is foregrounded in all of their literature, in their programme schedule and is held by all those encountered at the station. Every station in the study believes in these principles as they are articulated in the AMARC-Europe Charter, however no other station quotes these so extensively nor lays out so simply and transparently how they are to be actualised. The applications of 1994 and 1998 declare the following objectives

- to provide an accessible forum for local opinion and debate
- to provide an outlet for local creative expression
- to experiment with the boundaries of possibility in sound broadcasting
- to provide a broadcast-based training ground for people to gain skills, experience and confidence (NEAR, 1994: 6; NEAR, 1998, 3-4).

The programme schedule, the training procedure and the attitude to participation, all support their sincerity in this regard as they are evidence of the station putting its aims into practice.

As regards the creation of multi, micro-public spheres, NEAR again states how this is to be achieved in their handbook for volunteers

> This Community Station is established on two grounds
> 1. To assist broad community development
> 2. As an alternative to other media operating in our area.
>
> Therefore, the underlying premise of all our programming will reflect this by:
> - Being proactive in support of marginalised people and issues
> - Challenging all discriminatory, communally divisive or destructive ideas or actions
> - Supporting positive community development perceptions and movements, and
> - Opposing all forms of intolerance and exploitation
>
> In practice this will mean that while all points of view have a right to be aired, it is station policy to encourage the emergence of a tolerant, consensual, society. While guests may articulate intolerant, divisive opinions, station personnel should challenge such opinions and seek more tolerant reflection. (NEAR, 1999: 10)

CCR have been members of AMARC since 1988 (CCR, 1998: 2) and are very clear on the political dimension of their work. Their station manager was an elected representative on the General Council of AMARC-Europe from 1992-1998 and she is keenly aware of the debates and issues, both theoretical and practical, which surround the question of communication as a human right. Others involved in CCR have had links with AMARC and with human rights organisations globally. The awareness of human rights in general and of the right to communicate in particular, is palpable on encountering the station and its staff for the first time. They are very much aware of the philosophical and political debates surrounding media use and communication as a two-way channel. They quote a previous minister for Arts, Culture and the Gaeltacht who launched their station and who is, himself a keen supporter of the universal human right to communicate and a reader of Habermas, in the preface to their application for a renewal of their licence in 1998, when he asks

> The key question... is whether in the future we become passive consumers of a product manufactured and distributed by some distant conglomerate or are we to be active and in control of our culture and our means of expression? (Higgins, in CCR, 1998: i)

The current station chairperson sees community radio as essentially interactive (PK, CCR: 1). He believes that it becomes a very powerful tool once people are able to use it to express themselves openly, competently and to address the issues which concern them in their own way and to discuss them with their own people

CCR believe that they function to provide a public sphere in which all members of their community can communicate and they use the term itself in their literature (CCR, 1998: 14). Their approach to programming and to access is a planned provision of the public sphere; it does not happen by chance, as is the case in some of the other stations in this study. Many examples of this in practice could be quoted but the example of the space created for refugees, of whom there are far less per head of population in Connemara than in the cities of Ireland, is sufficient to demonstrate the station's commitment to the creation of a multi, micro-public sphere. The station manager explained how the involvement of refugees came about

> We've had an involvement with the refugees in Clifden now, doing programming and that. There's this refugee programme which is going grand. Of those who've got involved, they've moved on but one stayed involved and is in contact with us all the time. Initially we just asked them to do a short series of programmes on their own country, the food, the music, the politics, whatever. Just kind of a way of people getting to know the context and then it progressed from there. (MR, CCR: 39)

CCR is aware that it is not sufficient to provide access to the channels of communication but as Enzensberger (1970) recommended it is necessary to level the playing field by providing the skills, education and other resources to ensure that people coming from an unequal or disadvantaged position in society can participate on an equal plane with others. This is how the ideal speech situation proposed by Habermas can be created. This is recognised in their original application for a licence where they state a commitment to balancing 'experts' with 'the people'

> The proposed structure contains a number of features which we think important in a proposed community broadcasting service.
> - It will ensure opportunity is given to all communities in the area to become active participants in the radio;
> - It will involve new groups and individuals that are not involved in other forms of community activity;
> - It will increase involvement in and awareness of community initiatives;
> - It will ensure that the radio service will be accountable to all communities in North West Connemara;
> - It will encourage involvement of people from more traditional community activities to look at a new way of working;
> - It will encourage communities to work closely together on initiatives that are of benefit to the whole area
> - It will also ensure that the proposed service will be a balance between people experienced in community organisation and management with a track record in organisational and community development and people new to the process of development (CCR, 1994: 12)

It is provided for in practice through such funded training programmes as Women-on-Air (See appendix D), a grant for the training and development of volunteers and staff, presenters and management from the Combat Poverty Agency (CCR, 1994: 12, see

appendix D) and through the carefully considered strategies for enabling participation discussed in the next chapter. The station actively promotes training and personal empowerment through all of its activities, through the provision of an introductory radio course on a VEC run adult education scheme (See appendix D; CCR, 1998: 14) and through other funded projects for example a SOCRATES funded partnership project (See appendix D), entitled "Creating Community Voices" which is to research and develop adult education methods and materials for community radio with a focus on those who are socially disadvantaged. Using community radio and new technology with innovative teaching methods, the project aims to increase media competence and access to the public sphere for disadvantaged groups (CCR, 1998: 14)

CCR recognises that where people cannot be physically present in studio to participate in the debating process which constitutes the public sphere, the public sphere must be taken to them. The strenuous efforts it makes to be accessible to those in the community who live in remote and inaccessible areas were observed over time. These include the establishment of an on-air studio on one of the offshore islands, training and off-air equipment for the other island and for the town of Clifden and regular outside broadcasts from all communities in the area (see chapter seven for full account, also CCR, 1998: 15 and map F, appendix H).

The current station chair expresses the main aim of the station in concrete terms which illustrate the practical approach of CCR in ensuring that multi, micro-public spheres are created

> The main slots, the main aims of the radio, is to serve the interests of the
> community. To get the involvement of the community (PK, CCR: 12).

WDCR completely reoriented and reorganised itself shortly after coming on air in order to facilitate the participation of the widest and most varied range of members of its community as possible. However no evidence was found that anyone in the station was thinking in terms of a political agenda or of a wider dimension to their work. Those interviewed tend to focus on the day-to-day running of the station and are happy working almost as a family unit. Neither the rhetoric nor the concepts of communication as a human right and of the democratisation of communication seem to be a concern for people in this station. This is strange, as they enable both in practice. This happens on a practical level in the training courses they engage in and in the welcoming and egalitarian attitude of staff towards all who cross the threshold. However, there is very little further philosophical discussion or awareness of the multi-flows of communication. It is just part of what they do and seems so obvious to them that it does not require any discussion. The former station manager, who now runs the

rehabilitation programme for drug addicts through radio in the station, sees the role of community radio as something much deeper than broadcasting to listeners, getting feedback from them or granting them access to the airwaves. She sees it as something deeper, more radical and more powerful, but one which operates by necessity at a micro-level

> In terms of listenership, I would prefer to talk in terms of involvement and deep community involvement. If you make a difference to a few people's lives at a very deep level I think that is more an achievement of community radio than your babbling at a pile of people that are half listening to you. (CF, WDCR: 29)

While the term 'public sphere' does not figure in the language used by anyone involved in the station, there is a clear understanding that the provision of a space for debate should be provided. Furthermore the station believes in the provision of multi, micro-public spheres, though again the term is not used. They outline this clearly in their 1998 application for a licence, when they state

> As can be seen from the variety of programming it is pointless to talk about an individual audience. Programmes are directed at niche audiences. We would tend to identify a specific programming need in the community, address that need and draw attention to other groups and individuals who would be likely to have similar needs and so benefit from our initial programming response. Each programme team is encouraged to engage in a direct marketing of its own programme, to identify the segment to which it appeals. (WDCR, 1998: 11)

This should lead to the creation of multi, micro-public spheres by enabling many groups to talk about their own issues amongst themselves.

WDCR's station manager pointed to how community radio gives 'the little people' a chance to connect with the 'powerful people', creating in essence a micro-public sphere where the players approach the debate on a more equal footing than usual

> We can get the local politicians, whereas if they [ordinary people] write a letter it could take a week to get a letter back and even then there could be a query in the letter. On radio, it's there, it has been said and it's been recorded (EB, WDCR: 10)

It would appear that WDCR actually create and facilitate multi, micro-public spheres but are not fully aware of the theoretical and radical dimensions of this practice.

CRY is similar to WDCR in lacking the rhetoric and the consciousness of democratic communication theory, while still striving to provide such a space for free debate in practice. Those interviewed in the station were generally concerned to spread the ability to communicate as widely as possible. This was not articulated in the discourse of political or universal human rights but was proposed as a logical and essential step. Several respondents proposed that each local area should have its own community radio

station and everyone should be allowed on the airwaves to speak their minds and share their information. One of the founding members of the station is enthusiastic and earnest about broadening the access to communication for all ,when he says

> It would be a shame to lose that local accent, you know a 70 year old fisherman talking about Johnny Murphy's kids and such and such that was held out in Knockinure pub last night. That's why I say community radio has a rosy future in that sense. My hope would be that the likes of Dungarvan and Middleton [See map E, appendix H] would obtain community licences and that they would get groups together and that they would actually come in and that the three of us together, we'd actually pull together to form, well say, even one service. (NC, CRY: 101 - 102)

The essentially concrete approach and thinking of those involved in CRY means that there is no discussion of multi-flow communication at any philosophical level in the station. There is a strong commitment to going out amongst the people in order to bring the station to them rather than waiting for the people to come in to them. The station manager explained

> We say it's your local station, with the 'your' underlined. The only way you can do it, is not so much to raise the profile, but go out on the streets a bit more and last year we had "Barty on the Beach". Barty goes out and about all the time, and every Sunday he goes somewhere 'cos there's something on, at the golf club, the captain's cup, at the local pub, at the start of a charity motorbike event. You need to get in amongst the public rather than being stuck in up here. (KC, CRY: 23)

One founder member saw difficulties with a policy of totally open access and participatory communication. He believed that people need to work together in a structured manner, this was not envisioned by Enzensberger and it is a practical point which idealists, theorists and planners need to bear in mind. He gave the example of people not pulling together and of the all too common syndrome of not taking responsibility themselves

> While you must include everybody, everybody wants to do things in a different way and everybody wants to leave the responsibility to nobody and then there's nobody doing it…. They see it as a service that they should be getting out, they are not prepared to put into it. (JF, CRY: 17)

CRY have a relaxed, if not a haphazard, attitude towards the topics which are chosen and how they are to be debated. The station manager says that

> They [the volunteers] very much wander off into the wilderness and do their own thing and come back with a programme (KC, CRY: 16)

This could be seen as a free and unmediated form of access, however it is not an example of a station functioning in a consciously political sense as a multi, micro-public sphere.

Despite the practical difficulties that DSCR have experienced with management, with enlisting the participation of sufficient volunteers at all levels and with their finances,

the belief that community radio is a political force was widespread in the station. There was some disappointment that the station had not taken off as a vehicle of self-expression for all within the community, but the belief that it ought to be one, and that this could have a radical impact on society, was expressed. The former chairperson declared the aim of the station to be democracy itself (TM, DSCR: 9).

While DSCR believes in creating an open space for the community to talk to itself, most of those interviewed did not seem aware of the political implications this may or should have. In their application for a licence in 1998, they state how this access and participation is to be facilitated . This amounts to the creation of a micro and possibly multi-public sphere but without the realisation of what this can mean it seems difficult to see how this sphere can impact in any radical way on the social or political context of the community. One of the station's paid managers was doubtful about the political impact of the station, believing that

> Part of the problem with community radio, a lot of the time is it's reactive rather than proactive (BH, DSCR: 3).

Although CRC has signed up to the AMARC-Europe Charter (See Appendix E) the current study finds no evidence that people in the station are aware that they were playing, or that they could play, a role in the democratisation of communication. Nor was there any indication that anyone in the station viewed communication and access to the air waves as a right. While two key members of the management team express a desire to open up the channels of communication and to enable them to become two-way or multi-flow (PS, CRC: 10; TL, CRC: 5), this has not filtered through to most people working in the station nor has it had any impact on work and organisational practices. The station is firmly based in its locality and sees its role as serving the informational and educational needs of its community, the wider political implications of this do not appear to have been discussed in this station.

The emphasis in practice in this station is on a one-way flow provision of information and educational material which is sandwiched in between 'entertaining' programmes of music and light chatter. If the public sphere is defined as a space where actors can meet to discuss issues on an equal basis, then CRC offers many such opportunities. The company secretary gave some examples of controversial local issues which were debated on air (PS, CRC: 13). However, this space is neither radical nor political in the sense envisioned by Habermas and by his later critics. The opportunity for actors to choose and to define the issues themselves, to debate them on a wholly equal level without mediation and for these debates to impact on policy and practice in their

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communities is not offered. CRC does not create a micro-public sphere, much less multi, micro-public spheres. Management are careful not to alarm or annoy anyone in the local community (PS, CRC: 15; MW, CRC: 3). Issues are chosen by management and debated within frameworks which stem from the tradition of talk shows on both public service and commercial stations. The chat show or phone-in does not provide "genuine participation" (Higgins and Moss, 1982: 32) and cannot be seen to be empowering in a Habermasian sense. Indeed the ratio of talk to music in CRC dropped over the pilot period from 70:30 talk: music to 60:40 talk: music and there was some evidence that these quotas were not being reached (IRTC 1997c; CRC, 1998: 4-5). The company secretary believed that they were providing an alternative to the best extent that they could. He felt that CRC did cover local issues in depth however there was no mention of a political or radical dimension to this (PS, CRC: 10). On the contrary, he was keen to disassociate the station from any radical or political orientation

> We wouldn't be like a political community radio station. I know that some of them have a number of political agendas. We don't have any major political agendas. We pick up on whatever is the agenda in the town. We wouldn't be very big now for example into the national political agenda. We would deal with issues like racism and asylum seekers and all of that but we would always be more concerned with local issues.
> We're not radical. We're very sensitive to local views, to local attitudes, you have to be .... We absolutely have no political agenda because we have politicians on both sides who are very supportive of the station. It wouldn't be seen as a Fianna Fáil or Fine Gael [See appendix D] and even it's not seen as a radical, kind of hippy, kind of leftie, kind of station. I think if you asked people what is the political philosophy of the CRC they wouldn't be able to tell you because there really isn't one. (PS, CRC: 14-15)

The absence of a party political agenda however does not mean that the station does not have an ideological stance and role to play in the life of its community. CRC supports the status quo. They may debate issues of concern to the community as any local medium must in order to keep the interest of its local audience, but they neither question nor challenge the power structures within the town of Castlebar and the wider hegemonic order of Irish, small town society. This was confirmed by the station chairperson who explains how new volunteers and staff are inducted into the ethos of the station

> We meet them, explain the goals, aims, it's written down – they're to represent the values of the town, that we don't go into anything that isn't right. We are a community station belonging to the town, we represent the values of the town. We will not insult the views of anyone in the town. (MW, CRC: 3)

The review of literature examined what a NSM is determined to be, in order to assess whether the community radio movement is itself an NSM and concluded that it indeed

is. An NSM operates from a grassroots basis, organises itself non-hierarchically and organically. It works from cells which freely unite for specific purposes and periods and then disassociate to form other links with similar organisations as it suits them. The extent to which Irish community radio stations act in this way was then examined. Irish community radio stations are far more organised than community radio stations in most countries, given their membership of the CRF which was fostered and founded by the IRTC. They are connected to the world NSM of AMARC-International (See appendix B). They are unusual because of their legal status as entities licensed and regulated by a government body and they are cautious and conservative in many ways. Yet, they can be quite dynamic and alternative in terms of community development and in their programming. Again, many are not aware that this is what they are doing or that this kind of work and way of working has political and social implications.

Most Irish community radio stations have links to other NSMs. They facilitate members of other NSMs to broadcast their own special interest programmes for example ecology programmes run by the Greens. They highlight areas of concern to other NSMs, for example anti-globalisation, the plight of refugees world wide (See Voices Without Frontiers, Appendix D). They all benefit from their involvement in other NSMs, most particularly women, who have been influenced by the feminist movement.

NEAR sees itself as a major catalyst for community radio as a movement, both in Ireland and abroad, and it is justified in doing so. Its chairperson is a former president and founder of AMARC-Europe, an author of its charter and of several other texts propounding the right to communicate and the need to network in order to facilitate social change (Byrne, 1988, 1990, 1998). NEAR was the driving force behind the community radio movement in Ireland in the 1980s and has played an important role in the CRF since its foundation in 1995. This includes drafting many of the policy documents which guide the CRF, in particular the definition which became adopted by the IRTC as its definition of what community radio is (IRTC, 1997: 2, see appendix F). They state their commitment to belonging to a global movement and operating on a world stage in the first page of their handbook for volunteers when they explain to new recruits that

> In becoming a 'community radio volunteer' you have joined a global movement which is emerging on every continent. People are coming together to make the airwaves a real public place. Community Radio goes by many names. In Latin

America it is called popular or educational radio; in Africa, rural or local radio, in Australia, public or community radio; in Europe, free associative or community radio. All names describe the same phenomenon that of gaining a voice and democratic communication on a local community scale. (NEAR, 1999: 1)

The handbook concludes on the same note, reminding its volunteers that they are part of a new social movement which is concerned with communication and other human rights and paraphrasing Ireland's Nobel prizewinning poet, Séamus Heaney

In this way, we are linked through aspirations and technology to similar community groups across the planet in an organically growing web committed to human rights, environmental rescue and cultural diversity

Let go, let fly, forget.
You've listened long enough.
Now strike your note.

You are fasted now, light headed,
Dangerous,
Take off from here…

…it's time to swim out on your
own and fill the elements
with signatures on your own
frequency… (NEAR, 1999: 24)

The station manager confirmed that people in the station are conscious of being part of an international and alternative movement

People are very aware of AMARC. We are involved in five AMARC projects at the moment. I think about between ten and fifteen people have actually been abroad on AMARC projects, so another three or four have been involved at home for each of these. That implies a huge number of people who've been involved plus we have lots of exchange people from different countries which is great for the place –it gives it a great atmosphere. It's not just AMARC mind you. They would be familiar with this idea of AMARC having an alternative voice in the media and of NEAR FM being a part of that. (CM, NEAR: 13)

There is a keen awareness in NEAR of the station as part of a global movement and of their ability to carry the messages of other NSMs, particularly of those groups which are anti-globalisation oriented. The station chairperson explains their vision in this way

I think it's a part of networking with the other agencies with the other organisations but I think it's a huge resource and I think if it's used properly it can be a clearing house for all these ideas. It can help people to meet so that there isn't duplication of the ideas, that there's a co-ordination of activities that mobilises and I think the international links are terribly important. I'd love to think that more people, like we did with refugee radio, I'd love to have people in North East Dublin being more aware of what's happening in Agoni land. How understanding that if people in Darndale feel disenfranchised that there's people in Agoni land feeling the same and in the suburbs of Australia, you know, in the

> ghettos there, that they're not alone. There's people all over the planet being disenfranchised and left behind by this global economy that's emerging and I think that there's tremendous power, if they could organise that and link with each other (JB, NEAR: 56)

CCR is a keen supporter of international networking. The station take part regularly in AMARC sponsored, international projects co-operating with other stations in Europe. The station manager has been a member of the AMARC-Europe General Council, and has attended and organised many international conferences organised by AMARC and attended by other NSMs and NGOs. Many international visitors have come on work experience and visits to the station and at least one staff member was involved in writing a training package which is used internationally by other community radio stations. Initially, just as in NEAR, DSCR and CRY, CCR were not aware that there was such a phenomenon as community radio, let alone that an international network or movement existed. Once they did become aware of it, they were delighted to become involved in it and to interact with other like-minded groups (MR, CCR: 1).

The sense that CCR is a part of a much wider and important global movement comes across strongly in all of the interviews and interactions with station staff and on visits to the station. It is reinforced by this comment by the station manager

> I've had the opportunity to, I've had an interest in this for quite a long time and so I've been happy to do the reading and you know maybe more so on a less conscious level people have a sense of it. You know, I think they must have, when they put an awful lot into it with no, certainly no, monetary gain and very often it costs them...they must have some sense of 'this is of value' (MR, CCR: 42)

WDCR does not display much of a sense of being a part of a movement, let alone being part of a NSM. The former-station manager realises that as a station they do not pause to reflect on the political or on the long term impact of their daily work. She seems to take pride in this and prefers to operate on a concrete level rather than accessing a philosophy of communication which could inform their practice

> I'd say we set out with very woolly ideas of where we were going but now, because you're forced to translate them into reality, like I think the one thing that has been good about us is – we're action people. It kind of happens on the ground therefore very quickly. Something or someone will correct anything that goes wrong as long as you're active. Whereas if you're very involved in theory, I think you can theorise all you like and the theory can be very different to the reality. In actual fact we are forced to be pretty realistic. Now sometimes that can be a bit of a disadvantage in that it's hard to see your goals ahead whereas you're so preoccupied with the day to day of whatever you're doing and I like, I sometimes see other stations that seem to have more maybe ideas in some ways but we, I find it very hard to have time for loads of paper work and this sort of

> thing because I'm so busy on the day to day with people, with that end of it (CF, WDCR: 13-14).

However they do, as a station connect regularly and meaningfully with local elements of other NSMs for example the ecology movement and the women's movement and the community radio movement itself (CF, WDCR: 3-4).

Despite the fact that CRY generally operate outside of and are unaware of the discourse which surrounds communication theory and the fact that they appear politically disinterested, they do make global connections for their work. One of the founding members describing their early pirate days, said that the AMARC-Europe Charter (See appendix E) matched his vision and the views of his colleagues when they first set up the station although they were unaware of the existence of other like minded stations at that stage

> You know I'm sure that every community station around the country that operated like ourselves back in the seventies went through much the same thing. The trauma, and that is where the charter came out of I would imagine and not even in Ireland alone, but in every other country around the world as well, the same thing was happening (NC, CRY: 58)

He went on to state that community radio stations need to band together and to multiply if they are to have any impact on life in Ireland

> We need more licences, the more licences the more powerful a lobby we can be and the more interactive with each other we can be but the political will isn't there. I would feel that community radio is actually, that it can be as bad as a dirty word at times. (NC, CRY: 103)

There was no evidence at all that CRC has any understanding of or interest in seeing itself as part of a global or alternative, radical movement.

6.4. Some General Conclusions:

It is clear that the democratisation of communication - 'giving the people a voice' - is a primary motivating factor for almost every station. The founders of these stations are aware of this radical political dimension to their work in broadcasting but unfortunately this has not always been passed on to other participants. As regards networking internationally, many of those interviewed explained that they had never heard of community radio or of such a movement when they started. They set up pirate community stations back in the 1980s without realising that such a way of working had been tried elsewhere. They were acting out of principle and a feeling that this could work. They were delighted to find that there were many thousands of others engaged in the same work world-wide and to learn from and network with them. (CCR, NEAR,

DSCR, CRY). Interviewees frequently expressed disappointment that their station was not functioning as a public sphere as they had hoped, although they generally did not use that actual expression.

The following observations can be drawn from this disappointment. These people are politically aware and work from a strong sense of social and moral conscience. They believe that the human right to communicate should be facilitated and that it can be a powerful force in society. They are idealists, they want far more than they can possibly achieve and they want it far sooner than it can possibly happen. Generally, despite the fact that they are working in the communication field, they are not good self-publicists and so it is important to listen to their comments carefully and to weigh these against the observations and insights gained during visits to the stations and interaction with them nationally and internationally. This informs the conclusion that stations want to and do try to enable people to communicate for and to themselves.

Irish community radio stations may function in an empowering way but they need to be conscious that they are doing it. They need to educate themselves as to the debates surrounding the democratisation of communication and to see how they play a role in it. They then need to alert the wider community which they serve to these rights. Many of those involved in community radio in Ireland are concrete thinkers and practical people, frequently without the benefit of higher education. Given their high minded idealism, intelligence and energy, some consciousness-raising could be the catalyst for major social change at grass-root level in communities throughout the country.

If community radio is very radical it can form a counter-public sphere, but most Irish community radio stations facilitate the creation of multi, micro-public spheres, albeit unconscious that this is what they are doing. In many stations only one or two people on the board of management are aware of this role. Fortunately they have set up structures where their stations can and do function to facilitate general and "genuine participation" in the communication process. Unfortunately, the lack of resources, specifically for training and education and the lack of awareness of the power and importance of multi-flow communication means that some presenters ape commercial formats and stations do not realise their radical potential. Community radio provides a real opportunity to act on the normative theory suggested by Enzensberger (1970), Mills (1956), Habermas (1989 [1962]) and others. This research concludes that Irish community radio stations operate in emancipatory and truly participative ways enabling people to exercise their right to communicate through the creation of multi-flows of

communication. However, the full and radical potential expected of these ways of broadcasting cannot be actualised as long as the majority of participants in those stations are unaware of the political and social implications of their operations.

The strategies employed to facilitate participation in the community radio station which enable the creation and maintenance of multi-flows of communication are discussed in the next chapter.

SECTION II - CHAPTER SEVEN

Findings: Participation

Chapter Summary	
7.0.	**Introduction**
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7.1.i.	*Number of Participants*
7.1.ii.	*Satisfaction with the Rate of Participation and the Rate of Turnover of Volunteers*
7.1.iii.	*Division between Paid and Unpaid Participants*
7.1.iv.	*Types of Participants:* Gender Age Groups The Unemployed The Isolated and Lonely New Immigrants Travellers Others
7.2.	**Level of Participation Facilitated**
7.2.i.	*Ownership:* Direct Ownership Ownership in Partnership
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7.3.i.	*Recruitment*
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7.3.iv.	*Physical Access to Stations*
7.3.v.	*Atmosphere*
7.3.vi.	*Barriers and Limitations:* Transmission Area Lack of Resources Poor RP Clique Formation Complacency Management Decline of Social Capital

7.0. Introduction:

Questions about the nature of participation in community radio stations in Ireland and the impact it is expected to have were raised in chapter three. Community radio stations are expected to provide "genuine participation" as outlined by White, (1994). "Genuine participation" is understood as enabling, relatively unmediated and is provided for its own sake. In order to assess the extent to which community radio stations actually

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provide for "genuine participation", it was determined that the concrete strategies put in place by stations to enable participation would be measured against the aims outlined in mission statements and contract applications for broadcasting licences. A model of seven levels of involvement in radio which are often seen as participation was proposed.

Figure 5. Model 2: A New Model for Participation in Radio:

Level	New Categorisation	Type	Example
1	Reactive access	Responding to content broadcast	Phone (not on-air), fax, letter, email
2	Controlled access	Speaking on air	Phone-in, talk-back radio
3	Controlled participation	Presenting programmes with professional producers	Guest spots, some documentary programmes
4	Mediated participation	Producing and presenting programmes	Access radio, open channel
5	Participation	Schedule and programme planning, autonomous production after training by the station, open to all members of the community	Access channels, community radio
6	Self-management	Management and decision making, unmediated by outside groups	Community radio
7	Full and active participation	Full ownership	Community radio

This forms a useful framework for assessing the performance of each community radio station as it attempts to provide for participation by members of the community. Only stations which provide participation at level five or higher on the model can be considered community radio stations. Level five enables participative involvement in a station. Here community members can make decisions regarding scheduling and programming and can go on-air. Level six provides for self-management. Full ownership, at level seven, is the highest degree of participation in media possible. As each level incorporates the degrees of access and participation of the levels beneath it, level seven includes all forms of participation discussed in the literature reviewed in

chapter three.

The extent to which Irish community radio stations can be considered to be community radio stations in terms of the participation they offer, is one of the main research questions of this thesis. It emerged that it is only through the facilitation of participation that the other aims of building the community, providing communications links to do that and in democratising the flows of communication can be achieved.

This chapter relates the research findings regarding participation to the model for participation proposed above and asks what levels of facilitation of participation do Irish community radio stations achieve? The framework for this analysis was arrived at through progressive focussing throughout the research and reading periods (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Three main areas emerged which facilitate the description of participation within community radio stations and these are presented in the following three subsections

7.1. Participants offers a description of the participants in Irish community radio stations. It details the number of people working in each station, distinguishes between those who are paid and unpaid, describes the work done by each type of participant and the relationship between both groups. It discusses the social backgrounds of the different types of participants and looks at issues of representation in terms of the demographics of gender, age and socio-economic background and investigates the extent of the inclusion of groups normally marginalised from mainstream Irish society.

7.2. Level of Participation Facilitated describes the type of participation which is facilitated. The discussion looks at participation as provided at level seven of the table, ownership, and at level six, where management structures and styles are reviewed. It concludes with a brief selection of examples which show the facilitation of participation at level five of the table which is involvement in programme and scheduling production and decision making. Stations' finances are discussed in appendix N.

7.3. Strategies for Ensuring Participation and Difficulties Encountered with its Facilitation discusses the strategies for facilitating participation which are planned and implemented by stations. These include recruitment and training procedures, the care given to participants both paid and unpaid, the physical access to stations and the

measures taken to promote a friendly working atmosphere within stations. This section also lists a number of barriers and limits to participation encountered in stations and cites some of the difficulties experienced by stations in facilitating participation.

7.1. Participants:

The type of participation offered by Irish community stations and how that offer is taken up by different members of their communities is now described. While those involved in community radio generally reject numerical and empirical tests of their work as being unhelpful in describing the nature of their work, such quantitative analysis is useful in making simple cross-comparisons. The satisfaction of stations with the numbers of participants which they accommodate is discussed, as is the rate of turnover of volunteers over the life of the stations. The ratio of volunteers to paid workers, be these CE workers or others, is offered. The type and amount of work done by each group is described and, where this emerged as an issue, the relations between the two groups is discussed.

7.1.i. *Numbers of Participants:*

There does not seem to be any upper or lower limit on the numbers of participants a community radio station can accommodate on a weekly basis. Within the physical constraints of studio space and the temporal constraints of the number of hours in the day, a community station can have any number of participants working in it every week. Analysis of the rural stations reveals that CRC and CRY each have around sixty volunteers in the station on a weekly basis and CCR has around eighty volunteers working in any given week. Two of the Dublin stations have significantly more than this, NEAR has 120 volunteers and WDCR has 200 people in the station on a weekly basis. DSCR reported that they have between forty and seventy people working as volunteers each week but were unable to be more specific. WDCR's total of 200 is split into two halves, with 100 coming from the local community and the other 100 from the college which houses the station. This means that an average of eighty people who live permanently in, or near the transmission area of the community radio stations in the study are active participants on a weekly basis.

Each station can draw on a pool of volunteers who have been trained. These are people who were previously active participants in the life of the station or who are unable to commit to regular work but are available as the station needs them. Actual numbers for these extra volunteers are difficult to elicit. Personnel in stations were unable to

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account for them but guessed at between forty to eighty in the case of CRY and around 150 in the case of NEAR. A respondent from DSCR explained this as follows

> We've got a hardcore of people there — how many I don't know — who would rally to our support if it looked like....that is part of the problem with community radio — a lot of the time it's reactive rather than proactive — when there's a crisis and it looks like it might close down, I think they'd rally but when you're actually doing it, doing the hard work and continuously trying to put programmes out there, you find the community don't seem to be that interested. (BH, DSCR: 3)

The numbers of paid staff vary hugely from four in the case of CCR to twenty nine in the case of NEAR. Generally staff salaries are paid through a government employment scheme called the Community Employment (CE) scheme or FÁS (See appendix I). The numbers employed in stations depend on two factors - the numbers of people available for and allowed in the CE scheme, and on the orientation of the stations in regard to running the operation as a volunteer-based entity or as a professional-service provider.

7.1.ii. *Satisfaction with the Rate of Participation and the Rate of Turnover of Volunteers:*

Most stations reported that they were not happy with the rate of participation of members of the community in their station and all hoped to improve on this. This is interpreted as a strong indicator of their emphasis on being inclusive and of facilitating participation. While the rate of participation is generally good, the stations where the quality of participation is highest are those which are least happy with their success. An example of this is CCR where they work extremely hard to maintain their volunteers' involvement. They organise weekly meetings for all participants to ensure that everyone has a voice in the decision making process and to keep the momentum going. Initially, approximately forty volunteers attended on a weekly basis. However the manager was disappointed that this had fallen as the project became more established and was concerned to understand and address the problem (MR. CCR: 26). This may be an overly critical self-assessment on her part as the only such meeting observed during the course of this research (June 1999) was attended by thirty out of a possible number of eighty volunteers, all willing to give up their time on a beautiful summer's evening. One of the founders of DSCR was disappointed that people had not come flooding in to take up the offer of going on the airwaves

> Now this is one of the things that has surprised me, I felt that once you got the station going that the community would come surging in and would want to avail of these facilities but for whatever reason, and I'm still slightly puzzled by it, this is not happening and you really have to go out and almost drag or shepherd them in. (TM, DSCR: 9)

One of the founders of CRY when asked if he was happy with the rate of participation in his station exclaimed

> No! I'm not happy at all. When I say participation, the more, I'm a firm believer that the more people that come in through that door the better. If we had 800 instead of 80. (NC, CRY: 93)

The rate of turnover of volunteers in all stations was low, except in the case of WDCR where half of their volunteers were students who did not necessarily reside in the area and who moved on after the completion of their studies (EB, WDCR: 13). In all cases a low turnover was seen as a positive reflection of the success of the station in caring for their volunteers. Many of the active volunteers have been involved in their stations since the start of broadcasting in 1995, while many on the boards of management were originally involved in applying for a licence or even in broadcasting as a pirate community radio station in the 1980s and earlier (PK, CCR: 1; TM, DSCR: 1; JB, NEAR: 2; PK, CRC: 31). The comment of CRC's station manager is typical of the responses made in this regard when he says

> There's not a big turnover, there has been some naturally over the four year period where some people drop out, but the vast majority, I'd say 54, 55 have been there since the very beginning (PK, CRC: 31)

An alternative interpretation could suggest that stations experience a difficulty in making room for new participants or are viewed externally as a clique into which it is difficult to break.

WDCR takes a different attitude to the turnover of volunteers, believing that this is a healthy sign of growth and of the openness of the station to new participants. Those interviewed are happy with the rate of participation, as the former station manager reflects

> As long as you keep creating ideas and creating projects and creating stuff that has the community involved, you'll have a certain amount of people, they may be different this year than the people you had with you last year, because the stuff you may be doing this year may be different to what you were doing last year, but that's OK and as long as there's a meaningful degree of involvement so that people in here don't feel that they're doing something and that nobody's listening to them, that is what it's about. (CF, WDCR: 33)

CCR's station manager raised an interesting question not anticipated by this research, when she asked if a critical mass of volunteers exists beyond which it is unrealistic to assume that the participation of more people can be accommodated? Reflecting on the policy of providing remote studios for access to outlying areas she muses

> I think we're now at the stage where the number who is ever going to present themselves here voluntarily, have, more or less, presented themselves. (MR. CCR: 32).

Community radio stations do not place a high priority on the numbers of people who are involved in their stations. Certainly, the more people who present themselves at the station, the more satisfied they are. Generally, however community radio stations prefer to prioritise the quality of that participation, stressing the long-term benefits to the participants as individuals and to the community from which they come, rather than the quantity of participants.

WDCR provide a typical example of this attitude to participation as a long-term relationship of quality. The former station manager describes the station's belief that this relationship empowers participants personally

> So what we do, is make sure that what we are doing is at a deep level, rather that there's deep, meaningful contacts, like for instance Keith in there [She points to the studio where "the youngest broadcaster in Ireland", age 10, is preparing his show], we'll have a contact with him for the rest of our lives. You know what I mean, it's that kind of a deep contact, rather than just whisking a person in, giving them an interview not even be conscious of the person and showing them out again. I think that does damage rather than actually correct development, so we make sure that the participants, you've seen them in and out [indicates the desks and spaces people have been occupying during the observation visits] and lots of them in our projects, so you're sort of totally involved with their lives. There's that deep, meaningful contact made and I think that's what community and community radio should be, contact at that level. (CF, WDCR: 3-4)

Analysis of the transcripts and of the observation fieldnotes reveals that this understanding of participants having a relationship with their station is widespread.

7.2.iii. *Division between Paid and Unpaid Participants:*

Community radios operate as not-for-profit organisations and as part of the voluntary sector in Ireland. As such they are staffed mainly by unpaid volunteers with some paid staff filling key roles, particularly in management and for continuity purposes (Anheier and Salamon, 1994; Nathan, 1990). The paid staff in Irish stations are usually CE workers (See appendix I). Each government funded 'back-to-work' scheme appoints a supervisor to oversee the training, work and care of CE workers. In most cases this person is also the station manager and liases with board members and co-ordinates the work of the volunteers in the station. The CE staff, who work twenty hours a week each, are deployed differently in each station and the relationship between CE staff and volunteers differs from station to station also. In some stations CE staff produce and broadcast programmes, in others they support volunteers to do this work. In general CE workers carry out administrative tasks, programme research and the collection of revenue for the station, be it through advertising or fundraising. The volunteers' input also varies from station to station. The current study found that the number of

volunteers in a station is generally in inverse proportion to the number of paid staff in a station – the more paid staff, the lower the rate of involvement of volunteers. In all stations studied, however, volunteers constitute the membership of the board of management almost entirely. They also sit on most committees and, in most stations, they comprise the majority of voices heard on air.

Documentary analysis shows that in 1994 all stations anticipated depending heavily on CE workers to run their projects, but as the years went by, many began to cut down on this dependence on the government funded scheme. Respondents report that this is partly due to the threat of government cutbacks to the scheme and partly due to the belief that it is damaging to stations in the long-term. Where stations had a large pool of unemployed people to draw from and where they were happy to do this, a large number of people were employed through the CE schemes. In CRC there were twenty places available on the scheme in 1999, although the average take-up was fifteen CE workers over the period of the current research (PS, CRC: 2; CRC, 1998: 13). CRC depends heavily on these workers for both administration and broadcasting. The station manager acknowledged that it may be a factor contributing to the lower rates of participation off-air by unpaid volunteers than was the case elsewhere (PK, CRC: 31). CRC appears to be more led by paid staff, both on and off the air, than any of the other five stations in the study. The CE workers are the main protagonists during the day and the volunteers take over in the evenings and on weekends (PS, CRC: 12). There was a strong perception that the station is run by CE workers who provide access to members of the community to come on-air, rather than being a community-owned and led project. The situation in CRY proved to be similar when respondents discussed the split between paid and unpaid workers. CE workers come in during the day, during the week and volunteers are in the station more or less by themselves at other times. There seems to be little interaction and much mutual suspicion between the two groups. One volunteer described the atmosphere as "graveyardy" during the week (TC, CRY: 5) and another volunteer on the management board complained that the perception of the station by many in the community is that the station is run for and by the unemployed (JF, CRY: 5). Both stations to review their attitudes towards these workers and to formulate strategies which would enable collaborative working and collective ownership of the project.

Not all stations which have a high number of CE workers appear to find this a damaging experience. In DSCR, where the volunteers who had founded the station were exhausted and the station experienced serious management difficulties, they found that they were literally saved by the commitment and enthusiasm of the people on their CE scheme. The station attempts to employ people, often the same participants, on different, longer term social employment schemes, such as disability and long-term job initiatives (See apppendix I). This was observed to lead to greater responsibility for the participants chosen and to higher levels of continuity and commitment to the station generally.

The relationship between the two types of participants, paid and unpaid needs careful planning and handling (PS, CRC: 12; COS, CRY: 8; JF, CRY: 10; JB, NEAR: 49). The findings suggest that the stations which enjoy the best relations between paid and unpaid staff have developed specific strategies to ensure this. The relationship between CE workers and volunteers in NEAR has been varied but station management, both voluntary and paid, is aware of this and tries to ensure that a friendly working atmosphere and a co-operative relationship is maintained (JB, NEAR: 49). The usual reasons for tension noted in some other stations may apply here also – jealousy over some people being paid to do what others consider a pastime, jealousy over the level of training provided to CE workers through the conditions of the employment scheme and a lack of understanding of the community development goals of the project may exist. Yet these seem to be tempered by the clear guidelines in the volunteers' handbook, by careful and watchful management and by good induction courses for both CE workers and volunteers. The chairperson of NEAR notes that there is a distinct split along the lines of educational background, age group and gender between volunteers and CE workers. He reports that CE workers are generally younger, less-well educated and female

> Through our CE schemes, as we are categorising…more working class women, young women, not terribly well educated and that will probably be the most of that if you want categories, but they're not coming in as volunteers. Our volunteers would be better educated, more articulate, more confident, so there's a gap there in… clearly we need to empower more people from areas who haven't gone to school, who've dropped out of school, who maybe their own self-esteem or self-worth is poor, we're getting them in on CE schemes and they're blossoming, they're blossoming and it's great to see them… and I think they're enjoying it as a social project as well as a learning process. (JB, NEAR: 25)

CCR do not report any difficulties with the CE scheme in terms of staff relations, volunteers and paid staff were observed to share the same work, space and vision. However respondents revealed that they feel uneasy about the short-term, transient nature of the participation facilitated by the CE scheme. This has led them to seek other funding to retain people who are of great benefit to the station and to provide them with better conditions of employment. They have reduced the numbers on the CE scheme and now have a paid support staff of four. One of these is employed as a volunteers' co-ordinator. This is a strong indication of the priority placed on the care of volunteers and on participation as a central aim of this station. CCR is not to be run by 'professionals' rather it is to be supported by them. From the outset it was envisaged that paid staff would be

> .....primarily required to facilitate volunteers in programme making and broadcasting, rather than participating in programme delivery directly themselves (CCR, 1994: 11)

Of course, in such a small station, each of these participants has had to become multi-skilled and to undertake multi-tasking. Towards the end of the active field research period, the original manager was on leave of absence to pursue further study and the volunteers' co-ordinator took over as station manager. This is seen by all in CCR as a natural and positive progression for both station and staff.

Most stations wanted to reduce their dependence on the CE scheme. By 2000 the economic boom which Ireland was experiencing caused the government to review its funding of employment schemes and so all stations realised that there would be fewer funded positions in the future. However, as noted above, many stations were already concerned that too many CE workers could have a detrimental effect on the numbers of volunteers and on the quality and level of participation for all. In these cases stations appear to see themselves as participative endeavours set up to be run primarily for and by members of the community, working for ideological goals rather than primarily for a wage. The station manager of NEAR is particularly concerned to strengthen the sense of community ownership through voluntary participation. He believes that the failure and closure of another community radio station close to them and in a similar area of Dublin (9711, see appendix A), was mainly due to the over-reliance in that station on CE workers to the neglect of volunteers and to the difficulties of administering the CE scheme financially and administratively (CM, NEAR: 3). Members of the management teams in nearly all stations expressed concern also about the quality of employment

which the scheme could offer such participants both in terms of wages and of tenure (MR, CCR: 5; BH, DSCR: 17; JF, CRY: 21).

7.1.iv. *Types of Participants:*

Each station in the study tries to accommodate the full range of types of people who are living in their transmission areas. Generally, stations feel that the closer people are to the station, the easier it is for them to participate and the more likely they are to become active volunteers. This is the main reason why DSCR and NEAR are unhappy about being allocated such large transmission areas. On the other hand CRC and CRY felt that being limited to their towns' boundaries made the participation of those in outlying areas more difficult. CCR is happy that the transmission area granted under the terms of their licence maps onto their self-identified community but find that the scattered nature of this rural community means that they have to work creatively to ensure that no one is excluded. In the case of NEAR the station has tried to address the difficulty of transmitting to such a large population by setting up radio clubs in each of the five more 'natural' communities which make up the transmission area.

All of those interviewed in all stations believe that their participants are representative of their communities and that they are drawn from most sectors within those communities. Some stations are better at identifying exactly who is in their community and at recognising, prioritising and facilitating the inclusion of those most marginalised from mainstream society in contemporary Ireland. For instance, all in CCR are agreed that there is a good mix of gender, socio-economic and educational backgrounds represented in the volunteer body, including local people born and bred in the area and others, Irish and non-nationals who have moved to the area (MR, CCR: 11; BOS, CCR: 5). One volunteer describes the participants as

> A huge range socially, people from all backgrounds and people from all age groups. I suppose very few really old people and very few really young, but from the mid-twenties up to the sixties, there's everything and every background, teachers and bank people, unemployed people, men, women, everything, married.....(BOS, CCR: 5)

NEAR agree, as the chairperson reflects

> I think after that then, the mix is good, we have people who have disabilities ...that woman I tapped on the shoulder, she's blind and comes in quite a bit... people in wheelchairs, in as volunteers. There's a good mix, young people and I'm happy to see we're now getting down to the school girls and they are coming in and are quite assertive so we brought them in through the transition year [see appendix D] and now they're coming back. Two of those girls were on the transition year and brought two of their friends in, slightly older who had

missed it and now they're being trained and we're getting some younger boys in about 14-15 age groups and we're trying to make them welcome as well. We want to make them welcome and you go right up to people in their eighties. (JB, NEAR: 25)

All stations aimed to include people from a good mix of socio-economic backgrounds. Those who set out to prioritise those who are marginalised and who have developed specific strategies to facilitate their participation were observed to have a far higher success rate in this regard. WDCR provides an excellent example of this. The station changed due to its initial experiences from regarding itself as a service or information provider in 1994 to being a community-led station and aims to be as representative of the community in which it is located as it can be. How it does this at ownership and management level is described in the next section but it was observed reaching out to the various constituent groups in its community as part of a planned strategy. It has taken upon itself the remit of catering for the most disadvantaged and marginalised members and groups within its community which is officially designated as a disadvantaged area in the capital city. The aims stated in their 1998 application for a licence show this is station policy and they include the following

- To develop a radio service which is truly a part of the community it serves
- To provide a locally developed and produced alternative radio service
- To provide access to local groups and individuals so as to interactively involve the community in the collection, processing and dissemination of relevant information
- To strengthen the relationship with marginalised groups in the local community (WDCR, 1998: 5)

WDCR has many concrete projects in place which operationalise this aim of facilitating "genuine participation". Most of these are funded projects through the EU or through the Department of Social, Community and Family Affairs and are useful in bringing revenue into the station. Nonetheless WDCR is careful about the projects for which it chooses to apply for funding. It is consistent in ensuring that these serve the aims of the station, particularly of building the community in which they broadcast and in facilitating the participation of the widest range of people within it. WDCR appears to be committed to such groups even where funding has not been forthcoming. Funded projects include INTEGRA, a Euro130,000 drugs aftercare 'opt-in' project (WDCR, 1998: 5. See appendix D). Other initiatives which run on far less money and in some cases without any funding at all, include a programme produced and presented by Travellers since 1994, a programme for and by members of the Gay community and a programme which began as a programme for and by people with disabilities but has changed, at the request of those involved, to become a general current affairs

programme which happens to be produced and presented by people from the community with disabilities.

Like WDCR, NEAR and CCR were found to have strong strategies for the inclusion of those usually excluded from participating in the social, economic and cultural spheres of Irish life. Analysis of the data reveals that all three of these stations have a strong community development ethos and see the inclusion of people on their own terms, finding their own voices, as a priority. They recognise that this requires conscious strategies such as training and positive discrimination. Stations which do not appear to explicitly employ a community development approach to their work (CRC, CRY, DSCR) also target marginalised groups in their communities. The research reveals that they see themselves as providers of information and training for people who are marginalised by society, rather than involving them as central actors and as owners of their stations. There is evidence that some people in these stations are unhappy with this approach. For instance the CE supervisor in CRC has this to say

> We have made some contact as regards the unemployed. At the end of the day you almost need a full-time development officer out there working with these groups. We had a series of twenty programmes on the elderly in the UN Year of the Elderly. We cover disability issues. Clare [CE worker] is doing it. That's fine for now but ideally it'd be better if they were doing it for themselves (TL, CRC: 3).

Those who tend to be marginalised from mainstream society and who are targeted as participants by the community radio stations studied, have been categorised for ease of presentation as follows, by gender, age, employment status, by virtue of being physically isolated, by being new immigrants to the country and by their ethnic status as Travellers. A final catch-all category of 'Other' is also included.

Gender:

The study shows that all stations claim to aim to facilitate the participation of women. However wide ranging differences, both in the actual success rate and in the views of management towards this, emerged in the research findings across stations. Ironically, but perhaps unsurprisingly, the stations with the highest rates of female participation are the stations which are doing most to facilitate it and who are the most unhappy about their success rate. Stations which had a more patriarchal management structure and had fewer women in management and on-air, while reporting dissatisfaction with their

gender balance, were inclined to blame women for not presenting themselves for inclusion (SM, CRY: 6; JF, CRY: 15; PK, CRC: 38).

Almost all stations reported that they are unhappy with the gender mix on-air and in management. In almost all cases respondents, male and female, lament the lack of more female voices on-air and the absence of active women at management level. The IRTC made it a condition of obtaining a licence to broadcast that women make up at least forty per cent of the management boards in community radio stations. This ensures that women are actively recruited and are named on all boards but it cannot guarantee that these women are real participants rather than token actors. In almost every station, managers and chairpersons report difficulties in getting women to sit on committees, although, in most stations, female voices are very much in evidence on-air. In most cases, members of management report that they work to positively discriminate in favour of women in this regard. The male manager of NEAR reported that he is acutely aware of and unhappy about the rate and quality of the participation of women. He believes that this lower rate of female participation is due to pressures in society generally. He specifically mentioned the operation of patriarchal capitalism and was anxious to find mechanisms to mitigate against this (CM, NEAR: 7). However, he also understands this as a problem common to all types of community work and not just to community media operations (CM, NEAR: 8). The chairperson of NEAR shares this concern and feels that the provision of child-minding facilities may help. He explains how important he feels this to be for the station as a whole when he says

> We're going tomorrow to talk about new premises and I'll certainly be asking, I want to see if we can't get the space ourselves. I want to see is there a plan for a crèche in the new premises because it has to be more important and I find, even for station meetings, a lot of the very good women who do programmes, who come in at a time we've arranged for them to do programmes, can't come back in the evenings and then go to a station meeting so they're not even contributing to the development of the project, so we have to address it and I mean it as an urgency thing (JB, NEAR: 37)

In stations where women are, or recently have been managers (CCR; WDCR), the gender balance is far less of an issue and more women were observed both on-air and working in the studios and offices. WDCR gives some of the credit for recruiting high numbers of women to the high numbers of female students in the college with which they are closely related (EB, WDCR: 5). However, while they have more female participants than any of the other stations, they do not believe that they have attracted sufficient numbers of women to satisfy their own ambition of gender equity across all levels. This belief would appear to be a result of the station's general awareness of gender issues and commitment to improving the balance across the board.

CCR has a female manager and the paid staff are all female. The gender balance of volunteers is reported as "fifty-fifty, almost perfect" (MR, CCR: 20). According to respondents, getting women involved on-air, in administration or on management boards was never a problem for CCR, unlike for most of the other stations in the study. When questioned as to the secret of their success, most respondents were not conscious of this as the result of a planned strategy. After some probing and reflection they agreed that the following measures help to ensure that women are involved in all aspects of the station. The manager, the technician and most of the paid staff have been female since the station began broadcasting. These provide positive role models for women. A concerted policy to demystify all aspects of radio work for volunteers is seen to have borne particular dividends for women. The station collaborated with the local university, NUIG and the IRTC in a European funded training project which specifically targeted women, called Women-on Air (See appendix D). This enabled women from the area to gain a university diploma in radio skills, to be paid a wage and to have childcare and transport costs for the duration of the course. Earlier experiences with ConWest Plc, the community development initiative in the area, had also targeted women, including the provision of assertiveness training and this was acknowledged as another possible contributing factor (MG, CCR: 9). Analysis of the transcripts reveals a proud perception that women in Connemara are traditionally more independent and assertive than their sisters in other parts of the country. The female station manger, who has a long experience of and training in community development, explains that there is a strong tradition in the area of women working as community activists and she believes that this naturally spills over into the life and organisation of the radio station (MR, CCR: 14). However she points out that it is important to create an atmosphere which makes female participation easy and a matter of course rather than something exceptional. Since its foundation, the station has pursued the policy of including women in every aspect of station life, at the same level of men. This includes the traditionally male preserves of technology and sports programming (MR, CCR: 14).

One station, CRY, seems to resent the IRTC condition of ensuring gender equity at board level (SM, CRY: 6). It is no surprise that this station has the poorest record of women on their boards. In 1998, when applying for a licence, they made a formal request to the IRTC to be excused for not reaching the minimum gender equity requirement rather than actively recruiting women who would work with them. The

main protagonists in CRY appear to be at a total loss to explain why they do not have more female involvement in the station at all levels. One founder of the station muses

> Why? I don't know. It's just that they, you know, they didn't seem to want, they didn't seem to have the same interest in the thing. Now, some women, I'm not exactly sure, but it would seem that they haven't anyway. We've tried everything here to get female involvement like. Now, we do have a good many females, ah, when I say down in the telephonists now, ah, receptionists etc etc, doing TAs [technical assistants] doing programmes. We seem to have a good enough mix there but it seems to be up along the line that we don't have them… We've tried everything, you name, it we've tried it. We've tried fiddling the blooming figures or tried to you know, push one out to get a female in and you know, it still wasn't working, may be, I suppose the men-folk probably had more time too (NC, CRY: 91-92).

Some explanation for the lack of female participation at decision-making levels was observed during visits to the station. New volunteers, especially women and younger people, are limited to attending the phones and the reception desk and this seems to be acceptable to almost all of those interviewed. Most of the members of the board of management and all of those who take an active part in the board and in the station are men. The 'cult of the star' was observed as very much in evidence in this station and a hierarchical attitude, even amongst unpaid volunteers was noted. Several of the on-air presenters, who are exclusively male, have very long programme slots to themselves. Rather than being produced, researched and presented by teams of volunteers which would enable a higher rate of meaningful participation for volunteers, they appear to be one-man shows. This is not the case in the other five stations studied. This naturally limits the number of people who can participate regularly and limits the quality of their participation to answering the phones, in some instances to providing technical assistance and frequently to making the tea.

Age Groups:

Ensuring that a good mix and range of age groups are represented was reported as a difficulty for all of the community radio stations in the study. Five of the six stations stated that they have a problem recruiting young people. In most cases (CCR, WDCR, NEAR, DSCR) they have developed programmes with second level students, particularly those in transition year (See appendix D). They also offer individuals a chance to come in on programmes which they find attractive, primarily music-based programmes. DSCR runs a 'DJ for a Day' competition which attracts young people who do not have to commit to long-term training or participation. CRC has a dance music programme which the chairperson believes is a good idea for involving youth although it is out of line with the rest of the programming schedule (MW, CRC: 3).

None of the stations are happy with this poor representation of youth but they report that they have considered their priorities and believe that there are others in their communities who are more marginalised than youth in general. These include the aged, the unemployed, women at home with small children, the disabled, the visually impaired and they have chosen to direct more of their limited resources towards these groups than towards the young.

At least half of the stations made concerted efforts to involve a particular sub-set of young people however, namely those who are considered disadvantaged and disaffected. WDCR and NEAR have run Youth-Reach programmes for early-school-leavers (See appendix D) and CCR have run a Youth-in Action programme (See appendix D) among other youth oriented programmes. Each of these programmes aim to equip early-school-leavers with an alternative to full-time education, to provide them with personal and life-enhancing skills and to re-integrate them into mainstream society (MR, CCR: 38).

WDCR is one of the few stations in this study which has a significant number of young people involved in it and it is very happy with its youth profile. Analysis shows that this is facilitated, in part, because they are closely liked to a senior college of education. It is also enabled through a strong liaison programme with local second-level schools, for example through transition year training and work-experience programmes, school based on-air programmes and a general 'open-air' policy of attracting young people. The successful drawing down of funds for youth work has also made it an attractive area for the station to grow and develop. The station boasts the youngest DJ in the country – a ten year old boy. A number of those who become involved through the school and college projects remain with WDCR subsequently. Indeed, the acting station manager believes that the participation of young people in the station is its biggest strength and its greatest joy (EB, WDCR: 7). By contrast with other stations who report difficulty attracting younger people to participate and feel that they are seen as "Old folks radio" (CRY, CRC, CCR), WDCR finds it difficult to get older people to participate in the life of the station. This lack is keenly felt by all concerned and, inspired by the success of neighbouring community radio station, NEAR, in this regard, they now pursue an active recruitment policy of head-hunting older people (CF, WDCR: 38).

The Unemployed:

Every station began by broadcasting with the help of the CE scheme which takes unemployed people off the live register and assists them in returning to full-time work by providing twenty hours a week employment and some training (See appendix I). The attitude towards these workers as a resource to be used or as a target group to be facilitated and supported, differs across stations. Correspondingly, the level of care provided in each station for these workers also differs. Once again the stations which had a high community development perspective appear to be the most successful in facilitating the meaningful or "genuine participation" of the unemployed through this scheme. The choice of CE supervisor appears to be crucial also in ensuring that these workers are properly cared for. Some stations have begun to move away from this dependency on the scheme because they fear it will be discontinued and because of dissatisfaction with the level of real work and respect and support which they can give them. No other planned intervention to involve the participation of people who are unemployed as a specific priority was observed in any station.

The Isolated and Lonely:

Those who are housebound, the aged and infirm and, to a lesser degree mothers of young children at home, are all targeted by all stations, rural and urban. The need to cater for these people in scattered communities such as Connemara is to be expected and some of the strategies employed by CCR are outlined in chapter five. CCR specified this remit in its initial application for a licence (CCR, 1994: 4) and it was one of the main reasons why the group originally decided to broadcast. They have been careful to provide off-shore training for islanders and have developed distance learning packages to supplement face-to-face encounters. They have opened a remote, on-air studio on one island and have recording equipment permanently available on the other island (See map F, appendix H).

Urban stations also recognise the need to cater for people who are housebound. CRY regularly broadcast church services, both Protestant and Catholic. The manager of programming in DSCR identifies the need to reach out to the housebound in this way

> I suppose the basic ethos is as a community facility and therefore to be there for the people in the community in order to talk to themselves about issues that are important to them. Maybe reaching people that can't go to meetings or what ever and I think there's a situation there also for local news – people may not be able to go out and get local newspapers, money – it's another facility there for finding out what's going on now. (BH, DSCR: 2-3)

New Immigrants:

CCR and NEAR were observed to be to the fore in recognising the arrival of political refugees and non-EU citizens in increasing numbers to Ireland as a category of people who are marginalised by mainstream society and whose participation stations should facilitate. The field-work was completed in 2000, but subsequent contact with stations suggest that all stations are now following this lead. NEAR have been proactive in raising awareness among the host community of the situations of new immigrants both in Ireland and in the homes they have left through its programming. They have been facilitating the participation of these new arrivals both on-air and in the general life of the station since they started broadcasting. The station manager reflects on the success of this strategy as follows

> The fact that we try to have several meetings throughout the year where we give talks and we try to get people to actively split into small groups and discuss these and think about what they are doing…it doesn't always work…we try to look at what goes on in the programming. Recently we ran an East Timor update – an hour every day and the fact that we can just sort of change the schedule and take that on board. I suppose refugee radio, the whole week is dedicated to this. The volunteers who find themselves on-air – we didn't take them off, we joined refugees to existing programmes. We've had a couple of social nights where there's been food and music from around the world (CM, NEAR: 12).

CCR, based in a rural, remote part of the country does not have many new people arriving in search of sanctuary or employment. The main town of Clifden was host to some refugees in 1999-2000 and the station invited these people to produce and present a series of information programmes about their home countries. This came to an end when the refugees left the area for larger urban centres, but it illustrates the open and proactive nature of CCR in providing for participation by all. CCR made great efforts to include these people and to raise awareness of their situation locally so that they could become integrated in the social and cultural life of the community generally.

Travellers:

All stations reported that they experience frustration when they endeavour to facilitate the participation of members the Travelling community. Travellers were reported to find it difficult to sustain their participation over time, even when they have successfully undergone training which has been conducted on their own terms. Some stations believe they have failed in this regard and have given up their efforts. Others see any interaction, however limited, as a success and are determined to continue to explore the possibilities collaboratively. The station manager of NEAR, for example,

was keenly disappointed by what he perceives as a lack of success in attracting and maintaining a Traveller presence in the station. He explains

> We've had no luck at all with the Travellers, even though we have two Traveller settlements very close to the station itself physically. We've run a couple of projects, we have secured training money and grant money that we could train them, but they seem to come in, do the training and leave again. (CM, NEAR: 41)

In WDCR the former station manager pinpoints one particular reason why they have lost the participation of Travellers

> We had a Traveller programme and the main female protagonist got sick and the others didn't feel they could carry on. You know yourself that in community work there would be good reasons why certain good things would've died out. (CF, WDCR: 20)

The current station manager of WDCR agrees and cites the loss of this channel of access to and for a highly marginalised, indigenous and traditionally despised, ethnic, minority group in the community as a major disappointment

> At one stage we had a Traveller's programme and they found it hard to keep producing the programme themselves because of their lifestyle. I think that's the toughest I've come across (EB, WDCR: 7)

These disappointments are quoted as examples of the difficulties of community work in general, of the nature of voluntary work and of community radio work in particular. The prevailing attitude observed and reported is that initiatives which facilitate the participation of those who are traditionally the most excluded group in society are worthwhile and that the cessation of programming or of an individual's involvement over time does not signify failure. Rather, the participation of such people at all, for any length of time is regarded as a success and these initiatives need to be attempted again and again.

Others:

There are many other categories of people who can be considered as marginalised or disadvantaged by mainstream Irish society. Some of these who are targeted, in different measures, by different community radio stations in the study, include those who are functionally illiterate, those who are visually impaired, people with various physical disabilities, people with psychological disorders, ex-prisoners and drug addicts undergoing rehabilitation. These efforts include the provision of training in practical and interpersonal skills and the support and integration of people across the board. The expectation is that people will be empowered to take part in other activities, beyond their facilitated participation in their local community radio station.

CRC was initially founded to give a platform to the adult literacy and education programmes of the local VEC (See appendix D; PS, CRC: 1). WDCR looked at their community and at their resources and decided to prioritise the facilitation of the participation of those most marginalised within that community. The area around Ballyfermot in Dublin is classified by government schemes as disadvantaged. WDCR's 1998 application for a licence describes this profile and the desire to encourage and foster participation and through it, to empower the members of this community (WDCR, 1998: 1). The former station manager explains why this is the case

> We're serving, it's geographical 'cos that's the definition we have and we would have very different kinds of communities but we are geographically bound so it is a geographic community that you're serving. We would be very conscious of shades within that, that are not being served by anybody else, marginalised. All of the people that are involved have anything to do with drugs in the area [sic]. I mean we serve all of them very intensely because that is to me the biggest problem in the area. If you walk up and see a pile of drug addicts, well you say to yourself "What's the problem here?" and you don't have to ask yourself twice. It's drugs, right? So, and with drug addicts, because no other community project in the area works with drug addicts, we go on to all the community meetings and we say "We work with drug addicts" so suddenly you know, they'll raise their eyes to heaven the first time and then once they see what you're doing and the place hasn't fallen down or there's no one going around with syringes or any... they begin to see that this is OK. (CF, WDCR: 18)

NEAR received funding to assist recently released prisoners to keep themselves busy and to try to reintegrate themselves into mainstream society. The station manager believes that community radio can succeed in assisting with the rehabilitation of ex-prisoners where other projects fail (CM, NEAR: 2).

Those involved at management level in NEAR regret the end of the Youth Reach and prisoners' rehabilitation projects and believe that government departments need to look more positively at organisations on the ground who are willing to engage in this kind of work (JB, NEAR: 43; CM, NEAR: 2). NEAR are found to be philosophically oriented towards the facilitation of participation of marginalised peoples (NEAR 1994, 1998, 1999). Like other organisations they have to rationalise in order to use their resources as efficiently as possible and they target funding opportunities to achieve this. However NEAR are observed to provide several examples of initiatives prioritising the participation of marginalised groups where no funding is available. It is fair to say that many of those involved in NEAR, especially the longstanding chairperson and station manager are particularly passionate about the potential of community radio to empower communities through participation. These two individuals have studied the situation in other countries, both have long personal histories of community development type work and both have a long-term, philosophical vision for the station.

The six community radio stations studied work to facilitate the participation of members of their communities in their stations. A critical mass of around eighty active participants per station, with a back-up of up to another one hundred people seems to be the norm. Generally, the more paid staff a station employs, the less participation by volunteers, both in terms of numbers and in terms of quality or level. All stations are found to strive to include the participation of those usually considered marginalised by society but some are far more successful than others. The strategies which are employed by these stations to accomplish this and the difficulties experienced by those stations which are not so successful in facilitating widespread participation are described in the final section of this chapter. The next section looks at the three highest levels of participation provided for in the model proposed earlier, those of ownership, management and programming.

7.2. Level of Participation Facilitated:

7.2.i. *Ownership:*

The most complete form of participation covered by the model for participation in radio proposed on page 92 entails full ownership of the station by the community. The licensing authority requires only that "Ownership be representative of the community" (IRTC, 1997: 2). The AMARC-Europe Charter similarly leaves scope for a variety of levels of participation in community radio stations and does not require full ownership by all members of a given community on an equal basis (AMARC-Europe, 1994, see appendix E). However the research finds that each of the six community radio stations in this study aspires to full community ownership. In some cases this is through the mechanism of a co-operative society with shares available to all (NEAR, DSCR). Others are established through a partnership with existing bodies working in their communities, specifically with a community development body (CCR) and the local VECs (CRC, WDCR, see appendix D). How access to ownership is managed and how it is publicised in the communities served, differs across stations. The structures of ownership are described here but analysis of the data shows that it is the manner in which the aim of community ownership is managed which is crucial in ensuring that members of a community know about and exercise their right to ownership of their station. This section discusses the structures of ownership and management and the extent to which these are utilised. The final section of this chapter details the strategies employed to facilitate participation and the difficulties stations encounter in doing so.

Direct ownership:

Three of the six stations studied are owned directly by their communities, two through a co-operative with shares sold at a nominal price to all and the third through a private company whose board is elected by annual public meetings. NEAR provide a good example of a community radio station wholly owned by their community through a co-operative, Comharchumann Cumarsáide um Raidió Pobail Átha Chliath Thuaidh. It grew from a long pirate period but drew in particular from the credit union tradition and experience (JB, NEAR: 46). NEAR are one of the principle architects of the IRTC/CRF definition of community radio which specifies that community radio stations should be primarily owned by members of the community which they serve (IRTC, 1997: 2, see appendix F). They have been to the fore of the community radio movement in Ireland from the early 1980s in the NACB (See appendix G) and internationally since the late 1980s in AMARC-Europe and AMARC-International (See appendices E and B) where they have consistently campaigned for recognition of community ownership as a fundamental and defining principle of community radio.

DSCR has an almost identical ownership structure to that of NEAR on paper and was also active in lobbying for the licensing of community radio in Ireland and was a member of the NACB. They formed a co-operative in 1985 (DSCR, 1998: 4), although this had been their ambition since 1979, and as their application for a licence renewal in 1998 shows, they endeavour to make democratic, community–ownership a keystone of their operation. They state

> A large number of organisations are shareholders. They are assisted to provide a range of programmes to meet their own objectives and in the process to inform and involve the community (DSCR. 1998: 8)

Appendix 8 of their application names over seventy local organisations which are associated with the station.

CRY is owned by elected representatives of the community, both from statutory bodies such as the Urban District Council, the churches and from voluntary community organisations. However they have the unique proviso of maintaining seats for founding members for life. As one of these founders explains

> We always had this idea that the founding members should actually control the station (NC, CRY:22)

This is a strange anomaly in a democratic organisation and is not found in any other station in the study. However this position needs to be understood in the light of the long history and track record of the station as a service to the town of Youghal going back to their pirate days throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Three men, who had been

originally involved in the pirate station, applied for the licence to broadcast in 1994 and wanted to retain the old ways and ethos of the pirate community sttion. One of these founding members subsequently relinquished his position as chairperson and his right to a seat for life. He did so, partly due to pressures on his time in this professional life, but also because he believes that it is important to rotate positions and to make them democratic. He believes that some people feel CRY is a "Closed shop" and he stood down to get in "new blood" (JF, CRY: 1). The number of preordained, un-elected positions on the board is now two, out of a possible sixteen and is low enough not to jeopardise the democratic nature of the ownership of the station on the board in practice. These two people are active members of the local community and are very involved on a daily basis in the life of the station. However the existence of such a policy could be questioned in the light of the principle of totally democratic ownership. It also sets limits on the level of participation possible: ownership is partly democratic, but not fully, as some measure of control is retained by those who started the station and have continuously worked for it. The two remaining founder members do not seem to share their colleague's unease at the 'undemocratic' nature of 'a seat for life'. Apart from being an essentially undemocratic practice the observed level of stress and exhaustion experienced by these founder members is significant and could be alleviated by allowing a system of rotation or at least of direct elections. However, as with many aspects of the daily life of this station, community ownership is practised more than a review of their ownership structures on paper would suggest. Over time and with the advice and support of the IRTC the station has progressively adapted its ownership structures from that of a group of friends in their pirate days to a company limited by guarantee (Youghal Communications). Initially this was owned and controlled by nine individuals in the community, but it is now a board which includes representatives of the churches, the statutory bodies in the town and representatives of the volunteer and paid staff working in the station. Long-term observation led to the following interpretation – that CRY aspires to democratic ownership but has difficulties in handing over control completely to its community. It is anxious to be representative of its community, although the statements of some of those interviewed may indicate otherwise. This would seem to be due to a lack of the rhetoric of development rather than to any desire to be exclusive or to prevent participation. The manager perhaps puts it more succinctly than other respondents in the station, when he says

> It isn't up to the radio what gets broadcast, it's up to the listeners who are, effectively, the owners (KC, CRY: 11)

CRY is housed for a nominal rent in a building owned by the Roman Catholic Church. This could perhaps be viewed as a form of partnership in ownership or influence. However the research shows that this is an act of charity with no strings attached and the chairperson of the station in the early stages of the research period was the local Church of Ireland minister.

Ownership in Partnership:

Three of the six stations established their ownership in partnership with pre-existing institutions which are active in the lives of their communities. In some cases this is as a junior partner legally and financially but in each case the station is observed to operate autonomously, with the safety net of a benevolent parent organisation. This appears to have worked out very well for them on a practical level, even if it leaves the pedantic argument over independence versus benevolent paternalism unresolved. When the parent organisations are identified, these partnerships are revealed to be mutually beneficial, enabling the democratic process of community building in logical, practical ways which do not appear to be threatening or intrusive. In one case it is the community development body already owned by and run for the community and in the other two it is the local VEC (See appendix D) with special responsibility for adult and community education. In each of these cases the parent organisations shouldered the initial financial and organisational responsibilities, leaving the radio groups free to concentrate on their core activities. This gave them an advantage over the other stations in the study, who experienced difficulties finding and financing accommodation and staff, leaving them less resources to concentrate on the task of community broadcasting.

CCR was started by ConWest Plc which is a community development organisation based in the area surrounding Letterfrack (See map F, appendix H). It has been working since 1972 to combat poverty and to build the community in the area economically, socially and culturally. Very much in the tradition of the Irish co-operative movement and the self-help projects of the 1970s, it continues to sponsor economic growth and community development in this remote and disadvantaged coastal area. ConWest Plc seconded a community development officer to investigate the possibility of setting up a community radio station. ConWest Plc had been concerned by the lack of success of their newsletter to provide an efficient information link. They sought a tool for community development which would provide this and would also enable the building and forging of networks in the community (MR, CCR: 12; PK, CCR:3). Led by this

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extremely able and politically-aware community development worker, the project was carefully nurtured in a participative framework. Working from the ground up, the emphasis has always been on carrying people with the project, letting the people identify their needs and their solutions, rather than presenting them with the gift of a station. Rent-free premises were provided; the community development worker became the station manager and her salary was paid by the parent-company ConWest Plc. The ownership of CCR was restructured in 1999 when a new company was formed. This was partially due to the new terms of the licence negotiated with the IRTC and partly due to a realisation that the ad hoc relationship they had enjoyed with ConWest Plc would now need to be regularised as they moved from being a pilot experiment to being a permanent station. ConWest Plc is still the major shareholder in the company at 51% and continues to provide security and substantial material advantages for the station. It does not interfere with the running of the station but it retains the right to appoint the chairperson of the station. The other 49% of ownership is in the form of memberships. These are held by individuals in the community who can purchase them at Euro 26 (£20) each. At the time of data collection there were 300 shareholders the community (PK, CCR: 10). As with all ConWest Plc projects, shareholders do not receive dividends from their shares – these are to be invested back into the project. It does however give each individual the right to vote at AGMs. Each shareholder receives one vote only, the number of shares held does not increase the number of votes an individual has. Prior to this, ownership of the station was through the auspices of ConWest Plc, conducted by a board made up of representatives of each of the local community councils in the area. This situation has changed for a number of reasons, among them the fact that many of these councils dated from the 1970s and are now defunct and that there was a feeling that the community council approach led to 'constituency representation' rather than to partnership in the project for the greater community as a whole (MR, CCR: 17).

The legal controlling interest of ConWest Plc at 51% could be viewed as demonstrating a lack of trust of the community but the research concludes that this is not the case. According to those interviewed the station has an excellent relationship with ConWest Plc. Both share many of the same aims and CCR have benefited from ConWest Plc's patronage in their dealings with the banks, in finding and equipping their studio and office space, in applying for grant funding and of course, in the matter of community development. ConWest Plc founded CCR in order to improve their communications links with their community. It would make no sense for CCR as a community radio

station if they were not, at the very least, closely connected to the main, indeed the only, community development organisation in the area. The manager was aware of how this might be interpreted by outsiders but felt it worked well for them in their situation (MR, CCR: 8).

In 1994 the group which founded CRC described themselves as

> A group representing a range of community interests. It is also a partnership between the public and voluntary sector (CCR, 1994: 11).

They proposed setting up a company limited by guarantee with a board of directors drawn from all of the community groups active in the town of Castlebar and with representatives of statutory bodies, in particular the VEC. This is more or less the structure which survives today. Ownership of the station is cited in both licence applications as a specific objective

> To provide the opportunity for the community to own, control and manage its own broadcasting service (CRC, 1994: 11; CRC, 1998: 9)

In 1998, when applying for a renewal of their licence, the group reported that the structure of the organisation was effective in enabling a wide range of access to broadcasting and ownership by the community at large. Forty different local organisations are involved and have the right to elect directors to the board of management (CRC 1998: 4). This is seen by the station as a valuable and important strategy which enables the widening of access to a network of groups and individuals (CRC, 1998: 4).

During the life of the pilot scheme 1994-1997, WDCR fundamentally changed the role they see for themselves with respect to the community and consequently changed their ownership structures to reflect this new orientation. Ballyfermot Senior College, a VEC school with responsibility for adult education (See appendix D, WDCR, 1994: 8) originally established the station. The college hoped it would provide a training laboratory for their media students and a way of supporting local interests, the performing arts as well as personal and small business development (WDCR, 1994: 6). Consequently the station was financed, housed and effectively owned by the college and it was to be run by a board consisting mainly of aldermen, councillors and college staff. A company, limited by guarantee and without share capital, was to be set up by the college. This would cover the business aspects of the project. A charitable volunteer association for all members of the community and to which any profits made would be donated, would also be set up, but its role was not clarified (WDCR, 1994: 8). This

changed very quickly as those involved in the station began to realise that they could only have an interested audience if they were relevant to them and that they could only be relevant to them if they broadcast local issues, using local voices. As the former station manager explains

> Well, the original plans that were sent in, let me tell you, what we're doing now is very different. The original proposal that was put in, I mean someone had this idea of ladies going lunching, I can always remember, that will stand out in my head – imagine, like an area where women have five and six kids pulling out of them, like ladies going lunching? I think they took the idea that time from radio as opposed to from community. They looked at a set of nice radio programmes and said "This would be lovely". It would have been the VEC originally who put in the proposal but since then they have become much more involved with the community and they're led by the community (CF, WDCR:14).

The station recognised that it needs to be involved much more closely with its community, particularly with those who are on the margins and consequently changed its direction, its management structures and its ownership. A new company limited by guarantee, West Dublin Community Radio Ltd was set up. The company directors now include representatives of paid staff and volunteers, along with the original college and VEC representatives and representatives of local community councils, partnerships and some voluntary organisations (WDCR, 1998: 3). Of a board of eighteen members, six, including the chairperson are VEC representatives, ten are community representatives, including volunteers working in the station, members of community development bodies and of voluntary community associations, and two are representatives of the paid staff in the station.

7.2.ii. *Management Structures and Styles:*

Level six of the analytical framework proposed on page 92 to measure participation in community media allows for self-management of the station by the community. An overview of the management structures and strategies in place in each of the six stations now follows. Each of the Irish community radio stations in this study allows for participation in ownership and in management. Facilitation at the level of management only, would however, still be acceptable within the definitions of community radio proposed by the IRTC and the AMARC-Europe Charter (See appendices F & E). The models of management presented to the IRTC in applications for licences in 1994 and in 1998 are analysed to determine if democratic structures which enable full participation in the decision–making process are allowed for and encouraged. The perceptions of managers, chairpersons and volunteers as to how these structures are

working are offered. A discussion of management styles based on the respondents' reflections and on the researcher's observations of personalities at work, as well as study of the formal structures is then offered. If community radio stations are to be considered an alternative to mainstream media, it is important to determine if the management styles and structures which are employed in each case are truly particpative and democratic or if they merely mirror the hierarchical and essentially capitalist styles of management found in other sectors of Irish society (Appendix R provides copies of the models proposed in each case). Every station altered its management structures as a result of the experience of actually being on-air. In almost all cases they developed simpler, less hierarchical approaches. In the case of some stations, these changes were substantial and were the result of much consultation with members of the community served and reflection on the ways in which the stations were operating. The experience of working with the other community radio stations in the CRF during the pilot phase of broadcasting, 1994-1997 also had an impact. The CRF spent eighteen months formulating a conceptual model of ownership and management which would flow in a circular manner rather than hierarchically and this became part of the IRTC/BCI policy on community radio (IRTC, 1997: 4).

Despite this experience and the stated desire by all stations in their applications to work democratically, the models on paper could be interpreted as representing a top-down approach. Clarke (1995) believes that working co-operatively and democratically does not remove the need for clear lines of management and responsibility to be outlined. Observation and the interviews conducted over the course of this research reveal that three stations appear to be successful in being inclusive in the decision-making process (CCR, NEAR, WDCR). This does not appear to be the case in the other three stations. In two of these latter cases (DSCR, CRY), the lack of participants willing to shoulder the responsibilities was cited as the main reason for this. However in CRY this appears to be a 'catch-22' situation, as those who are willing to work, are afraid to leave room for more participants to help shoulder the burden in case they do not come forward. The third station, CRC, actually appears to favour a more traditional model of management which closely mirrors that of commercial stations and businesses generally.

Managers:

Every station studied has a board of management which is directly elected by the community served and to which a manager is answerable. In most cases an executive committee of some sort operates, officially or unofficially, as a layer of power and responsibility between managers and their boards of directors. Observation reveals that in stations where the manager is open to working co-operatively and non-hierarchically and where this executive committee trust the manager, open and regular consultation with participants in the station about all major decisions is the norm (CCR, WDCR, NEAR). However some stations were observed not to trust their managers to manage (CCR, CRY). Members of management in DSCR confessed that they find themselves in such financial and managerial difficulties that they cannot begin to formulate long-term strategies for radical changes re-organisation which would let more participants into management.

Five out of the six stations' managers are full-time, paid employees. Of these five, four are paid for through the CE and long-term job-scheme initiatives (CRY, DSCR, NEAR, WDCR) and the fifth is paid by the parent community development company (CCR). Those paid through the CE scheme function as supervisors of participants in the government scheme and as managers of the stations. This was reported and observed as leading to over-work, a proliferation of duties and a lack of clarity or understanding of areas of responsibilities in some cases. In CRC the position of manager is shared by a volunteer and a paid CE supervisor which leads to confusion. In CRY, where the CE supervisor is not officially called a manager, this leads to almost daily interventions by members of the management board and to confusion for participants. CRY tried to improve their management structures and when asked how satisfactory the new arrangement was, the CE supervisor reported

> It's better than what we had before. Prior to that we had the three founder members running the whole shooting match and if you wanted to do something and Séamas said "No" , you'd go to Jim or ask Noel. You just went around the three of them until you got the answer you wanted which was just total chaos. (KC, CRY: 12)

However, what was observed to happen in CRY is that an Administration and Management Board runs the station along with the CE supervisor. He reports feeling supported by this group to a certain extent but would prefer more practical input (KC, CRY: 8, 11). Some members of CRY stated that they would prefer to have a more active and independent manager so that they could decrease the amount of time they spend on administration and increase the time they spend on programming and development. As one founding member puts it

> I would have liked to appoint a manager. This has hindered development all
> along. I'm a believer in appointing a manager who would be paid and would
> take responsibility and there's a lot of places down there in your questionnaire
> however you'll find the answers like – who do you go to? Queries, complaints,
> going on-air and everything. The voluntary committee board of directors and the
> rest of the community could really hand over to that person and that person
> would be answerable to the committee (JF, CRY: 1).

DSCR, like CRC, had two people sharing the role of manager during the period of active data collection. Again these reported serious burnout for members of the management board and confusion for the staff. The chairperson explained that the government agency in charge of the CE scheme are unhappy to fund a supervisor of a scheme who is then used to manage another, wider project, although this is the only way most Irish community radio stations can afford to pay a manager's salary. He explains that the station also suffers

> So you end up with a situation where you have two managers - one responsible
> for the people, the other for everything else and to an extent the people as well,
> so unless you have two people who relate very well to one another you will
> obviously have difficulties and that's how we solved the situation today but
> we're stuck with it and we're just letting it drift. (TM, DSCR: 18)

In the case of NEAR, where the CE scheme is large enough to pay for two supervisors, the burden of management is shared, but a hierarchy of station manager and assistant CE supervisor was observed to exist. The station manager believes that the management board is supportive of his role but does not believe that this is inherent in the structures

> I had to fight hard for it and make them see that when there's a problem it's not
> a matter of blame but, now, what can we do about it, now? (CM, NEAR: 16)

In the case of CCR, the manager, who is paid by the community development body, is a trained community development worker. She brings a very different approach to the work as detailed in chapter five. She explains CCR's style of management

> Management is by, we have agreed that it will be, by consensus for day to day
> operation, it's only expected that it's in a crisis situation that it will revert to a
> vote. (MR, CCR: 10)

She credits their success in operating in a democratic and participative manner to the fact that most members of the board of management are actively involved in broadcasting and work in the station regularly, so that they are aware of the issues when decisions regarding policy or strategy need to be taken (MR, CCR: 7). This can also be seen as one of the benefits of open and participative practices – that management and administration are shared willingly by participants.

WDCR were also observed to work non-hierarchically and decision making is shared in an informal, unstructured, relaxed manner. The management style is described in the 1998 application for a licence as

> Post heroic or marginal with emphasis on the development of personal responsibility by all members of the station. A genuine effort is made to create a positive atmosphere as opposed to any heavily rule bound framework. There is a keen awareness of the 'cause of community radio' supported by a group culture of co-operation considered necessary to create genuine community within the station itself. (WDCR, 1998: 4)

The three full-time, paid members of staff have been involved as volunteers, as CE workers and as students in the station since its inception. They work together as a team rather than as a hierarchy. The station manager believes that

> Everyone works together, there are no rules, everyone has their fair say (EB, WDCR: 6)

Participation in Management:

The three stations which were observed to have made the greatest changes in their management structures and to employ open and inclusive styles of management are WDCR, CCR and NEAR. A discussion of these changes and practices is offered below as an illustration of good particpative management practices. CRY and DSCR were experiencing management difficulties through out the research period and their plans (see appendix R) were not implemented. CRC was observed to be content to operate a hierarchical, traditional or commercial style of management. This may be successful in maintaining a broadcasting operation but it does not enable the implementation of the greater aims of community radio through participation. On the other hand, CRC is the only station in the study which was observed to post agendas and short minutes of management meetings publicly in the station. It is also one of only two stations to have a generally available handbook for participants outlining station policies and procedures, including grievance procedures. CRC is one of only two stations in this study to have a written management procedures manual and this is available for consultation by all involved in the station. This leads to transparency and accountability as well as efficiency. CRC is also one of the very few stations to outline the role and responsibilities of the station manager in their contract with the IRTC. Many others provide this for their managers on a private, contractual basis but by placing the manager's job description in a public document (CRC, 1998: 12), CRC are acting responsibly and transparently and enabling all concerned to measure practice with clear expectations thus enabling democratic monitoring of the management structures.

The management strategies planned by each of the six stations in this study to facilitate participative management are essentially sound. Where problems arise, the research observes that these are mainly caused by the plans not being properly implemented. In stations where plans are not followed, participation is not enabled and these stations are found to suffer the greatest difficulties, managerially and otherwise. The conclusion drawn from observation is that the quality and personality type of the manager, more so than any elaborate plan on paper, is the factor which most enables some stations to work more democratically and particpatively than others. Examples from the three stations which appear to operate the most open, participative and democratic management structures and styles (CCR, NEAR, WDCR) are now reviewed.

Analysis of all the data reveals WDCR to have carried out the most complete change in ownership and management structures of all of the stations in the study. They did this in the light of experience gained during the pilot scheme when they began to get to know their community, its needs and to seek the best ways of opening up participation to them. Initially WDCR was to be owned and managed by the VEC college of adult education which runs a number of media related courses. The station was to be staffed mainly by graduates and assisted by students, who were to be supervised by teaching staff. Access was to be provided to members of the local community but ownership was firmly in the hands of the college. The 1994 application for a licence talks in terms of granting access rather than in terms of community ownership when it aspires to

> ...giving full access to all community associations

and

> acting as a facilitator for community groups within the geographic area (WDCR, 1994: 13)

Respondents revealed that it was station staff who first introduced the idea of a radical change of emphasis from teaching laboratory with access for the community tacked on to becoming a community–owned and led station with students working alongside local volunteers. However the City of Dublin VEC are reported to have embraced the idea and to find this new interaction with the community both rewarding and in tune with their adult education and community development aims. The former station manager explains

> We would have a history of having a certain, we were originally envisaged as being very VEC run but that's not how it worked out in actual fact the VEC have come round to seeing that the community being the centre of things is the right way for it to be, it's a wonderful kind of change over and like they encourage this now and see this as being wonderful, so the management structure we have changed somewhat. We had a kind of board of directors and

> we had a board of management and we had management at the station which
> was very confusing – it was a sort of three tiered structure. (CF, WDCR: 9)

This radical and fundamental change of ownership then impacted on the internal

organisational structures for managing the station. Three people, funded through the CE

scheme and the Drugs Rehabilitation Programme, INTEGRA (See appendix D)

comprise the senior management team. They are assisted by seven CE workers with

specific responsibilities and by student and community volunteers (WDCR, 1998: 4).

WDCR was observed to be a station where everyone can be expected to do everything

and where they manage to do so. The phrases 'multi-skilling' and 'multi-tasking' may

not be uttered but, in practice, that is what occurs. The former station manager

describes the working method as

> We're very much a functions station, it's around different functions, different
> people give you help. It's not necessarily like that, there's an on-going
> involvement when something arises, you'd feel free to go to somebody and say
> "Well, this has arisen and I need this" and then they'd be there to give you that
> and it's kind of run like that. (CF, WDCR: 3).

WDCR is a station which does not appear to work according to rules or with a

hierarchical management structure. The atmosphere encountered on entering the station

is friendly and relaxed. Paid members of staff take time to talk with all who pass

through their doors be they regular volunteers, students on various programmes, for

example the drugs rehabilitation programme, transition year students, students from the

college in which the station is housed, interviewees for programmes or occasional

visitors. This may seem haphazard and extremely casual but it was explained by

respondents as springing from a philosophy forged from experience, from a deeply held

desire to be truly open and accessible and to facilitate "genuine participation". Again the

former station manager explains how this policy emerged

> It dawned on us one day - rules don't work really with people at the end of the
> day. It has to be something more internalised, it has to be an attitude, an ethos,
> whatever. (WDCR, CF: 7)

This fundamental shift in approach came through experience and through the

willingness of those involved in the project to be open to new ways of organising and a

desire to be of real use to the community in which they were centred. The former

station manager explains it as a fundamental recognition of the needs the inner city area

and a belief that the station should address these needs in meaningful and positive ways

(WDCR, CF: 19). A clear understanding that self-help is the most permanent and

effective form of development and empowerment and emerged from the research data.

CCR is another example of a station which analysis of the research reveals as enabling participants to take a real part in management. Members of the community are invited to regular station meetings where all major decisions are discussed. These meetings are chaired by the station's chairperson and are attended by station staff and volunteers. Decisions are generally arrived at by consensus rather than by formal vote, a procedure noted during observation visits. Analysis of the research reveals that CCR has changed its management structures significantly since first going on air in 1994 but the management style has remained consistently inclusive and democratic. The changes made were mainly to formalise the manner in which the station conducts itself and to legally reflect the spirit of co-operation and shared responsibility in the planning and implementation of decisions. Originally CCR believed that the station would be run by a company comprising of some representatives of the parent community development group, ConWest Plc and one representative each of nine, soon to be established, radio clubs. A Radio Management Group, consisting of volunteers, paid staff and community representatives appointed by the Board of Directors was to then manage the station on a day-to-day basis. How these were to be chosen and how staff wages were to be funded and who exactly the community representatives were to represent was not outlined (CCR, 1994: 1). Analysis of the transcripts reveals that the concern of the applicant group was led by the principles of democracy and of enabling the widest participation possible. The group explain their proposed organisational structure as follows

> One of the principal objectives of the applicant group in proposing this structure is to find an organisational mechanism which will encourage different communities in the region to become involved in the development of community radio both through its ownership and management and in the delivery and development of a service (CCR, 1994:8).

Respondents report that over the eighteen months of the pilot licence experience, it became clear that the idea of radio clubs based on local community councils was not the best way to organise. There was a feeling that some individuals believed they were representing a constituency rather than working as partners in a larger project; that they were concerned about gaining more airtime or having more presenters from their area on-air rather than for the larger community. More difficult was the fact that many of the original community councils through which the station had organised itself in the pirate days, were now defunct. Participation rates were high despite the difficulties with terrain and transport and it was decided, after a long process of self-evaluation as a group, to change the management structures. This is interpreted as a good indication of the desire of those involved in CCR to work co-operatively, rather than hierarchically and to be as inclusive as possible of all members of this geographically far-flung

community. The new structure has eliminated the level of the nine community councils and consists of a board of directors which appoints a radio management committee and is assisted by the following sub-committees – Finance, Technical, Programming and Buildings. When CCR were applying for a long-term licence in 1998 they were still unsure as to what type of company should own the station but they did know that they wanted it to be community led (CCR, 1998:8). After seeking professional advice they decided to form a company rather than a co-operative and that this company would be either a private limited company or a company limited by shares. Either option would allow them to remain community-owned and to keep the management of the station accessible. The advice they received was that a company is easier to audit and to manage and that grant-making bodies are more familiar with these structures. However analysis of the transcripts shows that a strong level of support for a co-operative society existed amongst participants.

In their 1994 application for a pilot licence, NEAR proposed that their co-operative society would be led by

> …..a management board of twelve women and men democratically elected at annual general meetings. (NEAR, 1994:4)

They were all to be residents in the catchment area, active in community work locally, in such areas as community development, education, cultural activities, sports and community enterprise. Many of these people held senior positions in local voluntary and community groups and organisations and others had been involved in the pirate community radio station (NEAR, 1994: 4). The model they proposed was of a co-operative with four membership categories – individuals, community organisations, local businesses and others, including churches and statutory bodies. This was designed to ensure the participation of the community at the levels of ownership and management, as the licence application states

> The rules of the co-operative are designed to ensure a balanced Management Board representing the four categories above. The station will be owned by the co-operative on behalf of the community, of which it is widely representative. As the Society is a co-operative with membership open to everybody in the area, ownership will effectively be vested in the community (NEAR, 1994: 7).

The management work of the project was to be carried out by a management committee and a paid station manager. This manager would have the assistance of three sub-groups with responsibility for Programming and Technical Affairs (including monitoring and training), Finance, and Promotions and Publicity (including community liaison and operationalising the aims of participation and access). NEAR report being

quite happy with this management structure but constant re-evaluation and reflection led to substantial changes being made before they applied for a long–term licence in 1998. The board of management of the co-operative society has one extra place on it and now meets quarterly rather than monthly. Far more power has been divested to an executive committee which consists of the chairperson, a secretary and treasurer drawn from the management board and the CE supervisor/station manager. Seven sub-committees, with seven chairpersons, meet to co-ordinate progress were to be established. The chairperson explained that this was to spread responsibility and to increase participation in decision making (JB, NEAR: 21). The committees were named and people still had to be found to fill some of the positions during time the active field research was being conducted. This is seen by the station manager as

> A very bold strategy, a courageous one. We've created sub-committees and roles and have to find the people to fill them – rather than finding people and giving them a name afterwards so we're looking to fill these. For example, the fact that we have a role called 'education co-ordinator' but really we haven't got anyone doing it. We're not really sure what it is – I think the person who we find to do it will probably create that position (CM, NEAR: 16).

There have been many changes to the management structure over the life of the station. In the 1998 application it was proposed that two interactive groups would be set up. These were to be a Listenership Panel, which would be linked ot the Radio Clubs and an Advisory Council, consisting of statutory bodies with an interest in the community such as the Department of Social, Community and Family affairs, the Health Board, the local authority and third level educational institutions. Neither of these have transpired but further changes have been proposed and attempted and, depending on their success, were adopted or rejected. The chairperson believes that the basic structure has not changed radically since the pirate days of the 1980s and describes the process of change as

> ...fine tuning it to try to make it less hierarchical, in that we, this was a board of managers based on the credit union, which is a board of directors, which is rather a high falutin' title. We called it a board of management, then we called it a committee of management, so we were trying to get humbler titles. I was always trying to come down, down, down and then we decided that we would, from experience, that we would set up sub-committees...(JB, NEAR: 22)

The station manager calculates that three quarters of all board members are extremely active in the station and have their own programmes on-air. He believes that board membership is seen as a service to the station rather than as a prestigious position and appears to be largely unrecognised by most volunteers (CM, NEAR: 16).

NEAR's volunteers' handbook spells out the ownership model and access to it for participants in the station. The affairs of the station and of the co-operative are conducted by a committee of management which is elected annually. One third of the committee must stand down each year but is eligible for re-election. All members of the society can vote and individuals can join by buying a Euro 6.60 (£5.00) share, organisations by purchasing a Euro 27.50 (£25.00) share. Each shareholder receives one vote only, regardless of the number of shares held.

The research found that the management plans of five of the six community radio stations in this study aim for participation by members of the community. This is difficult to facilitate and ensure, especially with volunteers, but it would appear that understanding and careful managers can accomplish this. Plans on paper are found to be excellent in theory but co-operative and collaborative management will not happen without really good key personnel who are committed to the principle of participation. Constant education is required so that those who are involved in the station can exercise their right to participate easily and so that those in the community generally realise that this right exists for them if they choose to exercise it. Level five of the model for participation in radio expects that all members of the community are invited and are facilitated to participate in the schedule and programme planning and autonomous programme production. The research confirms that members of the community produce and present the vast majority of programmes on-air in each of the six stations studied. This was established through study of programme schedules, through interview with participants, through observation while in each of the stations and through regular listening to stations' output. Analysis of programme content and interviews with programme teams would form the basis of an interesting and valuable research project in its own right. The current study concentrates instead on how opportunities to participate in programming, (level five) as well as in management and ownership (levels six and seven) are presented to the community and managed by the stations. The strategies employed by the six Irish community radio stations in this study are presented in the next and final section of the research findings. It also considers the difficulties experienced in this provision and the barriers and limits to participation which stations perceive to exist.

7.3. Strategies for Ensuring Participation and Difficulties Encountered with its Facilitation:

Bordenave (1994) warns of the necessity to ensure that offers of participation are taken up by members of the community. The simple provision of access is not sufficient to ensure that all people can approach a station on an equal level. Constant checks and reappraisals must be made unless community radio is to function at only the lower levels of the proposed model of participation. The danger is that community radio could become a medium which is used only by the more articulate, better educated and more powerful members of society. Measures to 'level the playing field', to keep access open must be put in place. These measures can include education, positive discrimination in favour of less advantaged groups and individuals in the community, the simple rotation of presenters and the use of programme teams.

In this chapter the recruitment strategies of the six stations are outlined. The training procedures employed are examined. The level and type of care given to staff is discussed with particular attention paid to any measures consciously taken to care for volunteers, both new recruits and participants of longstanding. The ease or difficulty of physical access to the stations and the measures made to facilitate access for the disabled are noted. The atmosphere which is encountered in stations and how that is created is also described. Finally the barriers and limits to participation noted by respondents and by the researcher during observation visits are discussed. The practice of community radio activists must inform any normative theory of participation in public communication and this must include reflection on both successes and limitations, if it is to be useful to practitioners and academics alike.

7.3.i. *Recruitment:*

All respondents in all stations were agreed that the best method of recruitment is on a personal basis. Strategies observed include word of mouth, where people are introduced to the station by friends who are involved, or where a person is invited in to be interviewed on a specific topic for a particular show and is encouraged to stay around and become involved. While they all try other methods of recruitment, all six stations claim that they have most success in facilitating real and lasting participation only when a person is introduced to the community radio station by a friend who looks after the new person for a while or when the initial contact made for an interview is followed up

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carefully. Three stations describe this simply as "hand-holding" (CRY, TC: 5; NEAR, CM: 26; WDCR, CF: 3).

NEAR state that word of mouth is the best way to recruit new participants, however they report that promotions such as poster campaigns through the local libraries are beginning to pay dividends. Basically they find they need to give people concrete and simple tasks to do, to stay in touch with them and to gradually lead them into the life of the station (CM, NEAR: 26). The research evidence suggests that CRY is particularly active in bringing the station out into the town, in being where the community is active and in having a major presence at all community events. CRY broadcasts both Catholic and Church of Ireland religious services live for people who are housebound. It broadcasts GAA (See appendix D) and soccer matches where local clubs are playing and as part of its fundraising activities it organises 'the Voice of Youghal', a singing competition for tourists and local people in the summer. In the past it had a very popular programme where two pensioners 'Pa and Nooch' broadcast interviews with customers in the town's public houses. CRY's station manager believes that the more the station is seen out and about amongst the community the more chance that people will seek to become involved in it (KC, CRY:12).

Respondents in CRY cite many efforts to reach out to draw the community in. However the research findings suggest that the station is inclined to work instinctively and in a haphazard manner and needs to look at the procedure s which other stations have put in place. On the other hand many of the other community radio stations which do have excellent strategies worked out on paper could possibly benefit if they could harness the enthusiasm, creativity and energy of CRY.

The research shows that CCR also maintain a high profile in their community. At one stage the station had an outside broadcast unit (OBU) in an old mobile bank van. This enabled the station to be visibly present at every public or community event in the neighbourhood. It meant they could broadcast live programming for those unable to attend such events as the Connemara pony show, football matches, village celebrations and festivals of which there are many in the summer months. However the cost of insuring and maintaining this old vehicle became prohibitive for the station. Despite this loss volunteers were observed to put great energy into any outside coverage and ensure that a spirit of fun and partying draws people to them. This happy, party atmosphere is infectious and appears to succeed in attracting people to the station and ensuring that they enjoy themselves enough to stay involved in the long-term.

Analysis of the data shows that some stations try advertisements, mail shots (CCR, CRC) and articles in the local press inviting members of the community to participate. Station managers report little return in terms of numbers of recruits from these campaigns, but they are deemed useful from a public relations point of view. CRC make good use of the organisations which are represented on their board of management to recruit volunteers. Many of these organisations and clubs provide programming through programme teams - one person recruits a team from within the organisation's own ranks, for example the Christian Youth Programme for the Catholic Parish and the Irish language programme from the local branch of Conradh na Gaeilge (see appendix D). This ensures that the areas and issues of interest within the community are covered. More importantly, from a community radio perspective, these programmes are produced by the people involved in these activities themselves, for themselves. Respondents report that those already active in the community see the station as a useful tool for further strengthening, publicising and reinforcing their efforts within their own target group and beyond into the wider community. Some misgivings about the extent to which these teams use the station at the level of access only, rather than as full members of the community radio project were expressed, particularly in the case of the Irish language programming group. These do not appear to integrate in anyway in the life of the station beyond their own on-air slot (PK, CRC: 58). The after-care of people who are attracted by one of these means to stations emerged as essential in ensuring that the introduction translated into meaningful participation. Stations which had developed good strategies in this regard found they had a low turnover of participants and experienced less difficulty in attracting volunteers than those stations which did not. Again, it was observed that the fact that stations have a policy of after-care does not always mean that people are cared for. Implementation of a station's after-care policy depends directly on the priority placed on after-care by existing participants, paid and unpaid.

CCR report that they generally have no problem getting people to come on-air or to work on sub-committees. As one respondent describes it

> Most people come to us, rather than us going out looking for somebody. (BOS, CCR: 3)

As with all systems which work well however, examination of the data reveals that this does not occur by chance. A very definite, planned strategy of recruitment and after-care is followed. Any time any written material is sent out from the station, to the press,

in a mail-shot to houses in the area or in any other form, a call inviting people to make contact with the station is included as a matter of course (MR, CCR: 10). This keeps the channels open and constantly reinforces in the minds of members of the community that there is and will be a place for them, if they choose to participate in any way.

The research findings reveal that WDCR has a different way of keeping in touch with potential participants. This station is the only one in the study to have a position which they call a 'Community Registrar'. This board member keeps a data base of all community organisations in the area and maintains regular contact with them in order to encourage
their involvement as organisations at board level and on-air. It also gives the station a way of contacting target groups of listeners and to develop them as contributors to programmes and eventually as broadcasters. This is accomplished on a regular basis where the producer/presenter of a particular programme is about to air an issue which may concern one or two interest groups and they then contact the relevant groups, alerting them to listen in. WDCR explain that this is not just a matter of increasing audiences. For them it is important to ensure that they are encouraging various elements in the community to actively engage with issues which concern them through their radio station. Examples cited by WDCR, where this was used to great effect, include issues of major importance to this city community such as the problem of children keeping horses in housing estates and flat complexes or the proposed changes to the local road infrastructure to improve traffic flows through these areas for commuters to the city (CF, WDCR: 3; EB, WDCR: 5).

NEAR report that they maintain contact with volunteers who may no longer be on-air by inviting them to social occasions and by giving them simple, concrete, off-air tasks to do occasionally, such as the door-to-door delivery of programme schedules (JB, NEAR, 26). They believe that this maintains the connections between volunteers and the station and enables the easy flow of people in and out of more time-consuming roles to suit their needs. Once initial contact with a recruit is made, a clear procedure of induction into the station ethos and procedures along with basic training is provided. Two volunteers, who, by design, are not board members, have the title of 'Volunteer Liaison Co-ordinators'. Their job is to meet each new recruit, discuss their interests and to find someone in the station who can provide the appropriate training which the new person needs. Social events are held monthly and the co-ordinators attend with the aim

of helping newcomers to integrate and of introducing them to others in the station. They are also supposed to keep in touch with them on an informal basis. The station chairperson hosts an information meeting for new volunteers once a month. He explains the ethos and the structures of the station and the volunteers' handbook is distributed and discussed.

The findings show that stations which do not devote time and personnel in a planned strategy to care for new participants do not facilitate participation by causal passers by. CRY is an example of this. As described above they appear to be pro-active in recruitment, they expend great energy on jingles and on being highly visible in all aspects of community life. They claim that their jingles have proven effective in short term recruitment drives in the past. The station manager finds that if people do not show up at the door within three to four days of a new invitation being issued on-air, that they will not do so (KC, CRY: 19). However, the evidence from the other stations studied, such as NEAR and WDCR demonstrates that a definite recruitment strategy is required. As it stands, CRY's approach appears to lack organisation. One of the founder members, a key person involved in training new recruits, believes that is is easy for any person who might be interested in going on-air to approach one of the four main protagonists in the station. When asked how people get involved in the station, he simply replied

> We're all known in the town. If anybody wants to get involved in the station they can contact any member of CRY or else come up here to our offices in Catherine Street and people know it is here. (NC, CRY: 71-72).

This response is typical of management in the station who do not seem to see the need for clear strategies for recruitment and induction to be put in place. One of the volunteers of longstanding reported disappointment at the lack of follow up for people he has introduced to the station in the past (TC, CRY: 6). He believes that the station should have dedicated personnel for this task, but that volunteers cannot be expected to provide this care for their fellows (TC, CRY:6).

CCR, DSCR and WDCR explain that they find media courses a good way of attracting new recruits. The station manager of CCR notes that

> People who wouldn't have the confidence to come and say "I'd like to be a volunteer" will go to the Adult Ed. class which is run by a voluntary committee who get funding through the VEC to put on a number of courses and they simply try to match tutors and students. (MR, CCR: 19-20)

DSCR reports that over 120 people have completed a training course entitled "Broadcast Skills" which has been taught, one night per week, over six weeks since

1999. Another NCVA course (See appendix D) is conducted on a full-time basis for adults. Students of three second level schools in the area have completed the same course as part of their transition year programme in 1996-2000 and these courses appear to lead to participation subsequently. The paid staff member responsible for programming believes that people come to the station in one of three ways – through listening on-air, through advertisement and through friends. He explains that four to six people out of every twelve who attend their training courses go on to "pick up the bug" and become involved as participants in the station. He sees the easy accessibility to the airwaves which they provide as a key incentive for people's initial involvement in the station (BH, DSCR: 3).

From informal discussion with participants in WDCR it emerged that many people have been recruited through the adult education communications course offered by the VEC college which founded the station. One example is the former station manager who is finishing a degree in communications through the college while running the INTEGRA project with rehabilitating drug addicts (See appendix D). One of the reasons for setting up the station initially was to provide a route for graduates of the course to gain practical experience in radio. Although this orientation changed to focus on the community in which the project was placed, half of all the volunteers are students of the adult education college and not all of these are media students. Another huge benefit WDCR reports is that many volunteers who were initially interested in radio have become very comfortable with being on the college premises and have signed up for a variety of courses as a result of participating in the station. The former station manager explains

> We have a great many volunteers from the student population. They come in through teachers, when we need people for programmes and amongst students but it's not a one-way thing. A lot of the people involved in the station go on to do classes in the college... this year we have someone from the radio station involved in every single course – there's a spokesperson at every level. People can lose sight to the fact that it's a two-way process. (WDCR, CF: 19)

This is an interesting way of looking at participation rates for a community station. It is not simply a matter of bringing people in from every area in the community to the station but it also attempts to ensure that participants return and spread the word, the dream and the ethos of community radio in their community. While it is not always possible to ensure that this is the case, it is something which the station is keen to promote and it is part of an overall strategy.

CCR and DSCR explain that they schedule beginners' programmes so that people are not intimidated by being expected to be perfect on their first broadcast. They also act as a kind of 'taster' as new recruits do not have to wait too long to get on air. DSCR issues an innovative invitation to young people to become a 'DJ for a Day'. According to respondents, this results in a large list of young people signing up and these are then encouraged to undergo training in the hope that they will remain with the station as participants in various capacities (DOS, DSCR: 7; BH, DSCR: 13). CCR schedule a highly successful innovation which enables new participants to get on-air quickly. This is called the 'Gateway Hour'. All of the station's evening programmes are repeated the following morning except for this first programme of the afternoon. This is a light, mainly music-based programme, produced and presented by beginners or new volunteers. This gives people the chance to experience being on-air without having to reach too high a standard. The station manager explains

> The Gateway Hour, it's on every day and the idea of it was where we have a 40% speech content, we wouldn't apply it to that programme. New volunteers, if they just wanted to do say a music programme, something kind of simple to just get them used to being on-air and then the idea was they would graduate into something else. It's working well, also everyone knows they're beginners so it takes some of the pressure off them (MR, CCR:36).

NEAR have borrowed an idea first used in radio for development projects (Girard, 1992; Moemka, 1994) where people who live at a remove from the studio, but within the designated geographic area, form radio clubs. Like CCR, who also attempted this strategy, it is a strong indicator of the value of networking internationally. The research reveals that both stations have a high level of involvement in AMARC-Europe and AMARC-International (See appendices E and B). Key players in both stations appear to be well informed about and connected to various groups which are classed as NSMs. The same people appear to read widely in the areas of philosophy, community development and the environmental issues. In NEAR the idea of radio clubs was adapted for use in a modern city area with a population of 100,000. The founders of the station believe this area is too large to constitute a 'natural' community but they have employed this strategy to compensate for the difficulties which the large transmission area granted has posed for them. The large densely populated area is divided into sections which are deemed to be closer to the optimum size of a 'natural community'. Each of these has a club which produces programming relevant to that area and this is aired on a weekly basis. The clubs are run by station volunteers in an outreach style and facilitated by CE workers. The station manager describes how it works

> Access for the community is very open. Its remit is in the radio club studios. The area is split into five because it's so huge so the feeling is much more local. So for example Raheny/Kilbarrack/Donaghmede, there's maybe two or three parishes in that area so you identify with your parish, your library, there's even a sense of village in some of the areas and there's a programme each week from the area. Rather than just being a magazine on the radio, we try and get the groups to come in and make their own monthly programme, they all do an insert but it goes on every week, they'll feature two groups and the rest is a magazine type programme. We had a high burn out but the area has improved over the years and it's a vital area. People will either see the station as something that they can use for themselves or they'll just see it like being any other radio where they come in and they are interviewed if they will ever make the leap to becoming the interviewer (CM, NEAR: 16).

NEAR's station manager believes that the difficulty is not in recruiting people. He reports that they have plenty of people contacting them who want to go on-air, especially younger people who mostly want to play music (CM, NEAR: 31). He explains that difficulties arise in accommodating all of these people to their satisfaction, without upsetting the established incumbents on programmes and in directing these new volunteers towards areas which need resourcing such as current affairs, talk programming in general and administration. He also cited the problem where people volunteer for the very short term only.

All of those interviewed in CRY reflected on the difficulty of recruiting volunteers of high calibre. One of the founder members notes

> It's very hard to replace the person that's dedicated, whether it's to Manchester United or something, them people don't mind what time they put into it and they put their best effort into it and they enjoy working at it and they'll do it (JF, CRY: 7).

When asked how this type of volunteer can be identified and recruited he replied

> I think they're not got anywhere by advertising, that's the first item. Putting ads on the radio, in the paper locally, wanting these kind of volunteers, they virtually don't exist, you're not going to get them they're already involved in community work and the second thing is, you'd almost want to catch them by the hand to bring them in. (JF, CRY: 8)

Given the general decline in social capital noted by Putnam (2000) it would appear that community radio stations will experience even more difficulties in the future if they depend solely on their volunteers to run the station. A balance between paid and unpaid staff as outlined by Clarke (1995) would appear to be the answer.

7.3.ii. *Care of Staff (CE Workers and Volunteers):*

Analysis of the work practices of the six stations shows that the care given to CE workers was generally good, but this appeared to depend on the quality of the supervisor assigned to look after them. In most cases this person is also the station manager, each of whom report finding the many and varied demands made upon them exhausting. CRC is in the unique position of being managed by a volunteer and this leaves the CE supervisor free to concentrate primarily on his responsibilities to the CE workers. The level of care and concern for the happy working atmosphere of CE workers appears to be very high in CRC. The CE supervisor reports being concerned that the experience should be beneficial and educational for all and that training is a priority. Speaking about the benefits of participating in the work of the station, mainly from the point of view of CE participants, he says

> There have been a number of people who come in here every year, sort of lacking in confidence and people who're coming from their own difficult situations or experiences that they've had and every year there's people who leave here and they're far more assertive and far more confident in themselves and I know broadly that's what a FÁS scheme is about, it's about people's confidences, it's not about getting everyone working on radio 'cos that's not going to happen anyway (TL, CRC: 2).

Conditions of employment for participants in CE or FÁS schemes are laid down by the government agency which runs these schemes (See appendix I). Funds are provided for training and materials, a supervisor is employed to care for the workers and this is monitored by the agency. Consequently CE workers appear to be adequately cared for across the board. However some stations ensure the integration of CE workers and volunteers as equal participants more easily than others. The fact that training is provided through the CE scheme to paid participants and is not available to volunteers due to the conditions of the scheme, is lamented in CRC, CRY and DSCR. This appeared to be a source of tension or jealousy between the two types of participants in these stations. Joint training can break down barriers which create a culture of 'them-and-us'. The development of strategies to share the knowledge and skills gained by CE workers on funded courses and the simple raising of awareness of roles and conditions of employment could alleviate many of these tensions and jealousies.

In most stations the care of volunteers is declared a priority by station management (JB, NEAR: 29; CCR, MR: 12, 17; WDCR, CF: 40) and the working atmosphere experienced on observation visits is relaxed and welcoming. The lessons drawn from observation suggest that stations which have a more hierarchical structure of

management, with little interaction between CE workers and volunteers, tend to be less caring of their volunteers. Two stations (CRY, CRC) appear to have taken this direction and respondents in both stations describe themselves more in terms of service providers to the community than in community development terms. These report more difficulty in recruiting volunteers in the less glamorous areas of administration, fundraising and management than in the other four stations in the study where volunteers appear to feel valued and to believe that they are owners and directors of their stations (CRC, PK: 7, 10; CRY, NC: 15, 22-24).

CRC is one of the few stations in the study to have an information manual which is given to all new arrivals in the station. This simple nine page document outlines the aims and objectives of the station. It explains the organisational structures simply and outlines a grievance procedure for all participants, paid and unpaid. It provides information on travel and subsistence expenses and includes a charter outlining the rights and obligations of volunteers. A prototype for such a manual was developed by the CRF over the period 1996-1997 but due to changes in personnel on the executive committee of the CRF and to the pressures most stations found themselves experiencing at this time, it appears to have been shelved and forgotten by all stations except CRC and NEAR. Despite these stated strategies, the attitude by poorly-paid staff towards volunteers in CRC and in CRY frequently appears to be one of toleration of their participation as junior or occasional partners rather than as the owners of the station. The lesson drawn from observation and from the analysis of the transcripts of interviews shows that the other stations in the study view their volunteers as the most important participants and as owners of the station (JB, NEAR:11; MR, CCR: 15; CF, WDCR: 23).

NEAR's practices suggest that the station is very concerned with the care of its volunteers. NEAR has a volunteers' handbook, but this differs to that of CRC as it is seen as an "organic document" which changes regularly through input by the volunteers themselves (JB, NEAR: 30). It is written simply and presented simply and attractively with humour in order to be readily comprehensible and accessible to all participants. Both the station manager and the chairperson of NEAR have experience of community development work. The station has a programme committee whose brief is to listen to programme quality and to watch out for burn-out amongst programme staff before it occurs (CM, NEAR: 6). A careful introduction process, described earlier, also ensures

that volunteers are inducted into the ethos and aims of the station formally, trained in skills and provided with a mentor in the 'buddy –system' style on arrival. A meeting for all new volunteers once a month and regular parties and social occasions, scheduled for different times to suit all circumstances, are held to ensure that participants build relationships with others in the station. Calculations drawn from analysis of the research data show that at least 430 people have had an active involvement as volunteers in NEAR. Many of these, due to changes in their life circumstances, are no longer available to the station but are considered good friends and ambassadors (JB, NEAR: 24). This high number is attributed by the station chairperson to be due to specific policies such as the rotation of presenters, the use of production teams, recruitment drives, and scheduled temporary breaks and changes of duties for participants. He believes that these policies widen the rate of participation which the station can facilitate (JB, NEAR: 25). NEAR's commitment to a policy of access, "genuine participation" and to the empowerment of participants was apparent on observation visits. The station has stated their commitment to participation as a top priority among station aims in both applications for licences (NEAR, 1994:,1998). They report that their long pirate history taught them the lesson of prioritising the care of volunteers and the value of volunteer ownership of the station (JB, NEAR: 23). Of all of the stations surveyed, NEAR appears to be the most explicit in signalling the difference between access and participation (NEAR, 1998: 8-9).

The research findings show that the care of volunteers is also a major priority for CCR. As described earlier, the station constantly evaluates its progress in this regard and one of its four full-time paid positions is that of co-ordinator of volunteers. This person is responsible for the care of those who are already involved in the station and for finding ways of including those who may be marginalised within society and are not yet involved in the station. Fieldnotes and the transcripts of the interviews conducted both reveal that this policy and active strategy has worked well for CCR who have a good mix of types of people involved in the station. When reflecting on this, the station manager reported that the gender balance is equal and that a strong range of socio-economic backgrounds are represented (MR, CCR: 20).

Careful management by CCR to preserve the interest and participation of volunteers was observed. Regular meetings are held to ensure that participants are involved in

decision making, in administration and in the promotion of the station in the area. As they explain in their application for a licence in 1998

> To ensure the close involvement of the volunteers in the station we hold a volunteers' meeting every alternate Monday evening. This meeting reviews the past fortnight's programming; previews the fortnight ahead and makes arrangements for any special events, outside broadcasts etc. This also provides a forum for the raising of any issues or difficulties that arise and an opportunity to give feedback on various programmes. (CCR, 1998: 12)

As discussed earlier, respondents in CCR expressed dismay that these meetings seem to have waned in popularity. However, the meeting observed in June 1999 was attended by over thirty people, all willing to contribute ideas and time towards their execution. A return visit to the station in September 2000 found that the organisation of these volunteers' meetings was under major review in order to maintain interest and attendance. As the station manager explains

> We still have monthly meetings but they're not well attended, maybe 12-15, it's too small, so obviously something, in terms of how people value that meeting – isn't working, it's not as relevant as in ... even for the first two or three years but the attendance is dropping. I suppose we didn't stop quickly enough and say "what's' happening here? How come numbers are dropping off?" (MR, CCR: 26)

These meetings appear to be a practical exercise in democratic management – information is shared, opinions are sought and decisions are taken, usually by consensus rather than by voting. Community development theory informs this practice and observation concludes that it is successful in leading to ownership, not just of the station in a general way, but of each initiative taken within the station from schedule changes to membership drives to changes in management structures to the planning of parties. It could be argued that the critical, somewhat harsh self-reflection expressed by people in CCR, keeps station management keenly aware of its obligations to its volunteers. The two-way partnership the station has with all participants, volunteers and paid staff is maintained at a high level. The chairperson of the station believes that the care of volunteers is crucial to the success of the station and credits the staff with planning and executing that care (PK, CCR: 6). Once a year, time is dedicated to a volunteers' review day which gives the opportunity to volunteers and paid staff to evaluate the quality and extent of volunteer participation in the station (MR, CCR: 15).

Analysis of the data reveals that the care of volunteers in CRY can be haphazard and is difficult to quantify. Management styles and attitudes to ownership would appear to be very patriarchal. Despite these difficulties, members of the management team all claim that the volunteers are the lifeblood of the station. The loyalty and passion of the

volunteers is recognised as the greatest strength and joy for the founders of CRY (JF, CRY:11; NC, CRY: 68).

WDCR report that they see the level of engagement of volunteers with the station and of the station with volunteers as being very important and they try to ensure that this is meaningful and long-term. The former station manager explained that they believe in developing long-term relationships with those who participate in the station and their aim is to ensure that this is empowering and meaningful to them personally (CF, WDCR: 3-4). Analysis of the transcripts show that great care is taken of participants in WDCR but this would appear to be on a personal, ad hoc basis. There are no written procedures or conscious, formal policies in place. All of those interviewed state that they do not like rules or hierarchical ways of working. They are convinced that they manage to sort all problems out by talking informally (CF, WDCR: 7).

7.3.iii. *Training :*

It was proposed in chapter three that participation is enabled through education which must be provided on three levels – technical and basic training to equip people with the skills required to go on air or to contribute to committees; assertiveness or confidence building exercises to enable people to attempt what might otherwise seem beyond them; and conscientisation, so that the principles and ethos of participation are recognised by all and that the benefits of participation are shared and passed on and are not confined to a new clique. This section presents the findings in relation to the first type of training mainly. The other two types of education outlined have been described in chapters five and six.

The research reveals that initially, training in most stations was through formal courses. Both CCR and CRC benefited from their collaboration with NUIG in providing a year-long, European-funded course in radio for women, 'Women-on-Air'(See appendix D). In CRY a training committee of two people has been set up and seems to be well organised as regards content. A modular system covering every aspect of the basic radio skills required and has been devised and this has been copied in part by other stations. Induction into the ethos of community radio and introduction to the other participants in the station are no longer covered under this system, these had been organised in the past but were deemed to have been too long-drawn out to have been very successful (JF, CRY: 8).

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Further analysis shows that most stations have moved away from formal training courses which take a long time to complete and they now try to tailor the training to the needs of each individual and to get recruits actively involved as soon as possible. Respondents report that putting new people on programme teams and running a mentoring system prove successful strategies for their stations. The chairperson of CCR's explanation serves as a good example of these responses

> ...depending on where people want to go. Initially most people start out answering telephones and that might be as far as their interest goes, but normally it's not long before they're brought in to read the weather or the bug bites, you know. (PK, CCR: 2)

While WDCR runs formal, funded, group training courses for full-time students, participants recruited from the wider community are generally tutored on a one-to-one basis. The manager explained that he now inducts new people into the station ethos and its aims and as these people become comfortable and relaxed the training is tailored to suit them and what they want to do (EB, WDCR: 2). His predecessor, who maintains an active role in station life and training, explains further

> It's mostly on one-to-one, which makes it very intensive, which is why I think we can only grow gradually, because we have it like that. Like somebody looks after somebody and that's not necessarily in any kind of a controlling way but like somebody is there that will look after their needs and look after them. Like Helen looks after the work-experience, the people that come in on work-experience. She will always work with them, see that they're all right, see that they're comfortable, see that they're happy, see that they get some airtime, see that they're prepared in some degree to get some airtime before they go on–air. (CF, WDCR: 7)

She states her strong belief that this is the only way to work with volunteers, particularly with the majority of the population in the target community, as the standard of formal education and consequently, of confidence levels and communication skills, tends to be low. She explains that she learned this through her involvement in training rather than as something which was planned in advance, but that it is now very much the policy of the station

> We deliberately don't even put on a whole lot [of training] but people are gradually told about it. Because in this community, even when I started working with the students, I misunderstood a lot of things. I used to think that if I told them things that it was enough but then they said "Don't tell me, show me! It's not enough to tell me once and I need to be told again". You know, that sort of way? So everything is gradual. (CF, WDCR: 7)

Training standards and types vary widely across stations. Analysis shows that some stations have collaborated internationally with other community radio stations in Europe in producing training manuals for volunteers (CCR, NEAR). CCR also have their own in-house training manual. Other stations run formal, funded training programmes for

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groups designated as disadvantaged. Much of WDCR's income is derived from the provision of such training to specific groups, such as former drug addicts and early school leavers. These programmes are delivered as structured, day time courses over a long period. All of the volunteers who are students on the media courses in the college are formally trained and assessed by the college. CE workers in the station receive regular training as a condition of this work scheme and again this proves to be quite formal and focussed. Other stations appear to provide training on a more irregular and ad hoc basis.

CE workers in CRC and DSCR receive formal training but this is not available to volunteers. Both stations provide evening courses in radio skills run in conjunction with their local VEC for volunteers and members of the public generally. While these courses are reported to provide a high level of training, they also require a high level of commitment in terms of attendance before a person goes near the station. The station manager in CRC reports supplementing these courses by inducting each recruit on an individual basis himself (PK, CRC: 29-30).

7.3.iv. *Physical Access to the Stations:*

The observation visits to the stations verify that full physical access to most stations is restricted to the able-bodied. Four of the six stations are located above ground level and are without elevator access. Poor physical access was stated as a cause of concern for five of the six stations and in each case was blamed on lack of finance. The level of attention spent on finding solutions and alternative avenues of access varies across stations. Stations which appear to have a higher level of interaction with and commitment to those members of their communities who are physically disabled prove more concerned about access. One station (CRC) did not appear to worry about this difficulty when questioned but all other stations expressed concern and stated that better physical access for all is a priority for the future. Each of these stations offered examples of how they try to creatively compensate for the difficulties with physical access and these are briefly described below.

Physical access to the studios was a problem for CCR during the first part of the research period. The station was located up a flight of outdoor stairs and was cramped and awkwardly designed. It was impossible for those in wheelchairs to enter the studio. Even interviewing older people was considered risky and great care was taken escorting them up and down the stairs (BOS, CCR: 9). All of those interviewed were very

conscious of this problem and it was a priority in the planning of new premises which were officially opened in July 2001. These are located at ground level, next to adequate parking and are fully wheelchair-accessible throughout.

Physical access to CRY is restricted to able-bodied members of the community. Located up two fights of stairs, in an old building, well off the beaten track with no lift, the staff complain that it is a real problem. CRY have designed a system whereby those who cannot tackle the stairs can be interviewed at ground level. Unfortunately, this occurs in a draughty hallway shared by the many other organisations which use the church-owned building. Privacy can be provided, by prior arrangement, by using one of the rooms assigned to other groups on the ground floor. However, this is only an occasional solution and it does not encourage or facilitate the participation of people with disability in the mainstream work of the station.

DSCR is located upstairs in an old school without a lift. There are no plans to move at the moment nor are there any contingency plans for facilitating the participation of disabled people as has been arranged in other stations. This would appear to be another consequence of the crisis-mentality observed in this station. The board members and staff appear to be so concerned about sorting out their financial difficulties and maintaining programme standards that they do not have the time to reflect on their daily practice and environment to seek long-term, more accessible routes to participation for all members of their community. On the other hand the station was observed to employ people suffering from different disabilities throughout the research period. These positions are funded through various government schemes and in all cases the people in question are able to mount the stairs, unassisted.

WDCR's mini-studios and main offices are on the ground floor of the college building and these are wheelchair accessible. The station is housed in a complex which has full parking facilities and is located in the heart of the area. However there are access problems with the main, on-air studio which were being addressed at the time of active data collection (EB, WDCR:5).

NEAR have stated that they prioritised the facilitation of access for marginalised groups since the very beginning. They spoke of the provision of a crèche as a dream they are trying to make come true in order to enable mothers of young children to participate more easily. The current studios and offices are on the ground floor of a development scheme building and are easily accessible to people in wheelchairs. They report that, despite needing more room, they have declined the offer of moving to the first floor of

the same building because it would pose a problem for physical access to the station. (JB, NEAR: 37).

Physical access to CRC is extremely difficult as it is located on the first floor of a building which has no lift. Parking is across a busy street and the door is to the rear of the building, approached by a narrow walkway. Members of management in CRC are aware that this is a problem but feel that large, modern headquarters, in the centre of the town, at a low rent, makes the space too valuable to them to contemplate a move. They explained that they are investigating other ways of providing access to the life of the station for the physically disabled.

7.3.v. *Atmosphere:*

The creation of a warm, welcoming and relaxed atmosphere is essential in enabling the participation of newcomers. This does not happen by accident and is dependent on a common-sense layout and design, a good manager and constant reminders to all staff, paid and unpaid, of the importance of being inclusive and welcoming. All of this happens when good programmes of education are in place which ensures a shared understanding of the goals of the station. Most stations were observed to provide a warm welcome to visitors and that working relations are generally relaxed and easy.

The atmosphere in CCR, even for the most causal visitor is extremely friendly and welcoming. The station manager explained that all staff are happy to leave whatever they are doing in order to welcome visitors and to ensure that new recruits are greeted, introduced to all others present and given time to settle in, before returning to the work which was interrupted. She explained that this conscious strategy pays dividends in terms of an open friendly atmosphere but is difficult to sustain. The current chairperson of the station believes that it could be difficult for new people to break into the station as there is a core group of between twenty to thirty people who have been on-air since the start of the station (PK, CCR: 1). However he also feels that the emphasis placed on team production of programmes and the conscious strategy outlined above means that this is not really an issue. One longstanding volunteer explains his approach to newcomers and this is typical of those who work in the station

> The atmosphere is generally good. It's very friendly, sometimes it can be very hectic but people are assigned to a team when they want to become involved. There are four in my team and when new people come on board we sit down and talk, have a cup of tea and a chat and then they observe what's going on and sit in on the programme and do little bits and gradually they get on air. (BOS, CCR: 9)

The atmosphere encountered on entering NEAR is of a busy but informal and friendly station. The chairperson is particularly worried that people may appear too busy or too self-important to be welcoming and facilitative of others' needs. He stresses that he is constantly reminding people of the need to take time to welcome people, to be sure that they are not perceived as a clique and to keep making room for newcomers on their shows and in the life of the station

> I'm happy enough that most of the people we have over there have taken on board a very open, accessible, welcoming thing. We've also had to lecture all our programme makers that "You don't own these two hours, we might well put somebody in with you". Now, one or two ego-trippers have disappeared, good people have disappeared because we tried to impose other people on them, well we didn't try to impose but we'd say "Ok, you're doing the book programme and we've got a couple of new volunteers. Can they sit in and maybe review a book or something?" which is just to get them to ease in. Just to get them eased in and there was a little bit of resentment, people being imposed on their programme, so we've lost a few people with that (JB, NEAR:26)

In WDCR the current station manager believes that the relaxed, friendly atmosphere and non-hierarchical way of working without hard and fast rules and procedures attracts and keeps volunteers in the station. He explains that this is a conscious policy not just a happy chance

> We have a very easy-going atmosphere here. We try not to have tensions. We work with volunteers and if you have tensions they won't want to be here and there has to be a good feeling...people feel welcome when they walk into the station – it's a policy. It stems from us working here – we enjoy what we do and that flows through the whole system. (EB, WDCR: 6)

Management in WDCR were observed to lay great emphasis on creating and maintaining a co-operative working atmosphere where decisions are taken in an open and accessible manner. They are keen to ensure that no one, volunteer, paid worker or student, feels forced into doing anything. The station manager articulated a rare attitude towards management when he said, in relation to the CE workers he supervises

> There is no point in asking someone to do something they don't want to do – they'll do it badly - some do administration, some do programming, some news, we work it out together. (EB, WDCR: 6)

The emphasis in this station would appear to be very much on the empowerment of individuals, of providing a space in which participants can grow and develop, the former station manager explains

> Because we're in an area that is very marginalised, we're also in an area where only 0.7% of people go to third level education. An awful lot of people, either the kids that I deal with, are people who dropped out of second level education, most of their parents, a lot of their parents cannot read or write. While radio can be a wonderful tool in that area, you also have to be very conscious in dealing with people that you are giving them the space that they need to be able to deal

with you and that you're bringing them to a level that makes it better for them. (CF, WDCR: 5)

One volunteer with CRY observed that the atmosphere was much more welcoming on the weekends when the volunteers take over than on weekdays when CE workers run the station. As he describes it, it is

Grave-yardy during the week, on weekends it's very busy and therefore very friendly, possibly because the volunteers are in on the weekend. (TC, CRY: 10)

Field-notes taken during the observation visits state that the station layout in CRY is not conducive to shy or hesitant newcomers loitering and observing, which could enable them becoming gradually involved. There is literally no room for the reception area and there is no space for people to discuss and prepare programmes collectively or to mix informally. The women and young girls who were operating the phones on each of the research visits were certainly extremely friendly. However the layout of this station and its location on the second floor, mean that people cannot hang around the studio until they feel comfortable. The feeling of a clique and of an in-group of competent and confident stars was observed as a barrier to participation.

The field notes suggest a similar situation in CRC. The atmosphere on first entering the station as a visitor does not make for easy access. The impression is of an extremely busy and commercially successful radio station. CRC occupy fine premises with a special staff-room and kitchen and more off-air work and production spaces than any other community radio station in the study. However the physical layout of the station mitigates against easy and informal access. Visitors must present themselves at a reception desk staffed by CE workers. CE workers are assigned desks in a room set aside for administration. All members of the news and current affairs team have access to a newsroom for pre-production work but, as most on-air journalists in the station are CE workers, the possibilities for cross-interaction between paid and unpaid staff are less than in stations with less designated space and tasks.

7.3.vi. *Barriers and Limitations:*

There are many reasons why the participation rates in stations may not be as high as community radio activists may wish. The practical and sometimes less tangible blocks to participation which stations encounter are discussed in this section. Some of these are specific to individual stations due to the terrain in which they are situated or the nature of their target community, but many are shared. Respondents' perceptions of problems with participation and their assessment of the strategies put in place to counter these are discussed along with the observations made during research visits to the stations. The

main difficulties encountered have been divided into the following categories for ease of review – transmission area, poor PR, lack of resources, clique formation, complacency, management style and the general decline of social capital in western society.

Transmission area:

One of the biggest difficulties identified by respondents is that the transmission area granted by the IRTC does not correspond with the community identified by the founders of the stations. In some cases it is too small (CRC, CRY) in others, too large (NEAR, DSCR).

CRC would have preferred a county-wide licence in both 1994 and 1998. Since going on-air they report receiving regular requests from the neighbouring town of Westport (See map D, appendix H) to be included in the project. To date they can neither be received in the town nor can they officially cover events there. Despite this they report that many people from outside the transmission area travel in order to participate in this station (DB, CRC: 3; TL, CRC: 5). CRY also report that they find the size of transmission area laid down by the IRTC far too small to facilitate the potential for participation which they believe exists. They believe that the 'natural' area for transmission, based on the organic or geographic community, which treats Youghal as its centre for shopping and socialising, is far larger. In their pirate days they did cover this area with great effect and a far higher rate of participation by volunteers from the hinterland on-air was reported. One of the founders of the station explains

> If people have difficulty getting you, they're going to turn off, but so it would make a big difference in terms of listeners and in terms of participants, people who without a shadow of a doubt would travel in. We have people travelling up from Dungarvan to go on-air, you see, when we originally put in our franchise we were hoping to get from Dungarvan to Middleton [See map E, appendix H], which we had before and they laughed at us. What they said, basically, they washed their hands of it. They said "Oh, 'tis the Department of Communications determined the blah, blah, blah and the whole, you know they determine the frequency and the power output, the whole lot you know. (NC, CRY: 66-67).

Those interviewed in CRY argue that their participation rates have been affected adversely because their transmission area was greatly reduced from what they covered in their pirate days and because they claim that their highest rates of listenership were in outlying rural areas rather than in the town (NC, CRY: 66). As in CRC, even when they cannot receive the broadcasts at home, volunteers still travel in to the station because, as one founder member explains it "they're still hooked on the buzz" (NC, CRY: 66). Some respondents report that this impacts on the involvement of organised groups and clubs in the area in CRY also – not just as presenters on the special interest programmes

relating to their own organisation but also in terms of using the station as an information channel to promote awareness of their activities generally in the area. As the same participant explains

> Some of them look at us and say "Ye haven't go the power, the range. If I want to get a message across", they'd say "Ye haven't got the same punch as other forms of advertising, as say the radio or newspaper or something like that, d'ye know?" (NC, CRY: 100)

The nature of the terrain forms a difficulty for CCR but they are satisfied that they must live with this if they are to serve the community which they identify as their target. North West Connemara is a remote and underdeveloped region (See map F, appendix H) and this involves high transmission costs and difficulties in guaranteeing equal inclusion for all. However, as discussed in chapter five, CCR work creatively to overcome these difficulties. As the station manager describes it

> Obviously the islands were kinda critical in a way. We have established that in Inisbofin which is great. 'Turk we hope to do something with. I don't think it'll be a studio, I mean that's just too demanding but I think it's needing portable equipment and maybe some editing equipment but hopefully Clifden will be a full studio and I think that really does need to happen, (MR, CCR: 22).

Lack of Resources:

Lack of personnel, lack of money and high rates of exhaustion are three further reasons identified by the research as to why more people are not participating in their community radio stations and these are inter-related. As the review of literature outlined, participation, particularly by those most marginalised in society, requires encouragement, training and fostering. Each of these is heavily dependent on resources which are usually scarce in a voluntary, not-for-profit organisation. When CCR have had the funding to train and maintain the participation of marginalised groups such as women outside the paid workforce through the 'Women-on-Air' project (See appendix D) they report an excellent take up of the offer to participate. The station manager reflects

> I suppose there were two programmes we were sort of involved in that were looking at specific groups. Women-on-Air which specifically looked at women and obviously when that was in place and we were training we were in a position to offer an allowance to get baby-sitters or a carer for an older parent or whatever. The problem with that is that we weren't able to sustain it obviously, and we have lost volunteers, women who have young children and who can't come because they have responsibilities. And then the other project that we're involved in was with Socrates [See appendix D] and we'd like to develop this further, it was the idea was to develop, using new technologies, It's to develop a CD Rom with digital editing on it and we had been using that to train people on Inishbofin because they would have access to computers and it would save us the travel and stuff. Now it hasn't been developed as much as we would have

> liked it to have been, but it's another area of how you could deliver training to marginalised groups and I suppose to physically disabled people. (MR, CCR: 37-38)

NEAR acknowledge dismay at discovering that it is not enough to believe in the principle of participation for it to take place. They have realised that a station needs to move beyond the rhetoric of participation and target certain groups in the community which they feel should be encouraged and assisted to participate and that specific strategies need to be formulated for this work. Respondents in NEAR stated that these strategies must be sustained in the long-term and that this takes up huge amounts of the very limited resources at their disposal – in particular time, energy ad the physical space for training and preparation. Money can certainly buy these things and when NEAR have been able to access funding for specific marginalised groups they have reported that they have been pleased with their success – for example with youth outreach programmes and ex-prisoner rehabilitation programmes. However, as in CCR, the manager in NEAR explained that they have had to let some worthwhile projects slide when the funding dried up as they could not afford to sustain them (CM, NEAR: 15).

Lack of manpower was cited as a block to participation in almost all stations. Many interviewees stated that there simply are not enough people in their stations to recruit, train and care for new volunteers (NC, CRY: 101; DOS, DSCR: 4 ; TL, CRC: 14). They explained that volunteers are hard-pressed to do their own programmes without spending time encouraging and persuading others to do likewise. However the strategy of 'holding people's hands', of recruiting people through word of mouth and of leading them in gently on a one-to-one basis was cited by most of those interviewed as the best, if not the only way, of guaranteeing that new people become involved in the station. The comment of one volunteer from CRY typifies this understanding

> It's a good idea to encourage interviewees to get involved but really the people working here as volunteers haven't got any more time, there's a limitation (TC, CRY: 6).

In some cases stations have made a priority of working with certain groups and they believe that this has been highly successful for them. One such example is NEAR's involvement with refugees. Some funding was sourced through European programmes such as "Voices without Frontiers" (See appendix D). In these instances when the funding ceased, those involved were generally sufficiently well-trained, highly motivated and integrated into the fabric of the station so that they could continue to participate without being a drain on the staff or on other volunteers. In fact, members of management report that these immigrants contribute to the work of the station beyond

broadcasting to their own ethnic group and are now co-owners and presenters in the station. This is their right, as equal members of this diverse city community and it is a practical manifestation of the aim of facilitating "genuine participation".

Money is also cited as a problem in facilitating the outside broadcasts which CCR believes are necessary in order to reach the outlying parts of their community on a regular basis. CCR had converted an old mobile bank van into an OBU but when the engine broke down and it proved too expensive to mend, they parked it permanently in Clifden for use as an access studio there (MR, CCR: 22-23).

Analysis of the data suggests that DSCR is somewhat paralysed by its financial and managerial pressures and it appears to be unsure of how to solve either. It is perhaps the case that until they can put their immediate problems into some kind of perspective, if not in order, they will prove unable to engage in long term planning in any direction, including achieving one of their primary stated aims – the facilitation of participation. However, by the time of writing, 2003, there seems to be a change for the better in both situations and it will be interesting to see if this results in an increased concern for enabling members of the community to participate in the life of the station at all levels.

Poor PR:

Respondents in all stations recognise that they need to raise awareness in their communities that the station exists, that the community station is not the same as the local, commercial station and that people are welcome to participate in it. The CE supervisor in CRC believes the biggest block to participation by either volunteers in the traditional sense or by unemployed people who could apply to come on the CE scheme, is the lack of visibility of the station. He says the station needs to be more heavily promoted within the community. He argues that a community radio station needs to be promoted not just as a radio station, but the aims of the station as a community project need to be clearly and widely fore-grounded (TL, CRC: 2). The station manager of CRY shared this concern and highlighted the efforts they made to combat it (KC, CRY: 11).

Sometimes the public awareness of the community radio stations was reported as skewed. One respondent in CRY believes that the dependence on the CE scheme has led many people in the town of Youghal to believe that the station is for the unemployed only

> We started with volunteers, then FÁS came in for the unemployed, a lot of other people out there can look on it as something for the unemployed and that can do the balance on the other side harm. Where, I think, if you haven't got a proper mix of communities, I think they need to be taken by the hand at the moment and I suppose there's a lot of administration where FÁS is involved but I'd say more of the business people would kind of see it as "It's like something if you've got nothing to do like", that kind of thinking. That's always been there. "There's people going around with nothing to do, they're keeping this radio going", where, if they could actually be more involved, say on weekends, I'd like a better balance, a better mix, a better balance or social mix (JF, CRY: 10)

When asked what they would do if their station had more money, almost every respondent in management, in every station in the study, immediately replied that they would spend it on improving their profile in the community.

Clique formation:

Cliques can act as a barrier to participation. People generally need to be encouraged to participate in a new venture and this takes time and sensitivity. One founder member of CRY was aware that people can often be extremely shy initially. He reported that he worried in case newcomers felt there was a clique of friends who had been in the station together for a long time and that they therefore felt excluded from participating

> First of all people are shy enough about going on air and getting involved at times in every organisation if you stay in it too long that people'll say you'll have personality clashes all the time – people'll feel it's a closed shop. We could be guilty of it, of not opening doors. (JF, CRY: 18)

This founder member relinquished his permanent place on the board of the station and believes that it is healthy to rotate those who are 'at the top', he states

> You should have some type of a system that you've rotation like, that is the best thing in any organisation, that you step back to do the organisation good. (JF, CRY: 18)

He also believes that this policy should extend from the paid manager to the on-air voluntary presenter and that it should be a general policy of good practice

> I think change, change at the top is wonderful. Where you can try out new people at the top and I think that people'll see that 'tis a different organisation, 'tis a different stance, different people. (JF, CRY: 19)

Stagnation, whereby the same people have held on to power and control in the station for too long, could be a major block to the participation of newcomers in this station. As the same founder member put it

> Access can be difficult in community stations too – maybe people that become involved with us can be controlling and they can calls us dictators and everything like that. (JF, CRY: 18)

The station manager of CRC was concerned that newcomers may find it difficult to break into the life of the station, that an 'in-group' could have formed but he had no

suggestions as to how this difficulty could be tackled (PK, CRC: 31). Observation visits to WDCR showed it to be a welcoming and accessible place but members of management stated that they were aware of how easily a clique can form and were vigilant in avoiding this situation. They explained that as part of the adult education college, the emphasis is on bringing people in, training and empowering them, rather than keeping them out. The former manager of WDCR explained that staff try to put themselves in the shoes of newcomers and to help them as a first priority

> Once you're conscious of them on the one hand, you're not so conscious of yourself, therefore you're better able to deal with everything because you're mainly conscious of making them comfortable. (CF, WDCR: 5)

She worried that they could become exclusive but believes that they are sufficiently aware to avoid this pitfall

> I hope we're close without being exclusive in the sense that other people have come in and joined. And I think they're happy enough to be going on doing what they're doing, you know, but you have to be always conscious of that, you don't become a closed group and that no one thinks "Oh God, they know so much about this and nobody can join them" or whatever. We wouldn't want that to happen. On the other hand, I think there's been enough of different people joining us and students coming in and out and all the rest of it (CF, WDCR: 6).

Despite the commitment of NEAR to open access and "genuine participation", there is evidence of the existence of a clique at management level within the station. The position of chair has been held by the same person since their pirate days and at least two other members of the executive committee who run the station have been operating at this level since 1996.

Once again, it would appear that stations need to engage in regular evaluation and reflection on how well their daily practice is implementing their stated aims.

Complacency:

Complacency can be a problem even for the stations which are alert to the difficulties of maintaining an open-door policy. NEAR and WDCR both promote a welcoming atmosphere and prioritise and enable participation. None of those interviewed in WDCR could see any blocks to people participating in their station and they were happy that they were open, non-hierarchical and keen to get the involvement of members of the community. Analysis of the data suggests that this is sincerely felt and generally achieved, however, as in the case of NEAR, it can lead to a complacency which fails to recognise when the channels for participation may become blocked. One example of where this appears to have happened is that the formal position of a representative for the volunteers on the management board of WDCR has been let slide completely. The

former station manager was surprised when this was pointed out to her and surmised that initially they had all been volunteers and that a formal representative had not seemed necessary and that now they were continuing on without one. The danger of not maintaining formal routes for participation is that newcomers may not be aware of 'how easy it is to have your say' and may feel excluded by the 'in-group'. Analysis of the responses of paid staff to the general interview schedule reveals that there is an underlying belief on the part of some paid members of staff that the station is run by them and that volunteers come in on weekends and are not so important. If this attitude is sensed by newcomers, it could certainly be a block to participation.

NEAR provides another example of how easily this difficulty can arise. Despite the strong commitment to the facilitation of participation expressed in all station literature, in the interviews conducted and through observation of work practices, no seat for a representative of the CE workers has been reserved on the executive committee and this did not appear to have occurred to participants as a significant oversight when pointed out to them. The station manager is also the supervisor of the CE workers and this was considered sufficient representation by those who were challenged on this issue. However basic management-worker relations procedures and the principles of democratic work practices suggest that this oversight should be rectified.

Management:

Three stations appear to suffer from a lack of clarity over the role of manager. In two cases, management was shared between two people (CRC, DSCR) and in the third, the person doing the work was not granted the official title or trust (CRY). In CRC and DSCR confusion regarding the division of responsibility and lines of decision making were observed. The CE supervisor in CRY describes himself as "effectively the station manager" (KC, CRY: 19) but he was not observed to be given the freedom necessary to execute this role effectively. On the other hand, hierarchical working procedures observed in this station, with this CE supervisor referred to as "boss", suggest that these difficulties are complex. Whatever their root cause, the problems experienced by this station in relation to management could form a barrier to attracting new volunteers. The employment of paid staff in community projects can be viewed as a block to participation as it can distance the community from ownership and management of their own affairs and is a further link in the chain or mediation. However, in the case of CRY observation suggests that the employment of a full-time, paid manager, separate from the position of CE supervisor would save the volunteers from exhaustion and burn-out

and help them to direct and channel their efforts more effectively. Serious difficulties with the management structure and style exist in CRY, with tensions between the CE supervisor and the management board both reported and observed.

Stations which employ a participative approach to management, where decisions are arrived at collectively and by consensus, and where management are conscious of the need to serve rather than to command, are found to experience fewer management difficulties (CCR, WDCR, NEAR) than those who do not (CRY, CRC, DSCR).

Decline of Social Capital:

The level of participation in any station will depend not only on how accessible the station can make itself but also on external forces and cultural trends in society, over which stations may have no influence. Many people today have very little leisure time available to them and have to choose which activities they will engage in (Putnam, 2000). A similar problem reported by respondents is that the amount of time available to already overworked community activists is extremely limited. One of the board members of CRY recognises this problem and explains how they try to compensate for it

> We have invited the clubs and organisations here to come in and do their own programmes for example the ICA [See appendix D], the local history society. But they're in much the same position as ourselves. They're fighting for members as well and they tell us "We can't because we've no one available to come in, but we can certainly give our report and every so often we can certainly give you this and come in maybe once a month". That's the kind of thing we'll say that no other station can do. (NC, CRY: 101)

The CE supervisor of CRY was concerned about levels of "apathy and lethargy" (KC, CRY: 5) and a founding member of the station commented on the difficulty of "generating spirit – the volunteer spirit" (NC, CRY: 39).

He believes this was much more prominent in the pirate days of the station from 1971-1988. He blames this decline in volunteer activity on changes in the broadcasting and social life of Ireland in the intervening years 1988-1994. He listed the growth in the number of radio stations in that time, the fact that television now broadcasts around the clock and the increasing sophistication of people in general, as possible reasons why more people are not participating in the station and as to why that participation is neither as meaningful nor as enjoyable as it had been in the past (NC, CRY: 40). He believes that there is "huge good will in the community" towards the station because they broadcast religious services, meetings from the town hall and any local event and that this should be capitalised upon (NC, CRY:41).

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As in CRY, there appears to be an understanding in DSCR that people's time is limited and that the ethic of voluntary work is becoming outdated. The former chairperson reflects

> I don't think the public actually want the type of thing that we are catering for, for want of a better word. I think they do get a certain amount of satisfaction out of the type of stuff we are producing, but I think the young people today are not terribly interested in what's happening in this community or in any community . If we had more time to develop this thinking and to really put major effort into it, but we don't have enough people. We don't have enough resources of any kind and I think that we're still falling way, way behind what we'd hoped to achieve. (TM, DSCR: 5-6)

The difficulty of getting people to volunteer for off-air activities and duties is one self-identified need shared by all community radio stations. Respondents recognise that it is not realistic to expect people to perform boring or mundane tasks for the good of the station until they have been involved and benefited from that involvement for some time. Many people get involved in a radio station because they want to broadcast. Many people get involved in a community radio station because they want to further the aims of another community group in which they are involved. Hardly anyone volunteers for a project because they want to clean up or keep books. As the station manager of NEAR observes

> You can get an awful lot more out of them when they're on air, but it's difficult to get a carpenter who has a bit of spare time to come and volunteer his services, but a carpenter who's doing a blues programme, he's quite happy. (CM, NEAR: 4)

He believes that people should be facilitated first and then encouraged to contribute to other aspects of the project. This is specifically stated in the handbook presented to volunteers on arrival in the station.

This section highlights the barriers and limitations to participation experienced by the community radio stations in the study. It is useful to identify these so that they can be avoided by others in the future but it is also pertinent to recall the discussion of the work of Berrigan (1977) and Bordenave (1994) in chapter three which warn against expecting participation to be total and permanent. All possible strategies must be employed and regularly reviewed. However, one hundred per cent involvement by all members of the community is not to be expected, nor to be used as a measure of success.

Participation at the three highest levels of the proposed model for participation in media is deemed to be the key in distinguishing a community radio station from any other type of radio station and in assisting that station in implementing its aims. The six case

studies chosen provide examples of participation by members of geographic communities in broadcasting on a small scale at the levels of ownership, management and programming. The implications drawn from the observations made during analysis of the research data as presented in chapters five to seven are outlined in the final chapter. These extrapolate from the general findings and begin to build a normative theory for participation by members of the public in mass communication.

SECTION II – CHAPTER EIGHT

Implications of This Study

Chapter Summary	
8.1.	Implications for Communication Theory
8.2.	Implications for Future Research
8.3.	Focail Scoir/Parting Words

8.1. Implications for Communication Theory:

This research provides an overview of how some Irish practitioners of community radio view their work and of the key ideals and aims which underpin that work. A qualitative analysis, based on the affective and reflective responses of community radio activists, is provided by listening to what people say they do, by examining what they say they want to do and by observing what they actually do. The emic approach adopted is valuable in itself, as it provides a theoretically informed study of the aims and practice of six geographically based community radio stations in Ireland, for the first time. However, its greater value is in providing the grounded basis for a normative theory of participation in community media, taking radio as its example.

Jankowski (2003: 6) has complained that the main limitation to most research in community media has been its largely atheoretical grounding. Nordenstreng identified a cultural negotiation paradigm (Nordenstreng 1997: 109) which identifies community radio as different from mainstream media. MacQuail (2000: 161-162) recognises that this difference between community and mainstream radio gives leave to follow different goals and in a different manner. Community radio should not be expected to sound or to organise itself as either public service or commercial media do. Community media should therefore be examined under their own terms of reference and not those of traditional mainstream media. Research conducted with the intention of informing future practice should be familiar with the philosophy and self-identified aims of community radio activists. Many theorists are not practitioners and some of those whose work is accessed in formulating the frameworks employed in this project such as Tönnies, Enzensberger and Habermas had little experience or understanding of the practical difficulties involved in facilitating the democratisation of communication and the creation of community. This project links the elaboration of ideal constructs such as community, public sphere and two-way flow communication to the reflective musings

of those who are actually involved in facilitating the participation of the community in public communication and to the observations of the researcher over a long period.

The core aims and ideals of community radio world-wide were extrapolated from the charters of umbrella organisations such as AMARC-Europe, AMARC-International and the Community Radio Forum of Ireland (CRF) and from a trawl of the literature presented in chapters two and three. The following key characteristics were identified as essential for a station to be considered a community radio station. The station is representative of its community in ownership, management and in programming. It is established on a not-for-profit basis and must be editorially independent and informative. It is open to participation at the levels of membership, management, operation and programming. It knows and can define the community it serves. Community radio develops the community through promoting social change. It promotes peace, tolerance and democracy and it does all of this through communication. These are clear, if lofty ideals. They must however form the basis of any normative theory for this type of broadcasting, for they are the sector's own aims and ideals. Because they are self-identified ideals, community radio can be judged on its success or failure in implementing these core aims. Researchers and critics of community media must establish their terms of reference with respect to the sector's aspirations and philosophy, rather than through traditional models of media and media analysis. A survey of the structures and strategies employed to achieve these aims is detailed in the research findings.

Three main conceptual frameworks were employed in defining the research questions and in analysing the findings and these form the main norms proposed here for community media. The first outlines four components which together help to build community, the second calls for community media to activate multi-flows of communication within the community and the third proposes a framework for the facilitation of participation in community media and its evaluation. The most important of these is found to be the facilitation of participation of the community in the community broadcasting project.

The principal finding of the research suggests that participation is the key to the success of a community radio station in achieving any and all of its aims. Participation needs to be facilitated at the upper levels of the hierarchical model proposed in chapter three and

employed in the analysis of the stations' practice. As outlined in the model, proposed on page 92 and reproduced below, a broadcaster can only be considered to be a community radio station when the facilitation of participation of members of the community is provided for above and beyond programme production at level five.

Figure 6. Model 2: A New Model for Participation in Radio.

Level	Categorisation	Type	Example
1	Reactive access	Response to content broadcast	Phone (not on-air), fax, letter, email
2	Controlled access	Speaking on air	Phone ins, talk-back radio
3	Controlled participation	Presenting programmes with professional producers	Guest spots, some documentary programmes
4	Mediated participation	Produce and present programmes	Access radio, open channel
5	Participation	Schedule and programme planning, autonomous production after training by the station, open to all members of the community	Community radio. Access channels
6	Self-management	Management and decision making, unmediated by outside groups	Community radio
7	Full and active participation	Full ownership	Community radio

Participation ought to be at all levels of life and work in the community radio station as specified in the charters and statements of aims of community radios world-wide. The implementation of these aims is a matter for vigilance and commitment. The current research finds that the implementation of the aim of facilitating participation is dependent on key personnel, on the levels of training and on the level of commitment to the professional development of staff within stations. Stations with managers who work in a community development manner appear to facilitate participation which benefits the participants, the station and the community. Where these managers ensure that all participants, paid staff and volunteers, are educated in the philosophy of community radio and of community development, the stations are most successful in building their communities. Such managers enable the community itself to respond to

its own needs itself. Where such conceptual knowledge and understanding is lacking, stations tend towards a model of service provision, a more hierarchical manner of working and are less open to participation. They experience higher levels of exhaustion and disillusionment. It is essential for the success of a community radio station in achieving its goals to ensure that the key personnel, specifically the manager and the chairperson, understand the importance of the participation of the community to the overall project. The current research shows that these leaders need to be aware of community development practices or at the very least to be open to working in a collaborative and participative manner in order to maintain accessible channels for participation in the station.

The research shows that it is the participation of the public in the station which enables all of the other aims investigated during the course of this project to be achieved. The model below indicates the central primacy of participation. The arrows indicate that participation enables each of the other aims to be put into practice. Most of these aims are obviously closely interconnected and the dotted lines indicate these connections.

Figure 7. Model 3: Participation as Central to the Aims and Work of Community Radio Stations.
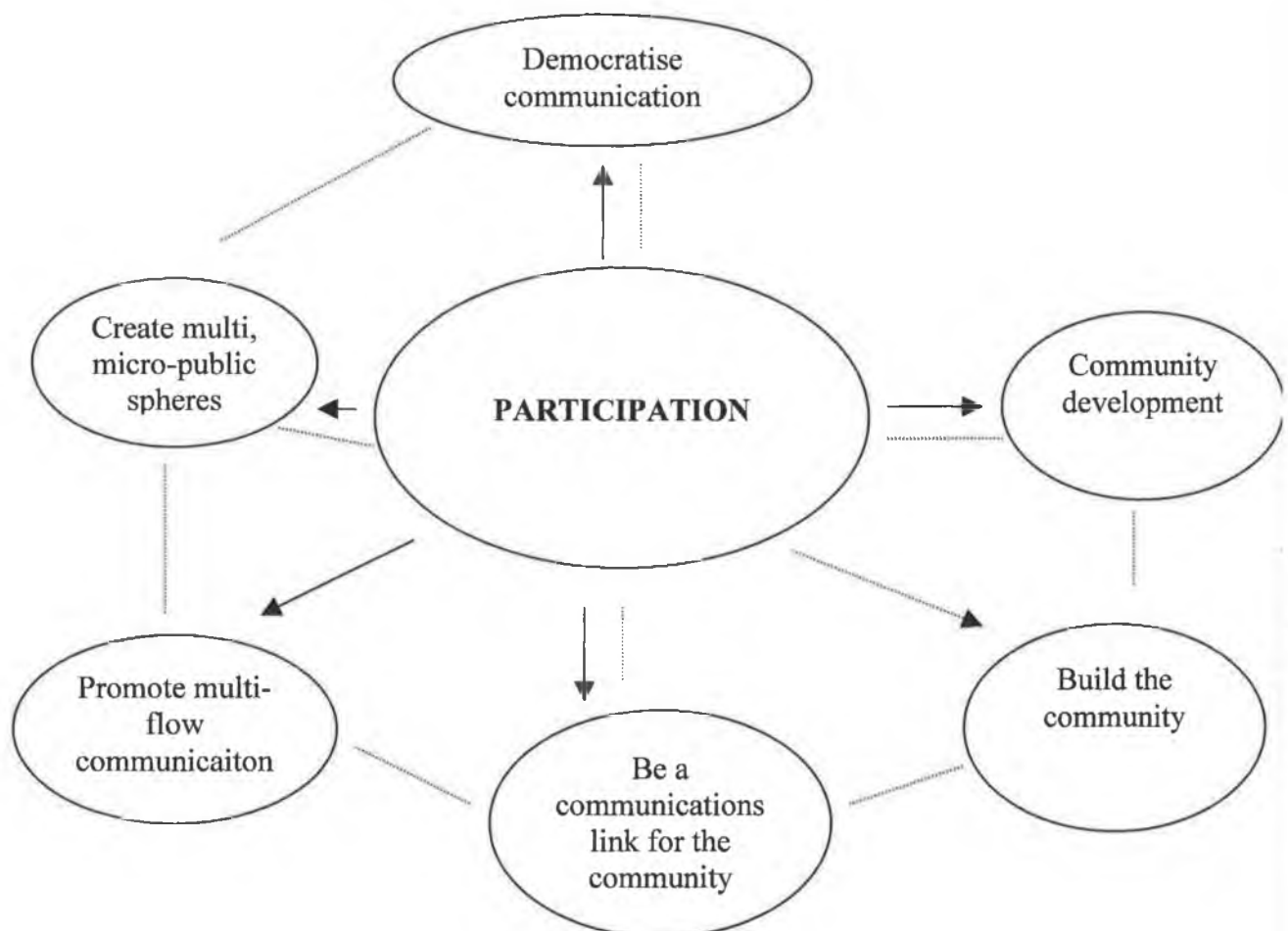
Working in a community development manner helps to build the community. Similarly, promoting multi-flows of communication facilitates the creation of multi, micro-public spheres which will help to democratise communication. The community radio station acts as a communications link for the community project. These ways of working, coupled with the traditional role of the mass media as information and entertainment providers, ensure that community radio can build its community through its communication project.

This project proposes that community exists in the intersection of at least four components of place, relationship, belief and over time. Where these do not exist, at least to some degree, it is neither possible to say a community exists nor to build one. Where there is some shared understanding that community exists based on each of these four components, articulation and repetition of this understanding lead to a deeper sense of self-worth and confidence for the community itself which can lead to the community being strengthened. When a community controls and shapes the symbolic order through which it is represented, it must have a powerful impact on that community and on the wider society in which it is situated. The community radio station does this by providing a communications link or nexus for its community. Community is built when the voices of members of that community reiterate their belief that they exist in relationships with each other, in a shared geographic space, when they look back to a shared past and forward to a better future, one which is articulated by themselves, on their own terms and at their own pace.

Community development practice emphasises the participation of people in identifying the problems which they face in their communities and in identifying possible solutions to them, rather than merely seeking to involve them in working to implement solutions identified by other agencies. The stations in this study which employ a community development approach to their work are found to be far more successful in achieving their aims than those which view themselves primarily as providers of a broadcasting service to the community. Some stations studied appear to adopt some of these participatory practices to great effect, even where they are not conscious of the implications of this way of working. It appears that greater awareness and training, along with the recognition of the value of community development practices, greatly

assist community radio stations in the pursuance of their aims. This study shows that to be successful, community radio practitioners should employ community development practices and principles where appropriate and should ensure that all participants are educated in the ethos of the community radio movement. Participants need to be educated as to the benefits which accrue from participative models of working to their community, to their station and to themselves personally. Communities are enhanced when the individuals and groups within them are empowered to speak and act for themselves. Community development places a priority on this form of empowerment and seeks to work with those who are most disadvantaged or most marginalised from mainstream society, first. Community radio stations frequently target the facilitation of participation of those most marginalised and can avail of the lessons learned in community development projects generally. Understanding each other's point of view and being aware of each other as partners in the life of the community are essential tools in community building and are facilitated through communication.

All media are channels of communication but community media begin from a different premise to most. Communication is viewed as the right of all persons, rather than as the provision of a service from one to many. In visualising how media can work in an emancipatory manner, Enzensberger believed that programme production should be decentralised and that this should be collectively and self-organised. He proposed two-way flow communication which would mobilise the masses through the political learning which would inevitably accrue (Enzensberger, 1970). The work of community radio is found to map almost exactly on to Enzensberger's vision, by facilitating participation, community radio stations actualise these aspirations (See table 2, page 67). Community radio stations offer the opportunity to members of their communities to produce programmes locally, themselves and to become empowered through their experience of collective production, communal ownership and democratic, collaborative management. The project of community radio is to provide the opportunities to members of their communities to participate in making, organising and owning their own communication systems. This was illustrated in the third column of Figure 1, Table

2, Enzensberger's Dichotomy of Repressive and Emancipatory Media (1970) applied to Community Radio on page 67 and it is reproduced below as a stand-alone chart.

Figure 8. Chart 1. Community Radio: An Emancipatory Use of the Medium:

Community radio
Programmes produced by community
Access and participation, listeners = broadcasters
Empowerment, education and conscientisation, political agenda
Collective production
Community and democratic ownership and management

Unlike mainstream media, community radio is concerned to activate communication in many directions. This should be between the station and the community, between members of the community and the station and between specific groups of members of the community and all other members of the community. This involves providing access for many disparate groups within the community in dialogue and debate which is inclusive and ongoing.

Initially the community radio station broadcasts out to the community which it serves in the traditional one-way flow manner of all mass media. It becomes an emancipatory medium when members of the community actively participate in the broadcasting process and broadcast to themselves, operating at the levels of programming, management and ownership. This two-way flow of communication is extended to become far more dynamic and develops the integration of disparate, often marginalised groups within the community, when the community radio station targets them, facilitating and enabling their participation in the station. These groups communicate to themselves by broadcasting but they also make themselves, their needs and their value known to the general community through their programming and participation in ownership and management of the station. Finally, these groups communicate to each other and integrate into the wider community as equal and valued partners through the communication and interaction which takes place off-air but is initiated through their participation in the broadcasting process.

The research conducted here found that not all of the stations studied succeed in escaping the traditional paradigm of one-way flow information and entertainment provision as practised by other sectors in the media. In order to expand beyond the traditional model of one-way flow communication and to become a dynamic communications link for their communities, community radio stations need to learn from the practical experience of those stations which do succeed in opening up these channels of democratic communication.

Community radio stations need to operate at the top three levels of the model proposed on page 92 - that is they need to ensure that participation by all groups and individuals is facilitated in programme production, in station management and in ownership of the station. Of the six stations studied, all aim to provide this facility to their communities but those who prioritise participation by all appear to achieve the most radical benefits in programming interaction, community building and personal empowerment. Specifically, stations which employ a conscious community development approach and target specific disadvantaged groups, often minorities within their communities, seem to empower them to take part on a more equal footing in the life of their community. Training and education can help to increase the participation of people generally excluded, not just from the hegemonic symbolic order, but from mainstream cultural life and social benefits. This approaches the Habermasian dream of providing ideal speech situations or a real example of a micro-public sphere where the playing pitch is levelled somewhat. Conclusions drawn from observation concur with Günnel (2002: 334) and reveal that articulate, confident people, frequently male, are attracted to the medium of radio but many others can be intimidated by the technology and by interacting with such people in any activity. Therefore specific provision for attracting and enabling the participation of those traditionally excluded from mainstream society needs to be made. If communities are made up of disparate groups, a community cannot be built by dominant groups alone and the participation of each must be facilitated. The participation of each of the diverse elements of communities should be facilitated on a needs basis - some groups and individuals will need far more assistance and encouragement than others.

Full and active participation in essence calls for the creation of multi, micro-public spheres. The public spheres created by any one community radio station will be many due to the diverse nature of modern, developed societies. Community radio should provide the space for interest groups and sub-sections of a larger community to communicate with themselves and to communicate with the wider community itself. The scale on which community radio stations operate, both in terms of transmission area and optimum community size, dictate that these public spheres must also be tiny - in fact they must operate at the micro level. Most community radio activists interviewed during the course of this research said that they believe a population of 100,000 is too large to constitute a community with which one can usefully engage. The aspiration of equal and mutually respectful debate cannot be actualised where the interests of big business or the state is attracted. This is proven in the large scale exclusion of the people from the airwaves controlled by public service and commercial broadcasters and is recognised by the new social movements (NSMs) which work mainly outside and on the margins of the mainstream. One of the primary reasons for the existence of community broadcasting is to give a voice to the people and that principle must be protected in the provision of community broadcasting.

Critics of Habermas who recognise the limits of an ideal public sphere, which could lay aside all of the inequalities of society generally during the time of debate (Negt and Kluge, 1993; Keane, 1995; Sholle, 1995) and those who call for the creation of counter publics (Fraser, 1992; McLaughlin,1995; Halchli, 2000), should investigate the operation of the small, largely unnoticed, public spheres provided by community media.

The research findings revealed that while each of the community radio stations functions as micro, often multi-public spheres, many of the participants in them are neither conscious of doing so nor are they aware of the implications this has politically and in effecting radical social change. Aspirant community media practitioners need to familiarise themselves with the concepts of multi –flow communication, communication as a human right and the democratisation of communication if they are to maximise the benefits which this brings to individuals, stations and ultimately communities. The provision of opportunities to participate in public communication brings benefits by the very nature of such opportunities being provided. However, the conscious provision of such participation, with long term planning underpinned by

social and political philosophy makes it a more meaningful, effective and powerful experience. Enzensberger stressed the role of education in accomplishing this political goal (1970) and the current research bears this out. The research reveals that many of those who founded stations and operate at management level understand the importance of such a political role. They engage with these movements and employ many of the methods employed in other NSMs which enable them to think and act in a more radical manner to attempt to effect lasting social change. However, the research also revealed that this political philosophy is not generally passed on to the general body of participants in most stations in any planned or coherent manner and so the opportunity to consciously avail of the radical benefits of participation are not optimised. The major lesson to be drawn from this finding is that those who are in management should ensure that the political philosophy of community radio and the importance of its work beyond that of broadcasting is passed on to all participants.

In conclusion this research sought to discover the essence of a community radio station. It concentrated its investigation on six case studies of Irish licensed community radios and used these to explore the essential characteristics of community radio which separate it from mainstream media, while acknowledging that many, fundamental similarities must and should exist. Primarily the research concludes that community radio can, does and should build the communities which it serves. It does this through the provision of a communications link which is multi-flow rather than one-way flow communication This is radical and emancipatory in itself and provides multi, micro-public spheres which empower individuals, stations and communities in the work of community building. The philosophy and practices of community development are found to be very useful to community radio activists. The overall principle of participation and the many ways in which it can and should be facilitated, form the key to accomplishing all of the other goals set by the stations themselves. For a station to be a community radio station, the participation of the members of its community needs to be a primary goal and practice. This participation must be at the levels of programming, management and ownership. The facilitation of this participation requires constant vigilance, review and evaluation.

8.2. Implications for Future Research:

Traditional conceptions of the audience do not allow for the listener to be other than a receiver of, or reactor to content. However, in community media the members of the audience are the broadcasters, potential and actual. This research did not look at the role of the audience in its traditional sense. This is because of the totally different view of the broadcasting public as potential broadcasters and as full and meaningful partners in the broadcasting experience. Traditional paradigms of audience research and theory view the listener as a receiver. Critical theory has examined how audiences are active in reading texts to make their own meanings or to combine the understandings of life and listening experiences to produce independent understandings of the messages of the mass media. Some research has looked at the participation of listeners in mainstream radio (Higgins and Moss, 1982) and others have examined the work of access channels. However there has been very little general acknowledgement that participation in the media exists, let alone academic research into the role of the public in creating their own media. Although this is changing, one of the reasons for undertaking this current research was to mark the existence of a model of such public participation in the mass media. This research concentrates on the listener as producer, manager and owner and is not similar to audience research. It adds significantly to the understanding of the involvement of members of the community in their own radio station and begins to formulate norms for the facilitation of the participation of the public in mass communication. The wider impact of such community broadcasters on their audiences, be the medium radio, television, print or internet is the work of a future research project and should be conducted once the radical and essential differences of community media from other forms of media are properly recognised and understood.

The emphasis on participation means that the research did not undertake a deep analysis of programming content or quality. Such research would provide a third perspective on the impact of community radio on its community if undertaken along with the understandings of the facilitation of participation outlined here and with a study of the listener prior to his or her participation. Intensive listening during observation visits over a long period and careful analysis of successive programming schedules in each station were conducted. Discussion with programme makers about their aims and the style of their presentation and content also formed part of the research. However, the focus of the project on participation meant that the insights gained were used mainly in

relation to the participatory aspects of community radio work. Future research projects which would look at programme content and in particular assess the quality of talk and participation in programme discussions would be valuable. Particular emphasis could be laid on programmes which are expected to have a radical impact on the life of community. Likewise, a qualitative study on the impact of such programmes on communities would be most valuable. There is a need to investigate how participation in community media empowers individuals and translates into social and, more particularly, political change at the level of the community. Once again, this was beyond the scope of the present research but it is hoped that the discussion of the role of participation offered here may form the basis of such future research. A separate research project which would investigate the impact of the creation of the multi, micro-public spheres discussed here would be a most useful addition to the body of research on community media in general. In particular an investigation across different cultures of how some community media create counter-public spheres, as outlined by Fraser (1992), but not discovered in the Irish broadcasting context, would be useful. This would need to investigate the conditions under which these counter-public spheres can be created, as well as the impact they have upon civil society.

While this study focussed on geographic community radio stations which are licensed in Ireland there is a need to assess the work of community radio stations which are based on communities of interest and on campus radio stations. A study across different cultures, particularly a comparison between community media which operate in developed economies and those which broadcast in developing countries or in less democratic societies, would be beneficial in further identifying the shared aims of community media and the best strategies for implementing these.

The fact that community radio functions as a NSM was raised in the literature review. It was tentatively explored in discussions with respondents and reported briefly in the findings. A cross cultural, possibly global research project which looks at the commonality of purpose and process amongst community media activists would be a most interesting project and some work is already being conducted in this regard (Downing , 2000). It would be useful to compare the philosophies and aims of other NSMs along with the strategies they employ with those of community media activists.

8.3. Focail Scoir - Parting Words:

It is hoped that the general conclusions drawn here about the work of Irish community radio stations and the norms outlined for participation in community media generally can be tested and applied to other community and alternative media, specifically to community television, community newspapers, virtual communities and radical media generally. The value of the norms articulated here is that they are grounded in qualitative research and long-term observation in the field and informed by community radio activists themselves, by communication theorists and by idealists.

Community radios broadcast in order to build the communities which they serve. Communication, in this case radio broadcasting, is the tool which they employ to accomplish this goal. This research found that community radios forge a communications link for their communities. Many community radio stations usefully employ community development practices in their work. By facilitating and promoting participation at all levels in the station, the community radio activates multi-flow communication rather than one-way flow communication. This leads to the democratisation of communication and the creation of multi, micro-public spheres. In essence, community radio facilitates the human right to communicate.

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Appendix A:
Community Radio Stations licensed by IRTC/BCI between 1993-2002, including abbreviations as used throughout text.
See map A, appendix H for locations.

1993:
Anna Livia: 1993-
Talk station broadcasts speech based programming to entire Dublin area. Reclassified as Special Interest Station by BCI subsequently.

Raidió na Life: 1993-
Broadcasts in Irish to community of Irish speakers in Dublin area. Community of Interest station.

Eleven pilot stations 1994-1997:

Four campus stations:
DWR (Dublin Weekend Radio). 1995-1997.
DWR based in Dublin City University, DCU. Employed a full-time paid station manager and four part-time paid editors. Availed of the support of the teaching and technical staff of Ireland's largest School of Communication. DWR operated on an 80/20 talk/music ratio, at their own request and aimed for a high standard of talk programming for most of the city.

CCR (Cork Campus Radio). 1995-
CCR was a partnership between University College Cork , (UCC) and Cork Institute of Technology (CIT) with UCC's Student Union (UCCSU) providing the funds, studios and offices. UCCSU remained the stronger partner throughout the pilot scheme and applied on a stand alone basis for a long term licence at the end of that period. Students from CIT and other third level colleges are welcome to participate in the broadcast schedule but not in ownership or management.

FLIRT, 1995-
(Acronym irrelevant, name chosen by founders to express relaxed, fun-nature of station). Galway's student radio station was a partnership between students in the National University of Ireland, Galway (NUIG) and the Galway Mayo Institute of Technology (GMIT) and the institution of NUIG. On application for a long-term licence in 1998, NUIG applied without GMIT.

Wired, 1995-
(Name chosen by poll, by students in each college). A partnership between Mary Immaculate College (MIC), the University of Limerick (UL) and The Limerick Institute of Technology (LIT) under the chair and leadership of a nominee at institutional level of MIC. Start up funds, the studio, office and equipment were provided by MIC. Representation on all boards was provided for the students and staff of all three colleges and for representatives of the three institutions. Wired broadcast originally for two hours per day, four days a week with a talk/music ration of 40% /60%. It now broadcasts for ten hours a day and is currently reviewing its partnership agreement.

Four geographic community stations in Dublin:
The IRTC divided the city into four quarters and issued licences accordingly.

9711 (Name based on the postal codes of the areas to be served).
9711 was licensed to serve the North West of Dublin. This group was heavily dependent on CE workers, (See Appendix I). It ran into resource difficulties early on during the pilot scheme and, lacking roots in the community, it ceased broadcasting after a few months.

DSCR: (Dublin South Community Radio): 1995-
Description in main text, page 113.

NEAR (North East Access Radio): 1995-
Description in main text, page 113-114.

WDCR: West Dublin Community Radio: 1995-2001
Description in main text, page 114-115.

Three geographic community radio stations, outside the Dublin area:
The IRTC issued licences to four groups to participate in the pilot scheme, two of which were based in small towns and one in a remote rural area.

CRC: Community Radio Castlebar: 1995-
Description in main text, page 115.

CRY: Community Radio Youghal: 1995-
Description in main text, page 115.

CCR: Connemara Community Radio: 1995-
Description in main text, page 115-116.

Community Radio Stations licensed since 1998:

TCR: Tallaght Community Radio, 1998-
Founded by group active as pirate community station, Radio Wonderland in 1980s. Broadcasts from shopping centre at heart of large suburban sprawl on outskirts of Dublin.

RCB: Radio Corca Baiscinn, 1999-
Founded by community development company, Éirí Corca Baiscinn to faciliate them in their work with people who are marginalised socially and economically on the Loop Head peninsula.

Phoenix Fm: 1999-
Broadcasts to Dublin 15 area, based around new residential area surrounding Blanchardstown.

Radio Pobal Inis Eoghan: 2000-
Founded by community development company to cater for the needs of people on the Inishowen peninsula, based in Carndonagh.

Cashel Community Radio: 2003-
Broadcasts to community of town of Cashel, Co. Tipperary and its direct hinterland.

Appendix B:
AMARC International

French Acronym for World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (Association Modiale des Radiodiffuseurs Communautaires). Founded, Montreal 1983. An International NGO serving the community radio movement. Its secretariat is based in Montreal, it has regional branches with offices in Africa, Latin America, Europe (until 2002) and regional branches in Oceania and Asia.
Membership is open to community radio stations and to groups, organisations and individuals who subscribe to AMARC's Declaration of Principles.

AMARC'S DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES:

The objective of the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC) is to support the work of its members and facilitate their development, promoting the principles of international co-operation and solidarity.

AMARC desires to give a voice to forces in favour of social change, such as women, liberation movements, minorities and the disabled. This desire must be reflected in the structures of AMARC at all levels.

This declaration is the expression of a common vision of the practice of community broadcasting and of the perspectives for action that guide AMARC and its members.

Community Radio responds primarily to the needs of the communities it serves contributing to their development within a progressive perspective in favour of social change.

Community Radio strives to democratise communication through community participation in different aspects of the radio's activity, which may take different forms in accordance with each specific social context;

Members of AMARC:
1) believe in the need to establish a new world information order founded on more just relationships and equitable exchanges among peoples;
2) contribute to the expression of different social, political and cultural movements and in the promotion of all initiatives supporting peace, friendship among different peoples, democracy and development;
3) recognise the fundamental and specific role of women in establishing new practices of communication. Participation of women is essential in the decision-making structures of community radios and in their programming which also reflects the specific concerns of women and their legitimate demands;
4) express through their programming the following principles:
   - sovereignty and independence of all peoples;
   - solidarity and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries;
   - international co-operation based on the creation of permanent and widespread ties on the basis of equality, reciprocity and mutual respect;
   - non-discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual preference or religion;
   - respect for the cultural identity of peoples.
Website: http://www.amarc.org

Appendix C:

Legislation relevant to Community Radio in Australia, Canada and South Africa:

Australia.

Australia has had legislation for community or public radio since the 1970s. *The Broadcasting Services Act* 1992 and *The Radio Communications Act*, 1992 were passed together. The most relevant sections of the Broadcasting Services Act are Section 15 (which defines community broadcasting services), Part 3, (which sets out the planning criteria and responsibilities), Part 6, Part 6a and Schedule 2, Part 5 (which set out the licensing requirements and conditions).

Basically under Australian law a community radio station (indeed any community broadcasting service) is

    a. *Provided for community purposes; and*

    b. *Not operated for profit or as part of a profit-making enterprise; and*

    c. *Provides programs that:*

       i. are able to be received by commonly available equipment; and

       ii. are made available free to the general public;

(*Broadcasting Services Act*, 1992, section 15, relevant extracts only, not full text).

This is broadly the same as the IRTC/BCI definition although there is an additional emphasis on the access to receive the service widely and free of charge.

Useful websites: http://www.cbaa.org.au, http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/cth/consol_act/ra1992218/s10.html, (accessed 17.01.01).

Canada

Canada also has a relatively long history of licensed community radio. The most relevant, act is *The Broadcasting Act* of 1991. It deals with the usual expectations of and restrictions to broadcasting for each of the three sectors – public service, commercial and community together in its preamble. These include special language conditions and requirements for the broadcasting of Canadian music and Canadian originated programming, especially for indigenous or first peoples (Declaration section).

No actual definition of the community sector is offered in the 1991 Act but the Canadian Radio and Television Commission, after a long consultation with community radio stations and others published a lengthy policy document (Public Notice, CRTC, 2000-13) which does provide one.

This policy document stresses the importance of community radio stations, stating that their programming complements that offered by other types of station and offers listeners a wider choice of both music and spoken word programming. It claims that this programming reflects the interests of the communities served and, through providing for diversity, is an important element of the total Canadian broadcasting system. (Public Notice, CRTC, 2000-13, 2).

It states that

    A community radio station is owned and controlled by a not-for-profit organization, the structure of which provides for membership, management, operation and programming primarily by members of the community at large.

> Programming should reflect the diversity of the market that the station is licensed to serve. (Public Notice, CRTC, 2000-13, Section 21: 13)

More complete explanations of volunteer participation, the emphasis on diversity in programming and a distinction between types of community licence are also included in the document. Stations can be type A, B, developmental or institutional.

A type A station is one where no other radio station other than the public service national broadcaster CBC is operating in the same language in all or in part of its market. A type B station is one where there is another, usually commercial, station broadcasting to the same catchment area and in the same language. Developmental stations are generally low-powered initiatives allowing new stations to begin to operate quickly, essentially for training purposes in an inception period. Institutional stations are usually student based, campus stations.

Again, despite the length of the CRTC policy document there is little difference in the definition of the role and ethos of community radio stations by the CRTC and by the IRTC. This is because the IRTC model was based very closely on the CRTC definition and experience and because AMARC International was founded in and has its head office in Canada. It follows that the experiences of stations in Canada have had a huge impact on the development of AMARC and on its constituent member stations world wide.

Useful website: http://www.crtc.gc.ca/archives (accessed 10.01.01).

South Africa.
In South Africa, in 1994, *The Independent Broadcasting Act* was passed. Based on a series of public hearings for submissions for community radio licenses and working within the framework of international experience the 1994 Act defines a community broadcasting service as one which

a. is fully controlled by a non-profit entity and carried on for non-profitable purposes
b. serves a particular community
c. encourages members of the community served by it or persons associated with or promoting the interests of such community to participate in the selection and provision of programmes to be broadcast in the course of such broadcasting service; and
d. may be funded by donations, grants, sponsorships or advertising or membership fees, or by any combination of the aforementioned. (Broadcasting Act, 1994)

As in Canada, the Act provides for two types of community broadcasting services in South Africa, but these are based on the community to be served and not on the existence of other media operating in the same environment. The two types of service specified are those catering for a geographic community and those catering for a community of interest.
A geographic community is defined as

> The community served by a radio station in this category is geographically founded. The service caters to persons or a community whose commonality is determined principally by their residing in a particular geographic area.

A community of interest is defined as

> The community served by a radio station in this category is one which has a specific ascertainable common interest. The distinctive feature of the service is the common interest that makes such a group of persons or sector of the public an identifiable community.

It goes on to list types of services catering to communities of interest as

> institutions i.e. of learning, of labour etc where service is designed primarily to meet the need of persons directly associated with the institution(s), religious communities,

arts and culture especially specialized music, historical, traditional and other.

Again it can be seen that the main points correspond with the Irish and European definitions as outlined in chapter two, although South Africa is the only country to specify funding sources to b accessed in legislation.

Useful websites: http://www.iba.org.za/comradio.htm,

http://www.sn.apc.org/ncrf/report/sec_1.htm, (accessed 10.01.01)

Appendix D:
List of organisations, schemes and practices referred to.

ADM: Area Development Management. Private company established by Irish government with EU commission co-operation in 1992. http://www.adm.ie
Anti-Poverty Project: Series of government funded initiatives working with partnerships to combat poverty.
CAN: Community Action Network. Project committed to working for change through community development. http://www.cidb.ie/comhairlevcs.
CE Scheme: Community Employment Scheme, see appendix I.
Combat Poverty Agency: Statutory agency established under the Combat Poverty Agency Act 1986 to advise on policy, support projects, research and public education combating poverty in Ireland. http://www.cpa.ie.
Conradh na Gaeilge: Voluntary organisation for the promotion and revival of the Irish language. http://www.cnag.ie.
CMA: British Non-Profit membership association for community radio, televisiona dn internet projects. www.commedia.org.uk.
CRF: Community Radio Forum of Ireland, recently renamed CRAOL (The Irish word for "Broadcast"), See appendix F.
Dáil Éireann: Official name of lower house of Oireachtas na hEireann, Irish parliament.
FÁS: See appendix I.
FERL: Federation Europenne des Radios Libres. The European Federation of Non-Commercial Radios. http://users.skynet.be/internationalFERL.HTM
Fianna Fáil: Largest single political party in Ireland. http://www.fiannafail.ie..
Fine Gael: Political party. http://www.finegael.com.
GAA: Gaelic Athletics Association. Largest and voluntary sports organisation in Ireland. Founded to promote indigenous Irish games.
Glór na nGael: Competition organised by Conradh na Gaeilge to promote the use of the Irish language in communities in Ireland. Sometimes used as the name of local groups or committees in specific communities involved in this work or competition. http://www.glornangael.ie.
ICA: Irish Country Women's Association, Rural based, national organisation of women, mainly homemakers.
INTEGRA: Strand of European Commission's Employment Initiative to combat social exclusion. http://www.io.ie/EMPLOYMENT/integra/.
Junior Chamber of Commerce: Organisation for the development of the community by enabling young people to develop leadership skills, social responsibility, entrepeneurship and fellowship. http://www.juniorchamberireland.org.
Leaving Certificate: Examination conducted by Department of Education and Science and attempted by students on completion of full cycle of second level education. Required for entry to third level education.
Muintir na Tíre: Association of farmers and other rural dwellers to improve the quality of life and services outside of Dublin, literally means 'People of the Country'.
ODTR: Office of the Director of Telecommunications Regulations. http://www.odtr.ie/about_us/.
Oireachtas: Oireachtas na hEireann: Parliament of Ireland, consists of two houses, lower house: Dáil Eireann and upper house: Seanad Eireann.
NUIG: National University of Ireland, Galway.
NCVA: National Council for Vocational Awards. Executive agency of the Department of Education and Science, established in 1991 to supervise, set standards for and certify

vocational education and training programmes for adults usually outside of third level institutions. http://www.ncva.ie/whatis/htm.

NCDE, National Committee for Development Education:

People's Communication Charter: Demand by various groups for human right to communicate. http://www.pccharter.net/about.html.

PLC: Post Leaving Certficate Courses offered by VEC, usually of one year duration, leading to further study or entrance to industry.

Raidió Pobail: Irish for Community Radio. This refers to an RTE experiment in the 1970s and 1980s where an OBU visited a community and broadcast on an opt-out basis using local people as presenters after a brief training period.

RNLI: Royal National Lifeboat Association of Ireland. Voluntary body for water safety. http://comhairle.rnli.ie.

RTÉ: Radio Telifís Éireann: Public Service Broadcaster in Ireland, operates two national television channels, four national radio stations among other activities. http://www.rte.ie

SOCRATES: Programme funded by EU commission. Aims to improve the quality of education by funding programmes which link higher institutes of education and other educational and training organisations across formal and informal platforms for learning. http://www.leargas.ie.

Transition Year: Fourth year of second level schooling. Students experience a wide range of learning opportunities outside of formal curricula. Non-exam year. Frequently includes work experience programmes.

Voices without Frontiers: Voix sans Frontieres. EU funded anti-racism programme administered by AMARC Europe. http://www.amarc.org.

VEC: Vocational Education Committee. Each county has at least one of these bodies which is responsible for education and training at second and post-second level. Includes a remit for second chance learning. http://www.fetac.ie.

Women-on-Air: EU funded and IRTC supported programme for education of women in broadcasting in the late 1990s. This included a Diploma course in Radio in NUIG for women in CRC and CCR. A week long summer training course in NUIG for women from commercial and community radio stations. Research was conducted into employment patterns for women in independent radio sector (Gibbons, 1998) and a strategic report was presented to the IRTC.

Youth Reach Programmes: Education and training for early school leavers. http://www.leargas.ie/youth/f.html.

Youth in Action: Outreach programme working with disadvantaged and disaffected youth. http://www.leargas.ie/youth/f.html.

Appendix E:
AMARC-Europe:

Regional branch of AMARC-International to cater for needs of community radio broadcasters and any groups which adhere to the AMARC Europe Charter. General Council directly elected by membership every two years at General Assembly. Offices in Sheffield and Budapest. Organisation disbanded 2002 due to serious administrative and financial difficulties.

AMARC Europe Charter, adopted Ljubljana, 1994:

Recognising that community radio is an ideal means of fostering freedom of expression and information, the development of culture, the freedom to form and confront opinions and active participation in local life; noting that different cultures and traditions lead to diversity of forms of community radio; this Charter identifies objectives which community radio stations share and should strive to achieve.

Community Radio stations:
1. promote the right to communicate, assist the free flow of information and opinions, encourage creative expression and contribute to the democratic process and a pluralist society;
2. provide access to training, production and distribution facilities; encourage local creative talent and foster local traditions; and provide programmes for the benefit, entertainment, education and development of their listeners;
3. seek to have their ownership representative of local geographically recognisable communities or of communities of common interest;
4. are editorially independent of government, commercial and religious institutions and political parties in determining their programming policy;
5. provide a right of access to minority and marginalised groups and promote and protect cultural and linguistic diversity;
6. seek to honestly inform their listeners on the basis of information drawn from a diversity of sources and provide a right of reply to any person or organisation subject to serious misrepresentation;
7. are established as organisations which are not run with a view to profit and ensure their independence by being financed from a variety of sources;
8. recognise and respect the contribution of volunteers, recognise the right of paid workers to join trade unions and provide satisfactory working conditions for both;
9. operate management, programming and employment practices which oppose discriminations and which are open and accountable to all supporters, staff and volunteers;
10. foster exchange between community radio broadcasters using communications to develop greater understanding in support of peace, tolerance, democracy and development.

See website: http://www.amarc.org

Appendix F:
IRTC/BCI and CRF:

Independent Radio and Television Commission established under the terms of the 1988 Broadcasting Act as licensing commission and regulatory authority for independent broadcasters in Ireland. Renamed the Broadcasting Commission of Ireland (BCI) in 2001 and currently undergoing major expansion and change.

The government appointed commission meets approximately once a month and is supported by a full time executive. The third commission appointed by Labour minister Michael D. Higgins, chaired by Niall Stokes, established an eighteen month pilot scheme for community radio stations in 1994.

A Community Radio Officer, Ciarán Kissane, was appointed to evaluate and oversee the pilot scheme in 1995. He ensured that regular meetings of all community radio stations were held and this became the Community Radio Forum of Ireland (CRF). Currently about to be renamed CRAOL, the Irish verb "to broadcast". This is an umbrella organisation for all licensed community radio stations in Ireland and it is facilitated and financially supported by the BCI. In 1997 the CRF formulated proposals which formed the basis of the IRTC policy document on community radio (IRTC, 1997a).

This includes the current BCI definition of community radio as
> A community radio station is characterised by its ownership and programming and the community it is authorised to serve. It is owned and controlled by a not-for-profit organisation whose structure provides for membership, management, operation and programming primarily by members of the community at large. Its programming should be based on community access and should reflect the special interests and needs of the listenership it is licensed to serve. (IRTC, 1997a: 2).

It also includes a circular model for management and organisation, again proposed originally by the CRF (IRTC, 1997a: 4)

Guidelines issued to applicants for community radio licences are available from the BCI on request, email: info@bci.ie
Website: www.bci.ie

The IRTC's community radio officer, Ciarán Kissane conducted an extensive, unpublished evaluation of the pilot project, which was made available to this research project (IRTC, 1997 c).
The IRTC's Training and Development Officer, Margaret Tumelty, prepared a study of community radio's finances for the CRF, which was made available to this research project (IRTC, 2000).
The IRTC/BCI has supported several external and internal research evaluations including O Siochru and Dillon, 1997; Gibbons, 1998; Unique Perspectives, 2003.

Appendix G:
NACB:

National Association of Community Broadcasters. Umbrella organisation set up to lobby for legislation for community radio in early 1980s. Established an office and one paid member of staff in Dublin. Made a formal submission to the Oireachtas Committee on Independent Radio in 1983. Many members were broadcasting as pirates prior to coming off air in 1988 in expectation of being granted licences.

NACB Charter:
Community broadcasting should
1. Serve recognisable local geographic communities and communities of interest.
2. Ensure that democratic ownership and control rests within the local community or community of interest.
3. Be a non-profit distribution trust, co-operative or similar registered structure and have a commitment to the use of surplus funds for a community development work
4. Have its general management and programming policy made by a governing committee which is democratically representative of the people, of the recognisable local community and the various interests of the community.
5. Provide within this democratic structure, a service of information, education and entertainment and enable the two-way communication of diverse opinions and provide a 'right-of-reply' to any person or organisation subject to serious misrepresentation.
6. Be financed from resources generated by the local community, including advertising.
7. Be committed to providing local people with access to training, production and transmitting facilities.
8. Endeavour to transmit programme material that is predominantly locally originated.
9. Ensure that the Irish language and culture are adequately represented.
10. Have a programming policy which encourages the development of a participatory democracy and which is opposed to racism, sexism and any other discriminatory attitudes, as well as undertaking to provide equal employment opportunities.
(Byrne, 1988: 136).

Appendix H:
Maps:

Map A: All community radio stations licensed in Ireland, 1993-2002.
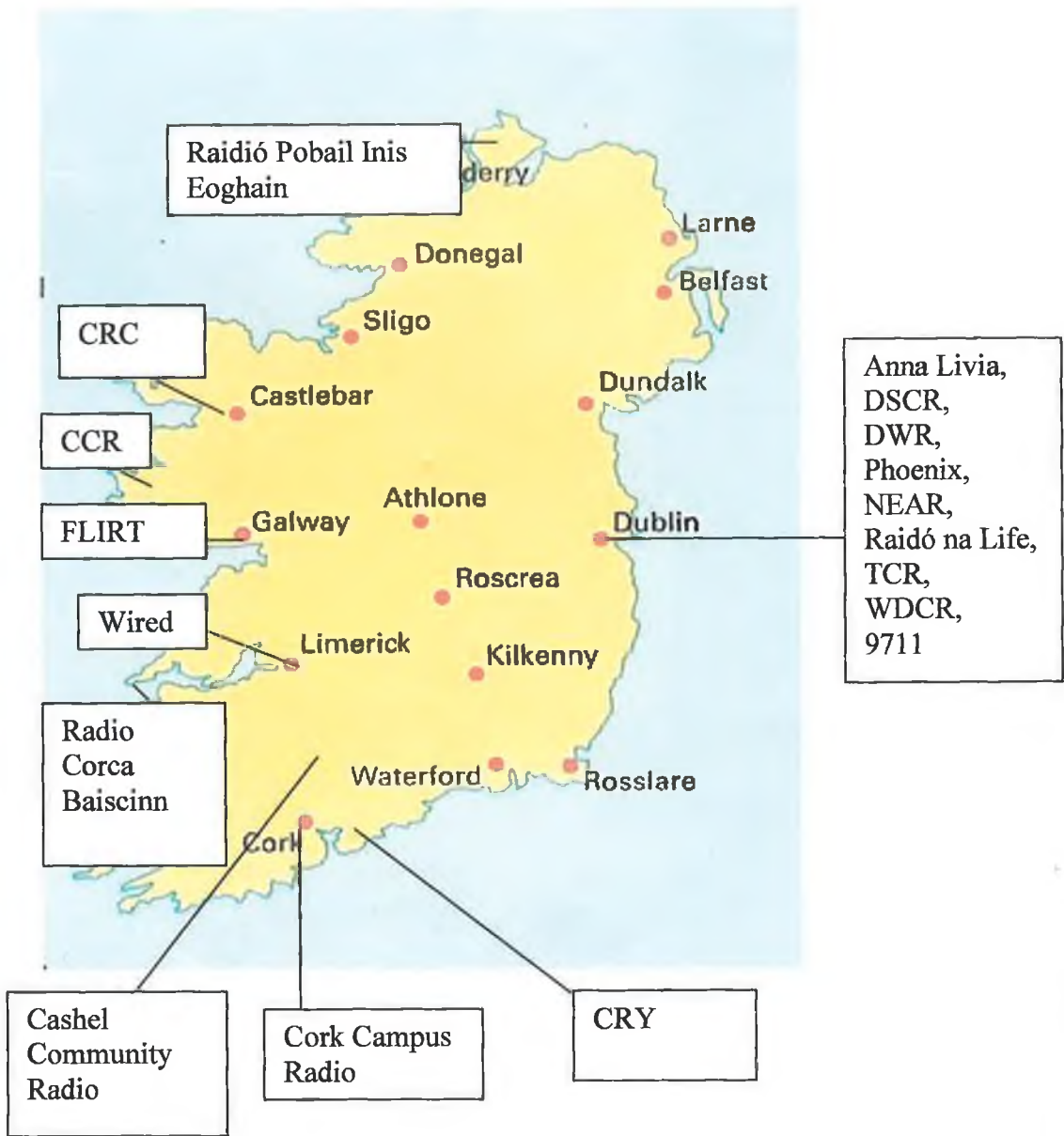
Map B: Six community radio stations in current study:

Map C: DSCR, NEAR and WDCR, three Dublin stations in the study:
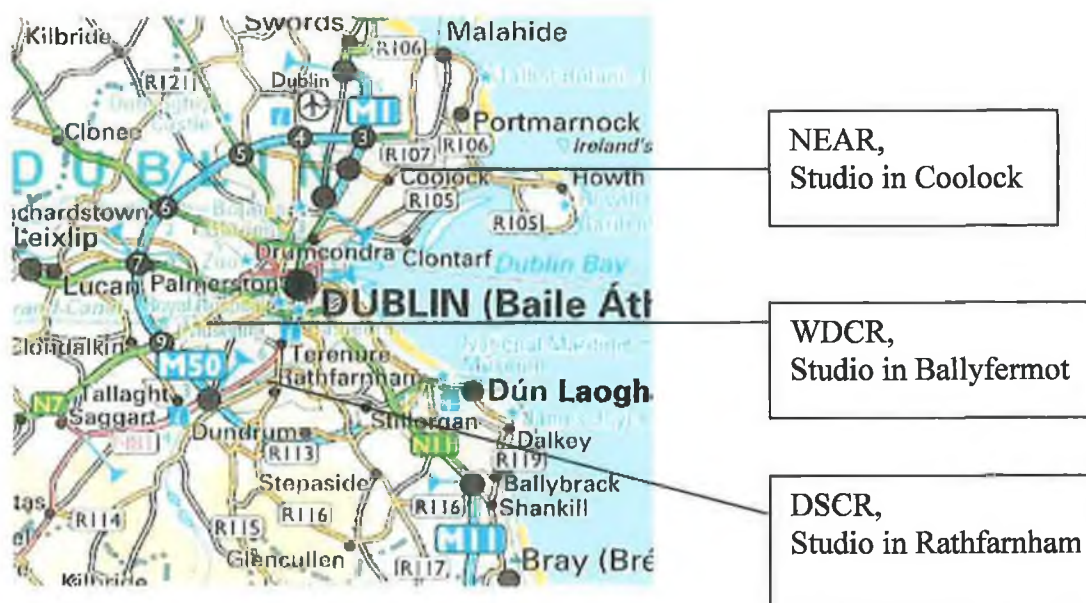
Map D: CRC, Castlebar:

Studio in Castlebar

Westport

Map E: CRY, Youghal:

To Dungarvan

Studio, Youghal

Middleton

Map F: CCR, Connemara.

Island of
Inis Turk

Island of
Inisbofin,
remote studio

Letterfrack,
main studio

Recess,
Maam

Clifden,
main town

(Dundrum Maps, 2000)

4
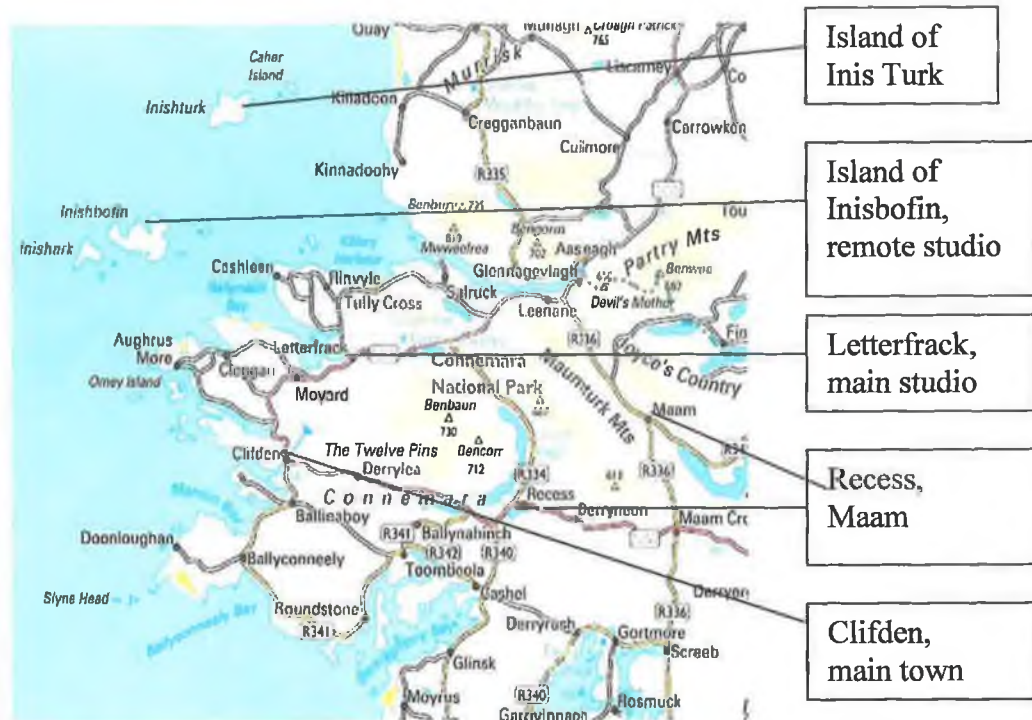
Appendix I:
CE and Other Employment Schemes:

Community Employment (CE) Scheme often referred to as FÁS. FÁS is the acronym of the Irish name for Training and Employment Authority (Foras Áiseanna Saothair, literally the Body for Work Resources). This is a government funded employment and training initiative. The aim of the scheme is to assist those who are long term unemployed to re-enter the workforce.

People are taken off the live register for the unemployed and required to work for twenty hours a week on schemes deemed to be of benefit to the community. Each person is allowed to participate in the scheme for one year only but many exceptions are made to this rule. Training is offered in a range of areas tailored to the needs of participants.

Schemes which reach a designated quota of participants have a supervisor assigned to them. This person is paid a higher wage and is responsible for the welfare and training of participants in their care. The voluntary or community group can choose the supervisor in consultation with FÁS and this gives them a large measure of control and independence.

Wide use is made of staff so funded in the voluntary and community sector in Ireland. This scheme provides a way to resource labour and the materials and training grants allotted for each participant supplement income for groups in the third sector.

By 2000 the Irish government were trying to scale down the scheme in the light of the economic boom which the country was experiencing. Many voluntary and community groups were concerned that they would no longer be able to sustain their projects without these people.

The long-term job initiative is a scheme whereby a person who is long-term unemployed and over the age of 35 can be funded to work in a similar fashion but for a longer term.
Many schemes to enable people with disabilities to enter the workforce are also in place and are availed of by community and voluntary groups nationwide, including some community radio stations.

Websites: http://www.fas.ie.

Appendix J:
Milan Declaration:

PREAMBLE We the participants of the 7th World Congress of the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters, held in Milan, Italy, August 23-29, 1998 and with the contribution from AMARC 7 Virtual Forum participants, July 20-August 20, 1998,

Recalling Article19 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* which sets forth the freedom of opinion and expression; moreover, the right to receive and impart information and ideas through the media regardless of frontiers on the commemoration of its 50th anniversary,

Considering Article 19 of the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* which reaffirms the right of everyone to hold opinions without interference, as well as the right to freedom of expression, including the freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideals of all kinds, regardless of frontiers,

Guided by the *Beijing Platform of Action* which states in its section on Women and the Media that democratic participation of women in communications media should be guaranteed at all levels,

Mindful of Article 13 of the *American Convention on Human Rights*, which sets forth the right to freedom of opinion and expression; moreover, that this right may not be restricted by indirect methods or means such as the abuse of government or private controls over radio broadcasting frequencies or equipment used in the dissemination of information, or by any other means tending to impede the communication and circulation of ideas and opinions.

Considering Article 9 of the *African Charter on Human and People's Rights*, which reaffirms that every individual shall have the right to receive information,

Taking into account Article 10 of the *European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*, which states that everyone has the right to freedom of expression and that this right shall include the freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority,

Acknowledging the Declarations of Windhoek, Alma Ata, Santiago, Sana'a and Sofia, resulting from the UNESCO-sponsored seminars which assert the establishment, maintenance and fostering of an independent, pluralistic and free press is essential to the development and maintenance of democracy in a nation, and for economic development,

Recognizing the *People's Communication Charter*, which endorses that communication and information services should be guided by respect for fundamental human rights and, in the spirit of the public interest, defines and confirms the rights and responsibilities of those who broadcast and those who use information,

Bearing in mind the *Declaration on Communications as a Human Right* adopted at the Seminar on Democratizing the Electromagnetic Spectrum held in Venezuela, 1996,

Recalling the *AMARC Declaration of Principles* adopted at the founding conference of AMARC in Managua, 1988,

Mindful of the *European Charter for Community Radio* adopted at the founding conference of AMARC Europe in Slovenia, 1994,

Considering the Declaration of the Latin American and Caribbean Festival of Radiosapasionados y Televisionarios in Quito, 1995,

WE DECLARE THAT...

1 The Right to Communicate is a universal human right which serves and underpins all other human rights and which must be preserved and extended in the context of rapidly changing information and communication technologies,

2 All members of civil society should have just and equitable access to all communications media,

3 Respect for pluralism, cultural, language, and gender diversity should be reflected through all the media as a fundamental factor in a democratic society,

4 The democratic participation of women in communications media should be guaranteed at all levels,

5 The rights of indigenous peoples should be respected in their struggles for access and participation in communications media,

6 Communications media have a responsibility to help sustain the diversity of the world's cultures and languages, which should be supported through legislative, administrative, and financial measures,

7 Community media can play an important role in strengthening cultural rights, and in particular, the rights of linguistic and cultural minorities, indigenous peoples, migrants and refugees by providing access to the means of communication,

8 Access to the means of communication must be supported by education and training to assist a critical understanding of the media and to enable people to develop their media and communication skills,

9 The market economy is not the only model for shaping the communications infrastructure. People must be seen as producers and contributors of information and not be defined solely as "consumers",

10 The continual expansion of transnational corporations characterized, among other things, by media conglomerates and concentration of ownership increasingly threatens plurality, including the existence of independent and community broadcasters,

11 New digital broadcast systems are leading to re-planning existing frequency allocation and new approaches to regulation which risk further marginalization of communication services run by and for citizens, communities and social organizations,

12 While convergence between telecommunications, computing and broadcasting is increasing the number of potential users, the telecommunications development gap supports the division of the world into those who have and those who do not have access to electronic information,

WE CALL FOR...

1 International recognition of the community broadcasting sector as an essential form of public service broadcasting and a vital contributor to media pluralism and freedom of expression and information,

1

2 Support by governments, corporations and international institutions for the development of the right to communicate including:

• telecommunications regulation in favor of the development of South-South communications infrastructure,

• a percentage of public funds for development projects be dedicated to the enhancement of local communications capacity,

• measures to ensure governments respect the right to free and unhindered communications,

3 Establishment of standards, norms and measures at national, regional and world levels, to enable and assist the development of independent community broadcasting services including:

• regulatory authorities to be established as organizations independent from government as a means to secure transparency, and better control and regulation of telecommunications,

• rules to prevent concentration of media ownership and the take-over of community broadcasting services by commercial companies,

• measures to assist adaptation of community broadcasters to media convergence and appropriate forms of new technology,

• reservation of a portion of any new digital spectra for community broadcasters,

• assessment and monitoring of the impact of technological convergence and regulatory change on the community media sector,

• support for the development of digital systems which are appropriate to the needs of community broadcasting services,

• preservation of existing analog frequencies used by community broadcasters until such time as a digital replacement is available,

• allocation of part of the broadcast spectrum for self-regulated use by microbroadcasters,

4 The ITU to ensure that frequency planning, technical standards for telecommunications and radio, and development resources give a high priority to the needs of civil society,

5 The establishment by UNESCO within the framework of the International Program for the Development of Communication of a Community Media Fund to support projects for the creation of new community media, adaptation of existing community media to new technology, research into the impact on community media of technological convergence, and pilot projects in new forms of community media distribution and community media content,

6 International financial institutions to dedicate a percentage of loans and bonds to supporting community-based forms of communications,

7 The community media sector to: track transnational corporations (TNCs) and launch international activist efforts to raise consciousness about and develop strategies to halt the increasing control TNCs have on our communications future,

• lobby for national and international measures to ensure new information and communication technologies provide affordable access to citizens and communities to establish new community media services,

• develop community media program exchanges and to build solidarity and support for community struggles for human rights and social justice,

• promote and support the training of journalists, broadcasters, engineers and other media professionals, especially those working in rural and marginal urban areas,
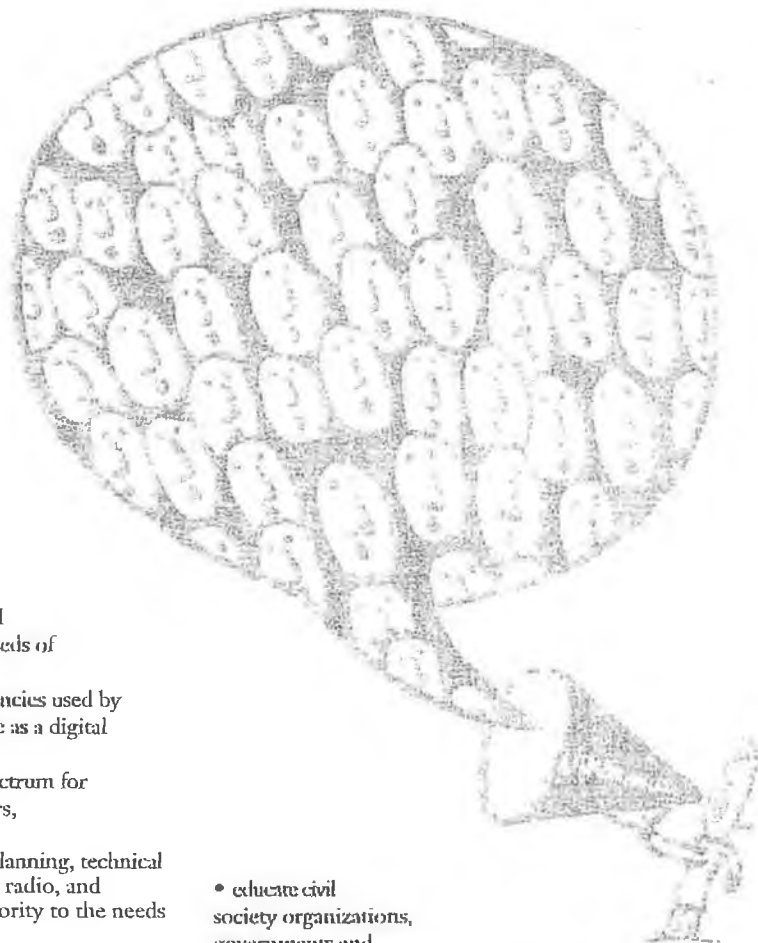
• educate civil society organizations, governments and regulators, and the general public on the policy issues of regulation, the importance of a sustainable and pluralist broadcasting environment, and the benefits of community media and production,

• create a technical advisory study to determine the impact of emerging digital broadcast technologies on community broadcasting,

8 The establishment by the community media sector of local, national, regional and worldwide coalitions to work together through official and alternative communications forums in order to promote communication rights and to implement the measures called for in this Declaration.•

Appendix K:

Mills' Dichotomy of Public and Mass Communication:

Mills is concerned with the transformation of public into mass, when discussing "the problem of public opinion" he differentiates between public and mass opinion or communication as follows:

In a public

1. *Virtually as many people express opinions as receive them*

2. *Public communications are so organised that there is a chance immediately and effectively to answer back any opinion expressed in public opinion formed by such discussion*

3. *Opinion is formed by such discussion and readily finds an outlet in effective action, even against if necessary – the prevailing system of authority and*

4. *Authoritative institutions do not penetrate the public, which is more or less autonomous in its operation*

When these conditions prevail, we have the working model of a community of publics, and this model fits closely the several assumptions of classic democratic theory.

By contrast,

In a mass

1. *Far fewer people express opinions than receive them; for the community of publics becomes an abstract collection of individuals who receive impressions from the mass media*

2. *The communications that prevail are so organised that it is difficult or impossible for the individual to answer back immediately or with any effect*

3. *The realisation of opinion in action is controlled by authorities who organise and control the channels of such action*

4. *The mass has no autonomy from institutions; on the contrary, agents of authorised institutions penetrate this mass, reducing any autonomy it may have in the formation of opinion by discussion.*

The public and the mass may be most readily distinguished by their dominant modes of communication: in a community of publics, discussion is the ascendant means of communication, and the mass media, if they exist, simply enlarge and animate discussion, linking one *primary public* with the discussions of another. In a mass society, the dominant type of communication is the formal media, and the publics become mere *media markets*: all those exposed to the contents of given mass media.

(Mills, 1956 : 303-304. Quoted in Habermas, 1989: 249; Splichal, 1993: 8).

Appendix L:
Splichal's Constituent Elements of the Right to Communicate:

Splichal identifies
> ...five clusters of rights and corresponding conditions pertinent to the modern complex world of mass media, which may be listed as constituent elements of the citizen right to communicate:
> 1. *Right to be given information* and related rights and duties:
> - *Accessibility/Surveillance*: All actions (in the political assembly or elsewhere) with implications for those not participating must be subject to surveillance by the public. If the enacted laws and actions are not made commonly accessible, their rightfulness is questionable. Surveillance is an interactive process; all those who are exposed to surveillance may take and active part in publicity, having the right of transmitting information and opinion in public.
> - *Hospitality:* foreigners and non-citizens must have access to national publics.
> 2. *Right of transmitting information and expressing opinion* and related rights and duties:
> - Tolerance for judgements of approbation and disapprobation.
> - Tolerance for non-authentic publications
> - Tolerance and receptiveness for judgements expressing dissenting or minority opinions and different cultural identities
> - *Freedom of social inquiry* and of dissemination of its findings.
> 3. *Right of free access to the media* and related rights and duties:
> Accessibility: if communication means are not made commonly accessible, communicability of opinions cannot be materialised. Right of access can only be restricted if not violating the principle of equality of citizens.
> 4. Rights and duties enabling *citizens to participate in public communication, decision making*, and *in the management of the media*:
> - *Regulatory rules:* Publicness not only implies the involvement in the regulation of long-term consequences of transactions in which individuals are directly not involved yet seriously affected in a general sense, but particularly participation in systematic regulation of communicative actions. Publicity is a means to regulate human actions that exist independently of publicity, but regulatory rules are also constitutive for the publicity itself, and citizens must have the right to discuss them.
> - *Regulatory bodies*: Censorial or controlling function of public opinion has to be performed not only outwardly (thus legitimising rightfulness of public actions), but also inwardly (protection against abuses of publicness). Citizens must have the right to be informed about, and to participate in decision making or other actions of press and broadcasting councils, courts of honour, and management organs of public service media.
> 5. Corollary related to constitutive conditions of public expression of judgements:
> - *Rationality/Reflexivity* (in the sense of Kant's "method of enlightenment") is not only allowed but requested of all participants in the public discourse. Publicity serves as an asymptotic criterion of rationality because it fosters critical faculty of weighing every judgement with the collective reason – "not so much with actual, as rather with the merely possible, judgements of others, and by putting ourselves in the position of everyone else" (Kant 1790/1952, 519).

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- *Communicability:* Universal communicability is what every one expects and requires from every one else in public discourse, which makes public communication possible. Kant believed that what is rational is always publicly communicable. Dewey would strongly disagree; he realised that "presentation is fundamentally important, and presentation is a question of art" (Dewey 1927/1991, 188); a "scientific" presentation could not attract the attention and stimulate (re) actions of members of the public, with the exception of a few intellectuals. Forming opinions on public matters calls for "a subtle, delicate, vivid and responsive art of communication"(p.184). Otherwise, social sciences would be assimilated to physical sciences, which is but another form of *absolutism.*
- *Educativeness:* The involvement in public discussion of social problems at least creates a public "spirit" inclined to rational discussion. Public debates have to be regulated in a way to make the media and the public sphere accessible to the groups remote from parliamentary institutions, and to simulate an increase in individuals' knowledge. Intelligence and reflexivity are not "personal endowment" that one inherits but are social in their very nature, thus an appropriate system of education is essential for the development of human ability and need to communicate.

(Splichal, 2002: 90-91).

Appendix M:
Community Radio Mapped on to Scott's Description of NSMs:

	New Social Movements	Community radio
Location	Civil society	Civil society, specifically on the airwaves
Aims	Changes in values and lifestyle	Changes in values and lifestyle: empowerment of individuals and communities through participation and access
	Defence of civil society	Defence of civil society: Democratisation of airwaves
	Process is as important as goal achievement	Process is as important as goal achievement, participation is paramount
	Concern with communication and with the symbolic	Concern with communication and with the symbolic (Community radio is itself a medium of communication)
Organisation	Network	Network: each local radio station connected through national and international networks (See CRF and AMARC)
	Grass roots	Grassroots: participation in local radio station
Medium of action	Direct action	Direct action: by taking to the air waves
	Cultural innovation	Cultural innovation: access broadcasting, alternative approaches to programming
Actors	New middle class, unemployed and marginalised.	New middle class, unemployed and marginalised, (See particularly the role of community development)
	Fluid membership	Turn over of volunteers

(Scott, 1990: taken and compiled in tabular form from a number of pages).

Appendix N:
Discussion of Community Radio Finances:

Review of Literature:
The problem of funding is a perennial one for all voluntary organisations. The worry of gathering sufficient funding to pay for a project is only one aspect of the problem. It is important to ensure a diversity of funding sources for an organisation to retain its autonomy and focus. Over-reliance on one source of funding such as EU grants or government department aid can mean that the project collapses if the funding is removed, or that the aims of the project are changed by the funding provider or that local people lose touch with their role in the organisation. Consequently, a variety of funding sources is recommended (Clarke, 1995; Anheier & Salamon, 1999). The AMARC-Europe Charter, point 7, supports the advantages of accessing funding from a variety of sources when it declares that community radio stations

> ...are established as organisations which are not run with a view to profit and ensure their independence by being financed from a variety of sources.
> (AMARC-Europe, 1994, see appendix E).

This appears to the case for community stations generally. In Denmark for example, in the 1980s, station income was from three main sources - listeners provided 38%, through membership subscriptions or through fundraising events; 54% was received through grant aid, either from the organisations which founded the stations such as churches, trade unions and universities (31%) or directly from public funds, as wages in employment schemes or as benefit in kind (23%); the final 8% was made up in the sale of airtime for non-commercial purposes, most usually sponsorship (Prehn, Svensen and Peterson, 1992: 52). Over dependence on government funding, even to provide community development type projects, could curtail the freedom of programmers to criticise government policy and to work for fundamental changes in society. There is also the temptation of securing substantial funding through grant agencies such as NGOs and the European Union. These necessitate the provision of specific services for which funding is available which could lead to the neglect of the original aims of that station for which core funding is not available.

Canadian legislation for some time placed a cap on the amount of advertising a community radio station could raise. This applied to community radio stations where a commercial station was broadcasting in the same transmission area. The aim was to protect the commercial station. This restriction was removed in 2000 (CRTC, 2000-13). A similar concern for the interests of the commercial radio stations in existence in Ireland since 1989 was built into the contracts for community radio stations in Ireland in 1994. Forms of advertising have since been allowed and up to 30% of all station income can now come from this source. However this reversal in policy resulted as much from a realisation of how unsuccessful community radio stations have been in attracting advertising and therefore, how small a threat they are to commercial stations' survival, as from any ideological shift on the part of the IRTC/BCI.

Further cogent reasons for not depending exclusively on commercial advertising, should it be a possibility, include the protection of editorial independence, the resistance of competition for such advertising which tends to lead to a multiplicity of similar types of programming rather than to diversity and the substantive difference in the quality of the relationship between station and listeners in the community sector, as opposed to in the other two sectors as outlined in chapter two. It is important for a community radio station to be a not-for-profit organisation and to have a diversity of funding sources

because of editorial independence. It is difficult for an institution to be independent and even more so, to be radical or alternative in its political aims, if its main source of funding comes from the state or exclusively from commercial enterprises. According to the IRTC definition of community radio (IRTC, 1997a: 2; see appendix F) and the AMARC Europe Charter, point 7 (AMARC Europe, 1994; see appendix E) the community radio is responsible and accountable to the members of the community it is licensed to serve.

Many community radio stations try to cater for minorities and marginalised groups (See AMARC Europe Charter, point 6, appendix E). They are often described as a form of public service running on a shoe string (Lewis, 1989; Thornley, 2001). They cannot do this if their programming is paid for exclusively by advertisers. Advertising by definition needs to broadcast material to the widest possible listenership or a targeted group of high spenders. Programmes made by and for marginalised and disadvantaged groups such as Travellers, refugees, the unemployed and the disabled do not attract a large pool of wealthy consumers as listeners (Crisell, 1994; Barnard, 2000). The ethical implications of promoting competition and consumption as values within society must also be considered. How can such practices be reconciled with the aim of radical stations to promote development, empowerment and participation? Moran (1995:159) and Beatson (2000: 2) warn of the dangers of a drift to soft-commercialism which has occurred in some stations in the community radio sector in Australia and which vitiates against social radicalism. It is clear therefore, that community radio stations cannot follow the model of commercial stations and become dependent on advertising.

In 1986, before the licensing of the independent broadcasting sector in Ireland, Thomas (1986: 172-173) identified five possible sources for the funding of licensed community radio stations. These were to be from private investment, government funding, donations from cultural institutions, advertising revenue and public sponsorship. She concluded that public sponsorship would be the most likely source for community radio stations, given the government's unwillingness to provide funding and the limited funds available to cultural institutions in Ireland. She believed that private investors would be looking for a return for their money and rejected the advertising option as
> Dependence on advertising revenue necessitates non-controversial broadcasting material and returns eventually to the profit motive. (Thomas, 1986: 173)

The extent to which her predictions came true and the actual sources of financing for Irish stations make an interesting comparison. The accounts of Irish community radio stations are audited and presented to the IRTC/BCI annually as part of the stations contractual obligations. Two internal IRTC reports (IRTC, 1997c; IRTC, 2000) summarise and compare the sources of income for community radio stations and both of these reports are accessed along with the interviews conducted at management level in each of the stations in this study.

Findings:
The three main sources of funding for Irish geographical community radio stations have proven to be
- Grant aid – government, EU and NGO.
- Advertising and sponsorship.
- Fund-raising - such as radio bingo, race nights, quizzes and competitions.

Student community of interest radio stations in Ireland, which do not form part of this study, find most of their funding comes from a fourth strand based on the Canadian model of capitation grants.

These sources of funding, coupled with the management and ownership structures in operation, place Irish community radio stations firmly within the not-for-profit, voluntary or third sector.

Information for this section is taken from three main sources – the researcher's observations and interviews, 1994-2001; The Funding Profile of Community Radio, 2000, compiled by Margaret Tumelty, Training and Development Officer with the IRTC (IRTC, 2000) and the Final Report of the IRTC's Community Radio Officer, Ciarán Kissane, to the Commission on the Pilot experiment in Community Radio in Ireland, 1997 (IRTC, 1997c). Primary research into the finances of Irish community radio stations has therefore been conducted by others and for this reason is not included in the main body of the text. This section outlines the budgets of stations, explains where and how these are raised and continues with new insights into what this money is spent on, how much more is wanted and for what purposes.

The principal finding is that despite the limited budgets of the six stations in the study only one station (DSCR) is particularly worried about finances. Each of the other five would welcome extra income but when questioned as to how much they wanted, they mentioned low amounts ranging from Euro 10-50,000.

The IRTC at the request of the CRF, in October 2000, reviewed the financial structures and situation of all community radio stations in the country. The Training and Development officer produced a comprehensive report on income and expenditure and on the sources of that income for each station. She also compared this with other agencies working in the community and voluntary sector and drew some general conclusions which were then used by stations to review their own performance. For the six stations in this survey she reported that in 1998, their income and expenditure, exclusive of CE scheme wages,was:

Station	Income	Expenditure
CRC	£64,552	£67,495
CRY	£16,475	£18,009
CCR	£77, 891	£77,246
DSCR	£20,867	£26,083
NEAR	£50,116	£55,779
WDCR	£27,022	£25,663

(IRTC, 2000: 1, all amounts given in Irish pounds are drawn from audited accounts, 1998)

All stations in the survey depend heavily on the CE scheme for paying the wages of staff and for supplementary benefits (See appendix I).

There are two main reasons for the exclusion of CE scheme wages from this table, almost the entire amount of CE grants go directly in wages and different stations depend on the scheme to provide paid staff to different degrees. Some stations, for instance those based in towns or in the city of Dublin, depend very heavily on CE workers and

have large schemes (CRC, NEAR, DSCR) whereas other stations, such as CCR have moved away from this dependency and have very few CE workers. The inclusion of CE scheme wages would make it difficult to make cross comparisons.

A diversity in funding sources is seen as essential for a community radio station to maintain its editorial and managerial independence and to build links with its community (IRTC, 1997a). The IRTC reported these as being

- On-air commercial activity which includes sponsorship and advertising
- Off-air commercial activity which includes the rental of equipment and studio time and the provision of training.
- Grant aid including CE scheme, Local Authority, AREA Partnerships, European Funding
- Membership fees
- Community fund-raising

However the CRF, in the model which they proposed for community radio in Ireland, 1997, suggested a more simple three way split in order to ensure a diversity of funding sources. These are

- Public sector funding,
- Private patronage
- Community fund raising. (CRF, 1997: 5)

Public sector funding could be both statutory and programme related funding. Agencies such as FÁS contribute hugely to the survival of community radio stations and the Department of Social and Family Affairs also provides wages for staff in some stations such as DSCR, WDCR and CCR. European grants for project work are also a substantial source of income for some stations. Examples of these include drugs rehabilitation through INTEGRA in WDCR, the enabling of women to return to the workplace through Women-on- Air and Women-on-Line in CCR and CRC. These involve far more than the production of radio programmes and the provision of training in radio skills. It has been important for stations to ensure that the projects for which grants are available are also compatible with the main aims of the station and do not supersede these aims in any way. Lesser grants have been received which relate directly to broadcast programme provision such as awareness of the changeover to the Euro and environmental awareness.

Private patronage was originally intended to be a form of advertising or sponsorship which would provide a way for local businesses to support the community nature of the stations rather than more traditional types of commercial product promotion. This remains the case in NEAR which developed its strategy of airing 'NEARLIES'. These are on-air advertisements which avoid promoting products in a competitive style. Other stations have found it more useful to stick to the well-known formula of on-air advertisements and produce advertisements which sound the same as those heard on the public service and commercial stations. Some stations have been more successful than others in achieving public sector funding for example CRC, CCR, NEAR and WDCR. Some stations are more successful than others in bringing in advertising revenue with CRC heading the group with 42% of its income derived mainly from advertising (IRTC, 2000). However these figures depend on a number of factors – the area in which the station is operating, the priority given to this type of funding, the devotion of personnel

to acquiring it, the availability of funding from other sources and the ethos within the station itself.

Community fund-raising covers a multitude of activities but provides the least amount of revenue for every station. It includes membership fees, (DSCR, CCR), on-air bingo, pub quizzes (on and off the air, CCR, NEAR), racenights (DSCR) and concerts (CRY, CCR). While the amount raised is small, these events are deemed crucial in maintaining a profile and presence in the communities in which the stations are broadcasting and also in giving those communities a sense of ownership of their station. The amount paid by individuals towards their station may pay for no more than a few envelopes, but the fact that they contribute, ensures that they take a stake in the station.

Table: Sources of funding for stations:

Station	Private patronage	Public Patronage	Community Fundraising	Off air commercial activity
CRC	42%	30%	17%	11%
CRY	38%	58%	4%	0%
CCR	58%	7%	26%	09%
DSCR	37%	34%	12%	17%
NEAR	31%	42%	8%	19%
WDCR	+/- 4%	28%	+/- 4%	68%

(IRTC, 2000, Appendix 1, figures for 1998, compiled from a number of pages)

The BCI has called in the past (IRTC, 1997a) for block funding from statutory bodies and/or from a licence fee and advocates a more focused approach towards state funding of the sector within the framework developed within the Department of Social Welfare's Green Paper on the Community and Voluntary Sector of May 1997 (Department of Social Welfare, 1997). Many individuals in the different stations support this approach and believe it to be the most viable option for the survival and development of the community radio sector. One comment illustrates this clearly

> I think radio stations need a core funding they know they're going to get every year and the advertising on top of that would be a bonus. Core funding, through the new initiative for voluntary bodies in the white paper, some kind of core funding from the local authority or Community Development and Enterprise boards or whatever. (PS, CRC: 3).

The IRTC report on community radio stations' income and expenditure (2000) based on 1998 figures categorised the main areas of expenditure as

Operating expenses such as phone, rent, heat, light, commissions and royalties, promotion and prizes, insurance, audit fees and general office and studio expenses (IRTC, 2000: 2). Wages are generally covered through the CE scheme and through other grant aided projects such as INTEGRA in WDCR or by a sponsoring or parent agency such as ConWestPlc in CCR. No station in the study has a major wage bill.

The actual figures or amounts of money raised and spent are not as important however as ascertaining the sources of that income, the areas on which it is spent and the attitude of stations to it. In all cases, when asked if they needed more money, each respondent replied that this was the case. However, when asked how much money and what it would be used for, their needs were extremely modest and purely centred on the development in the station. None of the paid staff interviewed sought a pay increase,despite the low level of their wages and the high levels of their experience, education and of wages and employment opportunities in other areas. Volunteers looked mainly at upgrading equipment and those on management boards were also concerned about spending some money on raising the profile of the station in the community. The following comments are representative of this attitude encountered in all stations with the exception of DSCR

> 20,000 a year would do a lot for us. We would be able to develop – to replace equipment, at the moment we're running on a shoestring like everybody else, we don't have the backup we would like and yet we put out programmes seven days a week, 68 hours of programmes. (PS, CRC: 6)

> It can run effectively as it s. You could always need more money. It's frustrating chasing after little pots of money. We need another studio, more office space, better promotion of the station. (CM, NEAR: 4)

> Raising the finances to meet the budgets – that is colossal. Probably our radio show's be much better if we did have the people freed up to do that research, so probably not having these resources and not having people's time free to do the research or other necessary things for radio (PK, CCR: 6).

Clearly those involved in community radio stations in Ireland are not concerned about turning high profits in order to to line their own pockets.

Appendix O:
Years of IRTC Evaluation of Community Radio Stations:

CRC: 2002, 2001, 1999
CRY: 2002, 2001, 2000
CCR: 2002, 2000, 1999
DSCR: 2001, 2000.
NEAR: 200, 2001.
WDCR: 2000, 1999.

The BCI/IRTC conducts evaluations of some community radio stations every year, but it does not visit all of them each year. Copies of evaluations for the years cited above were obtained under the Freedom of Information Act. Evaluations of stations prior to 1998 were compiled in the Community Radio Officer's report to the IRTC on the Community Radio Pilot Experiment (IRTC, 1997c).

Appendix P:
Final Schedule for Semi-Structured Interviews:

Final Schedule:

Number/tag:
Date:
Station:

1. DEMOGRAPHICS & MOTIVATIONS:

a.   Name:
b.   Age group:
c.   Role:
d.   Occupation before or during this time/education:
e.   Previous experience of radio or community work:
f.   Paid/unpaid:
g.   Time involved:
h.   How became involved:
i.   Why became involved? –   for community
                                        for self

2. PARTICIPATION:
a.   Numbers of volunteers?
b.   Type of people involved?
c.   How did they get involved?
e.   How happy are you with the rate of participation?
f.   Are there any blocks to participation you can see?
g.   What should or could the station do to improve this?
h.   Are these your own ideas or are they shared generally? DISCUSS

3. AIMS OF STATION/COMMUNITY RADIO:

a.   What are the aims of the station?
b.   Why are these the aims (do you think)?
c.   Do others feel the same way about them?
d.   Do you see these in practice being carried out?
e.   Do you see these in practice being owned by most people in the station?
f.   How close are the aims you outlined to those of the contract signed with the IRTC?
g.   Are you aware of the AMARC-Europe Charter, 1991?
h.   Are you aware of the IRTC definition of community radio, 1997?
i.   Have you seen the contract?
j.   Do people arriving in the station look at the contract?
k.   How do you familiarise people within the station with its aims/ethos?
l.   Do you have a mission statement?
m.   Have the stations' aims changed over the 4 years you've been on air?
n.   If on air before 1988, have the aims and ideals changed? If so how and why?

4. MANAGEMENT STRUCTURES:

a. What are the management structures now?
b. Describe the board and various committees
c. What powers do they have?
d. Who is on these boards?
e. How do they come to be there?
f. How are they changed?
g. How much interaction on a daily/weekly basis do the members of these boards have with the station/you/volunteers?
h. If on air before 1988, what are the main changes in management structures.
i. Do the management structures work well? What's good, what's bad?
j. Is there a parent organisation e.g. church, county council, N.G.O., main payer or rent free accommodation, a kind of elder brother? If so, who? Describe the relationship.

5. ROLE OF MANAGER:

a. How well do you feel the management structures support you?
b. Describe your role/powers?
c. How many changes of managers have you had?
d. Can you describe the different strategies they had and how these impacted on the running of the station (strengths and weaknesses)?

6. VOLUNTEERS:

a. How recruited?
b. Is it difficult to get people to go on committees or do work outside of programming?
c. What do you do to try to encourage this (do you think it is necessary, if not why not? If you do, who does it?)
d. Who is responsible for training?
e. Describe training procedures.
f. What king of turnover would you have in a year – are you happy with this?
g. Do you find it difficult to get women onto your boards/programmes?
h. Do you find it hard to attract other specific groups?
i. Can you name them?
j. What have you done in the past to encourage them?
k. Why have they/have they not come forward?

7. COMMUNITY:

a. What is the community you serve/interact with/
b. Who is in the community you are serving/interacting with?
c. Who are the people you are reaching? How did you manage this?
d. Who are the people you are not reaching? Why?
e. Has the station had much of an impact on the local community in your opinion? – How? Why/why not?

8. LISTENERS:

a. Who do you think is listening – any idea of numbers?
b. Have you done any research on this?
c. How could you know better?
d. Are you happy with the level of listenership you think you have?
e. Do you ever find evidence of people becoming involved because they are listening or does that occur through other channels? If so, what channels?
f. How do people get to be involved in your station?
g. Are you happy you have the right mix of people i.e. are you reaching the people you want or is it all the same type? DISCUSS
h. Do you have target groups of types of listeners?
i. What do your listeners think of the quality of the programming?
j. Why would someone listen in to your station?
k. Do you programme for listeners or for programmers?
l. What's your relationship with the local commercial station?

9. PUBLICITY:

a. How high is the level of awareness of your station in the community?
b. Are you happy with that?
c. What do you do to promote the station?
d. How effective is that?
e. What else would you like to do? – Are you going to do it? Why/why not?

10. FUNDS:

a. What's the annual budget?
b. How is that raised/How are you financed?
c. What does that have to cover? – Does it?
d. How happy are you with your finances at the moment?
e. Do you need more money? –How much?
f. What would you do with it?
g. Would you like to change the funding structure? – How? Why don't you?
h. Is there more money out there that you can't access? – Where? Why can't you get it?
i. Do you feel you are a threat to the local commercial station?

11. PERCEPTIONS OF DIFFICULTIES & OF STRENGTHS:

a. List the biggest problems facing the station now
b. What are the biggest problems the station faced over time?
c. How did you surmount them?
d. What are the biggest strengths or joys of the station now/in the past?

12. ATMOSPHERE IN STATION:

a. What do people who call in see/feel?

b.   How are newcomers welcomed?

c.   Is the working atmosphere here good? – Describe it. Why is it so?

d.   Any tensions?

13. PROGRAMMING:

a.   Have programme style and content and schedule changed over the period you've been on air? – How?

b.   What is it like now?

c.   Are you happy with the quality of the programmes?

d.   What feedback do you get?

e.   How do you look for feedback?

f.   Are there teams on each programme? Describe the roles and the learning process?

g.   Who decides what goes on air?

h.   Who decides who goes on air?

i.   Who decides on the schedule and how does that get changed?

14. ACCESS:

a.   What's the physical access to the station like for able-bodied people/for disabled?

b.   Did you have much choice when you set up the studio? Was it a consideration? Why/why not?

c.   What have you done to overcome these difficulties/make the place more accessible?

d.   How do you enable marginalised groups (e.g. women with small children in the home, the aged, the blind, people with MS) to get involved?

15. SOCIAL CHANGE/IMPACT IN COMMUNITY:

a.   Do people in the community use the station e.g. community groups? If so how? If not, why not?

b.   How do you get the word out to community activists that they are welcome?

c.   How do you persuade people that community radio is a good tool to use in achieving their aims?

d.   Is your station a good tool for other groups to use in achieving their aims? Why/why not?

e.   Is community radio a good idea for this?

16. CONCLUDING QUESTIONS:

a.   What are your perceptions of the similarities and differences between public service broadcasting and community radio?

b.   What are your perceptions of the similarities and differences between commercial radio and community radio?

c.   Is there anything you would like recorded/to say that I didn't touch on or is there anything you would like to return to that I didn't give you enough time to elaborate on?

Appendix Q:
List of Interviewees and Key to References in Text.

Every person approached was happy to be interviewed and to be named.
Each person is referred to in brackets in the text by the initials of his/her forename, surname, station name and a number. This number is the page number of the transcript of the tape from which the quotation is taken.
For example "(CF, WDCR: 3)" = Celia Flanagan, of West Dublin Community Radio, quote taken from page 3 of transcript of taped interview.

Breandán Ó Scanaill: BOS, CCR. Volunteer with Connemara Community Radio.
Brendan Hickey: BH, DSCR. Long term Job Initiative Scheme Worker, Director of Programming with Dublin South Community Radio.
Cáit O' Shea: COS, CRY. CE worker with Community Radio Youghal
Celia Flanagan: CF, WDCR. Former station manager of West Dublin Community Radio.
Ciarán Murray. CM, NEAR. Station manager of NEAR.
Clare and Michelle: C&M, CRY. Volunteers in Community Radio Youghal, opted to be interviewed together.
Declan O'Sullivan: DOS, DSCR. CE scheme supervisor with Dublin South Community Radio.
Deirdre Burke: DB, CRC. Volunteer with Community Radio Castlebar.
Eugene Bullard: EB, WDCR. Station manager of West Dublin Community Radio.
Jack Byrne: JB, NEAR: Chairperson of NEAR, former chairperson of NACB, former president of AMARC Europe, published author on Community Radio.
Jim Fitzgerald: JF, CRY. Volunteer with and founder of Community Radio Youghal.
John O'Brennan: JOB, DSCR. Chairperson of Dublin South Community Radio.
Kevin Collins. KC, CRY. CE scheme supervisor in Community Radio Youghal.
Martin Waters: MW,CRC. Chairperson of Community Radio Castlebar.
Mary Ruddy: MR, CCR. Station manager of Connemara Community Radio.
Mary: M, WDCR. Volunteer in West Dublin Community Radio.
Michael Gannon: MG, CCR. Volunteer with Connemara Community Radio.
Mike Purcell. MP, DSCR: Volunteer in Dublin South Community Radio.
Noel Cronin: NC, CRY. Volunteer with and founder of Community Radio Youghal.
Paddy Kane: PK, CCR. Chairperson of Connemara Community Radio.
Pat Stanton: PS, CRC. Secretary of Community Radio Castlebar, adult education officer, Mayo VEC.
Peter Killeen: PK, CRC. Voluntary manager of Community Radio Castlebar.
Rosaleen Lynch: RL, WDCR. CE worker in West Dublin Community Radio.
Seamas Murphy: SM, CRY. Chairperson and founder of Community Radio Youghal.
Tom Murchan: TM, DSCR. Volunteer, former chair and founder of Dublin South Community Radio.
Tomás Lally: TL, CRC. CE scheme supervisor with Community Radio Castlebar.
Tommy Collins: TC, CRY. Volunteer with Community Radio Youghal
Tony Duggan: TD, DSCR. Founder of Dublin South Community Radio.
Úna Ní Ghabhláin: UNG, CRC. Volunteer with Community Radio Castlebar.
Vincent Teeling: VT. NEAR. Volunteer with NEAR.

Note: Many more people were interviewed during the pilot phase of the research from Wired, FLIRT, Cork Campus Radio, *Raidió na Life* and TCR. Only one of these is quoted, John Conroy: JC, TCR.
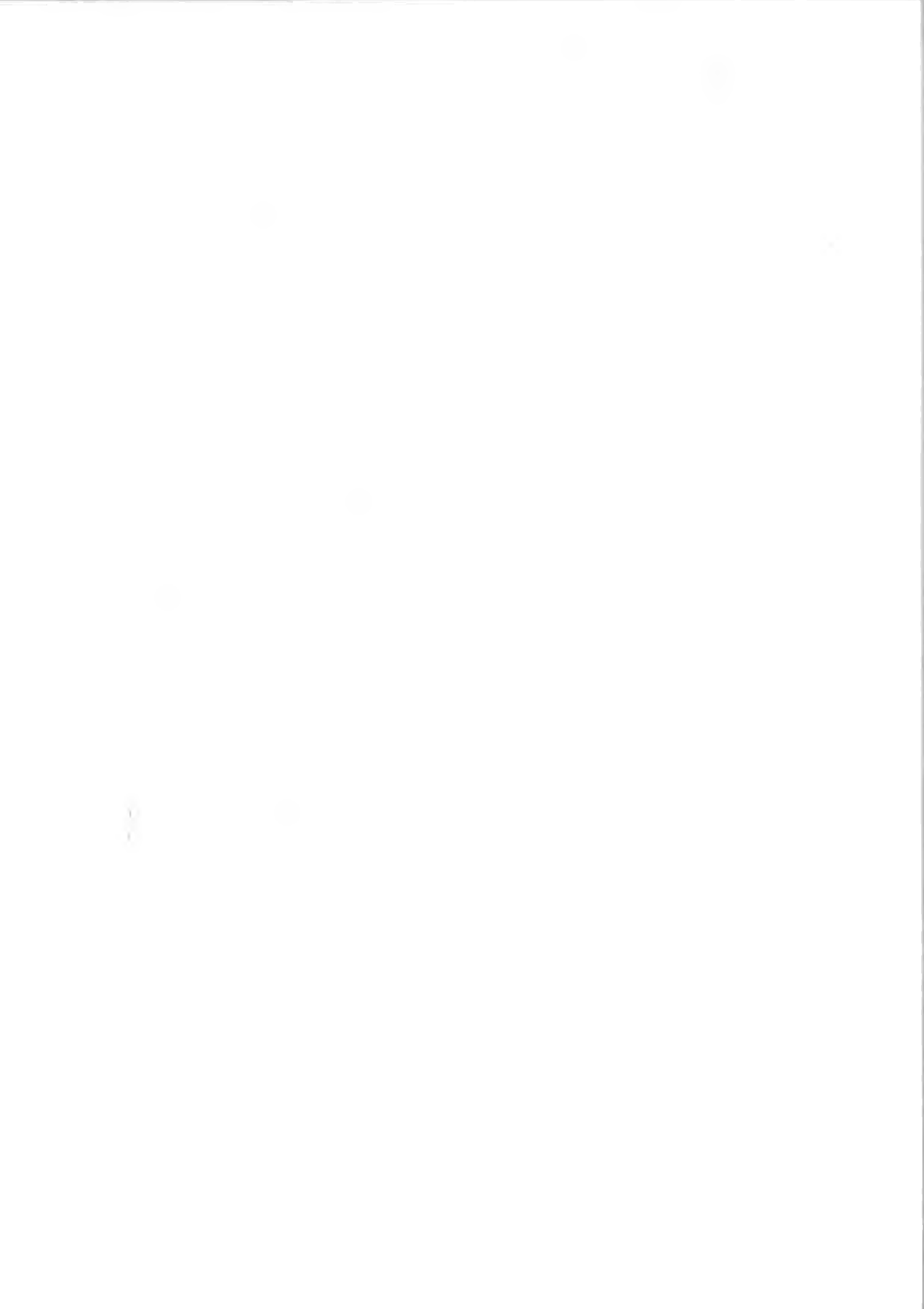
Extracts taken from applications made by stations to the IRTC for licences in 1994 and in 1997/8 are referenced by station name, year of application and page number, for example "CRY, 1994:4" = Application for Licence made by CRY in 1994, page 4.

Literature produced in-house by stations and directly quoted from is referenced as follows:
Name of Station, date and page number.
For example,
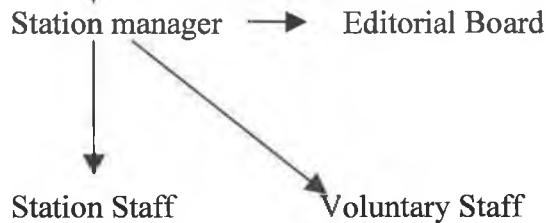"NEAR, 1999: 5" = NEAR's Handbook for Volunteers, 1999 version, page 5.

Appendix R:
Models of Management Proposed by Stations in Applications for Licences to IRTC, 1994 and 1997/98.

CRC:
Initial application:

Board CRM
↓
Station manager → Editorial Board
↓   ↘
Station Staff   Voluntary Staff
(CRC,1994:13).

The board consisted of 33 directors, all of whom were nominated representatives of various voluntary groups, clubs and associations in the area such as the G.A.A. and Conradh na Gaeilge and also representatives of the statutory bodies in the area who have an interest in the development of the community and of the town.

Second application:

Board of C.RC.
|
Grievance Committee — Executive Management Committee — Finance Committee
|
Station Manager
|
Paid Staff — FÁS Supervisor And workers — Volunteers
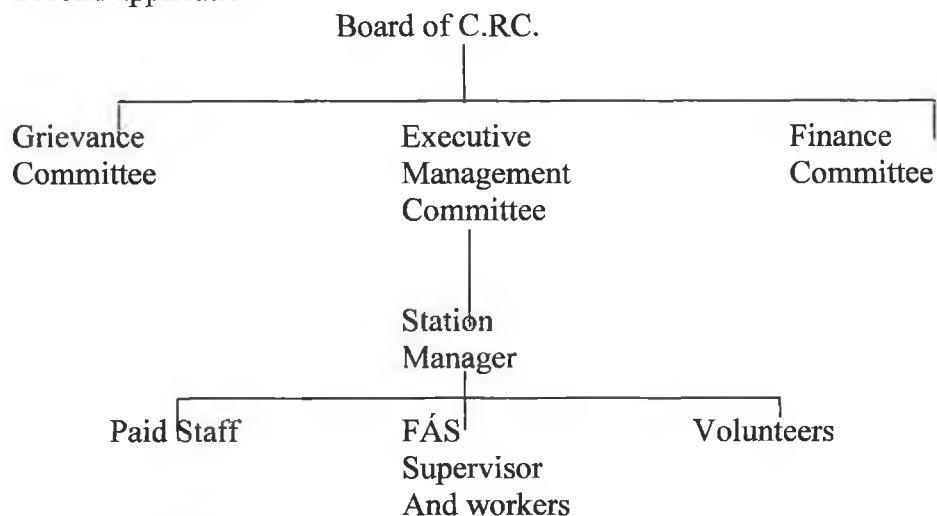
(CRC, 1998:10)

The large board remains, but the day to day running of the station is the responsibility of the sub-committees.

CRY:
Initial application:

Youghal Communications Ltd
|
Station Manager
|
Advertising Sales & PRO — Presenters — Advisory Body

(CRY, 1994: 7)

This rather simple structure was based on the ad hoc arrangements which had served the group well in their pirate days but was to prove difficult to manage, incompatible with the demands of legal broadcasting and insufficient to satisfy the requirements of full participation.
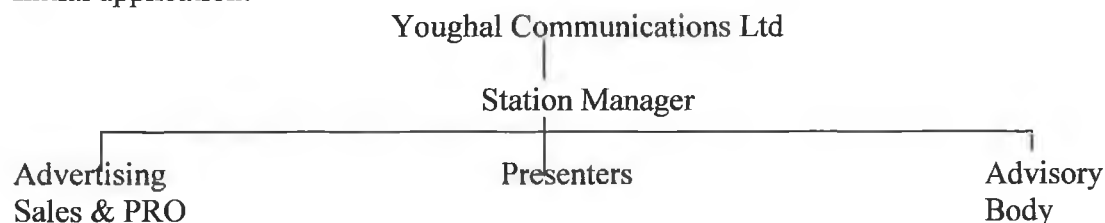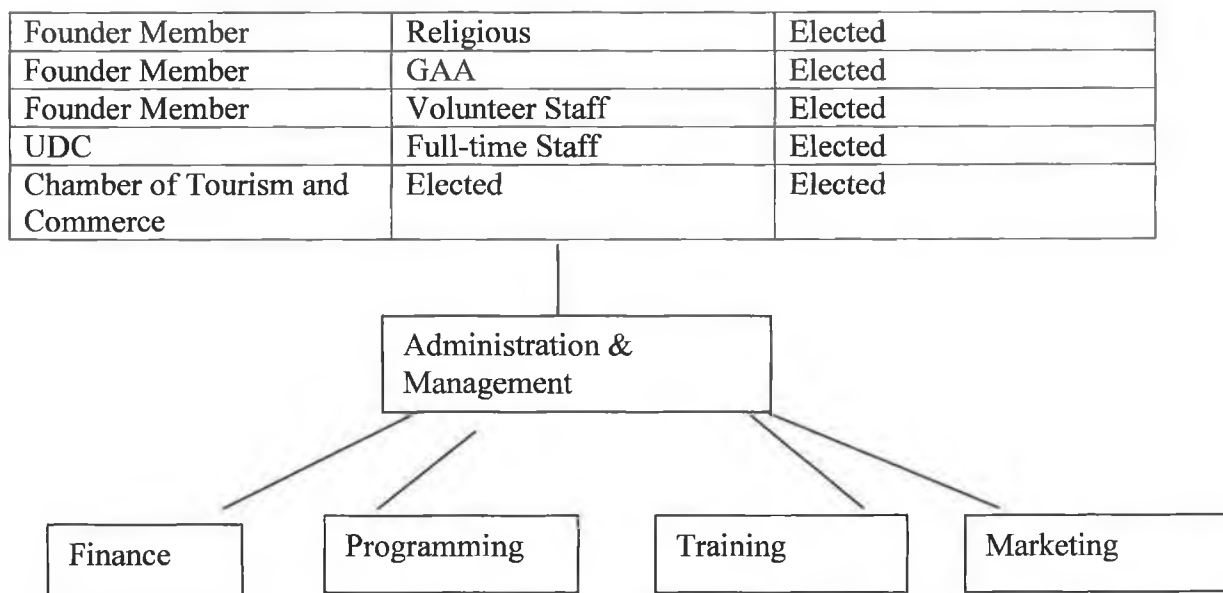
Second application:

Youghal Communication Ltd Structure Chart

Founder Member	Religious	Elected
Founder Member	GAA	Elected
Founder Member	Volunteer Staff	Elected
UDC	Full-time Staff	Elected
Chamber of Tourism and Commerce	Elected	Elected

```
                    Administration &
                    Management
        ┌──────────┬──────────┬──────────┐
     Finance   Programming   Training   Marketing
```

(CRY, 1998: Appendix 1)

The main changes were that the company now has fifteen directors, these were to consist of the three founder members for life, six members elected at an annual general meeting and six members by the groups they represent i.e. one nominee each from the volunteers in the station (elected by them), the CE workers (selection process unspecified), the GAA, the two main Christian Churches, the Urban District Council and the Chamber of Tourism and Commerce. The board retains the right of veto but appoints a management and administration board of five people who meet at least once a week to supervise and carry out the day to day running of the station in association with station administrator who is also the CE supervisor.

CCR:
Initial application:

```
┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│ Nine local radio co-ops         │
│ Connemara West                  │
└─────────────────────────────────┘
                 │
                 ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│ Connemara Community Radio       │
│ Board of Directors (10)         │
└─────────────────────────────────┘
                 │
                 ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│ Radio Management Group c. 6-10  │
│ members comprising – representatives of │
│ board of directors, volunteers & staff  │
└─────────────────────────────────┘
                 │
                 ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│ Production Teams                │
└─────────────────────────────────┘
```
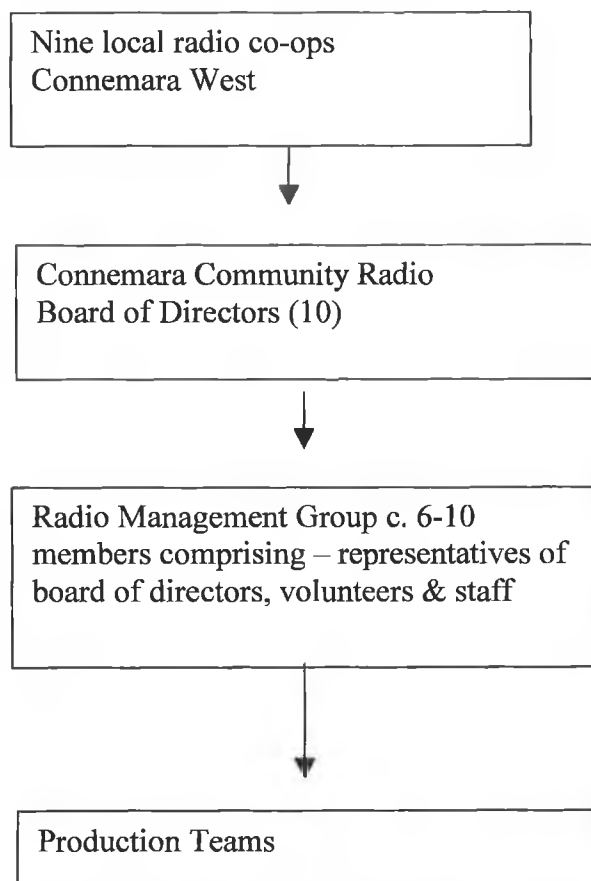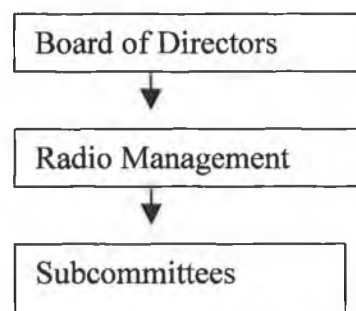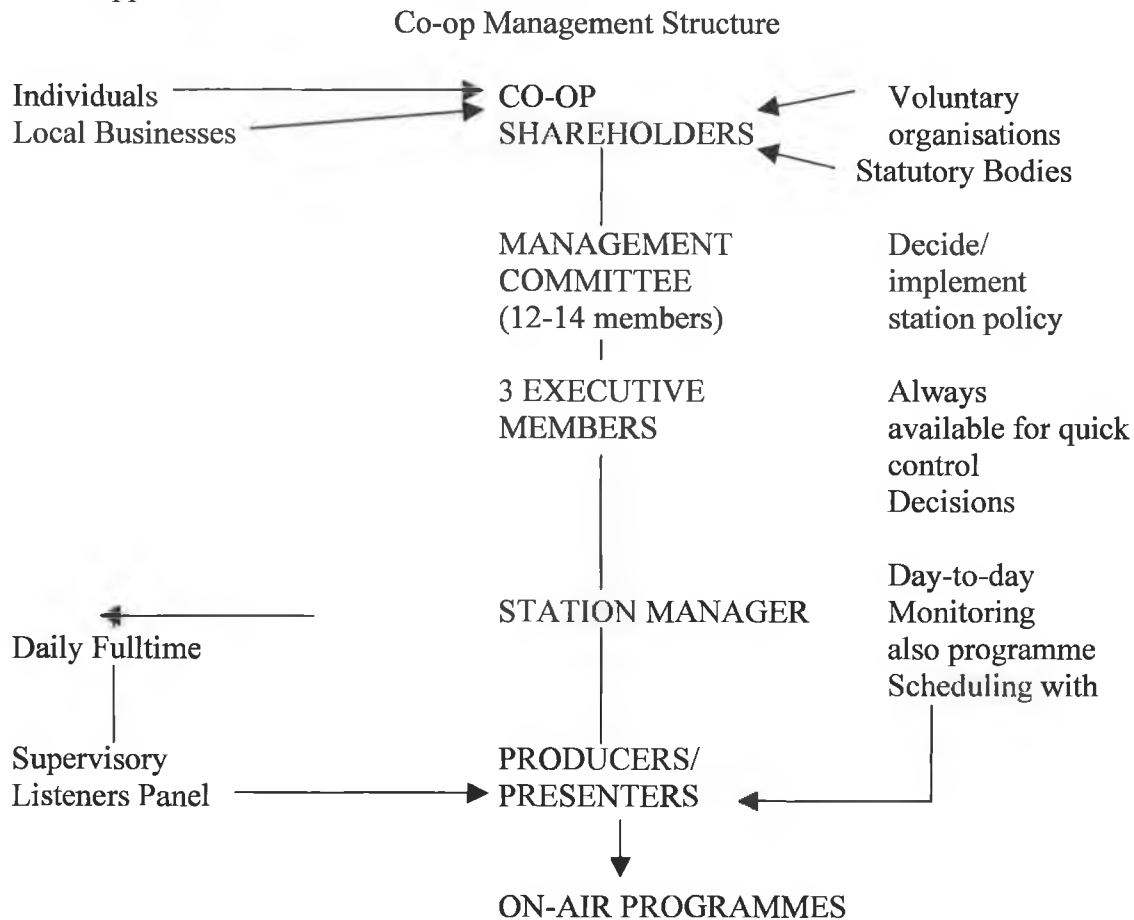
(CCR, 1994: 9)

Second application:
The new structure eliminated the level of the nine community councils and consists of a board of directors which appoints a radio management committee and is assisted by the following subcommittees Finance, Technical, Programming and Buildings. While no model was presented in 1998, the new arrangement can be simply represented as follows

```
┌─────────────────────────┐
│ Board of Directors      │
└─────────────────────────┘
            │
            ▼
┌─────────────────────────┐
│ Radio Management        │
└─────────────────────────┘
            │
            ▼
┌─────────────────────────┐
│ Subcommittees           │
└─────────────────────────┘
```

(CCR, 1998)

3

DSCR:

Initial applicaiton

Co-op Management Structure

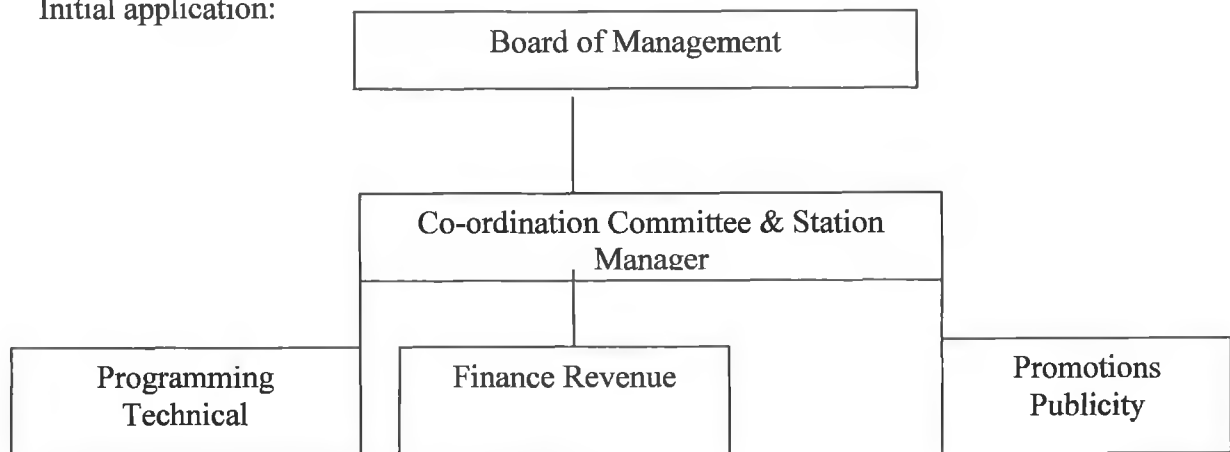|		
Individuals →	CO-OP	Voluntary ←
Local Businesses →	SHAREHOLDERS ←	organisations
		Statutory Bodies ←
	MANAGEMENT	Decide/
	COMMITTEE	implement
	(12-14 members)	station policy
	3 EXECUTIVE	Always
	MEMBERS	available for quick
		control
		Decisions
		Day-to-day
	STATION MANAGER	Monitoring
Daily Fulltime ←		also programme
		Scheduling with
Supervisory	PRODUCERS/	
Listeners Panel →	PRESENTERS ←	
	↓	
	ON-AIR PROGRAMMES	

(DSCR:1994: 9)

DSCR developed serious management difficulties. The fault did not lie in the structures as laid out above but in over reliance on a young, extremely enthusiastic manager who had been a volunteer for many years. When he left abruptly in 1997 the station was thrown into chaos. The flows indicated in the model above had not been activated, with the result that only the manager really knew what was happening on ground level and the trust and co-operation and effort expected of Management Committee members and volunteers had not been actualised.
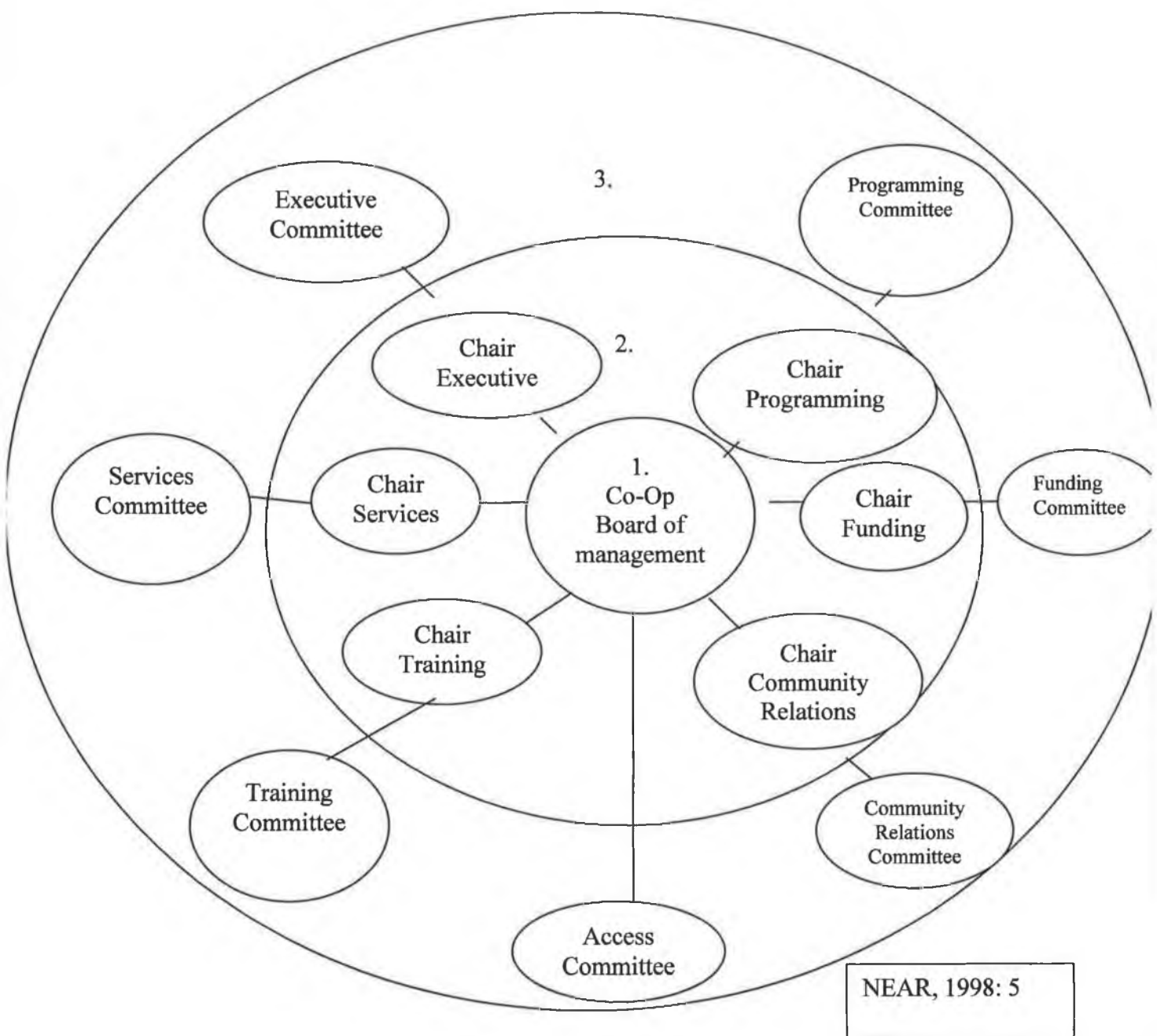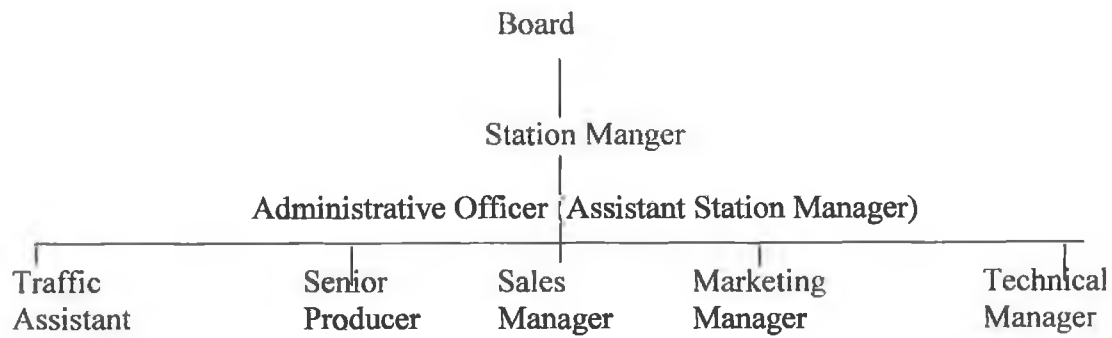
4

NEAR:
Initial application:

(NEAR, 1994: 7)
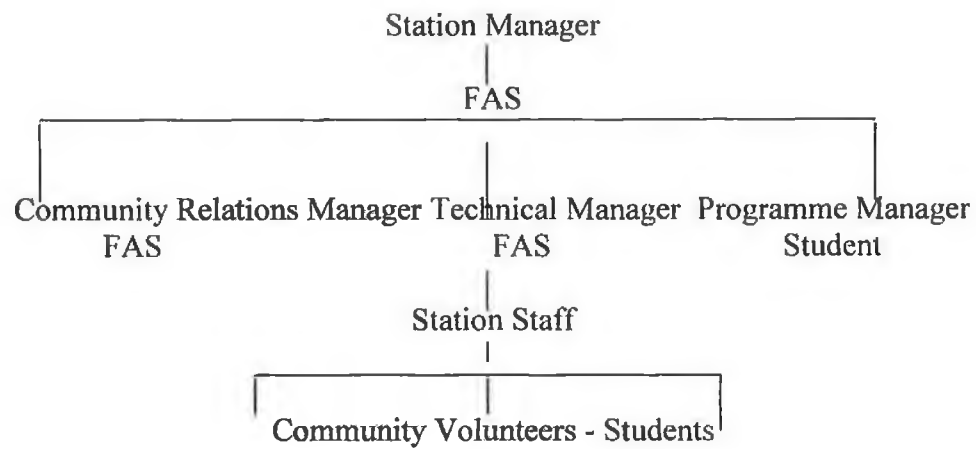
Second application:

NEAR, 1998: 5

WDCR:
Initial application:

Board
|
Station Manger
|
Administrative Officer (Assistant Station Manager)

| Traffic | Senior | Sales | Marketing | Technical |
| Assistant | Producer | Manager | Manager | Manager |

(WDCR, 1994: 13)

Second application:

Station Manager
|
FAS

Community Relations Manager   Technical Manager   Programme Manager
FAS   FAS   Student
|
Station Staff
|
Community Volunteers - Students

(WDCR, 1998: 4)

7