

Radio on the Internet

Opportunities for new public spheres?

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

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Rufus McEwan, 2008

Abstract

This thesis investigates the potential for radio on the Internet to enhance processes of communication and media practice in the form of new a public sphere. Drawing on the work of Marshall McLuhan, the early stages of this thesis present an enquiry into the unique positive qualities of both radio and the Internet. The argument that follows contends that radio presented on the Internet can draw from the perceived technological benefits of each individual medium, combining as a potential site for public spheres. Both Habermas's liberal public sphere and contemporary critiques of the concept are examined to define a range of principles that could be tested against relevant examples. The increasing commercialisation of the Internet is presented as a challenge to the normative ideals of a public sphere and counter-balances the optimism of a technologically determinist approach.

A series of thematic codes are developed from the relevant theory and combined with qualitative interviews. These form the framework for a thematic analysis of three individual case studies: *Unwelcome Guests*, an anti-corporate radio programme, *SW Radio Africa*, "the independent voice of Zimbabwe," and *NH Making Waves*, the radio arm of a community peace activist group. The study investigates opportunities for these three individual case studies to act as public spheres, by examining the interplay that occurs between both Internet and radio practices. As the thematic analysis will demonstrate, placing radio content on the Internet presents new opportunities to diversify content and audiences through collaborative production and improved distribution. Recommendations for further research emphasise the need to pursue the Internet's role in the public sphere potential of radio.

Introduction

Introduction

Radio as a medium is in a state of flux, or at least this is the impression given by contemporary academic research and driving corporate and government policy towards radio. At present most theory is simply addressing the technology behind new distribution models. This research project explores the potential for one of these distribution models to improve upon conventional broadcast radio in the pursuit of alternative forms of content and heightened interaction between producers and listeners. This thesis asks if the presence of radio content on the Internet can renew as well as offer fresh opportunities for the provision of public spheres.

The project relies heavily on an understanding of two areas of communications and media theory. Identifying a theoretical framework for radio on the Internet is a challenge, especially in the context of the public sphere, as it has yet to feature heavily in communications research. To achieve this, the theories of both Marshall McLuhan (in reference to new media) and Jurgen Habermas (in connection with the public sphere), have been applied to emphasise certain qualities presented by radio on the Internet. It is also demonstrated that as these theorists posited their ideas before the Internet was in popular use, contemporary critiques and adjustments to their theory are vital for understanding the potential of radio on the Internet as an emancipatory medium.

Contextualising the Research

Recognition of the need for research in this particular field was prompted by my own participation in the New Zealand radio industry. Commercial radio operations tend to negate the public sphere. New Zealand stands out as one of the most commercially driven radio markets in the world. In 1989 New Zealand embarked on what would become known as “The Great New Zealand Radio Experiment,” by passing the Radio Communications Act, effectively deregulating the vast majority of the country’s radio industry (Duignan & Shanahan, 2005).

The unprecedented act of opening an entire media industry to private ownership was the result of radical free-market reforms introduced by the 1984 Labour Government. As a result of these reforms, the number of radio stations in the New Zealand market skyrocketed from 91 in 1984 to a total of 793 in 2004, (Duignan & Shanahan, 2005, p.18). Two internationally owned corporations, The Radio Network and Mediaworks¹ set about obtaining the majority of existing stations and vacant frequencies, and by 2004 they owned close to 80% of the market between them. In major centres their market share is even higher and they have effectively “shut the door on any possible competition” (Duignan & Shanahan, 2005, p.24).

The result is a ‘duopoly’ of sorts, where two major conglomerates dominate the majority of audience share and in turn advertising revenue. The dominance of major commercial operators has led to a dramatic demotion in the status of radio audiences; potential advertising clients replace them as the focus of broadcasters’ operations. The financial bottom-line is increasingly prioritised over information and communication provision (Cocker, 1992; Duignan, G. & Shanahan, M., 2005). This has greatly diminished opportunities for radio initiatives that may enhance public spheres. The restrictive nature of New Zealand’s own broadcast radio industry and the limited access to resources serves as impetus for finding digital alternatives.

During my personal experience as an announcer and producer for two separate stations, Radio Pacific/Bsport² and Kiwi FM from 2005-2008, I witnessed an entire audience become disconnected from the talk radio station they frequented due to a decision to re-format the station in an attempt to find a more profitable venture. Significantly, the listeners had used the station to form relationships and maintaining contact with fellow listeners beyond the context of the radio programming. The listeners felt that they were having a

¹ Formerly owned by CanWest, a multi-national corporation of Canadian origin. Canwest sold it’s New Zealand radio holdings late in 2007 to Australian investment firm Ironbridge, but prior to this time most theory that discusses the New Zealand radio market will make reference to CanWest.

² Radio Pacific was re-formatted late in 2007. This involved the restructuring of the station’s staff and identity to shift from a talk format sation to a sport radio station.

significant influence on the programme's content and had developed a community as opposed to just a marketable audience base. Ultimately, when the station was re-formatted an entire community had been undermined.

This observation is not made with the intent to criticise the commercial operators but it highlights that market strategies held by commercial operators and their interests, will underpin any community that forms around a major commercial radio station. The developments that have characterised the New Zealand radio market since deregulation have highlighted an increasing number of individual outlets (radio stations) but an increasing consolidation of ownership under the same profit-driven motive. This has ultimately limited any actual opportunities for diverse radio content in the existing broadcast industry structure and inspired my search for an alternative model that can enable increased audience participation and representation.

In 2006 I produced a four part radio documentary series entitled *Digital Diversity? Challenges and Opportunities facing Radio in New Zealand in the Digital Age*,³ addressing this particular issue. The series explored various sectors of the radio industry that had either emerged or evolved in the wake of an increasing technological shift towards a variety of digital platforms, focussing specifically on opportunities to diversify content and producers (McEwan, 2006).

The documentary's research highlighted two major directions for digital radio in New Zealand: that which appeared online and digital broadcast platforms, primarily Digital Audio Broadcasting.⁴ The latter, already implemented in the United Kingdom, has been commended for its ability to drastically alter the way in which spectrum is administered, supposedly

³ Completed as partial fulfilment of my Bachelor of Communication Studies (Honours) degree at AUT University in 2006.

⁴ Digital Audio Broadcasting (DAB) has been promoted as the successor to analogue FM radio, and offers opportunities such a higher fidelity of audio quality and increased space on existing spectrum.

ending spectrum scarcity.⁵ It is still an open question whether increased spectrum could translate directly to opportunities for increased participation for those who had previously been shut out by the consolidation that had taken place in a deregulated market.

The findings of the research highlighted that the major players within the industry would still direct a possible transition to a new broadcast model. This is largely due to the vast amounts of capital needed to invest in the infrastructure for a new model. In 2006, at the time of the research, both of the major commercial operators in New Zealand had participated in trials with DAB, and soon after had initiated a trial of “HD Radio,” but reported that neither would enter large scale use by the local industry for 5-10 years.⁶

Research into developments surrounding radio on the Internet however, suggested a far stronger potential to re-define the way in which radio is used and understood. The technology required to produce audio-based content for the Internet were emphasised as accessible, simple and relatively affordable, but more importantly it was highlighted that the individual producer and the listener were instrumental in defining radio on the Internet and how they used it (Berry, 2006; Crowe, 2006).

McLuhan and the “New Media”

The study of “new media” provides the best starting point for this investigation. The term new media is subjective; the term “new” can be applied in a number of contexts. Lister et al. (2003, p.11) identified that new media can be defined based on the “intensity of change” that they bring from existing media systems. For example, traditional radio and television are aesthetically different, but share similar functions in the manner in which they are broadcast to mass audiences using similar analogue terrestrial

⁵ The space (spectrum) for individual radio frequencies is limited for particular geographic regions, only allowing for a specific number of operators/broadcasters. DAB enables a higher amount of broadcasts per limited spectrum range without causing interference.

⁶ A simpler alternative to DAB, instead of requiring all new infrastructure and hardware, HD Radio broadcasts on top of existing FM frequencies offering additional content for those with digital receivers.

transmission technologies. New media may be defined as such for the fact that they share a common “digitality,” (Lister et al., 2003, p.13) the technology on which they operate shares the common digital component, utilising the binary code.

This argument however only considers the technology, and fails to address questions such as how far from analogue radio does digital radio need to stand to be considered fundamentally new? We may need to address other elements of change and examine the way in which it is used. Is it “computer mediated” as the Internet is? How do audiences react to it? Can they “interact” with the medium? Each of these elements begins to complicate the definition of that which we can refer to as new media. On their own they do not guarantee that a medium is new, but as a collective identity they refer to that which is commonly recognised as new media.

The writings of Marshall McLuhan (1951; 1954; 1960; 1961; 1962; 2001) provide a valuable starting point for exploring new media with regard to the dynamics of change and their effect on wider society. McLuhan was referring to radio and television as new mediums and was only in a position to speculate about the possible benefits of that which is commonly referred to as new media by contemporary theory. This is used as one of the major criticisms of McLuhan’s theory. He appeared to be commenting on certain media before he was in a position to effectively witness their function and development (Levinson, 1999). Theorists such as Kittler (1999) were more specific in their criticism, primarily addressing McLuhan’s rhetoric as “utopian” and ignorant of the controlling structures that underpin new media development. Adorno and Horkheimer (1973) almost position themselves as the antithesis to McLuhan, denouncing the electronic media as “enslaving” technology. But as Scannell (2007) stated, many theorists saw more relevance in McLuhan’s work in 1994 than in 1964 when it was being published. McLuhan seems particularly useful for this research project, as his theories have been applied to the functional benefits of both radio and more recently the Internet.

McLuhan's most prominent theoretical approaches were mainly inspired by Harold Innis, his academic colleague, and particularly by what Innis referred to as "The Bias of Communication" (Innis, 1951; Watson, 2006; Blondheim, 2002). Primarily Innis and McLuhan were criticising the traditional literary media for the limits it imposed on the communicative process. McLuhan (Wolfe, 2003, p.xiv) expressed the idea that the literary medium had increased the "visual sense of Western man" at the expense of his other senses. Sensory perception and the media's ability to communicate directly with our senses was essential to McLuhan's account of the electronic media. "McLuhan felt that to leave *any* of the senses out of one's perception of something was literally irrational" (Marchand, 1998, p.104).

McLuhan (Levinson, 1999, p.6) was concerned that society needed to return to an "acoustic space," suggesting that the alphabet and printing press disconnected man from a constant and engrossing world. Like Innis, McLuhan felt the traditional literary media distorted communication because it was too controlled and constructed. McLuhan believed aural conversation and dialogue were superior to written discourse because a naturally occurring phenomena (such as speech) offered a larger pattern of communication. In these cases we are presented with the information or content but also the context that comes with interpersonal interaction. To convey this further, McLuhan alludes to the fact that the way we process speech occurs through the "recognition of patterns," as opposed to just processing the literal words dictated to us. By combining patterns of emphasis with the literal content, a "wider blueprint" of information is received. McLuhan conceded that while an organically occurring communication is desirable it may still be subject to bias through a subconscious predisposition, or perhaps more realistically we can observe the extent to which an organic medium is scripted, and in turn still susceptible to bias (McLuhan, 1951; McLuhan, 1954).

While the literary media had only served the visual sense, McLuhan argued radio (as an example of the electronic media) was an "audio-tactile" medium. McLuhan made these claims without proper debate or explanation, but McLuhan's wider belief was that the electronic media with an increasing and simultaneous appeal to our multiple senses, existed as an extension of our

very selves: “just as the wheel was an extension of the human foot, and the axe was an extension of the arm, the electric media were extensions of the human central nervous system” (Wolfe, 2003, p.xv-xvi).

McLuhan saw the process of interacting with the electronic media as valuable as the content the media could deliver, famously stating, “the medium is the message.” (McLuhan, 1960; Askew et al., 2002) In *Humanities in the Electronic Age* (1961) McLuhan called for a return to artistic behaviour and denounced the scientist or the inventor. The artists, McLuhan claimed, have progressive natures that will ensure their sustainability. McLuhan referred to invention as “calculated ignorance” in which an outcome was predetermined and only that goal was achieved. An artist, he claims, will insightfully explore something, emphasising sensory perception and awareness, unrestricted by the hypnosis of predetermined outcomes. A similar analysis comparison was made of the media. McLuhan described new media as “reflexive.” Radio, for example could be seen as more accessible than print media, because it did not demand literacy of the receiver. It reflected, to a larger extent, our interpersonal interactions. Books, McLuhan explained, have an expected audience to whom the material is catered. The audience for a new electronic media would be wider and less calculated creating a more universal space (McLuhan, 1954).

Moving away from McLuhan’s direct analysis of the electronic media, there is evidence his ideas still apply in a contemporary new media context. “One of the buzzwords of the new media explosion has been *convergence* – the idea that at some point the digital delivery of media would all come together.” (Lister et al., 2003, p.214) The apparent process of media *convergence*, taking place at the heart of new media, suggests that existing media technologies (video, audio, literature) are converging together at the meeting place of new technological platforms. Often it is described in terms of the functionality of a piece of new media hardware. The computer for example, is capable of using video content, audio content, textual or literary content; it can be used as a communicative device as well as produce content. In McLuhan’s favour, this presents a medium that can clearly serve multiple “senses,” visual, audio, tactile (the computer serves the tactile sense in a more obvious manner than

radio or television ever could), simultaneously. As Jenkins (2004, p.34) stated, “thanks to the proliferation of channels and the portability of new computing and telecommunication technologies we are entering an era where media will be everywhere and we will use all kinds of media in relation to each other.”

One interesting question to consider is that if all the new media are constructed of converged existing media, are they still fundamentally new? Bolter and Grusin (1999) answer this by identifying a process of *Remediation* occurring within the new media, as opposed to the mere convergence of existing print and electronic broadcast media and information and communication technologies (ICT). “New digital media are not external agents that come disrupt an unsuspecting culture. They emerge from within cultural contexts, and they refashion other media, which are embedded in the same or similar contexts” (Bolter & Grusin, 1999, p.19). Remediation, Bolter and Grusin explain, emerges from a “double logic” in new media production; our culture wishes to multiply our media resources but remove all traces of mediation. This double logic is constructed from the concepts of *immediacy* and *hypermediacy*; immediacy in the sense that we are constantly pursuing enhanced reality, as if to leave behind the mediation, and hypermediacy in the sense of the packaging that comes with it (Bolter & Grusin, 1999).

Immediacy could be associated with technological aesthetics and concepts such as virtual reality and reality television, by removing the mediation of communication it attempts to enable true perspective or experience. Meanwhile, hypermediacy does much the opposite bringing further communication resources immediately to our attention. Examples of hypermediacy include the presence of supplementary video or audio content with online news media, or discussion/comment boards used to support video material such as Youtube or podcast audio. Although immediacy and hypermediacy appear to contradict each other, the intensity of each process appears to remove what was once the traditional media experience of reading the newspaper, watching the television, or listening to the radio. *Immediacy* creates an immersing experience with the benefit of a supplementary interface, while *hypermediacy* provides the functional interface with the

contextual benefit of an immersing experience. By creating a balance between these two processes converged media are seemingly *remediated* into a fundamentally new media.

Beyond explaining the process of convergence, the concept of remediation highlights a greater intensity of interaction with media. The element of *immediacy* establishes a more instinctive, reflexive connection with the reader, viewer, listener, or perhaps even participant, while the element of *hypermediacy* solicits a direct interaction with supporting material, often simultaneously with the consumption of the immediate material. The concept of remediation features throughout this thesis. The research highlights the effects on radio content when it is transferred to the Internet, essentially highlighting a process of remediation.

Each of these theories, either McLuhan's own or in support of his ideas, highlights the potential for new media to drastically alter the way media is used and understood. As much as McLuhan's ideas inspire evaluation of the way individuals interact with new media, McLuhan also addressed the effect new media could have on a collective interaction. What good is the "extension of man" if it exists in isolation? McLuhan (2001; Scannell, 2007) implied that these new sensory aware media users would partake in the "Global Village" a vast inter-connected society made possible by the new media. An idea that presents a striking resemblance to the notion of the "Public Sphere."

Habermas and Public Spheres

Habermas championed the theoretical concept of the Public Sphere in the early 1960's. Habermas's Public Sphere refers to a theoretical space in which citizens of a democracy are included into and able to participate in democratic processes through the fair and equal spread of information. This is essentially a "space for rational and universal politics distinct from both the economy and the state" (Habermas, 1989). It was through this sphere that Habermas proposed democracy would flourish. The concept of the public sphere was not an original concept of Habermas's. Habermas traced the origin of the

public sphere to the *bios politikos* (public life) of ancient Greek societies in which the public sphere was constituted in both *lexis* (discussion) and *praxis* (common action), taking place in the *agora* (marketplace). Habermas felt it important to reintroduce a concept of “public” that did not simply refer to representation by those in the state (1989; Goode, 2005; Outhwaite, 1996).

A site of controversy, Habermas’s concept of the public sphere was not entirely inclusive, and was in fact only concerned with a certain sector of society – the bourgeoisie. This stemmed largely from the view that public sphere interaction was an attempt to form public consensus but at the same time resist “public opinion.” Habermas stated that public opinion was damaging to attempts at truly effective collective action. Public opinion was seen to exist in a constant state of opposition or protest without the rationale to support it, and rationale was essential to Habermas’s liberal public sphere; Habermas saw the bourgeoisie as the only sector of society that could adequately fulfil this demand.

The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, Habermas’s key work, was not published in English until 1989 and by this time, some 27 years after it was first published, critical momentum had begun against the liberal public sphere. Feminist critiques (Fraser, 1990) in particular highlighted the contradictions between the Public Sphere’s inclusive ideals and its exclusive conception. Using the exclusion of women from the bourgeoisie and in turn the liberal public sphere, Fraser stated that on one hand the “concept of the public sphere permits us to keep in view distinctions between state apparatuses, economic markets, and democratic associations, distinctions that are essential to democratic theory,” (p.2) but stated that a “postbourgeois” model was desperately needed to serve the needs of contemporary critical theory. Fraser proposed that historically marginalised social groups had formed their own “subaltern counterpublics” and used this as the basis for proposing the effectiveness of a “counter-public sphere” (Fraser, 1990). Importantly this stressed that a plurality of public spheres is more appropriate (and achievable) than a single universal public sphere. Poster (2001) extends Fraser’s ideas proposing the effectiveness of “oppositional public spheres,” for it is the marginalised, Poster argued, that would have the largest

aspirations towards the successes of a working public sphere. Other major criticisms have been targeted at Habermas's insistence that *rational* discourse is central to promoting democratic ideals, regarding the view as too narrow for excluding other essential elements of human communication (Papacharissi, 2002).

Despite such a high level of criticism, theorists since 1989 have still attempted to discover working public spheres. This is because the strength of the Public Sphere lies not in its actual structural application, but as the conceptual visualisation of a set of normative ideals that promote "general accessibility, especially to information, the elimination of privilege, and the search for general norms and their rational legitimization" (Garnham, 1990, p.108).

Project Outline

As a review of the literature in the first chapter will demonstrate, media theorists, particularly new media theorists, have adopted the ideals of the public sphere to test the potential of media platforms as sites of renewed public interaction. This has led to a range of modifications to Habermas's original public sphere in an attempt to find models that can be applied more effectively to a contemporary media climate (Keane, 2000; Papacharissi, 2002; Poster, 2001; Sassi, 2000). However, most of this theory has also exposed threats to the Internet's ability to offer an alternative to traditional media institutions in the form of increasing commercialisation and consolidation online.

The second chapter outlines a methodology for observing contemporary cases of radio on the Internet and their ability to provide opportunities for public spheres. A "thematic analysis" is identified as the methodological approach that will be employed for the purposes of this research project and a specific thematic code is constructed from the theoretical basis highlighted in this section. A method for identifying three suitable case studies is also outlined towards the end of the chapter.

The third chapter explores the first of the three case studies. *Unwelcome Guests* is a radio programme that addresses the issue of corporate power in contemporary society and explores the institutional, societal and personal effects of the capitalist structure that facilitates it. The content of four weekly episodes is described in brief, illustrating an example of radio content on the Internet. The thematic codes identified in the second chapter are then loosely applied, highlighting some of the standout features from the case study's content. Comments from Lyn Gerry, the programme's founder and producer emphasise these observations and provide insight into the features of the programme that exist outside of the context of the content.

The second of the three case studies, *SW Radio Africa*, is observed in the fourth chapter. An independent Zimbabwean radio station in exile, *SW Radio Africa* aims to keep Zimbabwean individuals, both in the country and as members of the global diaspora, informed on the nation's progress in the midst of an apparent "crisis." Tuesday programming content from the month of August 2007 is analysed, as caller based talk segments, news bulletins and interviews are presented alongside a Zimbabwean web-portal. Gerry Jackson, the programme's founder and general manager and an opponent of Zimbabwe's political regime, also lends her insight to the research detailing the difficulties in attempting to communicate with an entire nation.

The last of the three case studies, *NH Making Waves*, an "activist" radio programme based in the state of New Hampshire in the United States, operates as the media arm of a local peace activist group. With a focus on the United States Government and their role in global conflicts, *NH Making Waves* programming for the month of August, 2007, presents a range of commentary from various radio initiatives throughout the North American region. Co-producers Amy Antonucci and Steve Diamond also explain how they have progressed from having little to no media experience to producing a two hour weekly radio programme in its third year.

In the sixth chapter, the thematic code outlined in the second chapter is reintroduced, and findings from each of the three case studies are summarised and analysed under each of the specific thematic codes. This paints a final

picture of each of these case studies, how they differ from one another and to what extent they were able to generate a level of media that works towards the normative ideals of the public sphere.

This research project concludes by identifying phenomena that were observed during the primary investigation, but do not fit succinctly within the project's core methodological framework. A flexible approach was always the intention when conducting this project and these unique results highlight possible new directions for the study of radio on the Internet and public sphere opportunities.

Overall this investigation aims to motivate discussion of radio on the Internet separate from describing the technological benefits for an existing industry and instead towards the possibilities of the medium for improving user participation in the wider new media landscape. To do this the project investigates whether the perceived technological benefits of both the Internet and Radio will create new opportunities for an open and collaborative sphere of discussion and interaction when they are applied cooperatively.

Chapter 1: Review of Literature

Chapter 1: Review of Literature

This thesis aspires to being a valuable contribution to the research field of radio on the Internet, or at least new digital forms of radio. Research into this field has been limited, if not in quantity at least in terms of focus. Lewis argued that all radio has largely been neglected by scholars, describing it as “The Invisible Medium” (2000). Most literature centred on new forms of radio media has focussed on the improvements in distribution technology or changes to the existing radio industry. This research project focuses on the content produced by a select group of radio programmes that operate as alternatives, and the possibilities these programmes may afford listeners. To achieve this, a field of literature that has surrounded the ideas of both McLuhan and new media and Habermas and public sphere principles, provides the primary theoretical grounding for this research project. By highlighting the key ideas of each separate school of thought and placing them in a co-operative context, this will provide an opportunity to introduce new considerations for the study of radio on the Internet and broaden further research of the medium.

Digital Radio

Rudin (2006) and Berry (2006) typify the two popular threads that have emerged in the discussion of new digital forms of radio. Rudin investigated the development of DAB in the United Kingdom and as my own research showed (McEwan, 2006) DAB is firmly dependent on the major commercial sector to manage the transition of hardware and infrastructure. This dependency suggests that the commercial sector will inevitably dictate the development of DAB favouring a conservative approach (Rudin, 2006).

Berry on the other hand was interested specifically in the possibilities on offer from the technological development of “podcasting.”⁷ Berry addressed some of the confusion surrounding podcasting, explaining that the iPod actually has little bearing on the function of the technology, but he also appeared to make the assumption that podcasting could automatically be

⁷ Podcasting refers to the distribution of a series of digital files using a syndication feed.

considered as “Internet Radio” and challenge the status of conventional broadcast radio (Berry, 2006). This assumption is limited because any recorded sound can become a podcast; the term ‘radio’ is seen to refer to much more than just the audio-basis of the medium.

Neumark (2006) stated that “time” and “space,” are important in defining radio, and identified that the effect of the Internet on “time” and “space” are central to defining radio on the Internet. Crowe (2006) interpreted the importance of time as suggesting that radio on the Internet should resemble the experience of listening to analogue radio. In that sense, he produced a radio project in which he favoured a constant “web stream”⁸ over a download format such as podcasting. By streaming the audio it maintained a linear process and gave the impression of “real-time,” (p.139) similar to traditional radio experiences.

The effect the Internet has on time and space also highlights the question of whether we are dealing with radio on the Internet or “Internet Radio,” something entirely new. Atton (2004) argued that by re-creating the experience of analogue radio, Internet Radio is not necessarily established, implying that instead radio was simply being transferred on to the Internet. Atton explained that Internet Radio could be best identified through the application of “radiogenic”⁹ content on the Internet. Atton claimed that the Internet component enables Internet Radio to stand apart in its ability to “offer new ways of communicating about radical artistic practices” (p.137). Internet Radio has the ability to challenge the ideals of the dominant media institution and return to experimental social and cultural practices in the realm of radio (Atton, 2004). However this research project is concerned with radio on the Internet and contends that the Internet component can have the same effect for radio that is “remediated” on the Internet.

⁸ Streaming media reproduces the experience of the listener receiving the material as the producer sends it; essentially the process maintains a constant linear quality. Refer to Neumark (2006).

⁹ Content that reflects the established practices associated with radio. More simply, content that sounds like radio, but is not radio. Refer to Tacchi (2000).

The Media and the Public Sphere

Habermas's *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, had paid little attention to the media, especially the electronic broadcast media, as institutions that could facilitate a working public sphere. The Westminster School, in particular Garnham (1990; 2000) and Scannell (1989) saw the "public service" broadcast media as the best potential site for a working public sphere. They used the public sphere as a "normative test against which the performance of contemporary media, in terms of political effects and democratic potential, can be judged in terms of either the rationality of their discourse or in terms of the range of views or speakers accorded access" (Garnham, 2000, p.170).

For the most part their research concluded that the public service broadcasting system came very close to resembling the bourgeoisie public sphere, Scannell (2007, p.235) recently reflected "it created a quite new *general* public, equivalent to the whole of society." However they also discovered the limits of the public service model at the same time as finding contradictions in the public sphere concept. Keane (2000) in particular, has explained the limitations of the public service broadcast model as a public sphere. Keane identified financial constraint, conservative standardisation and a general inability to adapt to technological change as disabling features of the public service model as a public sphere. Interestingly, Spinelli documented that radio in particular was never intended by those responsible for conceiving the platform as a public service medium, promoted instead for its ability to function as a "Radio Music Box" (2000, p.269).

There has been little consideration of the potential for public spheres within the commercial radio sector. McChesney (1998) illustrated the political economy of the radio industry, in the United States particularly, and has identified a mass-consolidation of radio resources under multi-national corporations.¹⁰ Golding and Murdock (1997) emphasised the implications of such ownership, highlighting that the large scale corporate ownership of not

¹⁰ A similar scenario in New Zealand was discussed in the Introduction to this thesis.

only the production outlets but also distribution networks has enabled them to disseminate ideas about economic and political structures.

In *Manufacturing Consent* Herman and Chomsky (1994) identified a systematic method, “a propaganda model,” through which private corporations exploit their consolidated ownership of the media to filter the dissemination of information in line with their interests. On a far lesser scale but with the same implications, Hendy (2000) explained the way in which major broadcast radio stations format their programming. He identified that formats are ultimately used as devices by the “radio gatekeepers” to sell a standardised product to potential advertisers, with little consideration of the audience as any sort of public.

These arguments have highlighted the development of broadcast radio as an institution, ultimately to a position where corporate interests restrict the potential for any form of public sphere or enhanced public sphere ideals. However, Adorno and Horkheimer (1973) viewed the cultural impact of radio as restrictive to ideals of participation and equality through the way in which the technology operates.

Adorno and Horkheimer were concerned primarily with the cultural impact of progressive media technologies. One particular comparison they made was between the telephone and the radio. Both primarily aural technologies, Adorno and Horkheimer saw the telephone as a “liberal” technology, because at all times the listener was also the subject and a participant, and could respond to a message equally. The radio however was a “democratic” technology; participants are merely listeners who all receive the same message at the same time. “The gigantic fact that speech penetrates everywhere replaces its content... the inherent tendency of radio is to make the speaker’s word, the false commandment, absolute. A recommendation becomes an order.” (p.159) Adorno and Horkheimer were making a clear statement about how they felt progressive media technologies were shaping, albeit oppressively, the culture of society. Adorno and Horkheimer essentially viewed the broadcast media as an enslaving institution in that one message to many creates false authority (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1973).

Taking these critiques of radio into account, this research project asks if the Internet is able to counter any of the limitations that seem apparent in conventional analogue radio when it is constructed and facilitated in the context of the Internet? Literature that addresses whether the new media, primarily the Internet, can alleviate the limitations of the broadcast media in facilitating public spheres have evolved from the optimistic, technologically determinist arguments that began in the early to mid 1990s to more recent literature which proposes that the Internet has become susceptible to the same patterns of exploitation as experienced by the major broadcast media.

The Internet and Public Spheres

In *Virtual Marshall McLuhan* Theall (2001) identified an obvious similarity between McLuhan's notion of the "Global Village" and contemporary reference to the notion of "cyberspace." Bell (2001) attempted to define cyberspace, one of the buzzwords that surrounded the early stages of the Internet in mainstream culture, through material, symbolic and experiential stories of cyberspace. For Bell cyberspace can be experienced in two ways, either through mundane everyday acts, processes like checking emails, or as an "immersive realm where our 'real life' bodies and identities disappear" (p.7). This bares similarities to McLuhan's belief that new media would facilitate the "extension of man," but also emphasises that the Internet creates an engrossing space, or as it could be interpreted a sphere, rather than a one-directional source of information.

One of the more popular accounts of cyberspace functioning in line with public sphere principles is Howard Rheingold's (1993) documented experience with the "WELL," an online community manifest as a bulletin board system.¹¹ Rheingold praised the opportunity the WELL provided to participate in what he described as a "brain trust" (p.17) where individuals

¹¹ Bell (2001) outlines the bulletin board system as one of the primary uses for the Internet developed by early researchers as part of the 'ARPANET' history. The technology provides a virtual meeting place in which users can start 'discussion thread' and fellow users can then comment by posting responses and engaging in a time-delayed discussion. The bulletin board system has been the subject the bulk research into virtual communities on the Internet.

could come together and engage in both communicative and problem solving processes with relative ease and at very minimal expense (Rheingold, 1993).

Although Rheingold praised the Internet's ability to facilitate an active community, his own argument was compromised by the fact that members of WELL did not only interact within the context of the Internet but would meet in person for events like social picnics. This compromises any view towards the benefits of a mediated public sphere because the interaction was cooperative with a real-world interaction. Furthermore, it highlights that the WELL was not making full use of the Internet's abilities to transcend time and space as the members of the virtual community were in such a close geographic proximity that they were able to meet physically offline.

Unlike Rheingold whose experiences with a virtual community illustrated it as an extension of a physical community, in which participants were able to meet face-to-face, Poster (2001) drew attention to the "virtual" component of Internet communities. In particular he highlighted the empowering potential of *not* interacting face-to-face with the members of a community. Reminiscent of Fraser, Poster addressed the marginalisation of certain social groups in society and communication circles. Poster emphasised that the virtual component of the Internet allows a user to choose their identity, whether it be in the form of an avatar¹² or simply the selective disclosure of profile information, seemingly avoiding discrimination. However Poster was also quick to identify that the same discriminative power relations that exist in society as a whole are usually transferred to the Internet (Poster, 2001). Users simply have the choice to maintain their position in these relations, or disguise themselves from any discrimination by forming a new virtual identity.

Jankowski and van Selm (2000) observed the formation of power structures in virtual communities in *The Promise and Practice of Public Debate in Cyberspace*. Using empirical research to highlight the frequency of interactions and where those interactions were coming from, Jankowski and

¹² An avatar is best described as the depiction users choose to represent themselves when interacting on the Internet or any computer mediated communication.

van Selm highlighted that within online discussion groups the vast majority of messages or input was coming from a select few participants.

Papacharissi (2002) also commented on the empowering effect that anonymity granted through a “disembodied exchange of text” or being able to select one’s identity, but suggested that the same sense of power could ultimately prove destructive to fair and inclusive communication. Papacharissi made particular reference to “flaming,” excessive interaction used only to disrupt communication, as evidence that providing a space for debate does not guarantee rational discourse. Instead a sense of empowerment often resulted in a lack of compromise between users and only generated further fragmentation (Papacharissi, 2002). Furthermore, Rains (2007) highlighted that the promise of liberation through anonymity is actually undermined by a perceived lack of credibility.

Keane (2000), Bentivegna (2006) and Sassi (2000) also draw attention to the way in which virtual communities facilitated on the Internet increase fragmentation as much as they unify users through rational discussion. Bentivegna was less critical of this development than Papacharissi arguing that niche focus and specialisation are intrinsically connected to ideas of pluralism and difference and that these are positive for the progress of any democratic ideals towards media use (Bentivegna, 2005). Keane in particular used this understanding to form a new framework for categorising the public sphere based on size. He suggested that an appreciation for *micro* (local), *meso* (national) and *macro* (global) spheres that overlap, could offer a more sophisticated understanding of the potential for multiple public spheres and how their form may vary. Critiques of the Internet’s ability to fulfil a public sphere have above all else given the public sphere concept a malleable structure that can best emphasise the unique benefits of the technology.

Each of these individual studies has attempted to gain some insight into the possibilities for public spheres, or the elements that constitute a public sphere, on the Internet. Interestingly, all of these arguments have either alluded to or directly referred to text-based examples of virtual communities. Flew (2002, p.76) wrote that the idea of a virtual community does typically make

reference to a text-based interaction. Although reference to McLuhan was not common in these analyses, I have attempted to demonstrate the extent to which his ideas have underpinned the “utopian” promise of the Internet. Therefore, a return to text-based media or communication, even in the context of the Internet presents itself as a backwards step. Therefore I aim to investigate whether addressing audio-based media on the Internet suffers the same limitations or promotes new possibilities.

One recurring theme throughout most of these attempts to apply the public sphere to communication on the Internet, has been that the same patterns of commercial exploitation and control that have taken place in the realm of the mainstream broadcast media, have transferred to the Internet. There are a variety of arguments as to how this is occurring but they can be understood collectively as referring to the political economy of the Internet.

The Political Economy of the Internet

The concept of the “digital divide” (Flew, 2002; Hoar & Hope, 2002; Hope, 2000; Norris, 2001; Selwyn, 2004) has run concurrently with most contemporary critiques of the Internet as a liberating space. Recognition in the literature that the development of digital technologies has created a divide between the technological “haves” and “have nots,” on various levels, highlights the failings of trying to uncover a universal all-inclusive public sphere. This further reinforces the decision to apply contemporary understandings of the public sphere in the later stages of the research.

Beyond the digital divide, recent literature has also referred to the “corporate colonisation” (Bentivegna, 2006; Dahlberg, 2005; Nazer, 1999; Salter, 2005) of the Internet. The argument is reminiscent of the same criticisms that have been applied to the conventional broadcast media, and the mass consolidation of media outlets by major corporations and their eventual dominance of the very spectrum required to broadcast, “powerful corporate actors and high performance networks are strengthening the role of private electronic space and altering the structure of public electronic space” (Bentivegna, 2006, p.337).

Corporate colonisation is manifest at the various levels of infrastructure, but Dahlberg (2005) describes the strategies commercial operators employ on the Internet as they seek to dominate the “attention economy” (p.98). Primarily, Dahlberg describes the way in which web-portals prolong a users interaction so they can be exposed to as much commercial advertising material as possible, often disguising advertisements as news material. This highlights a significant challenge to any attempt to promote spheres that operate distinct from the imperatives of the economy.

As early as 1996, McChesney was able to identify similar patterns of corporate influence in the United States Communication’s Policy towards the Internet, as he had with the mainstream broadcast media. He contends that the role of the citizenry is simply to conform to the expectations of corporate interests, “[satisfying] the needs of business and profit maximisation” (1996, p.117). Overall McChesney’s article emphasises the contradiction between the liberating potential of an open-source technology and the restrictive reality that exists under its administrators (McChesney, 1996). This sentiment is reminiscent of Rheingold’s (1993) concern that the freedom to use ICTs for the growth of informed virtual communities was never guaranteed, and if lost as suggested the Internet would never live up to it’s potential.

Salter (2005) reinforced McChesney’s (1996) criticism by illustrating the effects of intellectual property legislation on the Internet. Salter made reference to successful court cases in which damages had been awarded to companies after other websites linked directly to their content, sidestepping a lot of their advertising space. This greatly undermines the view that the Internet exists as a public space in which there is open access to information and communication channels, highlighting instead the prevailing “colonisation tendencies in the development of the World Wide Web” (Salter, 2005).

Overall, the literature has highlighted that an investigation in to new media potential to democratise communication processes and general media involvement is a relevant approach. The Internet has thus far shown limited evidence of improving opportunities for public spheres, as demonstrated by

multiple analyses of text-based virtual communities. However, this research project asks if the results will be any different in the field of an audio-based medium, namely radio on the Internet. Past research has successfully reassessed the public sphere concept, introducing new frameworks that better reflect the public sphere's normative ideals. Using these recent interpretations of the public sphere as well as some of the traditional understanding, the next chapter will construct a method for applying a normative test against some examples of radio on the Internet.

Chapter 2: Methodology

Chapter 2: Methodology

The core basis for this particular methodology will be three qualitative case studies, as Berg (1998, p.61) explained, a case study is the “exploration of a ‘bounded system’ or a case (or multiple cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context.” This explanation outlines the key elements that will constitute the research process for this project. Three examples of web-based radio initiatives were selected and their programming analysed over a four-week period. Multiple sources of information will be used to provide a contextual analysis as well as a content analysis - we can describe these processes collectively as an “analysis of themes.” (Berg, 1998, p.63)

The primary methodology employed for this research is referred to as a Thematic Analysis, a method Boyatzis (1998) stated, was often used but rarely articulated. Thematic analysis, Boyatzis explained, is not necessarily in itself a method but rather a technique that can be used in conjunction with other methods of qualitative analysis. Methods such as case studies, interviews and content analysis can overlap and assist the wider thematic analysis. The key principle of a thematic analysis involves finding overall themes or “codes” in the raw qualitative data. The primary example Boyatzis (1998, p.16) offered was that of dream analysis, in which subjects would have both the recorded content of their dreams and supplementary interviews analysed to find reoccurring themes which could offer insight in to the meaning of supposedly abstract thoughts.

Essentially, the intention of a thematic analysis is to provide a link between qualitative and quantitative research traditions, by introducing a method for systematically analysing qualitative data. “A theme is a pattern found in the information that at the minimum describes and organises possible observations or at the maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon” (p.vii). Furthermore, Boyatzis explained, “A theme may be identified at the manifest level (directly observable in the information) or at the latent level (underlying the phenomenon)” (p.vii). These points highlight how a thematic analysis can incorporate a number of traditional practices. Whereas content

analyses may provide direct information that can be measured and compared to establish a theme, interviews and case studies may indirectly highlight shared experiences that establish a consistent theme.

Another point stressed by Boyatzis was that the majority of the processes involved in a thematic analysis can alternate or overlap. This is where the key purpose of the thematic analysis really starts to become clear. The thematic analysis is not capable of existing as a rigid and definite method, but instead offers insight into effective methods for understanding typically ‘unorganised’ qualitative data. Particularly relevant to this research project is the thematic analyses ability to provide a “way of analysing qualitative information” at the same time as “systematically observing a person, an interaction, a group, a situation, an organization or a culture” (p.5).

Before describing how a thematic analysis can be practised, Boyatzis (p.7-8) identified a series of principles and/or abilities the researcher needs to use successfully. The first is *Pattern Recognition*. The ability to identify patterns in data that may not be explicit or intended is the key basis for establishing a theme. The second is *Openness and Flexibility*. The researcher should be prepared at all times to modify their research process or the themes they have established to account for new information. The third principle is that of *Systems Thinking*. The aim here is to establish a “system” in the research process that can assist any future research in the same or a similar field. Fourth and finally, Boyatzis stressed the importance of *Knowledge*. Specifically, Boyatzis referred to the researchers depth of knowledge in previous, typically theoretical, research in the particular field of study. He used the analogy of someone conducting a thematic analysis of Shakespeare and having a sound knowledge of the ancient Greek and Roman histories on which many of Shakespeare’s plays were based.

These principles and abilities contribute to the researchers ability to find and develop a working *code* from qualitative data. The term “code” lends a more scientific nature to the concept of establishing themes from typically unorganised and uncalculated qualitative data. Boyatzis offered five essential elements to develop a structured code. The first is the label specific to the

code. This provides a quick reference for the theme or code and should eventually be able to explain the purpose or background to the code through one or two words. Second, there is the definition of what the theme concerns, essentially the issue or the characteristic that constitutes the theme. Thirdly, there needs to be a description of how to know when the theme occurs, any indicators of its presence. Expanding on this point, fourthly there needs to be a description of any qualifications or exclusions in identifying the theme. Finally, there needs to be examples of both positive and negative examples when identifying a theme so as to avoid any confusion in the process of identifying a theme (p.31).

To find the source material for developing a code three methods are identified by Boyatzis: *Theory Driven*, *Prior-research Driven*, and *Inductive* (p.29). The latter depends primarily on raw data and is most useful for radically new research and that which sways closest towards quantitative traditions. Theory driven and prior-research methods, Boyatzis stated, were the most commonly used in the social sciences. These methods utilise a theme which has previously been established or can be identified from prior theory or research conducted in the same field as the new project being embarked upon.

The reason a thematic analysis would be most appropriate for this particular research project became evident in reviewing the literature and theory on the subject. The concept of the public sphere in itself could be seen as the theme or code relevant to this project. It is not a literal description of an actual occurrence but rather a theoretical measure used (recently) to evaluate the ability of mediums, services and providers to contribute to social interaction for the decision making process. As Boyatzis recommends, the label (public sphere) is simple and concise and indirectly refers to the background of the theory, making it instantly recognisable. The term public is subjective and often debated and the reference to a sphere is not literal, but combined they convey the aspirations of the concept, and as the theory has aged, the arguments that have preceded.

Exclusive of the public sphere, theory that investigated the “new” dimension of online radio content highlighted the need for more than one method. This is apparent when considering the nature of “remediation” as described by Bolter and Grusin and its double logic of “immediacy” and “hypermediacy.” The concept of hypermediacy refers mostly to the packaging that comes with new media initiatives, supplementary media that support the immediate product. Appreciating this, Internet presence beyond the radio programmes themselves, needed to be recorded and subsequently considered in the analysis process.

More importantly, qualitative interviews were particularly useful in the research process, as the content of each case study’s programme provided insight in to the final product and less in to the processes that occurred during production. As the relevant theory suggested, the social, political and economic environments in which media initiatives operate can be just as important as the technological processes that enable the production of media. As Schutt (2001, p.288) stated, “the goal is to develop a comprehensive picture of the interviewee’s background, attitudes, and actions, in his or her own terms; to “listen to people as they describe how they understand the worlds in which they live and work” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995).

The use of three case studies enabled the project to engage in an intimate research process with each subject. To find out more about the “social context” in which the individual subjects produce their content, the project held intensive and open-ended interviews with each of the founders of the three case studies being analysed. The aim was that these interviews be treated more like “a conversation between partners” (Schutt, 2001, p.288) than a disconnected interview where there is a clear distinction between researcher and subject. This was to ensure that at no time the subject felt they were being scrutinised for their actions, as that was clearly not the purpose of this research project. Furthermore, as Silverman (1997, p.36) suggested, in the structured environment of an interview it needs to be asked whether “the interview responses are to be treated as giving direct access to “experience” or as actively constructed “narratives” involving activities which themselves

demand analysis.” The more natural and comfortable the interaction, the more responsive the interviewee should be to the interview process.

Finally, Creswell (1998, p.124) stated that for one-on-one interviewing, the researcher “needs individuals who are not hesitant to speak and share ideas and needs to determine a setting in which this is possible. The less articulate, shy interviewee may present the researcher with a challenge and less than adequate data.” This highlights a naturally occurring advantage of the field of research this particular project is focussed in. The fact that each of the interviews were conducted with active radio practitioners implied that it was very unlikely they would be unable to communicate effectively, and furthermore their own experience as interviewers could have been a great benefit to the interview process.

The criteria for selecting the case studies that would be used in this particular research project fell mostly in line with the content the individual radio initiatives produced. This was simply because it was the key area of analysis, and was the level at which the audience would initially engage with the individual subjects. The project was very much asking what sort of influence these individual initiatives can have on wider social processes so it was important to consider the subjects from the same position as those they effect.

First and foremost, when selecting the subjects for analysis there needed to be a clearly stated dedication by the subject to producing content which is socially and politically motivated while remaining independent of the state or any representative political parties. Similarly they would need to be independent of any private commercial institutions. As the theory has shown thus far, media initiatives that are owned and operated by the state or major commercial organizations have for the most part been unable to (or have not attempted to) fulfil the public sphere’s normative ideals. This project aimed to uncover whether an alternative exists in the form of independent radio initiatives on the Internet.

Secondly, the scale of the initiative, in terms of the individual programme's length and the frequency of production will be consistent across all three case studies as this gave some insight in to what could be achieved and what processes could occur within that particular window of media production. Other than these two main criteria there was little restriction as to what examples of web-based media initiatives could be used for the purposes of the project. Ultimately, this consolation was grounded in the fact that the project sought to uncover more about a medium that is relatively new and untouched in the field of academic research, so there were few expectations or precedents that could be considered in the selection process.

A Thematic Analysis

Using the method of Boyatzis, and the theory outlined in both the introducing chapter and the review of the literature, a series of thematic codes was developed and applied to the three case studies to qualitatively explore the nature of the programme and the manner in which it operates. The codes were drawn largely from the criteria that each of the key theorists identified for the purposes of this investigation, applied themselves, or defined as being a necessary consideration, when investigating the effectiveness of public spheres and media platforms as facilitators.

a) Rationality of content.

The first theme stemmed directly from Habermas's original understanding of the liberal or bourgeoisie public sphere, in which rational debate would flourish, positively influencing democratic decision making processes. This code would analyse the case studies dedication to rational content, content that is explained in depth and supported by clear evidence, making it a useful resource for rational debate either inside or outside of the context of the case study.

b) Emotive, individualistic or anarchic content.

Almost the complete antithesis of the "rational" debate and information that underpinned the liberal public sphere, this code would measure whether the

case studies' content holds qualities beyond rationality. Specifically it will try to observe the presence of any emotive, individualistic or anarchic content, departing from Habermas but aligning itself with more contemporary understandings of the public sphere function.

c) The existence of an oppositional public sphere.

This code sought to uncover whether the subject had positioned themselves in direct opposition to an already existing establishment or dominant class, testing Poster's claim that public spheres can be identified best when extending outward from marginalised populations because they are the most likely to truly wish to achieve the aspirations of a public sphere. Likewise if this was identified in one of the subjects of analysis it would consider all the implications this had for the subject's ability to maintain the other major demands of public sphere theory.

d) The size of the potential public sphere.

The audience that the subject reached would give insight in to the potential "size" of the public sphere, a concept highlighted by Keane (2000, p.77). By applying the categories of *micro*, *meso* and *macro* spheres to the individual case studies more insight could be achieved in exploring the nature of the audience that the individual subject reaches.

e) Audience access from a technological perspective.

Specifically this code would address the ways in which the audience can access the subject's radio programme from a technological perspective. Key to this code was the question of whether the subject still utilised conventional radio broadcast technology as well as a web-based method for distribution. These ultimately raised questions about how two groups of audiences may differ if they receive the subject's content via different distribution methods and in turn what impact this has on the production of the programme by the subject.

f) Audience access from a content perspective.

This code explored the accessibility of the subject's content to the audience based on a number of features, primarily language and literacy. There would be obvious instances when this code would become applicable with subject audiences that have an ethnic focus through the use of language. Radio has also been promoted on its ability to communicate with the mass audience whereas text-based media first requires some degree of literacy on the part of the reader. The literacy demands of the listener by the individual case studies gave some insight into how the subject compared to a conventional radio programme, or employed radio techniques.

g) The format of the programme.

This thematic code would identify whether or not the individual case study employs a clear "format," as described by Hendy. Formatting, which now dominates the operation of most major broadcast radio stations, would suggest the application of major broadcast radio techniques by the subject in the production of their radio programme, but overall would address the structure of each programme. The concept of formatting would also suggest a very standardised and predictable approach to each programme, possibly limiting each programme's potential.

h) The artistic quality of the programme.

This code highlighted McLuhan's claim that the artist possesses a more progressive approach to achieving unique goals that are not predetermined. The ability of the subject's programme and/or production process to achieve an artistic quality would highlight the flexibility of the case study overall. The suggestion was that an open and flexible approach to media production would achieve a better understanding of a "universal" public sphere.

i) The level of interaction with audiences.

The extent to which the audience could interact with the production of each radio programme and possibly hold influence over its content would be key in

highlighting whether the case study had been able to operate beyond the functional criticisms of theorists such as Adorno and Horkheimer.

j) *The level of hypermediacy.*

As suggested by Bolter and Grusin the “hypermediacy,” in the sense of the additional supporting packaging or media that arrives with the key material, is as much a feature of new media operations as the “immediacy” of the primary content. This code would examine the extent to which further media content and interactivity had been facilitated beyond the radio programme itself.

These thematic codes will be applied to each of the sets of content produced by the subjects, the intensive interviews held with the key subjects and the “hypermediated” presence of the subjects outside of the conventional radio programme. It must be emphasised that these thematic codes did not reflect the entire scope of public sphere, new media and political economy theory. There are certainly other features of each of these key theoretical approaches that could be used to establish further thematic codes as a tool of analysis. However the codes specified in this chapter reflect individual elements of the theory that work best together in the context of radio on the Internet.

Although these thematic codes provide an effective framework for an analysis they were not always be applied in a literal checklist method, nor were their results be presented as such. Boyatzis made it a conscious decision to formalise what he had seen as a previously naturally occurring phenomena, but much like Habermas and the public sphere, the strength of Boyatzis approach lies with its normative ideals. The nature of the research method demands a delicate balance between preparation and flexibility on behalf of the researcher, often resulting in a very dynamic research process that contributes to future research initiatives as much as it contributes to a depository of knowledge. It would not be in the interests of a flexible research process to constrain the findings to such a rigid framework as that of a traditional thematic analysis as it could limit the discovery of unexpected phenomena that exist outside of the specific methodological framework.

The next three chapters present the results of the research from three separate case studies. To select the case studies for this research project I wanted to emulate the experience of a casual Internet user as much as possible. A simple search-engine search for key words “radio” and “internet” returned mixed results. There appeared to be an abundance of websites offering content driven largely by genres of music. These stations reflected extensions of an existing commercial radio market. As demonstrated earlier in the thesis, commercial radio generally offers limited opportunities for public spheres. For the purposes of this research project I was dedicated to finding radio that reflected some form of activist or oppositional content as past research has highlighted this content provides the best opportunity for new public spheres.

Eventually I found two websites that provided potential subjects. The first was the website for an independent Zimbabwean radio station which appeared to oppose the Zimbabwean Government. The second was the website for what was labelled as “The A-Infos Radio Project,” containing download links to a wide range of radio programmes.¹³

From these two sites I was able to select three examples of radio programmes that made an obvious attempt to handle content that reflected the principles of the public sphere: *Unwelcome Guests*, *SW Radio Africa* and *NH Making Waves*. There were many examples that could have been employed for this research, but these three stood out as those that best fit the methodological criteria. Beyond the motivation for each initiative, each example was well established, the newest *NH Making Waves* had been in operation since early 2005, and published their content regularly. It was deemed necessary to use examples that were committed to presenting their programme regularly as any inconsistency would undermine the ability to

¹³ The first, *SW Radio Africa*, was found at <http://www.swradioafrica.com>. See appendix 2.1. The second, the *A-Infos Radio Project* is described as the first grass-roots project of its kind on the Internet, and a space where independent radio producers can share their programmes. Essentially the project provides hosting and bandwidth resources for independent media producers and media activists. The project presents these programmes in such a manner that they are organised and catalogued for ease of access. It is a non-profit venture that relies on donations for funding. It is located at <http://www.radio4all.net>. See appendix 4.1.

maintain a public sphere. In the case of these three examples, they each presented a new instalment of the same programme weekly. Likewise, each example produced a programme of equal size, two hours in length, implying that they had the same scope of material in which to achieve any public sphere ideals. Each example also had their own unique website. It was also important that each programme was produced primarily in English, simply so I could understand it as the researcher.

The programmes focussed their content on a different issue: *Unwelcome Guests* addressed corporate power, *SW Radio Africa*, discussed the “Zimbabwean crisis” and *NH Making Waves* presented itself as “activist radio.” The focus was largely on opposing the aggressors of major conflicts but also response to other events and actions that appeared to threaten human rights. *Unwelcome Guests* and *NH Making Waves* were both based in the United States of America, whereas *SW Radio Africa* was located in the United Kingdom, however I did not have any geographic disposition in selecting the case studies. This is because the technological nature of the Internet transcends the geographic boundaries of nation states. I identified my own experiences in New Zealand as a motivation for this project, and would like to have referred to a New Zealand example in the research, but none that fit the criteria for this project were apparent at the time.

Chapter 3: *Unwelcome Guests*

These three following chapters present the results of the research process as outlined in the previous methodology chapter. The research employed three unique examples, from the United States' New York state *Unwelcome Guests*, from the United Kingdom *SW Radio Africa*, and finally from Portsmouth, New Hampshire in the United States *NH Making Waves*. The content of each subject's radio programming from the month of August 2007,¹⁴ as well as interviews with the founders of each programme and a general observation of the programmes online presence, provided the material for an effective thematic analysis. As this chapter will illustrate, the methodological framework presented in the previous chapter enabled a great deal of insight into the operation of each of these subjects and highlighted the effects and relevance of the theoretical advantages and challenges presented thus far.

Chapter 3: *Unwelcome Guests*

The first case study established in 2001, *Unwelcome Guests*, is a radio programme produced in an undisclosed rural town of New York State in the United States of America with a population of 2,100. The programme is distributed online through its unique website,¹⁵ which provides hyperlinks to the *A-Infos Radio Project*. This facilitates downloads of *Unwelcome Guests*' programming. Approximately twenty community radio stations throughout the United States, mostly in New York State, also broadcast the pre-recorded programme.

Lyn Gerry, who was interviewed personally for the purposes of this research, is the programme's founder, producer and host.¹⁶ Gerry is a trained radio broadcaster, having worked in the past for the *Pacifica Radio Network*, the United States' first non-commercial and independent public radio network. Two pacifists, Lewis Hill and John Lewis, who had taken exception

¹⁴ Four individual weekly episodes were selected from each case study.

¹⁵ <http://www.unwelcomeguests.org>, see appendix 1.1

¹⁶ Gerry, L. (2008). Interview with the author on 30/3/2008 [Digital recording in possession of author].

to being drafted for the Second World War, founded the network in 1946 seeking to promote alternative and independent information sources (Lasar, 2000).

The content of *Unwelcome Guests* sits in line with that of the *Pacifica Radio Network* as it challenges institutions that dominate society and explores the impact they have on marginalised populations. The website states that *Unwelcome Guests* is “a programme about wealth, power and peoples’ resistance to the corporate world order.”

Unwelcome Guests has no regular format for each episode outside of an introduction and a conclusion to each programme, with a brief break in the middle of each programme. Immediately each show begins with the same piece of music, a slow, subdued song, that could probably be best described as folk or country. Fittingly the song title is *The Unwelcome Guest*,¹⁷ and consists of lyrics such as:

To the rich man's bright lodges

I ride in this wind

On my good horse, I call you

My shiny black Bess

To the playhouse of fortune

To take the bright silver

And gold you have taken

From somebody else

As the song ends Lyn Gerry begins the programme by listing the various call signs and locations for the stations that broadcast the programme via

¹⁷ The song was written by Woody Guthrie in 1940. This is a recent (2000) authorised cover by the artists Billy Bragg and Wilco.

conventional analogue methods before introducing the name of the programme, *Unwelcome Guests*. There are some exceptions to this. For example in the third episode analysed for this research project, a series of recreated speeches on the subjects of freedom and patriotism, were used to begin the show and transition from one part of the programme to the next.

The first three episodes are each centred on two pieces of secondary material, adapted by Gerry and presented in three parts. The first of these is a series of direct readings from *The Underground History of American Education* by John Taylor Gatto. This book, Gerry explains, explores the “true” purpose of compulsory schooling in America. It is not to educate and foster the growth of young leaders for a free society, Gerry conveys, but to turn the young in to malleable and simplified subjects, fit for a plutocracy. Gerry states that the book’s content comments on the rhetoric of freedom that is dominant in American society, and the ‘orgy of violence’ that exists as reality in place of the false notion of freedom.

These statements introduce the general theme of the first three episodes – that it was academics, opinion leaders and scientists who cultured the Western notion of a “free society,” that in turn has only managed to intensify the paranoia, suspicion and oppression of that society. Gatto’s book, more specifically the final chapter *Breaking the Trap*, as read by Gerry, offers his solution for the failings of the American education system that had been identified in earlier chapters. The bulk of his criticism identifies the way in which the education system enslaves young minds into a structured rule abiding society perfect for supporting the consumer driven society, a series of observations made from his experiences as an educator for over 40 years.

The reading provides a number of radical steps for parents to follow if they wish to avoid the numbing effects of social engineering and enable their children to break free from a world of “systems” towards a world of actual possibility. Gatto goes so far as to suggest that children should be kept from all religion, supervised at all times, kept separate from any advertising that depicts attractive females and an end to all forms of centralised schooling. Gatto suggests that the “Trap” of centralised schooling is so great that it

cannot be reformed and must be completely dismantled, “schools at the present are the occupation of children, turning them into pensioners for the government at a young age.” Finally, Gatto calls for all children to be home-schooled at least until the age of 11, and to ignore the world of funny animals and pastel colours, and instead let children engage in the real world.

The second piece of material used by Gerry to explore notions of falsified freedom and oppressive society is a documentary entitled *The Trap – Betrayal of the Idea of Freedom*, produced for television by Adam Curtis from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and adapted for radio by Gerry. Gerry has largely left the documentary unchanged in her adaptation and has only provided dialogue in the place of visual captions.

The first instalment, entitled “F U Buddy” begins by discussing the major events in Britain post September 11th 2001, highlighting increasing fear of terrorist activity and restrictions on human rights and suggests this has all emerged out of modern attempts at a “free society.” The documentary is chronologically organised and begins at the end of the Second World War, when a select group of economic and social theorists became fearful that the welfare state was vulnerable to fascism and the impending threat of Communist dictatorship. Parallel to this, and the key event of this episode, was the rise in a new method of preparing the West’s defences against the “Communist threat.” Labelled “Game Theory,” this concept spearheaded by the mathematical genius John Nash, identified a system for managing interactions and relationships based on the behaviours of suspicion and betrayal. Nash applied the logic of this system to Free Market Theory and proposed he was able to prove mathematically how the free market could succeed using his logic.

The rest of the episode highlights how this theory was applied in the restructuring of various sectors of Western society, including the mental health system and eventually the Thatcher led government in Britain. These events as explained by Curtis, underline the alarming precedent that the promise of a “free society” for the past 50 years has been underpinned by the necessities of suspicion and betrayal.

The second instalment, entitled “The Lonely Robot” explores the dramatic restructuring that intensified throughout the West in the early 90’s to make way for the full potential of the free market. What followed was an attack on the state bureaucracy that led to the privatisation of the bulk of the public sector. Institutions such as healthcare and education were turned over to the private sector and managed by a series of performance targets and “liberated” to achieve them by whatever means they saw fit. The result was unprecedented corruption in which CEOs and high-ranking executives would take shortcuts or falsify target successes. Parallel to this a new justification was emerging from researchers in genetic theory that claimed to prove we were simply computing machines guided by the numbers of our genetic code and so as the programme suggests, all the more adaptable to the mathematical predictions of John Nash.

The third instalment, “Forced Freedom,” explores the ideas of academic Isaiah Berlin, and his concepts of “positive” and “negative” liberty. The concept of “negative” liberty stated that humans should be left free of all control, and that rules should only be put in place for those who interfere with other people’s freedoms. This concept would ultimately inspire a number of revolutionaries. Che Guevara, Yasser Arafat and Pol Pot were included and determined that its principles could only be achieved through violent methods. Curtis goes on to suggest a similarity in the rise of the Neo-Conservatives in the United States, primarily the adoption of secretive and violent operations in an attempt to spread their influence and inspire democratic revolution globally. Curtis concludes the series by suggesting that negative liberty has stretched all the way to the contemporary British and American administration where negative liberty is used to reduce basic privacy rights in favour of protecting other people’s liberties, but in reality what has prevailed is a climate of fear and suspicion.

Gerry also uses some smaller pieces of material in the support of these two major pieces throughout the first three episodes. In the first episode Gerry reads an article by Paul Craig Roberts, former Associate Treasurer in the Regan administration. The article, entitled *The Wake Up Call*, talks about the future of the current Bush administration it’s public reputation has diminished

dramatically. The article refers to the belief of conspiracy behind the September 11th 2001 World Trade Centre events, and suggests the likelihood of a similar event occurring to save the flailing administrations ability to govern the United States.

In the second episode Gerry reads an article by Paul Harris for the London Observer, *Welcome to Richestan USA*, which describes the state of excessive wealth that now exists in the USA. This wealth, Gerry reads, has reached an extent where the combined wealth of all the American millionaires (\$300 trillion) exceeds the gross domestic product of China, Japan, Russia and the European Union combined. The article goes on to comment on the “dual-society” that is tearing at fabric of society as a whole, and that this portends a coming storm with the collapse of the financial markets.

These articles successfully provide a snapshot of contemporary events or phenomena triggered by the issues that are addressed in both *The Underground History of American Education* and *The Trap*. The third episode uses a series of re-enacted speeches, concerned with the contradictions of the ideas of patriotism and freedom in America. The first, from 1908, suggests that the solidarity between oppressed peoples globally holds more power than the notion of patriotism. The second, from 1918, suggests that little has changed from the feudal age and that while the master class declares the war the subject class must still be the ones to fight them. In the last speech, an African American woman recalls her experiences as a child, refusing to sing the Star Spangled Banner for being denied the right to share a playground with some white children. These speeches, an alternative to the articles, provide a historical context for the sentiments of the programme’s content – perhaps validating their worth.

The fourth episode differs from the first three completely, and shifts its entire theme and content focus. The fourth episode is primarily constructed from a live panel discussion that took place at a “Greens Festival” in Ithaca, New York. The panel discussion consists of three guest speakers, Dan Hill, a representative of a local Native American “nation,” Art Weaver, a scientist and founder of “Renovus Energy,” and finally Virginia Rasmusen, the chair

on a project on corporations legislation and the former mayor of Alfred, New York.

Dan Hill speaks first; his speech is a narrative of his daily experiences and the history of his nation. He uses a flute as he speaks, occasionally pausing to play a short piece of music. Most of his message appears to be presented as metaphor, he is concerned mostly with the changes happening to the waterways of the world. Hill makes reference to the visible moisture that comes from our breath, and the amount of moisture in the air, and suggests that if we mistreat water over time this will have consequences for all elements of our lives. He describes how the flute he is using came from a piece of wood he found lying beside a shed as lumber and that now after 20 years of playing that flute he can hear that it is deprived of moisture.

The second speaker, Art Weaver, introduces himself as a former university scientist who became so disenchanted with the profession that he left his job to form Renovus Energy Incorporated, a company that installs renewable energy systems. Weaver's position is that individuals all need to make change in their own lives if they want to influence widespread change. He makes reference to simple things, like the amount of energy inefficient light bulbs that are being used to illuminate the room in which the discussion is taking place, and suggests it is these very simple considerations that are being neglected most.

The last speaker, Virginia Rasmusen, takes a vastly different approach from both of the previous speakers, suggesting that a whole new political process is required to make any change towards an environmentally sustainable way of life. She claims that there are too many dangerous ideologies that occupy the world, and proposes four cultural aspects of political life that need to be brought to the forefront to make meaningful change. These aspects consist of addressing the patriarchal and industrial society that fosters inequality and war, democratically deciding on an alternative worldview so that it can be achieved, increased democratic practice and an increased ability for citizens to democratically affect policy change. After Rasmusen has spoken, we also

hear a question and answer session as the audience of the discussion ask for clarification and ideas from the speakers.

The content of *Unwelcome Guests* is surprisingly effective in providing a site of rational argument for the discussion of various social and political processes similar to those described in Habermas's Public Sphere. This is especially true in the fourth episode when Gerry is able to present a panel discussion to the audience. This is rational debate in the most easily comprehensible sense; we are able to hear the varied viewpoints of each argument or viewpoint in coordination with a series of questions and answers from the discussion's audience.

A defining factor is the manner in which all content, in each instalment of the show, is accompanied by information on where the content can be found in its original form. By doing this, the producer of the programme is ensuring that the argument and discussion on display is not perceived as irrational personal opinion. Rather, it is presented as a collection of evidential material centred on a particular issue forming a rational argument. While actual debate or publicised interaction may not necessarily be taking place during each instalment, the producer takes secondary material that previously existed in a different context, and then presents it amongst other secondary material, to create a new context for the content.

But perhaps what is most important in meeting any ideals of truly useful rational discussion is the way in which the secondary content is organised and presented for each instalment. Gerry states that she is constantly researching for new content and material, typically on the Internet, and when she finds useful material she simply downloads it and stores it. When that material will actually be used depends on having enough material to construct an episode that has some sort of theme or thesis that ties it together. The material, Gerry states, always has an important relationship that will provide some sort of synergy or varying perspective. By juxtaposing material that was not previously associated, each argument is given a new level of context.

An example of this is evident in the first three episodes of *Unwelcome Guests* analysed for this research project. As mentioned, all three episodes centre primarily on the content of *The Trap* by Adam Curtis and *The Underground History of American Education* by John Taylor Gatto, specifically chapter eighteen, “Breaking the Trap.” Gerry points out early in the second episode that including, but not limited to, their use of the word “trap” in their titles each piece of material is concerned with the establishment’s promise of freedom which ultimately only leads to the opposite, control. This establishes a clear theme for the duration of the episode, enabling the listener to compare the information provided by each element of the programme.

Gerry states that at times she will have material that has been collected for years, but has been unable to find a use for it or has nothing to place it with and as such will save it until she does. This, Gerry believes, is the foremost concern in structuring her programme; the limitation of a two-hour time schedule is simply the result of having the programme broadcast on conventional radio. Gerry acknowledges that if the show was only based on the Internet she would often be able to produce a programme which ran for three hours, or more. “My rule is there has to be an internal coherence that makes sense at least to me. So that every piece in the show intensifies every other piece, so that the whole becomes more than the sum of it’s parts.” Gerry believes for each programme she needs to ask herself “why am I saying this?” This approach to constructing each episode of *Unwelcome Guests* results in an artistic quality similar to that called for by McLuhan (1961), possessing creative and insightful exploration. A more structured radio format, where the format itself, as opposed to the content, determines the end result, could probably be identified as McLuhan’s understanding of “calculated ignorance” in which the outcome is predetermined.

Gerry suggests that the way in which the programme is facilitated via the *A-Infos Radio Project*, amongst programmes with a different content focus but similar intent, has resulted in a global collaborative process “so that everyone can be better informed.” Again, this suggests that the programme is in tune with the basic purposes of the public sphere. It borrows content in the form of

documentary (television and otherwise), literary text, newspaper articles, speeches, panel discussions and public service announcements and reappropriates it all for the purpose of a growing ecology of knowledge and information.

The content of the first three instalments are relatively similar in the sense that they contain the continuation of two major pieces of material – the first being the Adam Curtis documentary *The Trap* and the second the reading from John Taylor Gatto's *The Underground History of American Education*. These two pieces of material differ greatly in the way in which they are presented in terms of language and the demand of literacy from the receiver or audience.

The Trap, while by no means casual or colloquial, is presented in a very simple and straightforward manner. Argument points are made and explained in simple terms and all concepts are defined for the receiver. Likewise the themes explored throughout each episode and the series as a whole, are constantly reiterated by the narrator, ensuring that the wider context and each point of discussion is relatively accessible. This is emphasised by the way in which the documentary itself is capable of creating a cohesive and thematically focussed programme from a range of subjects as diverse as foreign policy, economic policy, social theory, mathematics, biology and genetics and psychology.

The Underground History of American Education, on the other hand, appears to demand a much greater degree of literacy. Its topics and arguments are complex and the direct narrative is read as a very personal observation. Furthermore, the readings that take place during the instalments of *Unwelcome Guests* begin and end mid-chapter with a brief outline of the previous or upcoming reading, but do not provide nearly as much detail as the constant reminders that are provided by Curtis during *The Trap*. As such, the readings are at times confusing as they jump from social critique to autobiographical narrative, and back again, in an attempt to convey the various interpretations of education considered by Gatto.

The ease at which listeners access these two pieces of material is probably determined by the origin of each before being reappropriated for use on the *Unwelcome Guests* programme. *The Trap* is a BBC television documentary, and as Scannell (2007, p.235) and Keane (2000, p.74) both identified, as a public service broadcaster the BBC has to ensure it's programming is widely accessible. *The Underground History of American Education* as a literary text would not command an audience comparable to that held by the United Kingdom's major broadcaster, and as such does not likely share the same concern for widespread accessibility, catering instead to an audience that seeks the text out.

This is reflected in some of the major suggestions by McLuhan, (1951, 1999) stemming from Innis's (1951) *Bias of Communication*, and resulting in the promotion of electronic media such as radio. McLuhan's call for a return to an "acoustic space" suggests that aural media which is more akin to a conversation than a literary text, is a more powerful force in promoting useful interactions because the listener is able to engage with the message on multiple levels of content as well as context. However, McLuhan acknowledged that when "organic" content is scripted it could still be susceptible to Innis's perception of Bias, as is the case here where the direct reading of a literary text appears to diminish the spread of accessibility to the content.

Yet, Keane (2000, p.74) also noted that the public service media's focus on widespread accessibility led to the production of conservative content at fear of discriminating against anyone. Gerry does not shy from controversy and this is evident in the content of the programme and in talking to her. When asked what *Unwelcome Guests* had failed to achieve, Gerry muses, "the demolition of capitalism, hierarchy and patriarchy." In the first episode there is an article that is read outlining the likelihood of conspiracy behind the events of September the 11th, and suggest that a similar attack will occur soon so as to justify an invasion of Iran by the United States.

In the third episode, the final reading from Gatto's *Underground History of American Education* calls for parents to remove their children from all

schooling up until the age of eleven, and keep them in the domestic environment where they can engage in the “real world” of domestic activities and be sheltered from pastel colours and funny animals. The chapter ends on the statement, “school is a liar’s world – let us be done with it.” Both of these examples are by no means conservative, and highlight that from a content perspective Gerry is able to maintain what Keane (2000) would describe as a fair degree of legitimacy with her selective audience.

In speaking with Gerry, she made constant reference to the time before Internet capabilities, specifically broadband capabilities, and how this affected both the production and reception of the radio programme. In terms of production, Gerry states that it would not have been possible to maintain production of a weekly two hour long programme 15 years ago, that was capable of covering the range of content *Unwelcome Guests* does. Gerry identifies this primarily in the process of “news gathering,” and recalls that during her time as a community radio producer this was the most notable expense. The advantage, Gerry states, is that if something is happening in a physical location out of Gerry’s reach, she doesn’t need to source it directly, instead she can find someone who has already covered it and download that content directly and use it. This, Gerry states, can be done for no more than the cost of Internet connection, and a computer, and has also meant that Gerry can now produce the show all by herself where as prior to making this use of the Internet she had several colleagues who assisted in the production process.

This method of sharing content was the initial intention of the *A-Infos Radio Project*, of which Gerry was a co-founder, and now uses to distribute her programme to her audience. The *A-Infos radio project* was initially seen to have the most potential as a sort of collaborative wire service through which community radio producers could share their content for purposes as those demonstrated and mentioned by Gerry. However as Internet audiences have increased the project has transformed into a wider distribution service.

While the Internet may provide numerous benefits Gerry recognises that there are still some financial constraints on the radio programme. The *A-Infos*

Radio Project has 50,000 users, and this puts constant strain on the bandwidth capabilities of the project servers. As this research was taking place the project's email servers went offline numerous times. To compensate for these exhausted resources, Gerry has her own server which she is able to use to archive the just over 400 *Unwelcome Guests* episodes that have been produced since the programme's start. However, the server was donated by a wealthy listener who had made their fortune on Silicon Valley, and had subsequently told friends about the programme who also wanted to support the programme by providing maintenance of the service. Gerry recalls that the donor stated he would pay up to \$2000 a month for bandwidth costs, and her dismay at the fact that this was more than her total monthly income.

Gerry states that the biggest resource limitation in producing *Unwelcome Guests* each week is her inability to secure a set up for high quality phone interviews, this in turn affects her ability to source content limiting her to only interviewing people when they are in the local area. Because of this, and as noted in the episodes covered earlier in the chapter, Gerry relies mostly on pre-recorded secondary content to produce her programme.

Despite using a lot of secondary material, often sourced from major media networks like the BBC, or news publications like the London Observer, Gerry has no regard for intellectual property laws that would limit her use of the material. Gerry believes that as a non-profit broadcaster she is providing a public service and broadcasting for educational purposes. If she was broadcasting for profit, Gerry believes that someone would be justified in expecting financial compensation.

Salter (2005) highlighted that intellectual property rights have become the focus of many legal contests online, and that processes as simple as "hyperlinking" to someone else's material has introduced conflict. Gerry directly sources secondary material from third parties and reincorporates it in to her own programme for large-scale distribution. This could easily be perceived as a breach of intellectual property principles. Effectively, if Gerry was affected directly by intellectual property legislation, and was unable to

use much of her source material, it could jeopardise the production of her show.

However, as Gerry states she has little regard for any intellectual property legislation, and believes that due to the nature of the content she uses it is unlikely that any of the original producers would ask for compensation for having their work used. Instead, Gerry makes it her goal to do each individual work justice, stating that she believes the original producers would want their work spread or promoted. One way in which *Unwelcome Guests* appears to use secondary material in the best interests of the original producers is by not editing the content; each piece is presented in full or as a series of parts. By doing this there is a decreased risk that the original producer could perceive the message or purpose of their original content as distorted.

This disregard for intellectual property legislation links back to the new media optimism that described the Internet as “functioning anarchy” (Lipson, 1995, as cited by McChesney, 1996, p.98). Despite the apparent spread of corporate legislation over the Internet’s daily operations, an willingness to adhere to boundaries, and the increasing simplicity of the technology, implies that individual users are relatively complacent and dismissive of any attempts to regulate their online behaviour.

The Internet has dramatically changed the way in which the programme is received and the number of individuals that are able to receive it. Gerry states that her local community consists of a population of only 2,100 people - the maximum potential audience for the programme if broadcast conventionally via low power community radio. The *A-Infos Radio Project* has seen the programme easily distributed to nineteen other community stations throughout the United States as well as *Radio Chomsky* in New Zealand.¹⁸ As such the number of listeners to the programme via community radio is difficult if not impossible to measure, but the potential audience has increased dramatically since it has been distributed via the Internet. An audience that Gerry can measure is the number of people that subscribe to a regular

¹⁸ *Radio Chomsky* is a low power FM station located in Auckland, New Zealand with a limited broadcast range of approximately two kilometres.

download of each programme and this figure she states currently sits at about 20,000. Gerry regards so many international listeners as gratifying, and says it has shifted her perspective on how best to present the content of her programmes.

If we apply Keane's (2000, p.77) concepts of the varying types of public sphere on the basis of size or reach we can see examples of a *micro*, *meso* and *macro* sphere in the reception of *Unwelcome Guests*. As stated by Gerry, the global audience of *Unwelcome Guests* reaches up to 20,000 listeners, forming a potential *macro* sphere, organised only by an interest in the themes and content of the programme.

The perspective of *Unwelcome Guests* is largely American, the majority of the content contained in each of the programmes analysed for this project, were either about America or global issues presented in an American context. Gerry has considered what effect this has on the global audience, but believes with the nature of *Unwelcome Guests*' content, America is the source of most of the problems addressed. This American focus highlights the presence of a *macro* level interaction, at least in a contextual sense.

At the *micro* sphere level a substantial portion of the programme's content is sourced from Gerry's immediate local community. This is depicted by the panel discussion of the fourth episode, and the public service announcements that often end the show. As highlighted earlier, to a certain extent this is because of the limited resources at Gerry's disposal when producing *Unwelcome Guests*, but Gerry states that she would actually prefer improved broadcast facilities so that she could engage with the local community to a larger extent.

In terms of interacting directly with Gerry as the producer of the programme listeners are able to do so via email. Gerry states she is open to all feedback, and in fact would appreciate more, citing that if she did not have download statistics she would often question whether or not anyone was actually listening. Gerry states that in the past listeners have submitted material they think she should use, and often at the end of the programme we also hear

public service announcements, which outline how listeners can either take part in a local activity or support a local cause. However these interactions are limited to those in the immediate local geographic area.

The level of interaction facilitated by *Unwelcome Guests* is a far removed from the ideals of a truly ‘open’ public sphere. This is because Gerry holds full editorial control over each programme. Gerry states that the only way she could see making the programme fully interactive would be to introduce a “call in” show, but that she is not interested in this and believes that radio is simply a one-way medium and so this is the nature of the programme. Furthermore, it needs to be asked that if Gerry did introduce an interactive platform like ‘call in’ capabilities would it have the same artistic quality? It can be suggested that Gerry would have to compromise some of her ability to thematically construct a programme that appears to be a personal understanding of the issues at hand if she were to introduce callers to the programme.

The “hypermediated” (Bolter & Grusin, 1999) presence, or online presence, of *Unwelcome Guests* is relatively limited. *Unwelcome Guests* has its own individual web page, but this consists of little more than the download hyperlinks for the programme, a listing of the various stations and frequencies *Unwelcome Guests* can be heard on, an email address for contacting the show, and a fairly sizeable set of links to external sites and profiles of historic figures that fit in the *Unwelcome Guests* theme. Beyond that there is no further information, or supplementary information, to accompany the show’s content, likewise no space for public discussion.

However, an online space for public discussion relating directly to the shows’ content exists, formed independently of Gerry. The space in question is called a “Stumble Upon” group, and consists of a main page which presents a small sample of imagery from Gerry’s site with a small blurb about the programme and then a link to a ‘discussion’ section and series of icons representing links to the 94 members of the group.¹⁹ The Stumble Upon group appears to exist very much in line with the concept of a “virtual

¹⁹ <http://unwelcome-guests.group.stumbleupon.com>, see appendix 1.2

community” as depicted by Rheingold’s (1993) observations of the WELL, facilitating a series of “discussion threads” that elaborate on key interviews from the *Unwelcome Guests* programme by providing further resources.

Gerry states that she had nothing to do with the set up of the Stumble Upon group. She discovered it via a web search about her own programme. The group appears to have been started by a user by the name of “Kamesan,” who is represented by no more than an avatar. Furthermore, Gerry states that while she has spent some time reading the content of the Stumble Upon group she has no real desire to participate in it because she never felt that at anytime the group’s members were trying to communicate with her, but rather amongst themselves. Gerry acknowledges the benefit of other online media like the Stumble Upon group and “blogs” but believes they are not for her or in her interest and is unlikely to ever start her own initiative to accompany the programme.

There is actually very little active discussion that takes place on the Stumble Upon group. Most of the 52 threads are started by the groups founder and only contain posts from the groups founder, offering links to information which expands on the content of *Unwelcome Guests*, the 94 members however suggests this is a community of sorts, one member is simply more active than the others. The point of interest however is the fact that this discussion group related directly to *Unwelcome Guests* emerged completely of its own accord.

It is not clear from either the content of the programme or discussion with the programme’s producer what sort impact the programme is having on democratically mobilising its audience. The space of the programme exists not as a site of action, the producer ultimately holds editorial control over all of the shows pre-recorded and heavily scripted content. Spontaneous debate is not likely to erupt at any stage during an instalment of *Unwelcome Guests*.

However, as much as the programme fails to facilitate public debate or large-scale interaction, it could be suggested it makes substantial ground in encouraging such action elsewhere. Gerry tells of one listener, a Canadian

living in Beijing, that contacted Gerry to inform her that he was so inspired by an instalment concerned with the conspiracies behind the events of 9/11 that he had decided to return to Canada and set up a “9/11 Truth Society” in Vancouver. That organization, Gerry states, went on to hold one of the largest conferences on the issue in North America, and the specific listener is still active in campaigning on the issue. Civic interaction may not occur directly during the programme on site, but the birth of external groups like the Stumble Upon group and the 9/11 Truth Society suggest that *Unwelcome Guests* has the potential, if its not already doing so, to inspire increased communication and distribution of information and in turn assist public sphere like interaction.

Chapter 4: *SW Radio Africa*

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SW Radio Africa, the second case study employed for this research project, declares itself as the “Independent voice of Zimbabwe,” and from its location in London in the United Kingdom, appeals to Zimbabweans located in Zimbabwe as well as those that make up the global diaspora. The station was launched in December 2001 after the station’s founder Gerry Jackson, had her radio station in Zimbabwe, Capitol Radio, forcefully shut down by the Zimbabwean military. This was despite a court injunction that defended the right for the station to operate being granted in 2000. Jackson who was interviewed personally for this research project decided that London was the best location for an independent radio station, as other countries in the South African region were still aligned with the Zimbabwean Government.²⁰ Furthermore, London reportedly had a large migrant population of Zimbabwe nationals.

SW Radio Africa employs a regular format for its Tuesday programme that is introduced at the start of each instalment after two or three pieces of music.²¹ Musical breaks feature regularly throughout each instalment, often separating the various segments within each episode. The music varies between English and indigenous African languages, likely those native to Zimbabwe. At times the music is distinctively contemporary, and possibly sourced from somewhere like the United Kingdom where the station is based.

After some introductory music and regular *SW Radio Africa* introductory imaging we are introduced to the programme’s hosts Mandisa and John.²² They welcome the listeners to the programme provide details of how the programme is distributed and what is coming up in the current instalment. They introduce four segments to the programme, the first of which is “Call-

²⁰ Jackson, G. (2008). Interview with the author on 16/4/2008 [Digital recording in possession of author].

²¹ *SW Radio Africa* produces other programming during the week, but their Tuesday content is unique for that day of the week, each week.

²² Imaging is a radio industry term for any produced audio that is used to promote either the identity of the programme/station or elements within the programme.

back,” a segment in which the hosts call back an individual who has contacted them prior to the programme. The second segment, “Newsreel,” is presented as a standard-fare news segment, highlighted by the hosts reading a series of brief headlines as a lead up to the segment. The third segment is introduced as the ‘Hot Seat’ with Violet Gonda, and the instalment’s interview is also introduced, before finally they introduce “Different Points of View” with Duane Udd. The interaction between Mandisa and John creates an equal dynamic between the two hosts; they share the responsibility of reading the news headlines. Their manner is friendly and often they are laughing despite the serious nature of the programmes content as indicated by the headlines.

The “Call-back” segment is centred on those who have contacted the station and had the station call them back for a brief discussion, or statement, which tends to evolve into more of a casual interview based on the individual’s locality or involvement in issues relating to Zimbabwe. The individual callers are not always identified, it is assumed for their own safety, or go by aliases. The first caller of the first episode analysed here, goes by a first name and is in Zimbabwe. He mostly discusses the struggle he is enduring in Zimbabwe. Manyu describes the lack of money, the lack of food and the lack of proper education that he is attributing directly to this struggle. The host, Mandisa, is all the while agreeing with the caller reaffirming his statements, before progressing the discussion into an interview format by asking a series of questions. The first, asks the caller how feels about a new “communications bill” that has been imposed by the Zimbabwean Government. He describes the bill as a disaster, resulting in a state of fear about whom you are talking to and what you’re talking about in Zimbabwe. Mandisa also asks the caller what percentage of his friends and family still remain in Zimbabwe, to which he replies over eighty percent have left the country. The host, Mandisa, is in control of the discussion’s direction and it does become more of an interview than discussion. The interview progresses further, before Mandisa thanks the caller, and says that she hopes to talk to him again soon, “perhaps in a brighter future.”

This call is typical of those that take place during the “Call back” segment, especially those that come from inside Zimbabwe. There are also calls that take place with those that are based outside of Zimbabwe, typically the United Kingdom where the station is located. One caller is a Zimbabwean law student, studying in the United Kingdom, who identifies himself as being in the Zimbabwean diaspora.²³ The discussion focuses mainly on what the student identifies as being the solution for Zimbabwe’s crisis and how the diaspora can influence change in the country. The student states that relying on the ‘West’ to put pressure on the Zimbabwean Government has failed, and that focus must now turn to other national leaders in the South African regions that border Zimbabwe.

The calls that take place are not always of a serious or political nature either. There are instances when the calls may relate to social community events. One occurs during the third episode, a discussion between the host, John and “DJ Luda,” a music DJ based in London, who is promoting an Afro-Caribbean “Summer Splash.” The main purpose of the discussion is to promote the event, but John also asks how the event can raise awareness around the Zimbabwean situation. This discussion emphasises SW Radio Africa’s commitment to a wider community service beyond discussing the political climate in Zimbabwe.

The “Newsreel” segment is the longest of each segment of each episode and is introduced at the beginning of the programme through a series of headlines. These headlines are also repeated immediately prior to the segment. In total there is usually four individual news items that are covered in each “Newsreel” segment. The headlines for the bulletin that appears during the second episode, “MDC ups stakes and urges SADC to broaden mediation talks; Civil society leaders meet SA mediation team; Humanitarian crisis may force SADC to act on Zimbabwe; Mugabe’s meddling into housing rentals slammed,” highlight the structure and content of a typical “Newsreel” segment.

²³ Diaspora refers to the population of one nationality who are dispersed globally.

Each individual item expands a headline with a brief report on an event or development in Zimbabwe's social and political climate. The first story from the headlines previously mentioned, addresses claims that the South African Development Community (SADC) initiative is weak in being able to influence change in Zimbabwe and highlights calls from the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), Zimbabwe's major opposition party to broaden the initiative. The major concerns highlighted revolve around the close relationship between Zimbabwe's President Mugabe and South Africa's President Mbeki, and the resulting compromise for Zimbabwe.

Every news item is also supported by a brief interview with an individual at the centre of the story or in a position to comment on the events of the news story. Maintaining the same example of the news story regarding the failings of SADC and criticism by the MDC, a brief interview with the Vice-president of the MDC is presented. During the interview for this particular item, the vice-president outlines concerns over SADC's ability to address the "Zimbabwe crisis," especially in the build up to an election, and argues that without change or assistance from SADC a fair election cannot take place. As a side note, the "Newsreel" segment is presented by two hosts, that differ from the hosts of the overall show but this changes from week to week. Furthermore, each individual interview is presented by a variety of journalists.

The interviews will often stray from discussing the specifics of the news item and will discuss more general issues facing Zimbabwe. Also, the interviewers themselves will often comment on the issues of the individual news item in between the interviewee answering questions. During the third story of the bulletin from the second episode, an interview with a research fellow from the South African Institute for International Affairs is employed to expand on the shortcomings of SADC in addressing the "Zimbabwe crisis." In response to the interviewee's statement that SADC is only useful for promoting ideals and is unable to control member nations, the interviewer adds that this "is very bad news for Zimbabweans who were hoping for some change, that they are not able to send any troops or anything in, and many

people see that as necessary.” The interviewers often contribute to the content of the interview that seemingly exists to support the news stories.

The “Hot Seat” segment, “the programme that puts the newsmakers in the spotlight, to deal with the tough issues relating to Zimbabwe,” is hosted by Violet Gonda and is a longer (30-45 minutes) interview segment in which the host will stick to one feature interview or panel discussion for the duration of the segment. Gonda will use an event to initiate a topic of discussion and will present an in-depth interview with someone who can typically offer a certain degree of “expert” perspective on the relevant issues.

In the first episode, Gonda uses a conversation with the wife of the ruling ZANU-PF party’s Commander of Defence Forces, who is accused of assaulting a photojournalist, as impetus for a discussion on the psyche of the ruling regime with Professor John Makumbe. Gonda uses a recording of her telephone conversation with the wife of the commander to illustrate a very angry and hostile conversation that ends with a series of wild threats. The following discussion with Makumbe discusses the apparent insecurity of those in the ZANU-PF regime and their lack of understanding for acceptable behaviour and practices.

The ‘Hot Seat’ segment for the second and third episodes analysed, is structured in commemoration of Zimbabwe’s national “Heroes Day,” which remembers those who fought for Zimbabwean independence. Gonda presents an interview with two “freedom fighters” that backed current president Mugabe, both directly and indirectly, in overthrowing the “Rhodesian” colonial forces that had ruled over Zimbabwe prior to ZANU-PF’s ascent to power in 1980. Gonda uses the theme of “Heroes Day,” to raise questions about whether Zimbabwe is any better off independent without a white minority government or whether the results of Mugabe’s actions have been just as oppressive. The interviewees disagree with comparison between the current state of Zimbabwe and the country under Rhodesian colonial forces, stating that the atrocities of the latter were far greater. They also give insight, as former associates of Mugabe, into the sort of man he is and whether he is

acting out of character. They also discussed the issue of land rights and how land was transferred at the time of revolution.

The final segment that features during each Tuesday episode is Duane Udd's "Different Points of View." Immediately upon hearing the segment it stands out from the other programming in each episode. Udd has a clear American accent and presents a very scripted opinion piece on the state of affairs in Zimbabwe, a contrast to the unrehearsed and interview based content of the earlier segments.

Udd presents a monologue of sorts about his time spent in Zimbabwe as a missionary and his distaste for Mugabe and the ruling ZANU-PF regime. During the second episode, Udd refers to a new communications bill that has been passed in Zimbabwe increasing Mugabe's powers of surveillance, an act he describes as "sick Orwell." Udd goes on to make claims of how these sorts of acts are nothing new and that he was aware of being surveyed when he was in Zimbabwe and that Mugabe should be suspicious because there is a significant uprising. Finally Udd ends on a brief poem or rhyme summarising his argument,

Fascist piece of legislation,

opposition is decried,

listening in on a nation,

is no longer denied.

As highlighted, *SW Radio Africa's* programming uses a consistent weekly format for each episode consisting of four major segments: "Call-back," "Newsreel," "The Hot Seat," and "Different Points of View." The format is emphasised by a large amount of imaging that accompanies each segment, usually at regular intervals of the start, middle and end. Hendy (2000) highlights that formatting has been employed by most major commercial broadcasters to orientate their individual programmes or stations towards a predictable audience, and as Duignan and Shanahan (2005) suggest the

unprecedented growth in commercial radio has ultimately led to large-scale standardisation. However, *SW Radio Africa* does not advertise and has no commercial element within its radio programme, so the use of formatting does not appear to serve this functional purpose. Rather it suggests that formatting is applied as a stylistic tool to present the radio programme in a particular fashion or assert its purpose or worth to the audience. This raises questions about the operator's preconceived notions of what radio should sound like. Essentially, *SW Radio Africa* is adopting an aesthetic attributed to conventional, often commercial, broadcast radio.

There are two key methods for accessing the radio programme. The first is via "Shortwave" broadcast, hence "SW Radio," and the second method is via online streaming. Shortwave broadcasting is similar in technology to conventional AM broadcasting but runs at significantly higher power levels and is typically used with the explicit purpose of broadcasting from one nation to the public of another nation. The shortwave broadcast technology is required as it allows *SW Radio Africa* to broadcast to Zimbabwe from the United Kingdom, and still be received with relatively affordable receivers. Jackson, the founder of *SW Radio Africa*, states that without the shortwave broadcast the non-government organizations (NGO) that fund the station would not do so, because their focus is to get information to Zimbabweans in Zimbabwe.

The online stream, on the other hand, can be initiated at any time and programmes are archived for two weeks. The nature of streaming means that the programme must be heard in real time, requiring the listener to hear the entire episode as opposed to just the part they desire which maintains the experience of listening to a live radio programme. However, the stream is ineffective in Zimbabwe due to the country's poor telecommunications infrastructure. Few Zimbabweans have access to the Internet. Jackson, the station's founder, states that the non-government organizations (NGO) that fund the station were concerned mostly with supporting the dissemination of information into Zimbabwe, and at first did not see the value in supporting the online distribution as it did not benefit those in Zimbabwe. Jackson states

however that at times the Internet traffic for *SW Radio Africa* can reach up to 150,000 users a day.

By having two main distribution methods, two vastly different audiences are formed and in turn two different levels of public sphere potential. According to Keane this would constitute the basic existence of a *meso*-sphere, existing in the context of Zimbabwe's geography via the shortwave broadcasts from London. Secondly, there is evidence of a *macro*-sphere in the form of the population of the globally spread Zimbabwean diaspora, which Jackson states sits close to 4 million people.

The stream itself is facilitated by a fairly sophisticated website which offers further content (beyond the radio programme) to its users. The website provides text-based news articles written by the employees of *SW Radio Africa*, who also double as the station's presenters, as well as a advertisements for the individual segments aired on *SW Radio Africa* and blogs relevant to Zimbabwe. Of note, the *SW Radio Africa* website has several banner advertisements: some are for non-profit organizations offering either a donation service for Zimbabweans or migrant assistance. There are also commercial banner advertisements, offering services such a legal representation, Mozambique safaris and an ethnic African butchery. The commercial advertising blends fairly seamlessly with the non-commercial advertising and links within the website to further show content. Dahlberg (2005) argued that this process of merging advertising with news content to the extent where both is accessed the same way and from the same destination, is a strategy for dominating the "attention economy." Although it must be noted, the commercial advertising is limited, and is not the major corporate activity Dahlberg (2005) was referring to.

The website reminds us that there are two quite different audiences based on location and how they access the material, this supplementary content is predominantly limited to only one of those audiences. The "Call-back" segment on the other hand gives all listeners the opportunity to participate directly in the programme's content. A "phone-in," "talk," or "call-back" programme is perhaps the most popular understanding of the way in which

listeners can interact directly with a radio programme. In particular, the *SW Radio Africa* “Call-back” segment tries to make it easy as possible for those in Zimbabwe to contact the programme by having the programme call them back so that government or security officials in Zimbabwe do not intercept them.

Despite having the opportunity to participate on the air directly, the way in which a “phone-in,” or in this case “call-back,” programme is structured and managed on air means that the caller is still limited in their ability to influence the programme’s content and the host ultimately maintains editorial control. “As long as [the host’s] programme is going out over the air, [the host] is the organisational “hub” of the broadcasting institution for whom he works, operating at the interface between lay member and institution; and since the institution’s main concern is for its listeners at large rather than any particular *caller*, the presenter’s task is to “process” callers in such a way that the listeners get their ‘news’ in short order” (Hutchby, 1991, as cited by Hendy, 2000, p.157).

Hendy (2000, p.155) explained that “talk” is often described as the “primary code” for radio, as it is talk that puts all other audio material into context. *SW Radio Africa* is scripted, or at least presented, in a manner that emphasises casual or conversational speech; the emphasis is certainly placed on the immediacy of the information as opposed to any attempt at a formal script or presentation style. Hendy (p.156) argued that the common perception is that listeners prefer “a relaxed and apparently spontaneous style.” He adds that while many early radio programmes employed a ‘formal didactic’ style, many listeners “constantly complained of being spoken down to... [listeners] expected to be spoken to in a familiar, friendly and informal manner.” (Scannell & Cardiff, 1991, as cited by Hendy, 2000, p.156) This suggests that it is the intention of *SW Radio Africa* to make their programming accessible to as widespread an audience as possible.

Furthermore, *SW Radio Africa* at times broadcasts in “Shona” and “Sindebele,” indigenous regional languages, but the appearance of these languages is very minimal, limited to some imaging that is repeated in

English and a small proportion of “call-back” discussions. It can be assumed that some listeners may not be as adept in English as those that speak English as a first language and especially those that are situated in the global Diaspora. Informal use of the English language probably increases its accessibility for those who do not speak it as a first language.

One of the themes that becomes immediately apparent when listening to *SW Radio Africa* and engaging with the online content, is the way in which the station exists in opposition to the existing political regime in Zimbabwe. The original demands of Habermas’s public sphere would require that it provide a “space for rational and universal politics distinct from both the economy and the state.” *SW Radio Africa* declares itself to be “The Independent Voice of Zimbabwe,” and certainly it is free of most state and private interests, however, it exists in such a state of rigid opposition that it appears to have a select group of interests that it represents.

A good example of this exists in the form of a “Heroes and Villains in the Zimbabwe Crisis” list that appears on the website.²⁴ The list is regularly updated and lists the names of people and categorises them as either heroes or villains alongside a description of why each person is placed in their respective category. Some examples from the “Heroes” column include “MDC Councillor Rusere for Sadza, Wedza - died from injuries sustained in the rural violence. She had fled to MDC offices Harare but was one of those arrested in the raid on the offices and detained. Police ignored the court order to provide access to medical treatment,” and, “Tabitha Marume, Rusape - Marume was part of a group of MDC activists who went to a torture camp at Manonga School, demanding the release of colleagues who had been abducted by soldiers. She was shot and killed.” The Villains column has similar examples, “Jabulani Sibanda - allegedly axed an MDC supporter in the head,” and, “Gideon Gono - economic advisor to JOC. It costs money to beat and murder people.”

The content of these lists identifies some events and actions that in common terms could be attributed to either heroism or villainy, what is interesting is

²⁴ Appendix 2.2

the nature of the descriptions. The majority of those in the “Heroes” category are members or associates of the MDC opposition party in Zimbabwe, the “Villains” on the other hand are mostly identified as members of the ruling ZANU-PF political party. Furthermore the descriptions are brief and unsupported by evidence, and for the most part only contain allegations. One of the examples mentioned previously, states that “Jabulani Sibanda – *allegedly* axed an MDC supporter in the head,” and yet the person in question is already placed in the “Villain” category by the website – seemingly a case of “guilty until proven innocent.”

This is somewhat reminiscent of what Habermas cautioned against, a constant state of opposition without the rationale to support it. Certainly valid reasons are provided by the *SW Radio Africa* website for placing the names in these lists, but they lack the evidential rational argument that Habermas would have required for his liberal public sphere. Without the full information surrounding these claims, or a credited source, it could be viewed as counter-productive for a media organization that declares itself as independent to place these sorts of value judgments on groups of individuals. The content itself is not always presented in a neutrally objective manner, and often lacks a lot of explanation or evidence. Furthermore, the website presents a hyperlink to Zimbabwe’s opposition party, the MDC, raising questions about the station’s “independence.”

The news bulletins that form the “Newsreel” segment begin by one of the two hosts simply expanding on the headline, before we hear a sound bite of an interview that illustrates the story in more detail. This formula is in line with most conventional broadcasts among major media outlets. However, often the “Newsreel” bulletin strays from this formula by playing an extended pre-recorded interview for up to five minutes after each bulletin, instead of playing a brief sound bite to support the bulletin, provide evidence or illustrate a point. The interview itself is not problematic, but the line of questioning often becomes quite general and the interviewer will revert to general questions about what it is currently like in Zimbabwe. Furthermore the interviewees are at times uninformed on the story subject and have to respond that they “presume” or “assume” the details of the situation at hand.

A lack of detailed information could imply that the reported information is not useful in the Habermas public sphere context, as it cannot be used to construct a rational argument. The nature of the actual content in the “Newsreel” segment is not necessarily what would be expected of a news segment and instead of providing only the key information it often borders on becoming a series of opinion pieces.

Just as the “Newsreel” segment could be seen as straying from its stated format, the way in which the “Call-back” segment is structured is not typical of caller based or talk radio. The segment offers an open opportunity for any listener to call the station, or get in touch with the station and have the station call them back. This is particularly important as the political climate in Zimbabwe restricts the ability of Zimbabweans to communicate via phone and Internet, as highlighted by the communications bill discussed throughout the first and second episodes. The segment doesn’t appear to be live and music or the segment’s imaging typically plays at either end of the call.

Hendy explains that during a “phone-in” programme, “members of the public are put on air in the expectation that they very quickly say something worthwhile and interesting, thus actively “producing” a piece of news.” The conversations on air during the “Call-back” segment however, last for a substantial period of time, approximately ten minutes, and answer a series of questions from the host/presenter of the segment. This detracts from the expectation of a talk programme, and it allows the caller “to presume an intimate and equal relationship with the presenter that in reality does not exist,” as ultimately the host or presenter is still directing the conversation by asking questions and deciding when to end the conversation (2000, p.157).

While the “Call-back” segments unusual structure may not elevate the callers to an equal position as the host, it affords them approximately the same amount of air time as the interviews during the “Newsreel” segment, and in turn a relatively equal treatment. This is interesting for two reasons. At one level it is potentially problematic, because similar attention and similar questioning blur the lines between news interview and caller and as such news could be interpreted as opinion and vice versa. However, positively, it

implies that there is not a necessary distinction between “expert” interviews and callers to the programme. Each is treated with the same validity, politically mobilising individuals from a range of positions, not just those of the bourgeoisie, as was so problematic for Habermas’ interpretation of the public sphere.

Likewise, the hosts of the programme become equally involved in the debate and discussion that takes place during each episode. During a discussion with a caller in the “Call-back” segment of episode three, Mandisa states that what they (Zimbabweans) are concerned with is the destruction of their homeland that had so much promise, which is a very emotional issue. As Papacharissi (2002) argued, emotional discussion can be as powerful, an influence on democratic processes as rational debate.

However, as one caller from the second instalment, a student now based in the United Kingdom, mentions “it is hard to change things from the outside without information from the inside.” This raises the question: what actual influence is SW Radio Africa having on democratic processes in Zimbabwe?

Poster’s (2001) recommendation of the value of an “Oppositional Sphere” highlighted an issue beyond whether the intentions of those within the sphere are any stronger than a sphere that does not exist in a state of direct opposition. As Jackson states, the circumstances of *SW Radio Africa* are not ideal. Jackson initially challenged a Government monopoly of radio in Zimbabwe through the courts in 2000 but was forced out by the President overruling the decision only six days later. The imposed physical distance between the station and its employees and the population of Zimbabwe means that it is very difficult for the station’s producers to source interviews and content for their programming. As Jackson states, they rely solely on commentary from those on the ground in Zimbabwe

Furthermore, as much as SW Radio Africa can be perceived as lacking objectivity in their opposition of Zimbabwe’s ZANU-PF ruling party, the ruling party itself takes a direct stance of opposition to the station, refusing to acknowledge the right for Jackson’s initiatives to operate in Zimbabwe, as

highlighted by the catalyst for SW Radio Africa in 2000. For this reason, any effort to talk to members of the Zimbabwean Government would probably be met with refusal anyway. This is highlighted in one example of a recorded discussion between Violet (the host of the “Hot seat” segment) and the wife of Zimbabwe’s defence minister. The wife is accused of assaulting a photojournalist in Zimbabwe; a claim that Violet states, has been investigated by the station. Violet calls the wife for comment, and the wife is relatively obliging until she learns where Violet is calling from and her tone shifts dramatically. She denies the allegations, but goes so far as to question Violet over her heritage and ethnicity, question her loyalty to Zimbabwe by working out of the U.K. and threatens to sue her for \$1 billion and then after a second phone call \$2 billion. This interaction highlights the very hostile relationship between *SW Radio Africa* and the Zimbabwean government’s ruling party.

When considering the breakdown in communication between ZANU-PF, the ruling party in Zimbabwe, and *SW Radio Africa* it would be hard to expect an all-inclusive or “balanced” commentary on the events occurring in Zimbabwe. As such *SW Radio Africa* has no choice but to exist in a state of complete separation from the major establishment in Zimbabwe, and can only report externally on their actions and policies of ZANU-PF. Fiske (2002, p.456) described a very similar process occurring in the United States, the rise of an African-American radio movement, Black Liberation Radio, and the “powerful undercurrent of defensive separatism” that has emerged from the belief that white media are seen to operate against African-American interests. The argument is that by existing separate of a major sector or dispersing information that does not necessarily present the full array of rational arguments on a topic, the ability to facilitate an all inclusive public sphere is limited. But as Fiske (2002) suggested, the separatist radio programme can compensate for an already imbalanced media environment, contributing to the formation of a universal public sphere as opposed to facilitating it outright.

SW Radio Africa’s challenges for maintaining its operation from a resource perspective exist on two levels. The actual cost of distributing the content online is minimal, although as mentioned earlier it took some convincing for

the donor's to see the worth in the online distribution. The first major challenge comes from the fact that *SW Radio Africa* produces the bulk of its own content, and largely positions itself as a news or current affairs service, Gerry Jackson explains that because of this, staffing costs have become the biggest dependency for the station. The station is kept functioning by two alternating station engineers who also have to double as webmasters for the Internet site. On top of that there is a group of several producers and hosts who each have to work 8-9 hours for each day of programming to ensure that they are able to secure the content. Because of the way in which the station is funded, through non-government donor organizations, Jackson explains that for the first four years of operation they only had guaranteed funding for periods of up to 3 months at a time. This made it hard to motivate existing staff, employ new staff and deal with organisational costs like the rent for the studio space.

The second and perhaps the most significant challenge that *SW Radio Africa* faces, deals with the financial constraints of the key community that it aims to connect with. Jackson states that the infrastructure in Zimbabwe is so bad that it is extremely difficult to secure an in interview with a sufficiently working phone line. This is evident when listening to the programme, a good portion of the interviews coming out of Zimbabwe during the "Call-back," "Newsreel" and "Hot seat" segments are so distorted that they are almost inaudible. Furthermore, Jackson explains that this is why the demand for staff and working hours are so high, "if [the phone lines] were adequate we could do our job in two hours, as it is we have 7 or 8 people on the phone for 8-9 hours just phoning Zimbabwe, just trying to get some information, just trying to record some voices."

Chapter 5: *NH Making Waves*

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The third and final case study, *NH Making Waves*, emerged directly out of an activist group called Seacoast Peace Response located in the local area of Portsmouth, New Hampshire in the United States. Co-producers Amy Antonucci and Steve Diamond were primarily involved with Seacoast Peace Response and were approached in 2005 by a local low power FM (LPFM) community station, WCSA, to host a show relating to the activist group.²⁵ Thus *Making Waves* was initiated directly by already practising social and political activists, as opposed to individuals who had prior experience in radio and had later decided to pursue social and political content and subsequent action. This has immediate benefits for the possible formation of public spheres and public sphere interaction, as the shows producers are primarily focussed on initiating, influencing and maintaining democratic processes. Antonucci and Diamond state that this was the direct motivation for establishing *Making Waves*, to amplify their already established activist practices.

The notion of “activism” implies that the content of *Making Waves* exists to respond to what the producers identify as areas of concern or inequality, whether it social, political, environmental or otherwise. However, this does not necessarily imply that an activist programme such as *Making Waves* will generate an “oppositional” public sphere (Poster, 2001). One word that was used in the content of the *Making Waves* programmes and by co-producer Diamond to describe its political stance was “progressive.” The content of the *Making Waves* programme appears to call for social and political change within the existing political frameworks of the US where most of the content

²⁵ Antonucci, A. (2008). Interview with the author on 2/5/2008 [Digital recording in possession of author].

Diamond, S. (2008). Interview with the author on 3/5/2008 [Digital recording in possession of author].

Low Power FM stations broadcast at a very low frequency power compared to major broadcasters so it doesn't interfere with major frequencies. It exists as one of the few opportunities for non-commercial broadcasters, though the range of LPFM broadcasts is typically limited to a small geographic community.

is sourced. This differs from the content of the other two case studies that appear to go to greater lengths to denounce entire establishments, the Government of Zimbabwe and the entire capitalist regime, taking a far more radical approach and operating in a state of firm opposition calling for revolution, as opposed to “progress” within the boundaries of the existing framework.

NH Making Waves typically uses events such as anniversaries and political summits to inspire thematically organised programming, constructed from a collection of the producers’ own commentary and field recording, as well as other independent radio material obtained via the Internet. The first episode employed for this research project, used the anniversary of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki during the Second World War to explore issues surrounding the use of nuclear weapons and nuclear technology for civil energy infrastructure. The second instalment used a recent unilateral agreement between the United States, Israel and the Fatah party in Palestine to discuss the wider issues surrounding the involvement of the United States and Israel in the Middle East and the impact they have had on ongoing conflicts and peace efforts in the region. The third episode is loosely organised and is focussed on two key events: coverage of a protest at a conference between United States President Bush and French President Sarkozy and programming on the United States, Mexico and Canada “Security and Prosperity Partnership.” The fourth and final episode, announced that it was being broadcast as a large demonstration was being held outside the Presidential estate in Maine against current United States-led wars, and so the thematic focus of the programme was the occupation of Iraq. Each of these episodes is hosted by one of the lead co-producers of the programme, Amy Antonucci and begins with minimalist “tribal” drum music, and a brief introduction announcing the programme and highlighting the individual episode’s content.

As mentioned, the content used to construct each instalment is collected from a range of sources, but Amy Antonucci and Steve Diamond, the co-producers, and other occasional contributors from the local area, produce a fair portion of each programme’s content. The lead segment of two of the

four episodes is “News you need to know,” produced by Steve Diamond. Diamond presents a collection of news stories in a bulletin format, mostly sourcing major print publications such as the Los Angeles Times, but also adding stories from press releases from the offices of US political representatives and his own contributions to the New Hampshire and Maine “Indymedia”²⁶ websites. As an example, the bulletin that begins the third episode contains a story sourced from the Los Angeles Times and the Associated Press on the Iraqi coalition government and its failings due to under representation and violent corruption. Another story looks at rising food prices in the US and discusses the link between this and the rationing of wheat and maize for bio-fuel production. A financial aid package gifted from the US to the Israeli government is scrutinised in another story for its unprecedented “gift” value, and a US Congress decision to pass domestic security laws in to the hands of the Attorney General as opposed to regular legislative judges is highlighted as a breach of “fourth amendment” principles.

Recordings or coverage from activist events that have occurred in the geographic area local to *NH Making Waves* often feature in the programme’s content. In the first episode, thematically concerned with issues surrounding nuclear weaponry and civil energy infrastructure, we are presented with a talk from Joseph Gerson, author of a book entitled *The Empire and the Bomb*. Gerson uses his personal experiences in Hiroshima and Nagasaki with those who are physically affected by the effects of the nuclear bombings in 1945 to remind the audience of the scale of destruction that nuclear weapons threaten. The focus of his talk however, uncovers the various events that led up to the events of Hiroshima and Nagasaki right through until the present time, highlighting the United States’ policy making and the influence the proliferation of nuclear weapons has given the US in asserting its “empire” status.

²⁶ “Indymedia” refers to a global collective of independent media organizations who collaborate on various projects. Refer to <http://www.indymedia.org>, last accessed 23/6/08.

Another event that was covered by the *Making Waves* programming was a series of protests outside of the presidential estate in the neighbouring state of Maine. Featured in the third episode, Diamond presents himself having a series of conversations with the protesters that have gathered outside of the estate, initiating conversations about what brought people to the protest, the war in Iraq and the United States Government's involvement, as well as what steps are necessary to end the occupation and progress an impeachment against the current presidential administration. Conversation also focuses on the Democratic Party as the official opposition, and their validity in ending the perceived injustices caused by the current presidential administration. One particular protester stands out for having brought "Iraqi freedom from occupation fries; much better than the old freedom fries," and "Impeaches, impeachment peaches." She explains it as some useful political humour based on the infamous "freedom fries" campaign that had surfaced when the French Government had refused to assist the United States-led war effort in Iraq.

The *NH Making Waves* producers often feature their own commentary segments in the *Making Waves* programming. In the second hour of the third episode, Diamond presented a piece entitled "Always Iran," a monologue about the United States Governments claims that Iran are the central factor driving conflict in Iraq. Diamond commented on the apparent hypocrisy of the United States criticising a nation for driving their own interests by promoting conflict in Iran and questions the wider motives of anti-Iranian ideology.

Another contributor to the *Making Waves* programming, Steve Cole, provided commentary relating specifically to developments in legislation on genetic science. During the second episode he presented a piece entitled "Original Syn," commenting on United States legislation that has passed a patent on synthetic genetic material. An event, he described, as pushing society closer to a "corporate utopia" in which the possibility of "slave androids" is increasingly becoming a reality and life begins to reflect an operating system like 'Windows' – "and we all know how often that crashes!"

Making Waves episodes also contain whole segments, sourced from other like-minded radio programmes, that relate directly to the wider theme explored in each episode. Often the segments will offer a similar format to those the producers of *Making Waves* present. In the first episode the “News You Need to Know” bulletin was replaced with “Media Minutes” a bulletin that focussed specifically on news stories about media-related events. This particular instalment looked at the purchase of the Wall Street Journal by News Corporation and its implications for news value in America, a story about the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) and the bulk auctioning of spectrum set aside for a wireless network and finally, the rise of “Legislation 2.0,” the online process of drafting bills.

The segments sourced from other programmes also take more of a “feature” role, especially when covering issues that the *Making Waves* producers may have little direct access to. One example was a segment from “Radio Tadamon,” a show produced in Montreal, Canada, which interviewed some of Montreal’s Lebanese community at a memorial service for those killed in the 2006 conflict between Israel and Lebanon. The segment, which featured during the second episode, focussed first and foremost on remembering the events of 2006, but also reflected on the tension that exists between Israel and Lebanon and how it affected the civilian population in Lebanon. Discussion moves to the role of Hezbollah in Lebanon and why the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada choose to view the political party as a terrorist organization.

Another example was a segment that featured in the fourth episode, from a programme entitled “Rising Sand.” It presented an interview with an independent journalist, Dahr Jamail, who had decided in 2003 he would go to Iraq to ensure that the information the mainstream media was not prepared to present was coming back to the United States. Jamail explained that before arriving in Iraq he had not even considered himself a journalist, he had been working as a mountain guide in Alaska, but there had been demand for his emails and his blogging, eventually leading to contract work for BBC Radio. He described the events of Iraq as he experienced them, and highlights that the US treatment of the Iraqi occupation has been underlined by institutional

racism. This racism, Jamail claimed, treats the Iraqi people as if they are a society less civilised than that of the United States and in need of the occupation. Jamail suggested that the wider Middle East was once the “cradle of civilisation” that inspired much of contemporary science and institutions like legal systems to highlight the apparent ignorance and arrogance of the United States’ occupation.

One particular programme, “Between the Lines” produced in Bridgeport, Connecticut in the United States, was used consistently in every episode to end the last half hour of the *Making Waves* programme. “Between the Lines” exists as another series of news stories that also presents feature interviews in some of the key stories. For example, the segment that featured at the end of the first episode presented a series of “under reported” news stories, ranging from a bombing in Beirut, to a pollution scandal in China and the failings of a special council which is expected to protect “whistle-blowers” in the United States. Feature news stories included an interview with a law professor discussing the scandal surrounding the recent impeachment of the Attorney General and what implications this has for President Bush’s “executive privileges,” and an interview with a representative from a Latino rights group in New Haven, Connecticut about the city’s decision to offer municipal identification cards so that illegal immigrants can be afforded some basic services such as bank accounts.

Music featured throughout each instalment of *NH Making Waves*, notably at the start, middle and end of each episode, but there were also unique pieces that appear between segments often adding to the theme of the show. One artist, a folk singer by the name of David Rovics, is used frequently. In the first episode a relatively sombre song entitled “Hiroshima,” features lyrics such as:

There was a flash of light,

and a rumbling noise,

Gone in an instant,

parents girls and boys

In contrast a more upbeat, and somewhat sarcastic, song featured in the third episode, *Henry Ford was a Fascist* details the famous Henry Ford as a fascist for making tanks for the Nazi party,

Henry Ford was a fascist,

that's all I have to say,

I will spit on Henry's grave,

until my dying day

Each of these elements combined form the programming content of *NH Making Waves*. A standout feature of *Making Waves* is that each episode is not entirely constructed from material recorded and produced by the *Making Waves* producers. Rather, *Making Waves* makes full use of the *A-Infos Radio Project* to source segments or whole programmes from other shorter radio programmes that appear on the project's website, and then integrate these with smaller segments of their self-produced radio content. As highlighted with Lyn Gerry of *Unwelcome Guests*, this was the original intention of the radio project, to create a "wire service" of sorts where radio producers can source other producer's material in a wide process of collaboration.

The format of each *Making Waves* episode changes from one instalment to another, "Between the Lines" was the only programming or segment that featured regularly throughout each of the four episodes, in the final half hour. The rest of each episode is constructed either of segments produced by the *Making Waves* producers themselves or sourced from other radio programmes. Of interest, although the sources of content are varied, aesthetically they are each very similar. They are scripted and reserved in their presentation style, "Talk Nation Radio" which features in the second hour of the second episode begins its programming with the music of traditional tribal drumming as does *Making Waves* itself. The aesthetic similarities allow the programmes to work well together as a collective piece,

but also raises questions about what effect the geographic locality has on the way in which producers present their programming. The bulk of the source material used for *Making Waves* comes from the Northern regions of the North American continent, US states like Connecticut and New Hampshire and some Canadian states also.

Beyond aesthetic similarities, each segment that features during *Making Waves* makes a concerted effort to credit their own individual sources and provide information for listeners who want to find out more on the associated topics and issues. As noted with *Unwelcome Guests* this reflects the core principles of the public sphere's role in producing rationally constructed arguments that can actually be used by participants in the democratic decision making process, as opposed to forming simple unjustified opinion.

Furthermore, an emphasis on the crediting of source material once again highlights the issue of intellectual property, and how it is administered online (Dahlberg, 2005; Salter, 2005). Antonucci explains that the producers of *Making Waves* were not causing infringements on intellectual property, likewise, Diamond believes that most of the content they use for their programming is administered through the *A-Infos Radio Project* and is generally governed by "creative commons" legislation.²⁷

However there is some uncertainty by the producers of *Making Waves* in regards to this particular issue, and much of their personal policy is based on assumption or belief as stated by Diamond, that they are "flying under the radar." Antonucci attributes the programme's use of music as falling within the guidelines of "what radio stations are allowed to do." However, the concern is that when the content is no longer simply broadcast by a radio station that operates within the legal framework, and is instead also distributed online to a much wider potential audience, does the user still have the same access rights? This possibly shows a lack of foresight on behalf of the *Making Waves* producers, but as Diamond highlights, the laws governing

²⁷ Creative Commons refers to a recent legislature initiative that enables individuals to maintain selected rights over intellectual property at the same time as making it available for non-profit collaboration. Refer to <http://creativecommons.org>, last accessed 23/6/08.

intellectual property are very complicated and therefore very hard to understand. The producers of *Making Waves* therefore make a concerted effort to use content for those who would want it promoted and published for non-profit purposes.

Antonucci explains that without the *A-Infos Radio Project* it is unlikely that *Making Waves* would be available for download on the Internet as they would not be able to afford the hosting and bandwidth costs. If this were similar for the other radio producers that participate in the *A-Infos Radio Project*, then subsequently *Making Waves* would find it difficult to produce the show in the way that they currently do.

The decision to use secondary content itself, has largely been motivated by the limited financial resources at the disposal of the producers of *Making Waves*. As Antonucci has identified, the costs associated with maintaining the online distribution and “hypermediated” presentation of *Making Waves*, are an issue worthy of consideration. Access to the online stream capabilities only exist because *Making Waves* was involved with WCSA from the very beginning, and as Diamond explains, they were able to ride on the community radio station’s “IT coat-tails.” Because of bandwidth constraints, some other programmes at the station do not have this opportunity.

The *Making Waves* website is maintained at a very minimal financial cost for the producers, Antonucci states between \$25-\$30 a year, this was made possible by the hosting site “Freewebs.” While the site is maintained at a relatively low cost due to the Freewebs service, in return the *Making Waves* website is occupied by multiple references to Freewebs. In particular the domain name for the website, freewebs.com/sprav/audio.htm makes a prominent reference to Freewebs, more so than any reference to *Making Waves*. Likewise, a Freewebs hyperlink banner anchors the web page obscuring a small portion of the website.

The use of Freewebs to facilitate the *Making Waves* website can be viewed in both positive and negative lights in regards to promoting public sphere ideals. On one hand, by promoting its service, users of the website may be

encouraged to also make use of it for their own purposes, increasing the diversity of media producers. Indeed this is the publicly stated intention of Freewebs, “Freewebs.com is a global Web publishing community focused on improving the ways people express themselves and communicate. We expect everyone will one day have a website, just as they have an email address.”²⁸ However, the Freewebs company also has a corporate focus and a commitment to advertising, and is thus reminiscent of Dahlberg’s (2005) references to the “corporate colonisation” of cyberspace through dominating the “attention economy.” This is evident in the way the hosting site occupies a small portion of the *Making Waves* website and the domain name or web address.

The programme has run on what Diamond refers to as a “shoestring budget,” spending only \$100 US dollars for the initial set up costs. The bulk of the technology the *Making Waves* producers have acquired for their studio set up, has come from recycled computer parts Diamond was able to scavenge from recycling centres. Diamond explains he had experience as a “trouble-shooter” at a local university computer lab and this has assisted in being able to establish the makeshift operation.

The producers of *Making Waves*, like the producers of *Unwelcome Guests* and *SW Radio Africa*, see the costs associated with the online operation and distribution of the programme as minimal compared to the costs associated with human resources for the actual production of each episode. Antonucci explains that one woman wanted to produce a five minute segment for the programme on indigenous issues, which Antonucci was excited about, but the woman needed to be paid to do this, which the producers of *Making Waves* could not afford to do. This ultimately highlights why the producers of *Making Waves* need to source material from other programmes, Antonucci states that there is no shortage of material and that they would like to produce more original content, but they simply don’t have the time or the resources to do so.

²⁸ <http://newaccounts.freewebs.com/page.jsp?page=advertise>, last accessed 2/6/08.

Each instalment of *Making Waves* is organised thematically, for example the first episode analysed for the purposes of this project, primarily addressed issues surrounding nuclear weapons and nuclear power. Alternatively the second episode appeared to have a focus on the plight of Middle Eastern communities such as those in Palestine and Lebanon and how they are affected by the uni-lateral policies of Israel and the United States. The themes however, were determined by events that are occurring each week, for example the fourth episode is stated as being thematically concerned with the United States occupation of Iraq because of a protest that was taking place on a presidential compound in Maine that week that was also centred on this particular issue. Likewise, the first episode established its theme of nuclear weapons and power because of the anniversaries of the nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

Although each instalment has a relatively consistent theme throughout, the fact that the theme is determined by a current event or anniversary, highlights that the theme is less important than the content itself. Thus, *NH Making Waves* could be seen to have less of an “artistic” (McLuhan, 1961) quality than the thematic organization that took place during instalments of *Unwelcome Guests*. Whereas *Unwelcome Guests* juxtaposed content that may not have previously been viewed as sharing ideas, *Making Waves* simply presents different news programming with the occasional feature interview or audio from an event, that addresses the same or similar issues specifically. As Gerry of *Unwelcome Guests* pointed out, she would save content material for several years until she had a wider piece she could incorporate it into. The content of *Making Waves* has generally been produced within a month of the episode and simply highlights the shared focus between all the sources of the programme’s material.

At times the presentation of *Making Waves* falls short on another of McLuhan’s (1951) ideas, that of the “Acoustic Space.” This is most apparent during the main feature of the first episode, a talk by Joseph Gerson on the connection between nuclear weapons and the imperial nature of the United States. The talk is very heavily edited, for what purpose is not clear, it is possible that this is because of the lack of experience the producers had with

radio before *Making Waves*, but the result is that the dialogue sounds very unnatural. There are instances where the volume levels dramatically increase and decrease between words, indicating that the speaker's proximity to the microphone is fluctuating, but not gradually, instead it rises and declines very erratically. Furthermore, there are instances where words appear to be edited and then appear twice in quick succession as if the sequence is edited incorrectly.

This over-editing dispels the "organic" qualities of the audio, and reminds the listener that their interaction with the material is very much mediated by the producers of the programme, diminishing the "immediacy" (Bolter & Grunis, 1999) of the listening experience. Beyond ruining the aesthetic of the listening process, the obvious editing of content detracts from the validity or authenticity of the original material, and could possibly raise questions about what material was edited out of the original piece and what material remains, and whether the final piece fully reflects the messages of the original unedited material.

Making Waves is distributed via a number of media outlets. Conventionally the programme is broadcast weekly from the Portsmouth, New Hampshire community radio station WCSA. The show can also be streamed online, either through the WCSA website or through the unique *Making Waves* website. The *Making Waves* website also provides downloads for recent episodes, which are facilitated by the *A-Infos Radio Project* and appear on the 'radio4all' website. Recently, Antonucci reports, that other community stations throughout the US, in states that include Florida and Ohio, have contacted them to inform them that they are re-broadcasting the *Making Waves* radio programme locally.

Once again, the varying distribution methods resonate with Keane's (2000, p.77) argument that there can multiple and multi-layered public spheres. Primarily, a *micro*-sphere is possible through the local broadcasting that occurs through the community radio station. This community is particularly intimate, as Diamond explains, the reach of the station's broadcast is limited

to 20-30 miles “along the coast,” and outside of the immediate community can only reach truckers who pass through.

The Internet distribution is for the most part not limited by geography, and as such the stream and online downloads offer the potential of a *macro*-sphere. However, Diamond is sceptical that downloads through the *A-Infos Radio Project* are being obtained by anyone other than “expert” listeners (essentially other radio practitioners), and reports that the download traffic for their online stream is limited to approximately “812 requests a month,” or 200 individual users a week. This figure is relatively small in relation to the download figures reported by both *Unwelcome Guests* and *SW Radio Africa*, and undermines the likelihood of a globally diverse audience and potential *macro*-sphere.

The possibility of a *meso*-sphere is introduced by the news that other stations throughout the country are downloading the programme and re-broadcasting it locally. The potential audience size of these respective stations could only be guessed at, but undoubtedly this will increase the reach of the programme beyond the local community station it began with. The existence of a *meso*-sphere cannot only be seen in the way the programme is distributed, but also in the way in which it is produced. *Making Waves* largely sources its content from other national community programmes, with the exception of some that come out of Canada, which borders near New Hampshire. By sourcing this content, the focus of each *Making Waves* instalment shifts from being purely local to a wider domestic focus. Antonucci explains that it was always *Making Waves* intention, to present the content and material of their programmes as “part of a bigger picture,” transcending local boundaries.

The opportunities for audience members to interact directly with the content of the programme are somewhat limited, both Antonucci and Diamond identified a talk or “call-in” programme as the most recognisable way that listeners could participate in the show’s content. Diamond in particular feels that talk radio is very much “grass roots media” and “pro-democracy” but explains that the technical hurdles are too large for them to facilitate any such interaction. Diamond believes that the best opportunity for other activists to

interact with the programme is to focus on organising their individual events or campaigns and allow *Making Waves* to report on them to the wider community, as Diamond does during the third episode when he reports from the protests in Maine. Furthermore, Antonucci believes that *Making Waves* provides an opportunity for people who may have been apprehensive about participating with an activist group like Seacoast Peace Response in its traditional sense.

This call to action is further emphasised through a series of “public service announcements” that take place at the midway point of each episode, announcing upcoming “social justice related” events. The announcements are provided by the host at the local station, WCSA, and are typically omitted from the programme that is available online, however a set of these announcements appears during the second episode. The announcement provides the details of an upcoming “community peace festival” at a local Portsmouth church, involving activities including a “worship service for all ages, [dedicating] peace poles, [making] peace flags and peace cranes and peace pops by Ben and Jerrys.”

It may appear straightforward that these announcements are omitted from the programme that is distributed online. After all, it is unlikely that anyone who is not in the local area will attend these events, but in doing so it limits the possibilities for local residents who may listen online. Recognising that WCSA is an LPFM station, there are many residents in Portsmouth, NH who would still be outside of the conventional reception area, and if they were to listen online they typically would not receive these announcements. Furthermore, there may be value in the announcements beyond providing information for those who can actually attend. If listeners are sourcing the programme from various locations nationally and globally they are looking to the community of Portsmouth for coverage on social and political activism. Similarly, they may look to the same community for ideas and inspiration on how they can further activism in their own communities; the local announcements could act as a site for this. Another of the announced events that features in the second instalment is the screening of a film, “Money masters part 2: The continuing story of how banks create the World’s

money,” in the local area; nationally or globally dispersed listeners may use this announcement as a source of reference to other information. How listeners outside of the geographically local community would use this information can only be speculated, what is significant is that the producers of the programme decide to omit the content from the programme which is distributed via the Internet, creating two different programmes for different audiences.

Online, the producers of *Making Waves* provide a significant opportunity for listeners to interact, not necessarily with the content of the programme itself, but the wider processes that *Making Waves* encourages. The *Making Waves* web page is an extension of a larger *Seacoast Peace Response* site that provides activist material and information sources in various forms, including text and video based media. Featured on the *Making Waves* web page is a series of “tech-help” articles, the first for “listeners,” providing details of how they can best manage and operate the online stream. The second is for “producers” and provides step-by-step instructions for other producers on the recording and editing processes, as well as “digitising” analogue audio. Likewise it recommends production resources, such as the Audacity editing software, and outlines the way in which producers can obtain further information. The third section is for “DJ’s” and provides resources relating specifically to DJ’s at conventional radio stations, assisting them with broadcasting the *Making Waves* programme on air.

Diamond explains that these instructions were initially intended as a resource for his fellow producers on the *Making Waves* programme, as they had little technical experience, and there were times when he would have to be away for the weekly production schedule. However, Diamond now believes that “it has been useful for budding producers around the world trying to figure out podcasting and alternative media.” This falls very much in line with the assertions of theorists like Rheingold (1994) and Lipson (1995, as cited by McChesney, 1996) that the Internet was able to offer new communication opportunities for users and challenge the dominant power relations of the traditional broadcast media. By encouraging and assisting listeners to become producers themselves, the producers of *Making Waves* are

assisting the listener's participation in a way that extends beyond the use of material or coverage of an event, in which the *Making Waves* producers would ultimately still hold editorial control and would act as the mediator. The listener is now encouraged to pursue an equal opportunity to become involved at the same level as the *Making Waves* producers.

Chapter 6: Analysis Summary

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Unwelcome Guests, *SW Radio Africa* and *NH Making Waves* are three examples of radio on the Internet. I have emphasised the elements of each case study that begin to reflect the formation of public spheres on the Internet.

In this chapter the “thematic codes” defined by the relevant theory and specified as the methodological approach to this research, are reintroduced to demonstrate the extent to which each case study exhibited the potential to facilitate a public sphere, or multiple public spheres, on the Internet. Essentially it is asked whether the individual radio initiative has the potential to maintain the role of a public sphere, by measuring its ability to fulfil the thematic criteria.

a) *Rationality of content.*

The ability to facilitate rational discussion and steer democratic decision-making processes was central to Habermas’s liberal public sphere. In the public sphere, Habermas had determined that a well-constructed rational argument supported by sufficient evidence would overwhelm any opposition that was deemed less rational. There were varying degrees of rational discussion, or opportunities for either, across each of the three case studies featured in this investigation.

Direct discussion between multiple participants was scarce across all three examples. *SW Radio Africa* provides the opportunity for individual discussion between listeners and hosts through its “Callback” segment, as well as discussion between hosts and selected interviews. However, a fair proportion of the content of these discussions was rarely supported by evidence or explanation and was typically formed out of opinion. As the research showed there were times when the information distributed by *SW Radio Africa* was making sweeping value judgements, labelling individuals as “Heroes and Villains,” based purely on an unsupported allegation. The discussion and content is seemingly unable to meet the required level of rationality as proposed by Habermas.

Upon analysing both *Unwelcome Guests* and *NH Making Waves*, the concept of rational discussion had to be reinterpreted. Neither provided a significant space for rational public discussion. There were limited instances, such as the panel discussion on climate change that takes place during the fourth episode of *Unwelcome Guests* and coverage of on-site interviews with protesters from the third episode of *NH Making Waves*. However, these discussions were merely pre-recorded presentations for the audience as opposed to being facilitated by the programme.

Both *Unwelcome Guests* and *NH Making Waves* rely almost entirely on secondary content to construct each of their episodes, limiting the obvious potential to facilitate open rational discussion. Yet the manner in which the material is presented can be interpreted as reflecting Habermas's ideals of that which constitutes a rational argument. Pieces of material that had not been intended as relative are juxtaposed and re-contextualised as the producers of each programme thematically construct their own rational discussion points. Furthermore, both case studies made a concerted effort to provide full reference to the sources of secondary material as well as avenues for further information.

b) Emotive, individualistic or anarchic content.

Criticism of Habermas's liberal public sphere was often directed at his assertion of rational debate as the key component. Rational arguments were seen to favour the interests of the majority, in the instance of the liberal public sphere, the bourgeoisie. The argument of Habermas's critics was that this specific requirement of the public sphere would maintain the marginalisation of certain sectors of society and was ultimately contradictory to the universal and inclusive ideals the public sphere was said to promote. These critics sought to reassert the role of emotionally and personally driven discussion as equally important as rational discussion, in contemporary revisions of public sphere theory.

While *SW Radio Africa* may have been limited in its ability to facilitate rational discussion, there were signs that the material had a greater emotive

function for those involved in the programme's content as well as supplementary Internet content. One way, in which this became evident, was the role of the individual presenters during discussions with callers and interviews. Aside from directing each discussion towards questions of how someone felt about a situation, the presenter would often present their own opinion of an event or situation, seemingly increasing the level of interaction between the host and the caller or interviewee as they communicate on an equal level. Essentially the interaction manifests itself more in line with the expectations of a discussion or a debate than a mere fact-finding exercise. As Hendy (2000) highlighted, this departs from the expectations of conventional radio that seeks to remain objective, or at least appear to be.

The difference between emotive and rational approaches appears to exist as some form of dichotomous continuum, as each of the other two case studies, who were seen to have a more rational approach to their content lacked the same emotional element that was evident with *SW Radio Africa*. Although *Unwelcome Guests* and *NH Making Waves* both presented their material in a rational context, the thematic organisation of each episode is controlled entirely by the producers themselves. As such, the material is presented from a very personal standpoint. In particular, Lyn Gerry of *Unwelcome Guests* suggested that the listener is able to experience her personal journey through the content.

c) *The existence of an oppositional public sphere.*

As a direct extension of the criticisms discussed in the previous thematic code, Poster (2001) argued that public spheres could be identified best when operating in a state of direct opposition to a dominant class. It is the marginalised, Poster argued, that would most want to achieve the goals of the public sphere. By acting independently of both the state and the major commercial media industry each of the three case studies positions themselves as oppositional. However, the specific content and motivation for each case study implies varying degrees of opposition.

SW Radio Africa demonstrated that it explicitly opposed the dominant political regime in Zimbabwe; clearly defining its opposition. *Unwelcome Guests* was less explicit but maintained an opposition to the somewhat abstract notion of corporate power. Finally, *NH Making Waves* did not present itself as directly opposed to any one group or sector of society, but the programme's content was usually based on opposing the actions and events initiated by the United States Government such as the "occupation of Iraq."

d) *The size of the potential public sphere.*

Keane's (2000) categories for public sphere size highlighted that each case study was often able to facilitate multiple audiences, and possibly, multiple spheres. Keane proposed three categories of public sphere as illustrated by the geographical relationship shared by the sphere's participants, "micro" (local), "meso" (national) and "macro" (global).

The results of the research project demonstrated that these categories were not mutually exclusive and could be applied simultaneously to the research subjects. *Unwelcome Guests* and *NH Making Waves* demonstrated a motivation and content focus influenced by their local community (micro), the secondary broadcast of their programmes on a national level (meso) and the geographically undefined distribution that takes place on the Internet (macro).

SW Radio Africa differed due to its unique situation of catering primarily to a national audience (meso) from a position of exile. As such the community in the station's local geographic area was not emphasised as we could imagine a local community in Zimbabwe would have been. Internet distribution enabled the station to reach the globally dispersed Zimbabwean diaspora (macro).

e) *Audience access from a technological perspective.*

This code addressed any limitations to the audience's ability to access the radio programme; essentially the focus was on the range of distribution methods employed by the producers. Each case study appeared more

concerned with their conventional broadcasts than their Internet distribution. This was interesting because there were various limitations with the conventional broadcasts noted by the producers, whereas on the other hand the Internet distribution was noted as relatively successful in reaching a wide audience, and easy to maintain.

An interesting revelation is that by simultaneously maintaining two methods of programme distribution, the producers of each programme were establishing very different audiences – "dual audiences." Hoar and Hope (2002) referred to the intensification of a "dual society" as a direct result of the "digital divide's" haves and have not dichotomy. A similar dichotomy is established when different distribution methods carry different advantages, or more importantly, disadvantages.

Two variations of audience were common across all three examples:

- a) a geographically local audience, facilitated by terrestrial broadcasts
- b) a global audience, either communicating with a diaspora or an audience connected by interest via the Internet.

There was an exception to these general distinctions with the "re-broadcast" of programming by conventional broadcast stations outside of the programme's geographically local community.

As mentioned, *SW Radio Africa* maintains a shortwave terrestrial broadcast, as this is the most (and possibly only) effective way to reach those in Zimbabwe, seemingly countering the effects of a digital divide. However the programme also has a strong Internet presence with supporting information and links to relief agencies. This supporting material is only accessible to one of the two types of audience identified, creating an imbalance between the levels of interaction that each audience has with the material. Similar can be said of the "Stumbleupon" group that formed around the *Unwelcome Guests* radio programme, and the reverse with *NH Making Waves* and their limited public community announcements. Effectively this could compromise the potential to facilitate public spheres for either audience.

f) *Audience access from a content perspective.*

This code sought to highlight how easy it was for audiences to translate the content of each radio programme, and tested the “immediacy” (Bolter & Grusin, 1999) of the initiatives. There were two key factors identified by this thematic code, literacy and language. The issue of literacy made reference to McLuhan’s view of the limitations of a “literate culture” (Meyrowitz, 2002, p.195) that creates division between those who could engage in communication or media processes because of varying levels of literacy.

As the findings of the research demonstrate, this was noted when secondary material was adapted for radio. The readings from *The Underground History of American Education* that featured during the first three episodes of *Unwelcome Guests* were not modified in any way, which implied that the same literacy demands were required to engage effectively with the content. This presents itself as a limitation to the principles of an all-inclusive public sphere.

SW Radio Africa was the only programme that presented content in a language other than English, though this amount was limited. Yet it reflected, as Gerry Jackson explained, the major and minor language patterns in Zimbabwe, where English was still the most widely spoken dialect. The content therefore reflects patterns of the wider community and is not obviously diminishing the potential for public spheres.

g) *The format of the programme.*

The “format” refers to the content structure of the produced radio programme. The format of each case study’s programming can give immediate insight into the producers’ commitment to different types of content including opportunities for interaction with the audience. Also, by taking Hendy’s (2000) observations on the conventional formatting of broadcast radio into account we can decipher, at least at a structural level, how the approach to these programmes differs from the expectations of purely analogue broadcast radio.

Only one of the case studies, *SW Radio Africa*, presented a consistent format for each programme, each week. Very much in line with the expectations of mainstream broadcast radio, the format was reinforced by the most imaging and pre-recorded production observed from the three case studies. Likewise *SW Radio Africa* also made the most obvious attempts to interact with their listeners within the content of the radio programme.

NH Making Waves presented regular elements that could be perceived as the beginnings of a regular format, but the content that surrounded the regular elements was often inconsistent, detracting from an obvious structure. Interestingly, *SW Radio Africa* was also identified as having the least artistic approach towards its programme, highlighting that these codes operate on opposite ends of a dichotomy.

h) The artistic quality of the programme.

Used as a counter-balance to the presence of traditional radio conventions such as formatting, the “artistic” quality of each case study was explored. This concept is grounded in the ideas of McLuhan (1961), who emphasised the role of the artist in progressing new media, and developing new initiatives. This code was used to reflect on how each case study approached the production process and how this could influence the content.

As mentioned in the previous code analysis, *SW Radio Africa* had established a rigid programme format that it maintained week-to-week. Despite a regular format, the conventions of broadcast radio as described by Hendy (2000) were not necessarily adhered to by *SW Radio Africa*. As the research demonstrated listeners and guests were treated equally and were ascended to a similar status as the hosts of the individual programmes, departing from the conventions of broadcast radio.

The thematic presentation of *NH Making Waves*, and especially *Unwelcome Guests*, was demonstrated as a complex process in which previously unrelated material was re-contextualised and re-presented as part of a larger piece constructed by the programme’s producers. This illustrated the creative processes involved in constructing each programme and the extent to which

the programmes move away from the standardisation that had limited the ability of broadcast media to promote public sphere ideals.

i) *The level of interaction with audiences.*

The extent to which audiences could become participants and influence the programme's content for the sake of affirming an inclusive public sphere was measured by this thematic code; the research ultimately highlighting limited opportunities. This code addressed the criticism of Adorno and Horkheimer (1973) that radio is a "uni-directional" medium that maintains an unequal power relationship between the broadcaster and the listener, and questioned whether the interface and technology of the Internet could alleviate this issue in the instance of radio.

Each of the three examples emphasised a desire for listeners or willing participants to interact with the station, but only one, *SW Radio Africa* provided any evidence of regular participation within the context of the programme itself through its "Callback" segment. As it was demonstrated in the research this segment provided the opportunity for any listener to participate in the programme's content, elevating their contribution to a status equal with other interviewees. However, this interaction is facilitated in a context similar to that of traditional broadcast radio where, as the producers of the *Unwelcome Guests* and *NH Making Waves* also demonstrated, a phone in programme is the only foreseeable method for audiences to interact with the distributed programme.

The limitations of this type of interaction are manifest at two levels. Primarily this type of interaction bears little difference to that which already exists in the realm of conventional broadcast radio; secondly, the producer of the programme or the programme's host ultimately decides the context and direction of the interaction. The producers of both *Unwelcome Guests* and *NH Making Waves* expressed that they were always welcoming feedback and contribution from listeners, but expressed that they felt it best other aspiring producers initiate their own processes separately and then submit material or request coverage from the case studies' respective shows. The producers of

NH Making Waves even provided a series of detailed instructions on their website to assist any aspiring producers.²⁹ Yet this emphasises a “gate-keeper” role, in which the producers from each case study maintain full editorial control over the individual programme’s content, limiting the open access expectations of the public sphere from taking place within the context of said programme.

j) *The level of hypermediacy.*

The term “hypermediacy” was chosen to refer to any Internet media from each of the case studies that extended beyond the radio programme itself. “Hypermediacy” is one half of the “double-logic” explained by Bolter and Grusin (1999), which compliments the concept of “immediacy” as existing media are “remediated” for new platforms. If immediacy referred to the increasingly pervasive qualities of an Internet Radio programme then hypermediacy was seen to refer to its facilitation on the Internet. If interaction between listeners and the producers would not manifest in the content of the radio programme, it could also occur at the site where the radio programme is located and distributed.

Each programme employed varying degrees of online content to compliment the radio programme. *SW Radio Africa*’s website followed many of the conventions of a web-portal (Dahlberg, 2005), providing various links to associated organisations, news headlines, scheduling information and other editorial content. There was space provided for comments and feedback but it was not positioned in a way that enabled the users to engage in a discussion with the producers and/or their fellow users.

NH Making Waves’ website was presented as part of the *Seacoast Peace Response* web-portal, which provides a similar range of material to *SW Radio Africa*. However to access this information users needed to navigate back through a series of links to the *Seacoast Peace Response* home page. Supplementary material was not directly accessible from the *NH Making Waves* website, seemingly preventing a “hypermediated” experience.

²⁹ Appendix 3.2

Unwelcome Guests' website appeared on the surface to provide the least Internet content beyond a vast series of hyperlinks to relevant websites. However *Unwelcome Guests* was the only case study that had generated a text-based discussion group around the radio programme, despite the fact that the programme's operator had no involvement with the discussion group

Overall, the three case studies presented in this thesis exhibited mixed results towards the facilitation of public spheres through the Internet. The application of a series of thematic codes, inspired by both traditional and contemporary approaches to the theory of the public sphere, characterised the content, distribution and operation of *Unwelcome Guests*, *SW Radio Africa* and *NH Making Waves*. However, as the research process has demonstrated their respective abilities to generate working public spheres have been limited, especially in regards to capitalising on the unique communicative potential of the Internet and attempting to co-ordinate this with radio media. There were a number of findings during the research project that were not expected nor anticipated by the methodological framework. As the primary analysis showed, the subjects were unable to facilitate complete public spheres, but the following observations will discuss the potential for radio on the Internet in further research.

Conclusion

Conclusion

To conclude, a series of findings that were uncovered during the research process and were not previously anticipated are presented in detail. Though these findings primarily exist outside of the thematic analysis summarised in the previous chapter, the intended approach to this research was stated as flexible in the methodology to allow original observations to emerge. These unique observations will contribute to the wider understanding of how radio operates on the Internet, and will provide inspiration for further research into the subject area.

The individual analysis of each case study has illustrated three very different examples of radio programming operating on the Internet. *Unwelcome Guests*, broadcast in numerous cities throughout the United States and downloaded by approximately 20,000 people each week, presents a very personal approach to social issues in the context of the human psyche, highlighting the human decisions that have led to the World's infrastructure, as well as the ideas of those seeking to change it. *SW Radio Africa* is broadcast via shortwave transmission into Zimbabwe from the United Kingdom. Proclaiming itself as "the independent voice of Zimbabwe," the station challenges the ruling Zimbabwean Government by disseminating information into Zimbabwe, as well as to between 100,000-150,000 members of the global Zimbabwean diaspora, via the Internet. Finally, *NH Making Waves* operates as an extension of a small peace activist group, located in New Hampshire in the United States, broadcast conventionally via a local community low power FM station as well as an online stream and online downloads to up to 200 listeners a week. These distribution figures alone highlight the ability of the Internet to enhance opportunities for the radio programmes to act as public spheres. All three case studies expressed their Internet audiences were larger than expected. Although *NH Making Waves* had a significantly smaller audience than the other programmes, Antonucci expressed that their online audience typically exceeded the amount of people that would attend meetings in person.

One of the most common features amongst the three case studies was the promotion of their conventional radio broadcasts over the online distribution of their radio programmes. *Unwelcome Guests* makes a significant effort to sign off on the community radio stations that broadcast the programme, before making any mention of the way in which the programme can be accessed online. *SW Radio Africa* depends on its shortwave broadcasts for funding, and *NH Making Waves* is still heavily involved with its local community station. Despite the large online listenership, the Internet and its distribution possibilities are an afterthought for each of the three case studies. As Gerry explains, the *A-Infos Radio Project*, which facilitates *Unwelcome Guests* online, was initially intended as a “wire-service” circulating content amongst fellow producers. Likewise, Diamond of *NH Making Waves* suggests that those who access the programme via the *A-Infos Radio Project* are better described as “expert” users, as opposed to a general audience.

It is interesting that the conventional broadcast is emphasised, because the cost and potential for expansion is so much more demanding. Fiske (2002, p.452) highlights that in the US “to qualify for an FCC License a radio station must move up the economic, technical, and social hierarchy: it must have a minimum wattage of 100, and according to Sakolsky, start up costs of such a station would be at least \$50,000.” Fiske notes the irony that federal law in the United States prohibits the sale of radio broadcast transmitters to unlicensed operators, restricting almost any opportunity for expansion of two of the case studies’ analogue broadcasts.

There is an apparent “radio mindset” where beyond distribution; the application of techniques and processes in the individual programming is governed by expectations of how radio operates and how radio should sound. McLuhan’s concept of the “rear-view mirror” (Levinson, 1999; Meyrowitz, 2002), the idea that new media development is directed through existing media, is evident here. This is most apparent in the limited attempts to foster interaction with audiences. Each of the producers interviewed identified a “call in” or “call back” programme as the key method for interacting with the audience. Outside of the individual programmes’ content, the producers provided little more than a contact address for feedback or idea submissions.

One form of interaction that seemingly embraced the functional benefits of the Internet was the “Stumbleupon” discussion group that was initiated separately of Gerry the programme’s producer.

On the surface *NH Making Waves* presents some similarity to *Unwelcome Guests*. Both programmes exist in a similar geographic region, the northeast of the United States, and appear to take a very active stance against the dominant corporate and political interests in the United States and throughout the “West.” Likewise, they employ an almost minimalist presentation aesthetic, unlike *SW Radio Africa*, which uses a great deal of “imaging” and interaction between multiple hosts for many segments of each programme.

The hosts of both *NH Making Waves* and *Unwelcome Guests* present their programmes in a scripted and emotionally reserved manner, simply presenting the content and providing supporting information. Likewise, neither show seems to employ pre-recorded imaging with the exception of occasional announcements providing the details of how the programme can be accessed and how listeners can communicate with the producers. This is a stark contrast to *SW Radio Africa*, which has two hosts at the start of each programme that at times engage in impromptu discussion and will joke with one another, and use regular pre-recorded imaging for most of the segments of each episode.

Lord John Reith, first Director General of the BBC, famously introduced the BBC mission statement, “to inform, educate and entertain.” (Armstrong, 2006, p. 286) Of the three case studies researched, *SW Radio Africa* paid the most attention to the third requisite, “to entertain,” presenting a more aurally dynamic programme with higher levels of pre-recorded production, as well as a cast of conversational interacting hosts, a significant amount of music and interviews that featured social events. It can be argued that the presentation style, or the overall aesthetic of *SW Radio Africa* reflects that of the national public service broadcaster, the BBC. Therefore it could be suggested that the individual programmes resemble their national public service broadcaster (to an extent) reinforcing the argument that the way in which each case study has

developed and operates, is a perception of how any audio media should sound based on the traits of conventional broadcast radio.

The BBC, despite being a “public service broadcaster,” is the major broadcaster in the United Kingdom whereas the more highly deregulated United States market has seen the rise of commercial broadcasters. As such, the production resources of the BBC are significantly higher than the less regarded United States’ public broadcasters, this could also reflect on the scale of *SW Radio Africa*’s production.

The financial cost associated with producing and distributing each programme online was seen as fairly insignificant by each of the producers spoken to. In the case of *Unwelcome Guests*, Gerry identified that the costs for distributing her programme to her 20,000 strong download audience was little more than the cost of her ‘Internet connection,’ likewise Jackson of *SW Radio Africa* stated that the financial demands for maintaining their online stream that reaches up to 150,000 people was of little concern. Antonucci and Diamond of *NH Making Waves* also identified that the cost of providing their programming online for listeners was very minimal thanks to third party hosting sites, and being able to piggy back on the local community radio station’s online stream. The commercial pressures seen to be emerging in “cyberspace” whether through a process of “corporate colonisation” (Bentivegna, 2006; Dahlberg, 2005; Salter, 2005) or the wider effects of an apparent “digital divide” (Hope & Hoar, 2002; Selwyn, 2004) didn’t eventuate any significant impact.

Instead, each example identified that the access to “offline” resources, in particular individuals who could help in the production process, was of far greater concern than the costs of maintaining the online distribution of their programme. *SW Radio Africa*’s operator had a relatively large staff of presenters, producers and journalists when compared to the other radio programmes, but still cited the lack of financial resources to fund new staff as the biggest limitation to its continued production. Likewise, the producers of *NH Making Waves* identified that they had numerous potential contributors that would benefit the programming, but that these contributors required

financial compensation, which the producers could not afford. At this point, the individual programmes border between a non-profit volunteer project and an established media initiative, as human resources limit the potential to source material and produce content.

For each of the three case studies the limitations of the technology, and the associated costs, have primarily had qualitative effects. Each programme identified that the financial restraints associated with recording the programme and distributing it online were minimal. Limiting factors emerged when determining the number of people that can be reached or have access to the programme (bandwidth), and the range of content that can be sourced. All three case studies identified serious difficulty being able to record “broadcast quality” interviews over the phone, *Unwelcome Guests* and *Making Waves* in particular identified a high quality phone set up, the sort usually afforded to a conventional broadcast radio station, as their highest priority. Lacking the ability to record high quality phone interviews, these two programmes require a potential interview to be in the local geographic area or depend on someone else to record the material for them. New technology has been able to offer a wider starting point for radio initiatives, but pales in comparison to the full range of resources conventional radio broadcaster have been equipped with.

Because of this limitation, the producers of both *Unwelcome Guests* and *Making Waves* have had to find alternative ways to construct their two-hour radio programme each week. This has largely revolved around employing secondary content, whether it’s adapting other forms of media as Gerry did for *Unwelcome Guests*, or directly sourcing segments from other similar radio programmes as per each episode of *Making Waves*. Despite traditional understandings of what constitutes radio, as mentioned earlier, this alternative approach to radio production presents programming content that differs from the traditional radio broadcast. This is reflected by *SW Radio Africa* which has had the most access to resources and held on to a great deal of radio conventions such as a strict weekly format.

It can then be argued that these alternative approaches better serve the normative ideals of the public sphere. Gerry made particular reference to the

fact that despite employing material other than her own she is able to select material of the “highest quality.” Both *Unwelcome Guests* and *Making Waves* make full use of the content produced by those who have access to material in locations and situations that previously could not have been reached in a process that Gerry describes as a “global collaboration.” Furthermore, the thematic organization of this content, juxtaposing previously unrelated content, presents it in a new context; one that as highlighted earlier can be interpreted as “rational debate.”

Yet it should be recognised that these are simply perceptions based on the comparative costs of the online resources to the other elements and resources that go in to producing each programme. All three case studies are donor funded in some capacity, for both *Unwelcome Guests* and *Making Waves* the resources for their online distribution were donated (for *Making Waves* indirectly through WCSA), and each identified the cost of maintaining these resources as more than they could personally afford. Gerry of *Unwelcome Guests* states that the amount of bandwidth donated to her by a listener exceeds her own monthly personal income.

As long as the cost of maintaining the online distribution is insignificant in relation to other costs, there has been a willingness to donate these resources. A dependence on donated resources highlights the instability of each case study, especially in their ability to facilitate a space for open discussion. Much the same could be said of the consideration for intellectual property by each case study. *Unwelcome Guests* operated on the assumption that the original producers of secondary material would want the content distributed further by the *Unwelcome Guests*’ programme. *Making Waves* was much the same, relying on the goodwill of “Creative Commons” agreements and as Diamond stated being able to “[fly] under the radar.” Once again, there is a dependence on the loose generosity of others to volunteer resources and material. A structured legislative framework, if enforced, serves only to compromise the production of each programme.

That each producer, or team of producers, maintains full editorial control over their programmes, may limit any opportunity to facilitate an open and

inclusive public sphere. In conventional broadcast radio, Hendy identified “an underlying notion of the need to interpret audience desires in preference to the producer’s own.” The explicitly personal intellectual “journeys” employed by Gerry for *Unwelcome Guests*, and the provision of “news you need to know” by Diamond for *NH Making Waves*, establish a clear agenda for the producer; this is very much their programme. This contradicts the expectation of “*professionalism* [on behalf] of the producer, that his or her own personal values, beliefs and tastes are never made explicit in the process of deciding, for instance, which *stories* are selected for broadcast, and *how* exactly they are treated on air” (Hendy, 2000, p.110).

However as Gallagher (1982, as cited by Hendy, 2000, p.111) argues, despite perceived professionalism on behalf of a conventional radio broadcaster, practices such as formatting can have a strong editorial effect, “to “know” without being told, and to act as one’s own censor, is not just to be aware of organisational constraints, but to be absorbed into a *value system* – a system which, at the very least, is capable of encapsulating a certain ideological position.” *SW Radio Africa* the most consistently formatted of each of the case studies was identified as presenting the strongest evidence of a dominant ideological stance (Gallagher, 1982, as cited by Hendy, 2000, p.111).

Using Gallagher’s argument, it could be contended that by incorporating their own “voices” into their programming content, each of the case studies moves further away from the unidirectional “false commandment” Adorno and Horkheimer (1973) were so critical of. The direction of the speech does not change, but the nature of the voice does, representing more an individual and their rational argument and less an ideology or a system of values. The hosts of *SW Radio Africa*, in particular, present the most consistent ideological standpoint, but the hosts and announcers expose themselves and participate in the content to such an extent that they appear to be undergoing the same communicative processes as any of the other “voices” that appear in the programming. One example occurs during the second episode, during the “Hot Seat” segment, when Violet Gonda asks two “freedom fighters” how they feel about the fact that Zimbabwe’s national Heroes Day is now largely

considered redundant because of the situation in Zimbabwe. Both interviewees strongly refute this claim by Gonda, and consider it a gross consideration, alluding to worse times before Zimbabwe's revolution. By presenting this interaction, Gonda is allowing the listener to play witness, and displays a degree of transparency as well as the learning process itself. A dominant ideology is absent.

The case studies were not able to facilitate complete public spheres, within the framework of their own programming or their wider structure. They were able to operate independently of both the state and the economy, but were still susceptible to reflecting the agendas of their own individual producers, and possibly in one instance the agendas of NGOs. This ultimately undermines the ideal of an all-inclusive, open public sphere in which participants have equal access to both information and participation in rational debate.

However, these individual case studies have demonstrated effective media initiatives in which voices that are less heard in the realm of conventional broadcast radio, are able to distribute themselves to wide audiences via the Internet. In essence they individually represent a small group of participants who are able to reach relatively wide, and often unexpected, audiences. By doing so they have contributed to a number of processes that could assist the formation of a wider universal public sphere: *Unwelcome Guests* was able to present a wealth of detailed information presented in an original context, *SW Radio Africa* was able to disperse information from a technologically isolated country to a large global diaspora, and *Making Waves* provided direct instructions on how one could produce their own radio programme.

Theory had suggested that the democratic promise of the Internet has become severely threatened by corporate interests and supporting legislation, but the ease with which each case study operated on the Internet was emphasised against the backdrop of managing conventional elements such as human resources and high quality equipment. Each case study was able to produce a programme of some quality and distribute it online with relative financial ease (*Unwelcome Guests*) or little prior experience (*NH Making Waves*), encouraging the notion that a large population could produce similar

results. The major concession to this point is that of the “digital divide,” that will ultimately restrict the participation of those that have little to no access to a set of technology, the affordability of which is often taken for granted by new media theorists.

Yet for those that are able to follow in the footsteps of *Unwelcome Guests*, *SW Radio Africa*, and *NH Making Waves*, there is the potential the remediation of radio on the Internet can be interpreted as the merging of the “acoustic space” and the “The Global Village,” (Theall, 2001) reigniting prospects of cyberspace as the site of a potential public sphere or sphere-like interactions. Furthermore participants would no longer be represented simply as avatars and text, but their voices could be heard as established media producers.

As a final note, one of the major criticisms of Habermas’s (1989) liberal public sphere was that it excluded certain sectors of society. Primarily it was subject to feminist critiques, (Fraser, 1990; Sassi, 2000) which contested the liberal public sphere sought only to reinforce a dominant patriarchy. Both *Unwelcome Guests* and *SW Radio Africa* were founded and operated by women and *NH Making Waves* was co-founded by a woman, at a superficial level eliminating notions of a dominant patriarchy. Perhaps more importantly, it dispels Poster’s (2001) argument that in the realm of cyberspace users are able to select their identity but those selected identities are still subject to the unequal power relations that exist “offline.”

Poster’s (2001) observations are made largely on text-based communication. The radio component at the centre of this project does not allow the same degree of anonymity, but as the success of each case study has shown, female “voices” are able to participate in the realm of cyberspace effectively and with no obvious opposition; a positive development for any initiative’s ability to fulfil the public sphere ideals and the communicative participation of marginalised sectors of society.

Opportunities for Further Research

Unwelcome Guests, *SW Radio Africa* and *NH Making Waves* each boast substantial audiences through the Internet distribution of their radio programmes. Two of the three, *Unwelcome Guests* and *SW Radio Africa* boast Internet audiences comparable to (if not larger than) some mainstream broadcast radio audiences. *NH Making Waves* reported a much smaller audience size of approximately 200 listeners online, but the producer's still expressed this was far greater than the attendance they achieved at their local meetings where often there was only a handful of people. There is little doubt that radio on the Internet has enhanced the abilities of these outlets to work towards public spheres, despite not necessarily being able to facilitate entire spheres. As such this presents a field of research that warrants further investigation.

The observation of an apparent "radio mindset" and the influence of existing public service broadcasters, highlights a possible area for future research. This research project was unique in the sense that it attempted to "converge" theory that had promoted the functional benefits of both the Internet and Radio in fulfilling public sphere ideals. It was proposed that using these combined principles would create an effective lens, through which the possibilities afforded by radio content on the Internet could be explored. The thematic analysis, and the distinct set of thematic codes demonstrated how three specific examples operated, what they were able to produce and what implications this could have for possible public spheres. However, the influence of existing media models such as broadcast radio highlights that potential future research may need to consider the context generated by individual mediums to truly understand the impact of radio on the Internet.

A comparative study between conventional broadcast radio, radio on the Internet and text-based Internet communication (bulletin boards, Blogs etc.) could provide a better measure of the unique functions and characteristics of radio on the Internet and the influence of other media outlets. This research project highlighted the relationship between all three as it is grounded in McLuhan's concept of the "rear-view mirror," the belief that all developing

media are shaped on an understanding defined by the preceding media. But the scope of this thesis only afforded adequate space to consider theory that reported on associated media, and an appreciation of the media that supported the case studies. To analyse each medium under a new set of thematic codes would require a much greater capacity of research but could be very beneficial in answering questions that are beneficial to the subject; Are audiences any more or less inclined to interact with each medium? How do the fiscal and resource demands vary for each medium? And so on. Profiling each medium would specify the unique qualities of each and in turn these qualities could be evaluated to illustrate whether radio on the Internet offers a better realisation of public sphere principles than stand-alone radio or Internet. An element of audience reception study would also be particularly useful as the audience are central to the concept of the media enhancing public spheres. As highlighted in the first chapter, the responses of users or audiences have been a central focus of previous research into “virtual communities.” Combined with a comparative study, audience reception could highlight how individual audiences interact with each medium and whether any potential for increased audience participation would actually result in increased interaction.

It was unexpected at the start of this research process just how heavily the case studies would model themselves on a conventional understanding of radio. Ultimately this was seen as one of the major limiting factors to the development of radio on the Internet as an alternative; the producers of each case study had self-imposed stylistic limits which affected certain areas, especially opportunities for interaction. Aware of this, there is an effective opportunity to initiate participatory action research that makes full use of McLuhan’s concepts and the principles of remediation. Essentially the base for this study began with the theoretical proposal made in the early stages of the research project; by applying the positive principles of both radio and the Internet together in the context of remediation, radio content on the Internet can offer a new quality of media use. As the experiences of *Unwelcome Guests*, *SW Radio Africa*, and *NH Making Waves* highlighted, for the time being the resource demands for producing a radio programme of similar

scope are minimal. Initiating an action research project certainly appears feasible.

Finally, although this study sought to measure the potential of the three radio programmes on the Internet to generate working public spheres, the most potential for a working public sphere could be seen in the *A-Infos Radio Project*, presenting it as a site for potential future research. The project, through its website, voluntarily hosts a vast range of radio programmes from any willing producer and makes them publicly available for download. As Steve Diamond of *NH Making Waves* stated, the expected users of the project are mostly “expert users” or fellow producers who use the project as a “wire service.” However there were no restrictions preventing anyone from making use of the service. By providing a space in which individuals can share their own media at the same time as listen to and use other individuals media, within the context of their own media, the *A-Infos Radio Project* comes much closer to fulfilling the search for a working public sphere than the individual radio programmes. Research that focuses its attention on the *A-Infos Radio Project*, or any similar project, promises greater potential to uncover actual working public spheres, however as demonstrated, the radio programmes are not without merit. They provide excellent examples for those that would have less opportunity to produce media offline, presenting themselves as established media producers, effectively strengthening their own voices and possibly setting a precedent for members of an entire public.

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Appendix 1: Unwelcome Guests

Appendix 1.1

Website: *Unwelcome Guests*



UNWELCOME GUESTS

A program about wealth, power, and peoples' resistance to the corporate world order

VISIT OUR **SHOW ARCHIVE** TO DOWNLOAD MP3's/PODCASTS (Pass them around!)

SUN 9-11 pm WEOS-FM 90.3 and 89.7 Geneva, NY	SUN 9-11 pm Ithaca Community Radio 88.1 FM Ithaca, NY	SAT 10am--noon WED 3-5 pm WXXE-FM 90.5 FM Syracuse, NY	SAT 9-11 am Free Radio Santa Cruz 101.1 FM Santa Cruz, CA
WED 10am-noon KRFP-FM 92.5 FM Moscow, ID	MON 6:30-8:30pm Free Radio Olympia 98.3 Olympia, WA	MON 11am-1pm WGDR-FM 91.1 Plainfield, VT	SUN 1-3 pm KSOW-FM 106.7 Cottage Grove, OR
VARIOUS TIMES KQRP-FM 106.1 fm Salida, CA	MON 12-2 am WZKW-FM 106.7 Kingsville, OH	FRI 10 am-noon WRFN-FM 98.9 Nashville, TN	TUE 8-10am WMRW-FM 95.1 Warren, VT
TUE 9-11 am WKNH 91.3 fm Keene, NH	TBA WUOW 104.7 fm Oneonta, NY	FRI 8:30 - 10:30 pm Radio Chomsky 107.1 fm Grey Lynn, New Zealand	TUE 7-9 pm KWMD 90.7 Kasilof, AK 104.5 Anchorage, AK
MON 8-10 am KRBS-FM 107.1 FM Oroville, CA	SAT 2-4 am CKDU 88.1fm Halifax, Nova Scotia	SAT 2-4pm SQUAT FM WYQZ Bealeton, VA	MON 8-10pm, SAT 5-7am, SUN 6-8pm Radio Veronica (US) West Point, PA

Contact us with comments or announcements unwelcome@radio4all.net

SOME GREAT LINKS

● Infoshop.org	● CELDF	● Scholars for 911 Truth
● A-Infos Radio Project	● Derrick Jensen	● A-Infos News Service
● Radio Ecoshock	● Alt. Press Review	● The Gift Economy
● Anarchism in Action	● Labour Start	● Karmabanque Radio
● Third World Network	● Guerrilla News	● Indy Media Center
● Corporate Watch	● Mikey's Zine	● Counterpunch
● Slaves Anonymous	● Project Censored	● RT Mark
● Finger Lakes Permaculture	● IWW	● Global Public Media

Appendix 1.2

Website: *UG Stumbleupon Group*

StumbleUpon
Discover your web

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[Search](#)

Unwelcome Guests · Discussion


























"Unwelcome Guests" is a weekly radio program about wealth, power, and peoples' resistance to the New World Order. Share resources related to the program's guests and their ideas here.

84 members · 97 sites · 52 conversations

Related Topics: [Anarchism](#)

Group founded on Jan 17, 2007 16:35pm

Recent Visiting Group Members

 47.M RobinEdgar	 29.M liltinybus	 27.M Mark369	 43.M kamesan	 51.M impediment
 22.M kotetsurain	 M PopeNorton	 M mzmagazine	 24.M I-Am-Wolfman	 47.M MarkPogue
 25.M charfroman	 M mlowther11	 M Freyr	 M Maraaheb	 F Tigana
 50.M Jack-Benny	 19.M Jeron	 23.M Laukev7	 53.M woolly1	 M archetypal
 29.F karabalik	 35.M Yoza	 42.M roachell	 M Yariou	 M dr-azazel

Related Sites

(Note: only the group moderators can add sites to this list)

kamesan	Slaves Anonymous: Welcome to Slaves Anonymous [slaves-anonymous.wikidot.com]	View/Add Sites
kamesan	Electric Politics [electricpolitics.com]	Dec 23, 2007 4:32pm
kamesan	FSU Editorial: &US/Mex: Failed System & Failed Sta [financialsense.com/fsu/editorials/wille/2007/0829...]	Dec 23, 2007 4:32pm
kamesan	Against the Grain [againstthegrain.org]	Dec 19, 2007 7:49am
kamesan	Home [freemasonliberty.com]	Dec 12, 2007 9:44pm
		Dec 12, 2007 8:45pm

Appendix 2: *SW Radio Africa*

Appendix 2.1

Website: *SW Radio Africa*

SW Radio Africa
The independent voice of Zimbabwe on Short Wave 4880kHz
We are also on 12035kHz

ZIMFUND Helping Zimbabweans
ZWNEWS.COM
SWRadioAfrica Podcasts

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MacArchives
Links
Contact
Listen live
Feedback
Search SWRA
SWRA in press
Reports page
Old Friends meet
Views from Harare
Advertising info

Top Quality Beef, Fish Boerewors, Maguru White maize Still available

barnabasfund
£8.60 per month feeds a Zimbabwean family of 7-10 for a month find out more

"Only God who appointed me will remove me - not the MDC, not the British. We will never allow an event like an election reverse our independence." Robert Mugabe

Breaking news Sunday 22 June
Militia on Rampage in Mbare
More than 2000 youth militia are currently on the rampage in Mbare, central Harare, carrying out random attacks on innocent citizens. Casualty departments in Harare are already receiving injuries from these attacks. Amongst the injuries so far recorded are bayonet wounds, lending credibility to the claims by civil society organisations of military involvement in this campaign of political violence.

Zimbabwe opposition to pull out
Zimbabwe's opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai has decided to pull out of the presidential run-off on 27 June, party officials say. The Movement for Democratic Change says the decision comes after at least 70 of its supporters have been killed in the run-up to the poll. BBC

Army has taken over Harare and Bulawayo
Armed soldiers and police in full riot gear have taken over the venue of the MDC rally. Along Samora Machel ave, fully armed riot police have mounted a road block. On Enterprise road towards Chisipite Battalion troops are jogging up the road going into central Harare.

Emmerson Mnangagwa - key strategist of the criminal network
Mnangagwa has been a fervent disciple of Mugabe and is the first choice for presidential succession. According to a U.N Security Council report, (Nov 2001), he is the key strategist for the Zimbabwean branch of an elite criminal network operating in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Britain blames six of Robert Mugabe's officials for election violence
Britain has increased the pressure on Robert Mugabe by directly accusing six of his key officials of running the bloodstained election campaign aimed at keeping the Zimbabwean president in power. Telegraph.co.uk

Zimbabwe ruling party militants disrupt planned opposition rally
Hundreds of militant ruling party supporters have occupied the site of the opposition's main pre-election rally. Armed youths from the ruling ZANU-PF are mounting road blocks to prevent opposition supporters from reaching Harare's show grounds. The youths are arriving by the busload.

Zimbabwe militants occupy site of opposition rally
Armed Mugabe supporters at opposition rally site: MDC

News stories for Saturday 21 June

Listen Live
Latest currency rate £1 =
440000000000
RIP Zimbabwe Dollar

ROBERT YOU LOST

One solution, if you find yourself with your back up against the wall, you can always turn around and write on it. Opposition in Zimbabwe has become an extremely dangerous pursuit. The level of violence against the MDC is intended to instill fear and to discourage votes for the opposition. At the same time, people are angry and frustrated. The vast majority of Zimbabweans want change and for the old man to accept his loss and go away.

Give your violence reports to the election observers direct
our eyes see
our ears hear,

Zim Election Violence BBC Newsnight Report

The MDC advert ZBC refuse to air

SW Radio Africa music makers
Can You Vote?
New SMS check of voters roll

Heroes and Villains in the Zimbabwe crisis
Weekend Downloads

International Organization for Migration
If you are an asylum seeker you can receive:
Travel Arrangements
Call us on **0800 783 2332**

AFRICAN ADVENTURE

Appendix 2.2

Website: *SW “Heroes and Villains”*

Heroes & Villains - Friday 02 May

Heroes:

1. MDC Councillor Rusere for Sadza, Wedza - died from injuries sustained in the rural violence. She had fled to MDC offices Harare but was one of those arrested in the raid on the offices and detained. Police ignored the court order to provide access to medical treatment.
2. Tabitha Marume, Rusape - Marume was part of a group of MDC activists who went to a torture camp at Manonga School, demanding the release of colleagues who had been abducted by soldiers. She was shot and killed.
3. 10,000 villagers in Makoni West who attend Marume's funeral in defiance of the ZPF violence. They sang songs of defiance, declaring violence will not stop them supporting MDC.

Villains:

1. Jabulani Sibanda - allegedly axed an MDC supporter in the head .
2. Emmerson Mnangagwa - in charge of the Joint Operations Committee (JOC) that oversees the violence campaign.
3. Gideon Gono - economic advisor to JOC. It costs money to beat and murder people.
4. Sithembiso Nyoni, Minister of Small to Medium Scale Enterprises - watched as 3 ZPF men with her seriously assault Zachariah Isaac Ncube at Gababi in Ward 1 in Nkayi North.
5. Former CIO director and cabinet minister Shadreck Chipanga - led war vets in attack on headmaster at Chakumba Primary School Makoni South. Headmaster battling for life with serious injuries.
6. Daniel Romeo Mutsunguma, CIO agent employed at Zim embassy Washington, USA - MDC allege he murdered Tabitha Marume.
7. Thabo Mbeki - as chair of the UN Security Council he blocked UN action over the Zimbabwe crisis - along with help from China , Russia and Vietnam.

Heroes & Villains - Friday 25 April

Heroes:

1. The whistleblower who leaked the consignment details about arms for Zim on Chinese ship.
2. Noseweek for alerting the world to the story.
3. SA dock workers for refusing to unload the arms.
4. SA litigation centre/Int Action Network on Small Arms, for the successful legal case that blocked the arms shipment.
5. Chairman of SADC, Zambian President Levy Mwanawasa, for asking all regional leaders to bar ship from docking.
6. Avaaz for their banner protest at the UN and their global online petition to stop arms to Zim.
7. The Archbishops of Canterbury & York, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Anglican Primate of Southern Africa for calling for a Zim arms embargo.
8. Ex Malawi President Muluzi for condemning the Zimbabwe situation.
9. Delegates to East African Law Society conference Dar es Salaam for referring to Mbeki as 'Thabo 'no crisis' Mbeki.
10. U.S. envoy to Africa, Jendayi Frazer, on a visit to South Africa, for saying Mugabe should do the honourable thing and step down.
11. Democratic Alliance in SA for calling on the South African government to press for Zimbabwe's expulsion from the AU and the imposition of travel sanctions on Zimbabwean government officials entering South Africa.

Appendix 3: NH Making Waves

Appendix 3.1

Website: *NH Making Waves*



***Making Waves* activist radio shows 2008:**

Airs on [WSCA](#) (106.1 FM, Portsmouth NH) Saturdays, 2-4 pm.
[Live streaming](#) is available from [WSCA \(win media\)](#).
Listen to any recent MW show [NOW](#), or [start podcasting!](#)

[Our radio4all index](#) - (sometimes unreachable)

[Format and sources](#) of a typical show

Select year: [2004 and before](#) | [2005](#) | [2006](#) | [2007](#) | 2008

Having trouble?

TECH HELP is available for [listeners](#), [producers](#), and [DJ's](#).

We want to hear from you!

To ask questions, make comments, offer help or donations,
or just say hello, please e-mail us at:

nhmakingwaves@yahoo.com

This index is updated at least monthly...

[MW186 \(May 31\)](#) - *Zinn on Stopping War*

Pt A - News: US tied to Iranian Terrorism, MW125 interviews: Howard Zinn on GI resistance, Rostam Pourzal on preventing war with Iran.

Pt B - OTB: the Precautionary Principle, Peak Oil Checkin, Radio Spin, Media Minutes, BTL, music.

[MW185 \(May 24\)](#) - *Soldiers Remembering*

Pt A - News: preventative detention of Iraqi children, interview: "Soldiers of Conscience," Commentary: Power Politics, EN: the 2008 Nightmare Ticket.

Pt B - OTBox: Secession, Peak Oil Check-in, Bucky Buckaw on the Backyard Chicken, BTL, music.

[MW184 \(May 17\)](#) - *Clarity, Creativity & Courage*

Pt A - News: Bush's collision with Reality, part 2 of Lappe: Getting a Grip, (1st half was last week).

Pt B - OTB: rewards, Peak Oil Checkin: the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, Weekly Radio Spin, Between the Lines, music, etc.

[MW183 \(May 10\)](#) - *Courage in a World Gone Mad*



Your donations help us
continue **Making Waves!**
Send checks to Seacoast Peace
Response, POB 863, Portsmouth NH
03802. Memo - Making Waves



Appendix 3.2

Website: *NH “Technical Help”*

Tech Notes for Making Waves Audio Producers:

[RECORDING](#) - [FORUMS](#) - [INTERVIEW](#) - [DIGITIZING](#) - [EDITING](#) - [INTEGRATION](#) - [PRE-PROCESS](#) - [POST-PROCESS](#) - [BACK](#)

The following instructions are intended to outline the simplest procedures for doing every step of the production process. There are of course always other ways of doing things and lots more to learn if you feel up for it. Here is a tutorial on the [CONCEPTS behind audio production](#) if you want to understand all the terms involved and what's really going on.

These instructions below assume that you are using a windows PC and not a Mac, although many of the steps should work on both.

You may need the following free software: [Audacity](#) (sound editor), [CDEX](#) (converter / CD extractor), [WinAmp](#) (player), [FileZilla](#) (FTP server / client) and [UltraVNC](#) (remote terminal software). Check occasionally for updates.

RECORDING

Record with the end product in mind. Before starting, spend a few minutes with [Google](#) familiarizing yourself with the topic and person being recorded, composing intros, insightful questions, and a one-sentence re-intro for longer pieces. Record *everything* likely to be needed including your transitions on location, so you have consistent background noise and don't have to dig out the mic again during editing.

Find a relatively quiet, not-windy location for recording. Foam mic covers must be used in wind, and you can put cheaper stand-alone recorders in a sock. It's a good idea to wear headphones while recording so you know what noises might cause problems. Any movement of your hands or other contact with the mic, wires, recorder, mic stand, the table it's on, etc *will* be audible in the recording. If you can both *speak up* and there is no background noise, just set up the mic or recorder on a table between you and who you are interviewing and leave it alone.

Otherwise, use a consistent hold on the mic and keep it 45 degrees to the side of the person, pointing the mic at them a few inches from their mouth. You DON'T want the wind from their speaking blowing directly at the mic, or the recording will have very loud and distorted "P" sounds. If your recorder supports it, set the mic sensitivity appropriately, depending on how loud the person talking is and how close you can get the mic to them. The volume adjuster often also changes how loud the recording will be. With extremely loud speakers, the mic should be a foot or more from their mouth.

Hopefully, all recorders that you are likely to borrow will have simplified instructions included with them.

RECORDING FORUMS

It's a good practice to get featured speakers to sign a simple waiver, simply stating that they authorize their talk to be recorded, edited, and re-distributed by Making Waves. However legally, any public speech, words said on a sidewalk, or other audio where speakers have no "reasonable expectation of privacy" is probably fair game without a waiver. Recording from the front row is OK, but get the mic within a couple of feet of the speaker's mouth is best, such as on the podium (briefly and politely coaching the speaker to avoid bumping the mic and podium is also wise). A close second is to wire directly into a "line-out" from the event's sound system or mixing board, if present. Most recorders have a "line-in," which is nearly always a "mini" plug (1/8th inch stereo). Connecting to the mixing board may be "mini," 1/4 inch, RCA, or XLR. So, a mini to mini wire, 1/4 inch stereo adapter, an RCA to mini wire, and a 1/4 inch to XLR adapter should cover all the likely possibilities.

Third best is to get the mic sensitivity to low and point it at the public address system a few feet from it. Question and Answer periods.

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Appendix 3.3

Website: *Seacoast Peace Response*

[Main Page](#)

[SAPA Calendar & Mailing Lists](#)

[Be All You Can Be Work For Peace!](#)

[Speaker & Film Series](#)

[Event Reports & Writings](#)

[SPR Audio/Video](#)

[Links](#)

SEACOAST PEACE RESPONSE

Seacoast Peace Response is dedicated to promoting peace and justice worldwide. We foster dialogue within the Seacoast community through public programming and non-violent action. We seek a peaceful US response to threats and acts of war.

Seacoast Area Peace Calendar

[In These Times Impeachment Rally April 14, Concord](#)

[View From a Grain of Sand" Tuesday, April 1, 7 pm Durham, NH](#)

[5 Years is Too Many Concord, March 15th.](#)

[Why We Need Real Diplomacy Tues Mar 4th UNH, Durham](#)

[Knowledge Is The Beginning February 15 th, Friday, 6:30 pm at The Space 2 Government St, Kittery ME](#)

Recent Events

[Film and discussion of "Joyeux Noel" December 20th, Thursday, 6:30pm at the Portsmouth Public Library, 175 Parrott Ave, Portsmouth NH](#)

[Ray McGovern: Inside Intelligenece: Behind the headlines on the Iran "Threat" and more. 12/17/07 Portsmouth Public Library.](#)


[Kathy Kelly and David Smith-Ferri in Portsmouth Oct. 26](#)



Appendix 4: *A-Infos Radio Project*

Appendix 4.1

Website: *Radio4all*



Broadcast Quality Programming Via The Internet
[Home](#) | [Project News](#) | [About](#) | [FAQ](#) | [Contact](#) | [Links](#) | [Indymedia Audio](#)

Latest Programs

program title	date	length
Kaputradio: # 43 I hate therfore I am	2008-06-22	00:30:00
The Motherland Influence: The Motherland Influence: June 22,2008	2008-06-22	02:00:50
Ambiance Congo: AMBIANCE CONGO: June 22, 2008	2008-06-22	01:57:54
Lost Discs Radio Show: Solstice Stuffing	2008-06-22	00:59:36
Hammond Bacon: Hammond Bacon 20080620	2008-06-22	01:58:01
New World Notes: #19 -- Surveillance (II): National ID Card	2008-06-22	00:29:44
Mutants On Parade: Fighting Tenaciously Against Failure (...)	2008-06-22	00:32:45
Bristol Broadband Co-operative: Dialect 18 June 2008	2008-06-22	00:59:59
\\ wtc7 // fri: jun 20th ::: The MATRIX : Election Fraud :...	2008-06-21	07:13:34
Talk Nation Radio: Dion Nissenbaum in Israel on Talk of a Mil...	2008-06-21	00:29:00
Mind Over Matters: Eat the Airwaves - 06/21/08	2008-06-21	00:29:09
Building Bridges: Greenhouse's The Big Squeeze;Reagan o...	2008-06-21	00:27:11
Yin Radio: 2-41 Water Stories	2008-06-21	00:58:49
Deconstructing Dinner: "Episode #100 - Best of May-August 20...	2008-06-21	00:59:44
Deconstructing Dinner: "Episode #100 - Best of May-August 20...	2008-06-21	00:59:44
Radio Ecoshock Show: Collapse & the Climate Crisis	2008-06-21	02:00:00
06/21/2008 Cheers and Jeers	2008-06-21	00:06:11
Global A Go-Go: June 20, 2008	2008-06-21	01:44:29
Pop dEFECT RADIO: Share The Music	2008-06-21	00:08:13
Redeye - Co-op Radio: Reflecting on the Korean War	2008-06-21	00:18:08
Redeye - Co-op Radio: Challenging impunity in Guatemala	2008-06-21	00:15:07
Redeye - Co-op Radio: Bill C-51 and prescription drugs	2008-06-21	00:13:54
Redeye - Co-op Radio: Asper Nation	2008-06-21	00:11:16
IRAQ WAR - THE HUMAN COST	2008-06-20	01:56:00
media monarchy: episode080 - june 20, 2008	2008-06-20	01:59:55

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