Is There a Role and Place
for Community Media in the Remit?

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The debates on a new public remit tend – not surprisingly – to focus on the different aspects of the public broadcasting service. Though legitimate questions originate from this focus, this article shifts the emphasis towards another group of media that can (potentially) play an important public role: community media [CM]. Because of the complexity of CM, which is characterised by the tension between the diversity and the specificity of these organisations, a multi-theoretical approach is used, combining four theoretical frameworks. The combination of these frameworks not only results in a more elaborate analysis of the identity of CM, highlighting the importance and the vulnerability of these CM-organisations, but also allows emphasising the need for a series of remedying strategies. These strategies are not only aimed at improving the position of CM, but are also oriented towards the re-conceptualisation of convergence from a technologically determined articulation to an articulation that centralises the democratic quality of public life.

Defining Community Media

The concept of community media has proven to be, in its long theoretical and empirical tradition[1], highly elusive. The multiplicity of media organisations that carry this name has caused most mono-theoretical approaches to focus on certain characteristics, while ignoring other aspects of the identity of CM. This theoretical problem necessitates the use of different approaches towards the definition of CM, which will allow for a complementary emphasis on different aspects of the identity of CM. This chapter aims to combine four theoretical approaches in order to capture both the diversity and specificity of these CM.

None of the four approaches discussed below can be considered as giving a sufficient overview when applied independently, as we postulate that the only way to capture the diversity that characterises CM is the simultane-

ous application of these four approaches. This does not exclude the interre-
lationships between the four approaches, especially within the two media-
centred approaches and the two society-centred approaches[2]. Differences
within these approaches are based on the application of a more essentialist
theoretical framework, as opposed to a more relationalist theoretical frame-
work[3]. These relationships can be summarised in Figure 1.

Figure 1.   Positioning the four theoretical approaches

	Media-centred	Society-centred
Autonomous Identity of CM (Essentialist)	Approach I: Serving the community	Approach III: Part of civil society
Identity of CM in relation to other identities (Relationalist)	Approach II: An alternative to mainstream	Approach IV: Rhizome

Implementing these four approaches highlights arguments stressing the im-
portance of CM in a wide range of areas; at the same time, they can (and
will) be used to analyse the weaknesses of and threats to CM. After a brief
description of each approach, they are then operationalised, directing the
analysis of arguments both emphasising the importance of CM and uncover-
ing weaknesses and threats. This analysis will lead to a summarising table
containing both sets of arguments.

A promising starting point for this theoretical analysis is given by the
'working definition' of community radio adopted by AMARC-Europe, the
former European branch of the World Association of Community Radio
Broadcasters[4]; an organisation that encompasses a wide range of radio prac-
tices in the different continents. Attempting to avoid a prescriptive defini-
tion, AMARC-Europe (1994: 4) labels a community radio station as "a 'non-
profit' station, currently broadcasting, which offers a service to the commu-
nity in which it is located, or to which it broadcasts, while promoting the
participation of this community in the radio".

Multi-theoretical approaches
Approach one: Serving a community

In AMARC's working definition, it is clear that there is a strong emphasis on
the concept of 'community.' Moreover, the geographical aspect is explicitly
highlighted ("in which it is located"), although other types of relationships
between medium and community are mentioned ("to which it broadcasts").
As Leunissen (1986) argues, conceptualisations of community refer predomi-

nantly to geography and ethnicity as structuring notions of the collective identity or the group relations. These structural conceptualisations are put firstly into perspective by introducing the concept of the 'community of interest', which extends community "across conurbations, nations and continents" (Lewis, 1993: 13). A second type of re-conceptualisation is based upon the emphasis of the symbolic construction of community, where Lindlof's (1988) concept of 'interpretative community' and Cohen's (1989) 'community of meaning' are relevant. Cohen for instance pleads for "a shift away from the structure of community towards a symbolic construction of community and in order to do so, takes culture, rather than structure as point of departure" (Cohen, 1989: 70).

CM are thus oriented towards a community, regardless of its exact nature (defined geographically/spatially or otherwise). The relationship between the community medium and the actual community transcends 'ordinary' one-way communication, where "topics are chosen in the same way, by professional communicators, and targeted towards the apparent needs and interests of the audience" (Berrigan, 1979: 7). As illustrated in AMARC's working definition (especially by the segment stating that CM should be "promoting the participation of this community"), relationships between broadcaster and community are defined by the concept of two-way communication. Access by the community and participation of the community are considered key defining factors. Referring to the 1977 meeting in Belgrade, Berrigan (1979:18) (partially) links access to the reception of information, education, and entertainment considered relevant by/for the community. Others limit access to mass media and see it as "the processes that permit users to provide relatively open and unedited input to the mass media" (Lewis, 1993: 12). Participation is seen here, following Pateman (1972: 71), as a process where the individual members (of a community) have a certain degree of power to influence or determine the outcome of that process. CM not only allow but also facilitate the participation of members of the community in both the produced content and the content producing organization. Both the production- and reception-approaches of access and participation are considered relevant to the definition of CM, and are summarised in Figure 2.

Figure 2.   Access and participation of the community

Production of meaning	Reception of meaning
Access to the content producing organisation → Ability to produce content and have it broadcast	Access to the content considered relevant → Ability to receive and interpret content
Participation in the produced content → Co-deciding on content	

Participation in the content producing organisation	
→ Co-deciding on policy	→ Evaluating the content

A. The importance of CM in approach one:
validating and empowering the community

In this first approach the relationship between the broadcaster and the community is placed in the foreground. By choosing a specific community as a target group, the (concept of) community itself is validated and strengthened. The audience is not defined as an aggregate of individuals who only share socio-demographic or economic characteristics, but instead as a collective of people holding a series of identifying group relations. In this fashion, the situated-ness of the audience, as part of complex set of social structures, is emphasised, deepening and bridging the traditional state-citizen and medium-audience dichotomies that tend to articulate the public and the audience as an aggregate of individuals. Moreover, the aim of CM in approach one to serve the community is often translated as enabling and facilitating access and participation by members of the community. 'Ordinary people'[5] are given the opportunity to have their voices heard and valued. Societal groups that are misrepresented, disadvantaged, stigmatised, or even repressed can especially benefit from using the channels of communication opened by CM, strengthening their internal identity, manifesting this identity to the outside world, and thus supporting social change and/or development.

B. Threats to CM in approach one: which community?

This orientation towards a community also creates a situation of dependency on this community, as two-way communication requires two partners more or less equally interested in communicating. While the dominant discourse on media is based on one-way communication, raising the community's interest to go beyond this limited form of communication does not speak for itself, due to what can be called the lack of two-way communication skills and interest. This problem is strengthened even more by the diffusion of specific technologies oriented towards one-way communication and the lack of technologies facilitating two-way communication. Moreover, the concept of community has often been reduced to its geographical meaning. This reduction has trapped CM in the position of small-scale local media, gradually de-emphasizing their role towards serving the community and eventually copying commercial media formats in their efforts to survive.

Approach two: CM as an alternative to mainstream media

A second approach to defining CM is based on the concept of alternative media. This concept introduces a distinction between mainstream and alternative media, where alternative media are seen as a supplement to mainstream media. As alternative media are sometimes defined in a negative relationship towards mainstream media, the contingency of this concept

should be emphasised: what is considered 'alternative' at a certain point in time could be defined as mainstream at another point in time. The societal context in which alternative media function is inseparable from the concept of 'alternative media' and serves as a starting point for the definition.

Present day mainstream media are usually considered to be large-scaled and geared towards large, homogeneous (segments of) audiences; state-owned organisations or commercial companies; vertically structured organisations staffed by professionals; and carriers of dominant discourses and representations. Alternative media can take a (or several) opposite position(s) on these matters. Typically they are small-scaled and oriented towards specific communities, possibly disadvantaged groups, respecting their diversity; independent from state and market; horizontally structured, allowing for the facilitation of audience access and participation within the frame of democratisation and multiplicity; and carriers of non-dominant (possibly counter-hegemonic) discourses and representations, stressing the importance of self-representation.

A. The importance of CM in approach two: supplementing, contesting and resisting mainstream media discourse

This second approach defines CM media as an alternative that supplements mainstream media both on organisational and content levels. At the organisational level, the existence of CM shows that media can exist independently from state and market. As the pressure on large-scale mainstream media to become more market-oriented tends to be considerable, CM shows that 'the third way' is still open for media organisations. The same argument can be applied for the (internal) structure of the media organisation, as large-scale mainstream media organisations have a tendency towards a more vertical structure. Again, the more horizontally structured CM show that alternative ways of organisation, and more balanced and/or horizontal structures, remain actual possibilities. On the content level, CM can offer representations and discourses that vary from those originating from the mainstream media. The main reason is keyed to the higher level of participation of different societal groups and communities.

Mainstream media tend to be oriented towards different types of elites, as is the case, for instance, in mainstream news broadcasts favouring government sources, often resulting in what is called structural bias (see McNair, 1998: 75 a.f.). The orientation of CM towards giving voice to various (older and newer) social movements, minorities, and sub/counter-cultures and the emphasis on self-representation, can result in a more diverse content, signifying the multiplicity of societal voices. At the same time, the critical stance towards the production values of the 'professional' working in mainstream media leads to a diversity of formats and genres and creates room for experimentation with content and form. In this fashion, CM can be rightfully seen as a breeding ground for innovation, later often recuperated by mainstream media.

B. Threats to CM in approach two: from alternative to marginal?
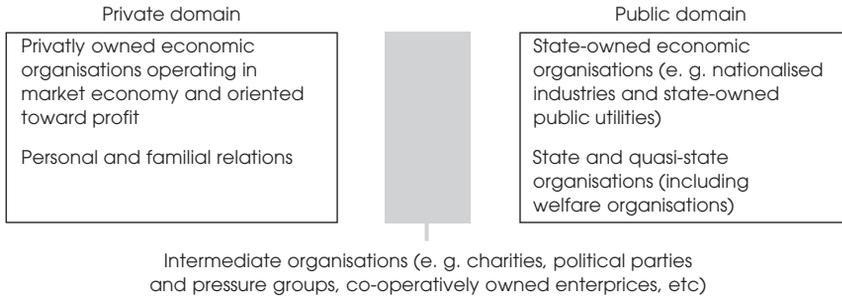
When CM are situated in an antagonistic relationship towards mainstream media, CM may find themselves in a less advantageous position. Being small-scale, independent, and horizontally structured organisations that carry non-dominant discourses and representations, hardly guarantees financial and organisational stability. This is especially pertinent when the antagonistic relationship between public and commercial media is placed in the context of competition, and these media try to hegemonise their identities at the expense of CM. In such cases, CM are articulated as unprofessional, inefficient, limited in their capacity to reach large audiences and as marginal as some of the societal groups to whom they try to give voice. In this fashion, the need for an alternative is denied, as mainstream media are deemed to cover all functions considered relevant to society. One of the main consequences of marginalising the alternative (or connotating it negatively, for instance as naïve, irrelevant or superfluous) is the low political priority given to what is considered to be 'marginal', causing a downward spiral for CM.

Approach three: Linking CM to the civil society

The explicit positioning of CM as independent from state and market supports the articulation of CM as part of civil society. Through this definition, these media can be considered the "third voice" (Servaes, 1999: 260) between state media and private commercial media. A starting point for defining CM as (part of) civil society can be found in Thompson's model describing the public and private domains in contemporary Western societies, where organisations related to the state are seen as constituting the public domain. Privately owned economic organisations geared towards profit, and also personal and family relations, are considered to be part of the private domain. Based on this distinction, civil society can be defined as a group of intermediate organisations, separate from the privately owned economic organisations operating in the market economy, personal and family relations[6] and from the state and quasi-state organisations. Figure 3[7] shows the positioning of civil society in between the private and public domain. Although the nature and structure of civil society varies across regions and continents, this Western-inspired model tends to be applicable in most continents, as the neo-liberal market economy has become the predominant form of organising society[8].

When reworking Thompson's model for the specificity of media organisations, a series of changes should be implemented to the model. Media deregulation, or more generally the impact of the neo-liberal discourse on media policies, has prompted public broadcasting organisations (in some continents) to adopt more market- and efficiency-driven approaches. This includes an increased emphasis on audience maximisation (c.f., Ang, 1991),
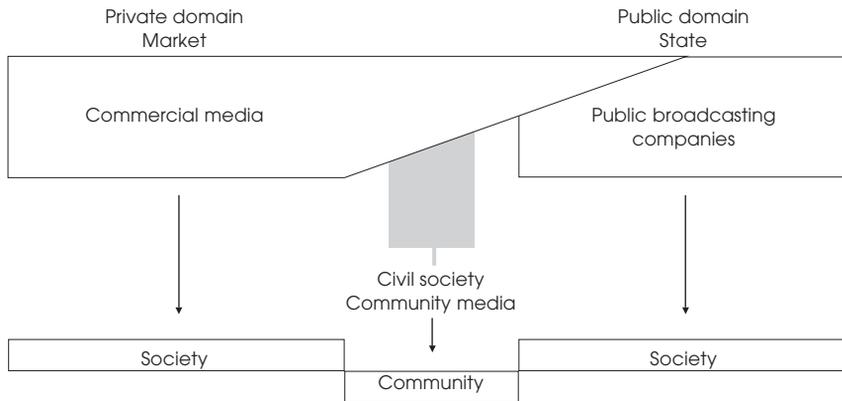
Figure 3.   Private and public domains in contemporary Western societies

Private domain

Public domain

| Privatly owned economic organisations operating in market economy and oriented toward profit

Personal and familial relations |

| State-owned economic organisations (e. g. nationalised industries and state-owned public utilities)

State and quasi-state organisations (including welfare organisations) |

Intermediate organisations (e. g. charities, political parties and pressure groups, co-operatively owned enterprices, etc)

Source: Thompson, 1995: 122.

thus orienting these broadcasting companies' efforts (even) more towards the societal level, and less to the community level. The reworked model in Figure 4 also shows how this reorientation has allowed the market-driven approach to penetrate the public domain.

Figure 4.   Media, market and state

Private domain
Market

Public domain
State

Commercial media

Public broadcasting
companies

Civil society
Community media

Society

Society

Community

Based on: Thompson, 1995: 122.

A. The importance of CM in approach three: deepening democracy

The third approach defines CM as part of civil society, a societal segment considered crucial for the viability of democracy. Although the nature of civil society can vary extensively across nations and continents, it is argued here that, following Cohen and Arrato (1992: vii-viii), this concept is relevant to most types of contemporary societies and can be seen as an important locus for the expansion or deepening of democracy by means of increasing the

level of participation (see Held, 1987). CM can firstly be seen as an 'ordinary' part of civil society, as one of the many types of organisations that are active in the field of civil society. The democratisation *of* media, as Wasko and Mosco (1992: 7) call this, allows citizens to be active in one of many (micro)spheres relevant to daily life and to exert their rights to communicate.

Secondly, as different political philosophers (from Rousseau, J.S. Mill and Wollstonecraft onwards) have pointed out, these forms of micro-participation are to be considered important because they allow people to learn and adopt democratic and/or civic attitudes, thus strengthening (the possible forms) of macro-participation. When the specificity of broadcasters and their potential role as (one of the) major public sphere(s) is brought into focus and CM are not defined as just 'ordinary' parts of civil society, these media become important because they contribute to what Wasko and Mosco (1992: 13) call the democratisation *through* media. CM offers different societal groups and communities the opportunity for extensive participation in public debate and for self-representation in the (or a) public sphere, thus entering the realm of enabling and facilitating macro-participation.

B. Threats to CM in approach three: a viable civil society?

This approach also allows a foregrounding of the struggle between CM (as part of civil society), the state and the market. Commercial (and public) media tend to see CM as "contenders in a Darwinistic struggle among commercially oriented media" (Prehn, 1992: 266). The rejection of advertising as a prime source of income by CM places them in a financially hazardous situation, sometimes making them limp from one financial crisis to another. The situation for CM becomes even worse when they (as part of civil society) are considered to be a threat to a repressive state. The objectives of CM can cause some state apparatus to interfere, placing staff in sometimes life-threatening situations. When focusing on the internal functioning of CM, it should be emphasised that "making democracy work", to quote the title of one of Putnam's (1993) main publications, is a very difficult task that needs constant attention. Organisations that are horizontally structured and oriented towards community participation have to deal with a certain degree of inefficiency, sometimes making their functioning and the realisation of their objectives impossible or perverting these objectives.

Approach four: CM as rhizome

Although the civil society approach defines CM in (a negative) relation to the state and market, this theoretical position remains often based on the autonomous identity of the different actors. In many cases it tends to ignore the contingency and interdependency of these identities[9]. For this reason the

relationist elements that are present in the civil society approach are combined with some of the critical approaches of CM as alternative media – elaborated by Downing (2000) and Rodriguez (2001) – and furthermore radicalised and unified by building on Deleuze and Guattari's theory of the rhizome (1987).

This theory is based on the juxtaposition of rhizomatic and arbolic thinking[10]. The arbolic is linear, hierarchic and sedentary, and could be represented as "the tree-like structure of genealogy, branches that continue to subdivide into smaller and lesser categories" (Wray, 1998: 3). It is, according to Deleuze and Guattari, the philosophy of the State. On the other hand, the rhizomatic is non-linear, anarchic and nomadic. "Unlike trees or their roots, the rhizome connects any point to any other point…" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987: 19). The image of the rhizome allows incorporating the high level of contingency that characterises CM. Both their embedded-ness in a fluid civil society (as part of a larger network) and their antagonistic relationship towards the state and the market (as 'alternative' to mainstream public and commercial media) make the identity of CM highly elusive. In this approach it is argued that this elusiveness and contingency, as is the case for a rhizome, forms its main defining element.

As rhizomes, CM tend to cut across borders and build linkages between pre-existing gaps: "a rhizome ceaselessly establishes connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences and social struggles" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987: 7). In the case of CM, these connections apply not only to the pivotal role CM (can) play in civil society, but also to the linkages CM (and other civil organisations) can establish with (segments of) the state and the market, without losing their proper identity. In this sense, CM do not operate completely outside the

Figure 5. Civil society and community media as rhizome
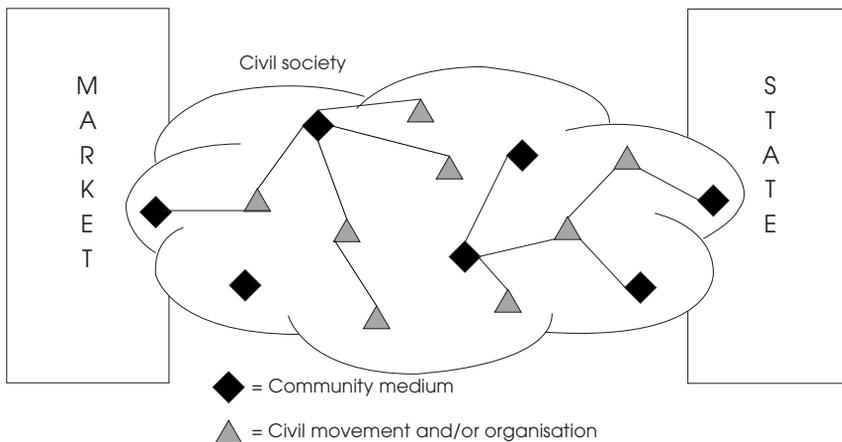
market and/or the state, although the identity of CM is simultaneously defined in an antagonistic relationship (as being an alternative to the mainstream) towards the market and the state. Moreover, CM are (through their existence) potentially destabilising ('deterritorialising' in Deleuze and Guattari's theory) the rigidities and certainties of public and commercial media organisations, allowing the more fluid aspects of these organisations to surface.

A. The importance of CM in approach four: connecting civil society

This fourth approach builds on and extends the importance that is attributed to civil society and (in relation to) democracy. In contrast to the third approach, the main emphasis for describing the importance of CM is not their role as part of the public sphere, but the catalysing role they can play by functioning as the crossroads where people from different types of movements and struggles meet and collaborate, such as people from different women's, peasants', students', and/or anti-racist movements. In this fashion CM not only function as an instrument giving voice to a group of people related to a specific issue (and/or), but also can function as a catalyzator, grouping people already active in different types of struggle for equality (or other issues). Especially in the field of radical democratic theory, ample emphasis is attributed to the necessity for linking diverse democratic struggles in order to allow the "common articulation of, for example, antiracism, antisexism and anticapitalism", as one of the proponents puts it (Mouffe, 1997: 18). She continues by stressing the need to establish an equivalence between these different struggles, as it is not considered sufficient to establish "a mere alliance" (Mouffe, 1997: 19) but deemed necessary to modify "the very identity of these struggles…in order that the defence of workers' interests is not pursued at the cost of the rights of women, immigrants or consumers" (Mouffe, 1997: 19).

The approach of CM as rhizomatic also makes it possible to highlight the fluidity and contingency of (community) media organisations, in contrast to the rigid ways mainstream public and commercial media often (have to) function. Because of the elusive identity of CM, they can – by their mere existence and functioning – question and destabilise the rigidities and certainties of public and commercial media organisations. At the same time, this elusiveness makes CM (as a whole) hard to control and to encapsulate in legislation, thus guaranteeing their independence.

B. Threats to CM in approach four: diverging interests and the lack of a clear 'common ground'

This fourth approach allows us to consider additional threats to the existence and functioning of CM. It is possible that its potential role at the crossroads of different social movements is simply not realised when CM-organisations, for instance, choose an isolationist position or propagate one overpowering type of social struggle. Moreover, this role can also endanger these

organisations when the objectives of (one of) these movements conflict with the objectives of the broadcaster itself, and when the independence vis-à-vis these movements and/or civil organisations might be threatened. Further, the complex relationship with state and market organisations creates the risk of incorporation of the CM by these state and market organisations and/or the loss of their independence, for instance financial. The approach of CM as rhizome uncovers a fourth potential threat to the existence of CM: these media signify the fluidity and contingency of media organisations, in contrast to the rigidities and certainties of public and commercial media organisations. This very elusiveness might prevent the existence of a 'common ground' on which policy may act. This lack of a clear 'common ground', unifying and structuring CM as such, complicates the functioning of the organisations representing CM (such as, for instance, AMARC) and has prevented the emergence of a well-defined CM-movement.

The four approaches and the deduced arguments showing the importance and weaknesses of CM are summarised in Figure 6. This overview articulates CM as an important but vulnerable type of media organisation.

Strategies for change

In the final part of this chapter, we focus on a series of possible strategies to improve the situation of CM, taking into account both the diversity and the specificity of CM. We suggest two types of strategies. The first group of strategies is aimed towards strengthening the niches CM often are located in, being caught in the uneasy position between market and state. The second group of strategies focuses more at the societal context in which CM function: by enlarging the network (or rhizome) CM are part of, their democratic function within civil society can be realised to a higher degree.

Strengthening the niches

In order to improve the position of their CM, several countries have established media funds, specifically oriented towards direct project funding[11], privileging CM. These (community) media funds could also function on a more transnational level, allowing CM from a specific continent or different continents to apply for direct project subsidies. A second point of attention is the quality of legislation and its enforcement in different countries and continents. This legislation should not be limited to the protection of human rights (in their widest sense), but needs to recognise the specificity and difference of CM on technical, organisational and content-related levels, at the same time allowing for the establishment of strategic alliances with public mainstream media.

Figure 6. Summarising the four theoretical approaches

Approaches to community media	1	2	3	4
	Serving a community	Community media as an alternative to mainstream media	Linking community media to the civil society	Community media as rhizome
Importance of community media	• Validating and strengthening the community • Treating the audience as situated in a community • Enabling and facilitating access and participation by members of that community • Topics that are considered relevant for the community can be discussed by members of that community • Opening a channel of communication for misrepresented, stigmatised or repressed societal groups	• CM show that 'the third way' is still open for media organisations • Alternative ways of organisation, and more balanced and/or horizontal structures remain an actual possibility • CM can offer representations and discourses that vary from those originating from mainstream media • Emphasis on self-representation, resulting in a multiplicity of societal voices • Diversity of formats and genres – room for experiments	• Importance of civil society (as such) for democracy, with CM as part of civil society • Democratisation of media in relation to micro- & macro-participation • Democratisation through media: extensive participation in public debate and opportunities for self-representation in the (or a) public sphere	• CM as the crossroads where people from different types of movements and struggles meet and collaborate • Deepening democracy by linking diverse democratic struggles • Highlighting the fluidity and contingency of media organisations • Questioning and destabilising the rigidities and certainties of public and commercial media organisations, making at the same time room for collaboration and partnerships • Elusiveness makes CM (as a whole) hard to control and to encapsulate – guaranteeing their independence

Threats to Community media	• Dependency towards the community • Raising the community's interest for two way communication when the dominant media discourse is based on one way communication • Lack of two-way communication skills and interest • Lack of technology facilitating two-way communication • Reduction of community to its geographical meaning, trapping CM in the position of small-scale local media, gradually de-emphasising their role towards serving the community	• Lack of financial and organisational stability, being small-scale, independent and horizontally structured organisations • Articulated as unprofessional, inefficient, limited in their capacity to reach large audiences and as marginal as some of the societal groups they try to give voice to • Low political priority given to the 'marginal'	• CM as contenders among commercially oriented media • Rejection of advertising as a prime source of income leads to financially hazardous situations • Dangers caused by a repressive state • Dealing with a certain degree of inefficiency • Making democracy work requires constant attention	• Not realising its role as crossroads • Diverging or conflicting objectives with civic organisations, threatening the medium's independence towards these organisations • Incorporation by state and market organisations, loss of independence towards these organisations • Lack of a clear 'common ground' leading to lack of policy efforts, complicating the functioning of representative organisations and preventing the emergence of a well-defined CM-movement

Enlarging the network/rhizome

At the same time, policies could be oriented towards the important role CM can play for maintaining, and deepening the level of democratisation. This democratic function is especially related to their role as a nodal point in the network of civil society. The first step in improving the strength of the rhizome is improving the network between the different CM themselves, an aim that could be realised by the structural (financial) support for the representative national and international organisations of CM. This could allow these representative organisations (among others) to increase the number of 'regional offices', to organise the exchange of programmes, and the ability to exchange CM staff. In these ways, the contacts between CM collaborators from different countries and/or continents might be established, thus stimulating organisational learning and networking. Furthermore, the number of connections between CM and non-media civil organisations should be increased. Project funding specifically aimed at the collaboration between media and non-media organisations should be given priority. Exchange programmes and other contacts between the staff – working on compatible issues – of these different organisations should be stimulated. In this fashion, the opportunities for partnerships between media and non-media organisations are increased and the media-centrality that still (sometimes partially) characterises most media organisations would be diminished.

Finally, the importance of the connections between public (and other) mainstream media and CM should be stressed. The rhizomatic approach allows breaking through the rigid separations that are created by the antagonistic position towards mainstream media (approach II) and towards the market and the state as such (approach III). This fourth approach especially creates more room for collaboration with public mainstream media, which would be beneficial for both parties if carried out with the utmost respect for the identities of the actors involved.

The establishment of partnerships between public broadcasters and CM would firstly strengthen the rather problematic, vulnerable and isolated position of CM, allowing them to function on a larger scale. These partnerships would also enable public broadcasters to stretch beyond their own limitations, as the resulting (financial and/or organisational) support for CM contributes to the realisation of some of the public remit's objectives that have shown extremely difficult to realise when tackled in a non-collaborative fashion. These strategic alliances would thirdly offer public broadcasters a unique form of organisational learning, enabling them to be confronted with a wide range of practices that are closely related to the public remit and that public broadcasters have in many cases failed to incorporate in their own functioning. The achievements and limitations of CM in relation to facilitating and realising access, participation, self-representation, self-management, community, diversity, pluralism and democracy ought to be considered a knowledge reservoir that can and should be accessed by public broadcasters.

These different strategies, when implemented with the utmost respect for diversity and specificity, can allow CM to remain in a position where they can (continue to) serve their communities, act as an alternative to mainstream media (discourse), push for democratisation in and through media, and function as a crossroads of civil society.

Notes

1. See for instance Janowitz' work on the community press, which was first published in 1952.
2. The object of this article – community media – of course complicates an unequivocal society-centred approach. In stead this type of approach should be interpreted as the societal contextualization of (community) media.
3. This implies that in approaches one and three, the identity of community media is defined as autonomous, while in approaches two and four this identity is defined in relationship to other identities.
4. The World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters is usually referred to by its French acronym AMARC, or the 'Association Mondiale des Radio diffuseurs Communautaires'. The AMARC website can be found at: http://www.amarc.org.
5. In other words: people who are not part of a societal elite (including politicians, experts, and media professionals) and those not considered celebrities.
6. When defining civil society, Cohen and Arrato (1992: ix) explicitly include what they call the intimate sphere. The exact nature of civil society, and the question of which spheres to include is beyond the objectives of this text.
7. Graph 3 is a replica of Thompson's (1995: 122) model on public and private domains. Graph 4 is based on Graph 3, but has been thoroughly reworked.
8. Even in societies where the public domain is to be considered repressive towards civil society, different forms of what Lewis (1993: 127) named '*pockets of resistance*' emerge, as could well be illustrated by the existence of the Samizdat in the former U.S.S.R.
9. An example of the theorisation of the civil society-state interdependency can be found in the work of Walzer (1998: 138), when he articulates his paradoxical civil society argument: '…the state is unlike all the other associations. It both frames civil society and occupies space within it. It fixes the boundary conditions and the basic rules of all associational activity (including political activity). He later continues with a much quoted and contested sentence: 'Only a democratic state can create a democratic civil society; only a democratic society can sustain a democratic state.' (Walzer, 1998: 140)
10. Deleuze and Guattari have developed a theory that is situated within the field of epistemology. Here we focus more on organisational structures that are seen as the sedimentation of the arbolic and/or rhizomatic ways of thinking.
11. Examples are the French 'Fonds de soutien à l'expression radiophonique' and the South-Belgian 'Fonds d'aide à la création radiophonique', that redistribute a taxation on advertising revenues for audiovisual media. Both can be translated as support funds for the radiophonic expression or creation.

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