UNIVERSITÉ DU QUÉBEC À MONTRÉAL

MÉDIA CITOYENS :

UNE ÉTUDE DE CAS DE LA RADIO COMMUNAUTAIRE

À MONTEVIDEO (URUGUAY) ET À MONTRÉAL (QUÉBEC)

MÉMOIRE

PRÉSENTÉ

COMME EXIGENCE PARTIELLE

DE LA MAÎTRISE EN COMMUNICATION

PAR

EVAN LIGHT

JANVIER 2007

UNIVERSITÉ DU QUÉBEC À MONTRÉAL

A MEDIA OF CITIZENS :
A CASE STUDY OF COMMUNITY RADIO IN MONTRÉAL (QUÉBEC)
AND MONTEVIDEO (URUGUAY)

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER IN COMMUNICATION

BY
EVAN LIGHT

JANUARY 2007

UNIVERSITÉ DU QUÉBEC À MONTRÉAL
Service des bibliothèques

Avertissement

AVANT-PROPOS

Within the following pages, I examine the roles, potentials and limitations of community radio. As a locally-based media which manifests itself on a global scale, it is defined within a myriad of social, communicational and media traditions as well as varying legal frameworks. Community radio, as with other forms of citizen-focused media, has great potential in terms of creating accessible spaces for community dialogue, social self-representation, and information and media democratization. The development of this media, however, is often hampered by dominant ideologies and practices of democracy, social communication, media use and media regulation. Thus, the goal herein is not simply to examine alternatives to these dominant ideologies and practices but to propose ways in which these alternatives can be integrated as functional social norms.

The origins of this subject lie in a desire to measure the feasibility of a national media system based primarily on social communication and dialogue as opposed to currently dominant systems which are based primarily on commercial ideology. Inextricably linked to this inspiration is my own personal history in community radio which began in 1993 as a volunteer at WLFR (Lake Fred Radio), a college radio station in the woods of southern New Jersey. Since 1995, I have been a volunteer in various roles at CKUT Radio in Montréal, Québec, one of the many stations examined in this study. Throughout this time, I have variably observed the great potential of this media and the tremendous limitations imposed upon it and

embodied by it. Among the hopes for the work which follows is that it serve as concrete tool for the advancement of citizen-based media, if not the full realization of its vast potential.

This study has been conducted within the methodological macro-framework of a "cross-border" comparative case study and aims to present a working methodological model that can be adapted by future researchers. It consists of two individual case studies examining community radio within the urban environs of Montréal, Québec and Montevideo, Uruguay. Within each self-contained case study, it will examine the self-perceived roles of community radio, the historical development of these roles, the relationship between communications regulation and the identity of community radio and the strengths and weaknesses of each community radio system. A final analysis will compare the results of these studies in order to derive common theories on citizen-level media use and examine common barriers to the development of such media.

The research conducted for the creation of this thesis seeks to directly implicate and represent the diverse actors in the complicated social construct of community radio. It consists primarily of the qualitative analysis of interviews with community radio practitioners, the analysis of past studies in this field and the analysis of telecommunications regulatory frameworks. In order to both broaden the representation of actors within the scope of this thesis and to conduct research which inspires dialogue, interviews have been conducted with local experts in the field of communications and community media and with regulatory actors themselves. It is hoped that dialogue that has been brought about during this study and that which will develop as a result of it will help close the gap between those in the privileged positions of regulating, observing and analysing society and those who are more often regulated, observed and analysed. As a work which will focus, in part, upon regulatory transparency and participatory democracy, it aims to contribute actively and concretely to the advancement of such ideals.

REMERCIEMENTS

Thank you to my parents, Jeffrey and Adria Light, for their incredible understanding and support and for steering my mind and ear to southern New Jersey's single college radio station so many years ago. And to the innumerable friends who kept me sane and fed throughout the preparation and completion of this thesis, especially my French-language editors Geneviève, Marylise, Daniella, Virginie, Julie, Judith and Isabelle.

Many thanks to my thesis advisor Carmen Rico de Sotelo, professor at the Département de communication sociale et publique at l'Université du Québec à Montréal. She has supported me relentlessly since the beginning of my time at UQAM and convinced me that language acquisition can, indeed, be a by-product of scholarly work. Thank you for your guidance, your energy and your office without which this would have been written in much less comfortable environs.

A special thanks to everybody in Uruguay who made this work possible : Rosina, Atilio y famila for their incredible kindness, support and Spanish lessons; Bruce Girard and Amy Mahan for their guidance, friendship, and ceaseless support of every sort; Monica Maronna and Rosario Sanchez, professors in the Departamento de comunicación at Universidad Católica del Uruguay for their generosity during my months of research in Montevideo; Maria Vigo, Fernando Tetes, Juan Carbajal Varsi and Carolina for their friendship and life lessons.

Thank you to the large network of community radio folk in Uruguay who enthusiastically agreed to be a major part of this research project : Gustavo Gomez and AMARC-ALC, ECOS,

TABLE DES MATIÈRES

ABRÉVIATIONS ET ACRONYMES

ALER – Asociación Latinoamericana de Educación Radiofónica / Latinamerican Association of Radio Education

AMARC – World Association of Community Broadcasters

AMARC-ALC – World Association of Community Broadcasters – Latin America and Caribbean

AM – Amplitude modulation

AMARC-Uruguay – Association of Uruguayan community radios affiliated with AMARC

APU – Asociación de la Prensa Uruguaya / Uruguayan Press Association

ARC – Alliance des radios communautaires (Canada)

ARCQ – Association des radios communautaires du Québec

BBC – British Broadcasting Corporation

BBM – Bureau of Broadcast Measurement

CAB – Canadian Association of Broadcasters

CBC – Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

CEM – Le centre d'études sur les médias (Université Laval)

CFLI - Former closed circuit student radio station at Concordia University (Canada)

CHOQ – Internet-based student radio station of Université du Québec à Montréal

CHUM – Large commercial broadcasting corporation (Canada)

CJLO – Campus-community radio station of Concordia University (Montréal)

CIBL – Francophone community radio station in Montréal

CINQ – Multi-cultural community radio station in Montréal

CISM – Campus-community radio station of Université du Montréal

CKRL – Community radio station in Québec City

CKUT – Campus-community radio station of McGill University

Comcosur – Communication Con Sur / Communication Southern Cone

CRSG – Former closed circuit student radio station at Concordia University (Canada)

CRTC – Canadian Radio-Telecommunications Commission

CRU – La coalition des radios universitaires (Canada)

ECOS – Association of community radio stations (Uruguay)

EMEREC – émission-être-reception

emirec – emisor-receptor / emitter-receptor

FEUU – Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios del Uruguay / Uruguayan University

Students' Federation

FM – Frequency modulation

FPJQ – Fédération Professionnelle des Journalistes du Québec

FUCVAM – Federación Uruguaya de Cooperativas de Vivienda y Ayuda Mutua / Uruguayan

Federation of Housing Cooperatives and Mutual Aid

IELSUR – Instituto de Estudios Legales y Sociales / Institute of Legal and Social Studies

ITU – International Telecommunications Union

KPFA – Community radio station in California (United States of America)

MPP-FA – Movimiento de Participación Popular – Frente Amplio / Popular Participation

Movement – Broad Front

NCRA – National Campus and Community Radio Association (Canada)

NCRC – National Campus and Community Radio Conference (Canada)

NGO – Non-governmental organization

PAMEC – Programme d'aide aux médias communautaires (Québec)

PR – Public relations

RCI – Radio-Canada International

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

URSEC – Unidad Reguladora de Servicios de Comunicaciones / Regulatory Unit of Communications Services (Uruguay)

TABLEAUX

RÉSUMÉ

Popular notions of media use in North America are historically limited to commercial forms of media and consumption, focusing on consumption rather than communication. Community-based media, however, provide alternative approaches to media use and social communication that can be incorporated into the broader management structures of democratic society.

Community radio is the subject of study through which we explore this problematic. While our airwaves are recognized internationally as the property of mankind, current systems of regulation structurally privilege their use by private and commercial enterprise over that of citizens. In order to address this problematic, we consider the role of national media systems in terms of their communicational relationships with the social body.

This thesis seeks to explore the roles, potentials and limitations of community radio. Our objective is to provide an extensive evaluation of the current state of community radio in Montréal, Québec and Montevideo, Uruguay and to propose concrete and practical steps towards the further development of this form of media.

Our work has been conducted in the form of a comparative case study. We perform qualitative analysis of extensive sets of interviews from all licensed community broadcasters in Montréal, twelve recognized community broadcasters in Montevideo and interviews with local communication experts, community radio associations and communications regulators.

During our research, we have become equally intrigued by the potential of the communications researcher to function as a catalyst and intermediary actor in communications policy reform. Thus, our case studies have been performed from a necessarily critical and practical perspective.

KEY WORDS : ALTERNATIVE; COMMUNICATIONS POLICY; COMMUNITY; INDEPENDENT; PUBLIC SPACE; REFORM; URUGUAY

RÉSUMÉ

L'usage des médias, dans les conceptions populaires, est historiquement restreint à des formes commerciales de médias dans une optique de consommation. Cependant, les médias communautaires abordent l'usage des médias et la communication sociale d'une manière qui peut s'incorporer à l'intérieur des superstructures normatives de la société démocratique.

Notre sujet d'étude, la radio communautaire, nous permet d'aborder cette problématique. Alors que nos ondes radiophoniques sont reconnues internationalement comme patrimoine social, les systèmes de réglementations actuels donnent des privilèges d'utilisation aux entreprises privées et commerciales plutôt qu'aux citoyens. Pour aborder cette problématique, nous considérons le rôle des systèmes nationaux des médias selon leurs relations communicationnelles avec le corps social.

Ce mémoire explore les rôles, les potentiels et les limitations de la radio communautaire. Notre objectif est de faire une évaluation extensive de l'état actuel de la radio communautaire à Montréal au Québec et à Montevideo en Uruguay, et de proposer des étapes concrètes et pratiques pour développer ce genre de média à un niveau optimal.

Notre travail se présente comme une étude de cas comparative dans laquelle nous employons la méthode qualitative d'analyse. L'essentiel de notre corpus se compose d'entrevues, d'observation participante et de textes de chercheurs spécialisés, ainsi que d'entretiens réalisés au sein d'associations de radios communautaires, de l'ensemble des radios communautaires à Montréal, d'une douzaine de diffuseurs communautaires à Montevideo et auprès de représentants du gouvernement.

L'ensemble du temps consacré à cette recherche nous a révélé des faits intrigants. D'abord le potentiel du chercheur en communication comme élément catalyseur autant que son rôle possible d'acteur intermédiaire dans la réforme des politiques de la communication. Notre recherche s'appuie donc sur une perspective critique et pratique.

MOTS-CLEFS : ALTERNATIF; POLITIQUES DE LA COMMUNICATION; COMMUNAUTAIRE; ESPACE PUBLIC; RÉFORME; URUGUAY

INTRODUCTION

As has been documented in many academic studies, government reports and international dialogues, our world is one which is increasingly and overwhelmingly mediatized. The prime mover of this pervasive social and cultural superstructure is commerce, an art which has served to consolidate media ownership, public political opinion and economic power. While there is great potential in the use of media for social communication and social self-representation and many examples of this potential in practice, such concepts are largely absent from public, regulatory and academic approaches to media use. Not only has the commercial superstructure monopolized the means to communicate, it has monopolized the conceptualization of media within the public imagination.

Known alternately as citizen's media, community media, autonomous media, alternative media and radical media (among other terms) there are traditions of media use which would define themselves in opposition to the dominant commercial model. While many media groups operating under this banner may indeed have employees, financial goals are not the ultimate goals. The study presented herein examines a subset of this form of media – that of community radio. Having developed on an international scale according local factors of tradition and necessity, it is a uniquely positioned form of media. Local and global, it utilizes the radio spectrum which itself has been recognized internationally as property of mankind. Although the concept of community radio has been practised since the 1940's, the serious study of this media has only recently begun, even then on a very limited scale. While case studies

have occasionally examined individual radio stations in Canada, none have examined the community radio system as a whole. The situation is more positive in Latin America where international organizations of community radio stations have conducted their own large-scale studies and other work has examined individual national systems. The community radio stations of Uruguay, however, have never been included in such studies. Thus, in an effort to diversify the manner in which community radio is studied, the campus-community radio sector of Montréal is examined here as a limited subset of the Canadian national sector and the community radio sector of Montevideo as a limited subset of the Uruguayan community radio sector.

The first Canadian community radio stations appeared in the 1970's. Due to the fact that it has permitted the existence of community radio as a legitimate sector of the broadcast system since this time, Canada's legislative framework has become an ideal for community radio advocates. Québec, in particular, has worked consistently since the 1970's to strengthen the community media sector within its borders. That said, recent studies both in the world of academia and that of federal self-examination have demonstrated a continued and unhealthy concentration of media ownership in Canada, a country which currently has no laws governing the concentration of media ownership. Provincial funding of community radio in Québec has steadily decreased during the same period.

Unlicensed union-managed broadcasters operated in some neighbourhoods of Montevideo, Uruguay during the 1950's and numerous unlicensed community broadcasters have been active since the country's transition from dictatorship to democracy in 1984. To this day, however, community radio is illegal in Uruguay besides the fact that there are an estimated 60-80 such broadcasters operating in the country. Federal governments here have historically and consistently ignored the importance of developing and regulating the communications sector. Similar to the case with Canada, there has never been an extensive study of community broadcasting in the country. Media ownership concentration is extremely high and has been

documented in three studies since 1997. As in Canada, concentration of media ownership is unregulated in Uruguay.

The research presented here aims to examine the use of community radio as a space of community dialogue, social self-representation, and information and media democratization. In doing so, we will examine the construction of dominant ideologies and practices of democracy, social communication, media use and media regulation as well as those which have been marginalized. The simultaneous local and international positioning of community radio presents us with a unique opportunity through which we can conduct research both locally and internationally, examining the role of community radio within a variety of social and cultural contexts, according to different social and cultural values.

We approach this study through the macro-methodology of a "cross-border" comparative case study. Within this framework, the community radio systems of Montréal, Québec and Montevideo, Uruguay will be examined individually in order to determine the self-defined roles of community radio within each context. The legal and social frameworks which define each system will be considered individually according to the extent to which they facilitate the pervasive use of community radio. In a final step, these two systems will be analysed in opposition to one another in order to determine common ideals as well as variables which are unique to each system.

Within the context of each individual study, we operate according to an interview-based investigatory methodology. In each city, semi-guided interviews have been carried out with either the operational collectives, representatives of these collectives or station managers depending on the individual radio station structure. In order to examine the state of community radio from multiple vantage points as well as thoroughly document the history of these two media systems, supplementary interviews have been conducted with regional and national community radio organizations, local experts with extensive knowledge of both the national and

local community-based media systems, local community media producers and telecommunications regulators.

This work is organized in six chapters in addition to the introduction and conclusion. The first chapter situates the problematic of community radio within the world of monopolized media and public consciousness. It outlines our explicit lines of examination and specific research questions. In addition, this chapter contains a review and summary of past studies conducted in this area of research, demonstrating the place of the current study among them.

In Chapter II, theories of participatory communication and media use, citizenship, public space and democracy will be explored in relation to community radio. We rely heavily upon Latin American theorists such as Jesús Martín-Barbero in an effort to avoid the ideological trappings at play in much North American work. While a majority of North American approaches to evaluating systems of media and theories of media use work from within the dominant socio-political organization of capitalism, the participatory and representative rights and roles of individuals – factors which are central to our approach, have been more adequately developed within the social and historical context of Latin America.

The methodological framework of this study is detailed within Chapter III. We explain the justifications, advantages and mechanics of conducting an international comparative case study. Our exact approach is presented in detail, elaborating upon the corpus composition of each individual case study and our methods of evaluation.

Chapter IV consists of a case study of the Montréal campus-community radio system. First, a brief history of Montréal campus-community radio is presented. The Canadian regulatory framework for campus-community radio is then analysed, followed by presentation of each radio station included in the study. We have used regulatory licenses as a standard and have thus included every station currently operating as a campus-community or community

broadcaster in the metropolitan area. Finally, we present a complete analysis of the Montréal campus-community radio system.

The Montevideo community radio system will be addressed in Chapter V. First we present a history of community radio in Uruguay based on previous studies and upon our extensive set of interviews. We will also present a brief recent history of the country in order to situate our study within a unique historical context. While Uruguay lacks the standard of community radio licensing, two national community radio coordinators define local standards and have been active on an international scale for quite some time. Only members of these two coordinators have been included in the study. We will present each of the radio stations who agreed to take part in this study followed by a complete analysis of the Montevideo community radio system.

Chapter VI consists of a cross analysis of these two distinct case studies, proceeding along the lines of investigation presented in chapters I and II. It responds directly to the questions posed the first chapter with the goal of determining common and unique social and cultural factors within the community radio systems of Montréal and Montevideo. Hoping to facilitate positive and systematic change, we will determine common regulatory and ideological limitations to the successful advancement of community radio and propose basic social and legislative frameworks for creating enabling environments for this form of media.

CHAPITRE I
CONTEXTE ET PROBLÉMATIQUE

Since its advent, radio has served as a widespread and often primary form of media in various corners of the world, largely due to its financial and technical accessibility and its definitively aural nature. Thanks to relatively inexpensive costs for both radio media producer and listener, community radio has become a hub for citizen-level social implication within the current commercial monopoly-dominated environment of global media communications. Used as a tool of social communication, community radio can serve as a potent vehicle for the democratization and demystification of information and media, enabling citizens to access media as producers and consumers alike. While by its very definition community radio is focused upon local concerns, it manifests itself on a broad national, regional, and international scale with a variety of coordination efforts and organizations. Within these divisions, a myriad of ideologies and ideals are at work constructing and sustaining a media fundamentally by and for citizens.

Airwaves have been alternately appropriated and reserved for public use since the early days radio. In North America, the concept of listener-sponsored radio began with the founding of radio station KPFA and their accompanying Pacifica Radio Foundation in San Francisco, California in 1949 (Fairchild, 2001). This model of community radio is perhaps that most widespread in North America today (King, 2002). In the case of Canada, the first campus radio station began operating at Queen's University in 1922, but the first community stations

did not appear until the mid-1970's when stations were founded in Vancouver, Kitchener, Ottawa, and Montréal (Stevenson, Ward, and Kaestner, 2004). Community-based radio stations in Latin America generally originate from two traditions. In 1947, Radio Sutatenza was founded in Colombia and set the stage for the development of what is now a substantial network of educational radio stations throughout Latin America embodied in the organization of ALER[1]. In 1952, twenty-six mining community radio stations in Bolivia formed a network as a functional and fundamental part of labour organizing and social resistance (Robledo, 1998, pp. 11-12). Pirate radio stations – unlicensed and often clandestine – broadcast across Europe during the 1970's and 1980's in an effort to provide alternatives to public broadcasters which maintained a monopoly on the airwaves at this time (Collectif Radios Libres Populaires, 1978), ultimately resulting in the official authorization of local radio stations (UNESCO, Sánchez, 2003, p.6).

1.1 Mapping the Media : Resources, Property and Control

While community media has developed substantially over the course of the previous century, commercial media has grown in an unrivaled manner. The increasing economic, political and social power of commercial media has been observed by various combinations of Canadian academic and governmental researchers since the 1970's (Gingras, 1999, pp. 31-34). The most recent and far-reaching studies within this set focus on Québec-based media (Raboy 2000), the state of media concentration within Québec and Canada in the context of global comparison (Université Laval, 2006) and the overall health of the Canadian broadcasting system (Heritage Canada, 2003). American-based researchers have published numerous studies on the state of American media and the effects of increased media monopolization on the American public and the international corpus of American media consumers (Schiller, 1989; Bagdikian, 1992; McChesney 2004). Common themes among them illustrate the cresting privatization of the public sphere and the explicit relationships between this global phenomena of media monopoly, global economy and communications regulation. As we will explore in the

---

1   ALER, the Asociación Latinoamericana de Educación Radiofónica or the Latin-American Radio Education Association was founded in 1972. They can be found online at http://www.aler.org.ec

following chapters, media use and media access are vital factors in the maintenance of democratic society. This concept is not new. What is new is the extensive level to which media systems and of our popular understanding of these systems have been consolidated by corporate networks of economic and communicational control. While this is a shift that has been observed since the very beginning of media regulation (Smythe, 1981), it has picked up exceptional speed since the 1980's and appears to be accelerating. In 2004, three companies controlled more than 50 Canadian commercial radio stations each while not one of them owned more than 30 stations in 1999. Ten companies, owning half of the Canadian commercial broadcasting industry between them, take in 79% of the industry revenue. On a smaller scale, three private companies control close to 50% of the commercial broadcasting industry in Québec. On the island of Montréal, there were 13 commercial broadcasters at this time[2] compared to four campus-community broadcasters who are mandated to provide media access within the greater Montréal community (Centre d'études sur les médias, 2006).

Studies on corporate media control in Latin America and much of the developing world have historically focused on imbalances in the flow of information between these countries and the United States. Starting with the work of Armand Mattelart in Chile in 1972, they proceeded in the form the MacBride Commission in the early 1980's and calls for a New World Information Order. The issues addressed in these debates were not necessarily concerned primarily with media democratization, but rather the desire for local culture industries to be afforded the opportunity to develop, commercially and otherwise. The earliest data we have been able to find on media concentration in Latin America dates to 1997 (Mastrini, 2006). Studies on media concentration in Latin America, such as Mastrini's *Journalists and Tycoons : The Structure and Concentration of Culture Industries in Latin America*[3] have been performed in recent years, but are unfortunately not as widely available as their North American counterparts. We limit ourselves in the current discussion to the case of Uruguay, a country of

---

2   The CRTC does not make public statistics concerning current or previous commercial licensing decisions. The data available through secondary sources should roughly resemble the situation today.

3   Periodistas y Magnates. Estructura y Concentración de las Industrias Culturales en América Latina.

roughly 3.5 million people. According to the most recent study on media concentration in this country (Barreiro, Lima, Romano and Stolovich, 2004), 283 licensed commercial broadcasters currently operate in Uruguay[4]. The majority of economic and organizational power is concentrated in five "families". Studies on media concentration in Uruguay do not incorporate the concept of community media into their analysis, logically due to the continued illegal nature of these broadcasters and their restricted financial situation (we will explore this further in Chapter Five).

As it is a universal natural resource, the radio spectrum used by all forms of air-borne communication is considered universally as the property of mankind. While the sets of frequencies considered technically suitable for communications use are managed globally by the International Telecommunications Union (ITU), the actual allocation of frequencies and their social applications are left to the management of each sovereign state. This has resulted in a plethora of communication and media models which have developed according to the particular political, social and economic histories and on-going realities of each state. The media systems addressed within the current study present two very different developmental histories in terms of structural and regulatory development. In each case we have the common factor of a well-documented and worrisome domination of the public space of media by increasingly centralized private interests and accompanying regulatory frameworks (or lack thereof) which support this privatization of the public sphere.

Having enjoyed a legitimacy of sorts due to longstanding legislation, Canada's community radio system – in terms of its regulatory structure – is routinely considered as an ideal model for other states. A 2003 UNESCO study of community radio legislation in 13 countries evaluated nine countries[5] where community radio has no legal status in comparison to the four where it is most explicitly legitimate : Canada, Australia, South Africa and Colombia

---

4   This study has not been published for one reason or another. Their authors have quite generously made them available to us.
5   Argentina, El Salvador, Ghana, India, Lebanon, Philippines, Poland, Spain and Uruguay.

(UNESCO, Sánchez, 2003, p. 98). The coordinators of a current (May-August 2006) comparative study of community radio legislation conducted by AMARC-ALC[6] had initially hoped to use the Canadian model as an example of best practices for enabling this form of media[7]. Indeed, the community broadcasting sector has been enshrined in the Broadcasting Act (Government of Canada, 1991) as a vital part of the Canadian broadcasting system – the other two sectors being commercial and public. Telecommunications regulation in Canada is highly defined and organized. The social policy of broadcasting regulation is operationally separate from the technical management of the radio spectrum. Within the Canadian broadcasting model, the State centrally defines the structure of the national broadcasting system and that of its components, allowing for regular public input on this structure through a system of cyclical and regular sector evaluation. As we shall examine in detail in Chapter 4, while community broadcasting is noted as a vital national sector, it has been historically underfunded and is defined as an alternative to the commercial and public broadcasting sectors rather than as a unique entity unto itself. While the commercial domination of radio broadcasting in terms of audience, broadcasting range and revenue have been well documented, there are few legal barriers to continued concentration of ownership and domination of the national broadcasting system. Likewise, there are few, if any, frameworks in place to assure the viability and sustainability of community-based non-commercial radio.

The governments of Uruguay have historically been unable or unwilling to address the regulation of telecommunications in a comprehensive and serious manner (Kaplún, 2005). Radio licenses had been granted by presidential decree until 2001 when URSEC, the telecommunications regulator, was created (Government of Uruguay, 2001). To this day, management of the radio spectrum lies in the hands of the Ministry of Defense. There is no current legislation on community radio in Uruguay nor has there ever been. Radio stations of

---

6   AMARC-América Latina y Caribe is the Latin American and Caribbean arm of AMARC.

7   The author participated in this study as the main researcher responsible for Canada. A comparative study of community radio legislation in 16 countries, this study will ultimately be presented to the Inter-American Human Rights Commission in October 2006 and make recommendations for creating legal and social systems which enable the practice of community radio.

this type have historically been identified by the authorities as "pirate" or "low-power" radio stations. One URSEC proposal for the regulation of community radio in 2002 would have granted these stations legitimacy but limited them to a broadcast range of 1.5 kilometers (Government of Uruguay, 2002) – a standard also seen in Chile (Yáñez Uribe and Rodríguez Llona, 2001). Since the election of a progressive Uruguayan government in November 2004, AMARC-ALC has worked with UNESCO, local community radio coordinators and local social organizations to develop model legislation for proposal to Parliament. At a May 2005 UNESCO/AMARC-ALC seminar themed around this model legislation, Uruguayan vice-president Rodolfo Nin Novoa announced that his recently elected government would legalize community radio (Curuchet, Girola and Orcajo, 2006, p. 21). As of today, there has been no formal advancement of the legal status of community-based radio in Uruguay. Similar to the case of Canada, the government has taken no pro-active steps in slowing or diversifying the centralization of privately owned media nor in creating frameworks for enabling sustainable community media.

1.2 Community Radio in the Written Public Sphere

Upon reviewing the literature informing the problematic of media democratization, one quickly encounters an extensive canon of literature demonstrating and analyzing the state of commercial market-driven media. However, the examination of alternatives to this form of media is quite limited in both scope and methods of analysis, leaving a void for researchers and practitioners in terms of both theory and primary research data.

1.2.1 Monopolized Media

Media concentration has been studied in Canada since 1970 (Raboy, 1990, pp. 200). Throughout this time, various federal committees, commissions and researchers have regularly examined the state of Canada's media system, often making subsequent proposals to the government. Continuing in this tradition is the work of the Centre d'études sur les médias at

l'Université Laval which regularly provides in-depth analysis of the state of media concentration in Québec and Canada while providing global comparisons[8]. Yet while there are 39 community radio stations operating in Québec, more than any other province in Canada, none of the CEM's studies take into account the subject of community radio. Similarly, *Les médias québécois: Presse, radio, télévision, inforoute,* the last academic tome to extensively dissect Québecois media, explores in great detail the structure and socio-economic power of commercial media in Québec while biefly noting the existence of community radio (Raboy, 1999, pp. 27-28). This is perhaps due to the fact that, unlike the commercial and public broadcasting sectors, there has never been a comprehensive study of community radio in Canada.

Other works, originating in the United States but of great relevance to the general state of multi-national media enterprises, address the problematic of media democratization in a similar manner. Now in its seventh edition, *The Media Monopoly* demonstrates the extent to which the entirety of American media is dominated by an incredible minority of companies (Bagdikian, 2004). Robert McChesney illustrates, in particular, the extent of corporate domination of the airwaves in the United States. In *The Problem of the Media : U.S. Communication Politics in the 21st Century,* he extensively documents the effects of commercial broadcast lobbying on telecommunication regulation (McChesney, 2004). It is the summary opinion of these authors that the use of electronic media and social practices of media use must be fundamentally and primarily altered through political means. The authors use the poor state of community broadcasting as an example of the harm done by monopolized media. At no time, however, do they consider the development of community broadcasting as a viable alternative to the commercial media monopolies to which they are so steadfastly opposed. In doing so, they too relegate this form of media to a state of marginal consideration. While focusing their efforts on de-constructing the monopolized media machine, they never concretely address a serious operational question : how do we practically construct a national system of media that is not primarily driven by market and profit and at risk of monopolization and

---

8   Le centre d'études sur les médias can be found on-line at http://www.cem.laval.ca

consolidation?

1.2.2 Case Studies : Their Practical Applications and Practical Limitations

      While North American commercial media is often examined as a broad and multi-faceted system composed of parties that interact in various terms of function and economy, community media is predominantly approached through the practice of single-subject case studies. These are generally presented within two contexts : 1) examination of a single community radio station as the subject of a masters' thesis and, 2) as examples of successful democratic media practice within broader theoretical examinations. Past masters' theses have approached community radio as a form of "autonomous media" (Dubois, 2005), a social structure for community dialogue (Schulman, 1985), and as a place for cultural and social self-representation (Belibi Mengueme, 1998). Others have approached community radio in terms of relations of power, exercised and structured through regulatory policy (Kaltenback, 1992; Monk, 1997) and within theoretical explorations on democratic media use (Senecal, 1983). In each of these works, the authors focus upon either one single radio station or upon the amorphous whole of the community radio sector. We have found no North American studies which examine the sector in a manner that incorporates multiple stations as a sampling of the larger national system nor studies which incorporate the international movement of community radio.

      Single-subject case studies of community radio are occasionally present in the theoretical discussion of media democratization. *The Invisible Medium* examines traditions of public broadcasting in a number of social settings and explores the marginalization of public communication both in policy debates and national broadcasting systems (Lewis and Booth, 1990). It incorporates examples of public broadcasting (BBC) as well as brief examples of community radio in North America, Italy, France and a number of developing countries. In contrast, *Community Radio and Public Culture* situates this media in the midst of dominant North American commercial media and investigates its potential to create social networks of

resistance. After charting the history of community media in contrast to dominant commercial forms, the author continues with a study of a Toronto, Ontario-based community radio station as a means of crystallizing his theory into practice (Fairchild, 2001). In a book developed along similar lines, Kevin Howley explores the place of community media in contemporary society and the example of his local community radio station, in addition to three other community media groups, to explore his theoretical findings (Howley, 2005). Howley's book presents a unique effort to address the problematic separation of theory and practice in examining community media and it very much in the same spirit that we approach the current study.

In recent years, a number of books have presented collections of case studies with the goal of serving as inspiration to other community media practitioners. Bruce Girard's *A Passion for Radio* provides a diverse set of community radio examples with the purpose of facilitating the interchange of experiences among community broadcasters everywhere (Girard, 1992). Similarly, *Making Waves : Stories of Participatory Communication for Social Change* (Dagron, 2001) compiles a vast array of experiences from all corners of the world providing inspirational stories for audiences of fellow media practitioners. These studies tend to limit themselves to examples of "best practices" in order to prove, to an extent, how community media can succeed in spite of myriad challenges worldwide. This is incredibly valuable work for an international sector of media which, by design and necessity, relies predominantly upon the strength, inspiration and labour its communities in order to survive and succeed in socio-economic and legal spaces where it is marginalized and restrained. That said, there are few studies which attempt to rectify this state of marginalization through concrete action. Clemencia Rodriguez[9] attempts to do so by re-defining alternative media practices and structures as citizens' media. In *Fissures in the Mediascape*, she traces the histories of four citizen-based media experiences in four different international settings. Similar to Howley's work, Rodriguez presents diverse examples in which media institutions have become viable and popular centres for community participation. By re-positioning "alternative" media as citizens'

9   Clemencia Rodriguez is a professor in the department of communication at the University of Oklahoma. Online: http://faculty-staff.ou.edu/R/Clemencia.Rodriguez-1/default.html

media, she attempts to illustrate how community-based media can effectively acquire a central role within local and global communities. Seen in this manner, media which is situated around citizens and communities can effectively become dominant popular forms of media through their prevalence, local relevance and community participation as opposed to market control.

1.2.3 Canadian Broadcasting : System-focused Studies

There have been no studies that examine community radio in Canada as a system unto itself nor as a significant part of the national broadcasting system. While numerous Canadian governmental studies have examined the state of the country's broadcast system, the most recent being the 2003 Heritage Canada report "Our Cultural Sovereignty : The Second Century of Canadian Broadcasting" (Heritage Canada, 2003), the state of community broadcasting is never addressed in earnest. Nor has it been fully explored as a subject of academic or sector-based research. As illustrated above, numerous single-subject case studies have been conducted, yet North American research in this field has not matured beyond this point. The possible reasons for this are numerous. Media scholars have studied commercial media for decades, but have consistently avoided the consideration of non-commercial community-based media, resulting in a fundamental lack of theory with which to explore the medium (Howley, 2005, p. 5) as well as a lack of research resources for students, teachers and practitioners alike. The formal associations of community radio in Canada have also been unable to conduct a study of their sector, this due to lack of funding rather than lack of interest[10]. Commercial media has not only dominated the informational public sphere, but has monopolized the focus and resources of media analysis as well.

1.3 Alternative Approaches to Broadcast System Analysis in Latin America

Recent studies in Latin America provide examples of working alternatives to this approach to research which historically privileges commercial media at the detriment of community media. In 2001, a diagnostic study was conducted by researchers in Chile which set

---

10 The author is a member of the Board of Directors of the National Campus and Community Radio Association which is currently (June 2006) considering the possibility of conducting such a study.

out to examine the state of the nation's community radio system – at this point limited legally to a maximum broadcast range of 1.5 kilometers and otherwise lacking infrastructure and resources (Yáñez Uribe and Rodríguez Llona, 2001).   *Radios comunitarias y de mínima coberatura[11]* traces the history of community radio in Chile and its social roles alongside the development of regulation of the medium.   It then evaluates the state of 14 stations in various parts of the country in order to determine the health of the national system as a whole.   This same year, AMARC-ALC and ALER published a diagnostic of community radio across Latin America.   Having witnessed numerous socio-economic crises throughout the continent, they organized teams of researchers in 12 of 19 countries with the goal of evaluating the health of individual community broadcasters, community radio associations and ultimately the health of the movement as a whole (Geerts and van Oeyen, 2001).   Two years later, the same groups reorganized this research as a series of 32 in-depth studies of the finest examples of community broadcasting in Latin America (Geerts, van Oeyen and Villamayor, 2003).   Rather than frame community radio in opposition to commercial and broadcasters, relegating it to definition as an "alternative" to dominant forms of media production and media use, these studies examine their subjects according to their unique values and functions.

On a smaller scale, three studies have attempted to illustrate the state of community radio in Uruguay, each employing a sampling of stations rather than incorporating the whole (a veritable impossibility due to limited human and financial resources).   1998 saw the publication of two of these studies – one in the form of a book and the other as a university honours' thesis. Working within an environment where the government was openly hostile to community radio stations (several were shut down this year), the authors present the history and then-current state of community radio in the urban setting of Montevideo (Bouissa, Curuchet and Orcajo, 1998; Robledo, 1998).   Perhaps emblematic of the situation of community broadcasting in Uruguay and academic research of this type in general, the book has gone out of print, leaving the authors without copies and a few chapters posted on the Internet. The honours' thesis is only

---

11 "Community and low-power radios".

available at the library of Universidad Católica in Montevideo, Uruguay. More recently, a third study has examined five Uruguayan community radio stations in great detail, performing audience analysis, programming content analysis and extensive interviews with station members while tracing the history of the development of community radio in this country. Again, due to lack of resources, research that had been initially performed in 2003 was ultimately analyzed, synthesized and published in 2006 (Curuchet, Girola and Orcajo, 2006, p. 11-12) during which time the political situation of community media in this country has changed greatly. Nevertheless, the researchers provide a formidable methodology for measuring the success and relevance of community radios in a situation where the listenership surveys typical to North America simply do not function and one which can possibly be adapted to other environments. They also provide an up-to-date history of community radio which takes into account the recent political changes (although interview data does not)[12].

1.3.1 Combining Research Traditions

Community radio provides the ideal subject for a study capable of leveraging the opposing theories and histories of North America and Latin America in order to identify the possibilities for media democratization in each setting. International in scope, it is a movement with as many histories as members. The studies presented in this chapter have provided us with examples of single-subject case studies (which we use as a tool rather than as a primary and singular source) and of cross-cultural theoretical analysis (upon which we shall expand). Thus, we will be adapting the most appropriate research practices present in each study type in order to overcome their inherent limitations. We approach this work in a manner which will allow us both the methodological flexibility necessary to study an under-resourced field of media while simultaneously generating tiers of case-study data. Single-subject case studies will be performed in order to facilitate large-scale system studies. In addition, by examining community radio on both a local and international, cross-cultural scale, we hope to discern the common and divergent ideals and realities of community radios in relation to their local

---

12 Between May-August 2005, we interviewed many of the same individuals. We finally became
   aware of this study in November 2005 and received a copy in May 2006.

audiences as well as their historical and current sociopolitical contexts.

In a departure from research traditions which typically measure successful media use through audience or market domination, we instead consider social communication and the creation of spaces for continual social dialogue to be central factors for our investigation. Understanding these factors to be central to the social role of community radio, we also strive for this study to be action-based as well as research driven. Thus this work acquires two distinct goals. First, through the examination of community radio within Montevideo, Uruguay and Montréal, Canada, we hope to determine the roles which this media plays in relation to the unique social, political and economic structures in which they operate. We will simultaneously observe the effects of our research process upon the subjects and structures which it examines. Is it possible, over the course of our research, to facilitate dialogue and self-examination within the community radio structures and regulatory structures we examine? While this second goal is not primary, it will be used as a manner of informally measuring the success of our research and potentially provide examples for future research design.

1.4 Object of Research

Herein, we will examine the similarities and differences between community radio in Montevideo, Uruguay and in Montréal, Québec, Canada in terms of the use this media in the active construction of citizenship within the mediatized public sphere while taking into account the social, political, and economic structures and histories of each locale.

CHAPITRE II
CADRE THÉORIQUE

In order to consider community media as a means of communication unto itself, to the exclusion of commercial media and the dominant conceptions of media use which accompany it, we must assemble a unique set of theoretical tools. While such tools have been developed and refined for the examination of commercial mass media, one finds a sparsely populated and fragmented assembly of theory with which to evaluate community media. This is especially the case in North America where the private media sector has made a substantial claim to the public comprehension of media, its creation, use and regulation. Within this study, we rely upon Occidental traditions of media monopoly analysis in order to contextualize the role of community media. However, our analytical approach is primarily informed by Latin American traditions of communication research. In this chapter, we will explore a body of theory which permits us to understand media use in fundamentally human terms in order to evaluate media institutions and their sociopolitical frameworks according community-based measures of success rather than traditional profit-focused indicators. To this end, we will examine dominant and alternate notions of community media, democracy, and citizenship and the situation of these concepts within theories of media use. Thus, before proceeding further, we will examine some of these distinct terms for the sake of precision and clarity.

2.1 Theorizing Non-commercial Media

The contemporary history of non-commercial media in North America and Western Europe is one of social, political and intellectual evolution throughout which we encounter a number of theoretical approaches to understanding media use and consumption. Rather than trace the progress of each approach, we will instead present those most prevalent today, ultimately determining those of most relevance to our current task.

2.1.1 Alternative Media / Autonomous Media

Alternative media is a term which originates in the 1960's and further developed in the 1980's-90's underground of cultural production. The pervasiveness of the word "alternative" within both academic and quotidian cultural analysis has linked the phrase to various vehicles of dissemination ranging from radio to print publications. Media that is "alternative" tends to be produced and consumed on a small-scale, serving niche audiences. In North America, these media have developed along defined political and aesthetic lines. Alternative media in Latin America tend to be explicitly political and alternative artistic expressions of culture have only recently begun to be integrated[13]. While alternative media may not always be defined by a primary political objective, it generally aims to provide media spaces for those unfavoured by established networks of media expression (Atton, 2002). That said, media of this sort does not necessarily attempt to provide viable alternatives to commercial mass media. Instead, specialized media spaces tend to exist outside the dominant social sphere rather than provide a direct challenge to it.

Autonomous media works to advance the broad ideals of media access similar to those of alternative media, but through a slightly different method. This approach to media came into focus with the creation and subsequent development of Independent Media Centres as part of the growth of the anti-globalization movement in 2000 (Dubois, 2005, p. 44). In this context, media is a tool to be put at the hands of social movements and politically active communities

---

13 In Chapter Five, we will see this exemplified in the community radio stations of Montevideo, Uruguay.

and individuals. It is seen as a tool of defense against capitalist media, operating independently of capitalist media structures and thus understood as "autonomous". This is also a media that relies primarily upon Internet technologies (Dubois, 2005). As new technologies are increasingly integrated into dominant commercial media practices they are equally claimed by those who aim to appropriate them for alternate uses. The study of alternative media has followed in kind with much hope given to the "potentially liberating effect of communication and information technologies" (Howley, 2005, p. 11), adding to the momentum of a quickly expanding international movement. For media activists operating within broader regulated social media systems, the as-yet-unregulated space of the Internet is often seen as ideal ground for untethered self-expression and self-representation. However, we will posit that while this frontier may appear fundamentally emancipatory, it is built upon uneven ground. The medium of the Internet privileges those with the access and expertise to take advantage of said technology and the financial and basic technological means to take part in it. While the Internet is indeed an ideal venue for policy debate, its backbone is largely owned by private enterprise (Worthen, 2006) and final policy decisions ultimately lie, to a large extent, in the hands of the United States government (Mueller, 2004). We find it counteractive to engage in debate and action concerned with media democratization within this world of privately owned and managed networks while avoiding direct confrontation with our global and local systems of communication, their natural resources, and their dictating policies. Both alternative media and autonomous media traditions have a tendency to create media-driven subcultures while refusing to engage the greater whole of society. In doing so, they potentially marginalize themselves as well as other actors within the global debate over media monopolization and democratization. While we are in accord with the urgent need for media alternatives and media evolution advocated by those most ardently active in this movement, we believe that strategies for the advancement of alternative media practices must be revisited and refined.

2.1.2 Community Media / Citizens' Media

Community media institutions are based on a guiding ideology of participatory inclusion. They aim to provide open and accessible spaces in which community members and distinct communities themselves can interact and make their voices heard within the larger expanse of society and media. Through an emphasis on participation, these media institutions work to break down the barriers that traditionally exist between media content producer and receiver. Community media provide a media climate for socially and economically disadvantaged and marginalized groups while recognizing that the majority of society is disadvantaged and marginalized in terms of media access. At the heart of this practice is the understanding that freedom of expression is a fundamental human right which must be extended to all. Most community media projects work with media that is pervasive and accessible to typical consumers such as radio, television and print. While alternative and autonomous media movements tend to define themselves outside the bounds of the State, community media organizations often negotiate the space between the State and society-at-large. With self-expression understood as a human right, it is in part the role of the State to ensure its protection and facilitation and it is the right of everybody to be an active participant in the use of media, from creation through consumption. By engaging State policy makers and community members, media systems of this sort actively work towards a structural democratization of media resources. Historically, this has resulted in a variety of support programs for community media. In Québec, the Minister of Culture and Communications has funded community media projects since the 1970's through its *Programme d'aide aux médias communautaires* (PAMEC)[14]. On a national level, the Canadian Television Fund[15] provides substantial funding to independent media producers and the planning of a national funding mechanism for Canadian community radio is underway[16]. Similar governmental funding

---

14 The Programme d'aide aux médias communautaires is funded and managed by the Ministère de la Culture et des Communications du Québec. Online:
http://www.mcc.gouv.qc.ca/index.php?id=1999.

15 http://www.canadiantelevisionfund.ca

16 The author is the Chairperson of the RadioFund committee of the National Campus and Community Radio Association and is currently involved in the development of this fund. This fund will operate independently of federal and provincial governments.

programs exist for community media in a variety of countries (AMARC-ALC, 2006; Stevenson, 2006).

The concept of "citizens' media" is an advancement of this understanding of community media which seeks to group the great variety of non-commercial media practices together as a singular and workable whole. As Clemencia Rodriguez details in *Fissures in the Mediascape*, there exist a plethora of terms for non-commercial, community and humanity-based media practices : "Local media, community media, participatory media, independent media, popular media, indigenous media, self-governing media, emancipatory media, and radical media" (Rodriguez, 2003, p. 63). A number of practitioners and analysts of these media have historically defined the function of these media groups according to an oppositional paradigm in which they are working towards the emancipation of media resources from the hands of corporate monopolies (Dubois, 2005). Rather than considering these forms of non-commercial media in contrast to one another, the concept of citizens' media understands them as common goals with divergent operational strategies. "Despite their geographic, economic, and cultural differences, they all have one thing in common : they express the will and agency of a human community confronting historical marginalizing and isolating forces, whatever these may be." (Rodriguez, 2003, p. 63). Key to the advancement and realization of citizens' media is the understanding of the term "citizen" and the construct of the citizen within a democratic social structure. It is through the development of these notions that we will begin to concretely locate community media use within the communicational frameworks of society.

2.1.3 Citizenship in North America

Throughout these chapters we make a concerted effort to present and analyse the particularities of our subject from a quotidian perspective – the perspective of those most infrequently afforded the opportunity to do so. True to the management structure of modern technocracies, the rights of the governed are managed by specialists in the constitution and governance of those rights. In North America, there exists a substantial divide between these

two groups. Rather than manage our social structures by means of active constituant consultation, we are more often represented by the proxy of elected officials in concert with appointed or hired functionaries. A primary intersection between governors and the governed is historically found in the concept of citizenship. Western concepts of citizenship have been historically defined as membership within a political social structure – that managed by the State. Individuals do not necessarily have the means nor the opportunity to participate in the debates over social policies which effect their lives and the future of their society. Indeed, as citizens, we are entitled to certain rights rather than social functions or roles. Citizenship, in this structure, is a fairly passive and constricted social function. If we consider the role of the State in creating the social policies of media use, the displacement of the individual from possible implication in the formulation of such policies is almost absolute[17]. While many democratic states have guiding ideals which define the rights of their citizens, these rights do not necessarily permeate through social management structures nor to the regular and active participation of the public[18]. For instance, while Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms endows its social membership with the "freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression, including freedom of the press and other media of communication" (Department of Justice, 1982), communications policy-makers do not actively incorporate these ideals into their work (Amodeo, 2006). The combination of these factors which facilitate the structural absence of the quotidian citizen from the framework in which his/her social rights are defined has led to what has been identified as a "pervasive social authoritarianism" that pervades the unequal and hierarchical organisation of social relations as a whole (Dagnino, 2005)[19]. As we will see, North American practices of citizenship and their enabling social and political structures are very similar to those which were prevalent in Latin America during years of dictatorship and subsequent democratic neo-liberal regimes. Thus, we will look towards the ongoing

---

17 In Chapters Four and Five, we will consider, in greater depth, the role of the public in the formulation of communication policy and the accessibility of such processes.

18 For example, voting is not obligatory in North America but if required in many Latin American countries.

19 This concept will be considered more deeply through examination of communications regulatory policy in Chapters Four and Five.

reformulation of citizenship and democratic social participation in Latin America in order to consider a model which seeks to actively engage individuals in the management and evolution of political and social communities.

2.1.4 Citizenship in Latin America

"Without the experience of sickness, there can be no health. And without the fact of oppression, there can be no practice of resistance and no notion of rights... Wherever there was (and is) oppression – and Europe had no monopoly on oppression in history – there must come into being a conception of rights." (Mamdani, cited in Nyamu-Musembi, 2005).

Recent developments in Latin American social movements and in the local academic analysis of these movements provide us with an approach to understanding citizenship in which primacy is given to quotidian perspectives. In the time since the fall of most Latin American dictatorships in the 1980's (in the case of our current study, Uruguay's dictatorship spanned from 1973-1984), large social networks have developed outside the State, providing a setting for the reconstitution of social ties based primarily upon the active participation of individuals (Alvarez, Dagnino, and Escobar, 1998, p. 16; Fonseca, 2005). The socio-historical process of dictatorship has thus allowed for a unique social understanding of human rights and needs. North America has known civil rights movements seeking the extension of basic social rights to specific sections of society – usually defined by race, sexual preference, class or gender. The basic rights of man were themselves defined largely during the founding of North American nations, the broad extension of these the result of social struggle and socio-political evolution. However, during the process of dictatorship in Latin America, rights have been defined in retrograde, the State becoming a central controller of rights rather than their caretaker. The definition of rights is as integral to their suppression as it is to their advancement and preservation. During the continuing process of democratization, community organizations have

become of vital importance to the organization of society outside the bounds of the State as well as acting as an interface to the State. In this manner, they have played a key role in evolving practices and structures of democracy through defining and enacting the role of the social citizen[20]. "Citizenship (has become) a prominent notion in the last decades because it has also been recognized as a crucial weapon not only in the struggle against social and economic exclusion and equality, but – most importantly – in the widening of dominant conceptions of politics itself" (Dagnino, 2005, p. 1).

While there are a variety of approaches to citizenship in Latin America, we will limit ourselves to those which have sprung from the evolution of social movements during post-dictatorship periods. The best known practices have their origins in Brasil. Models for facilitating citizen participation in traditionally State-driven tasks such as the formulation and approval of municipal budgets have been developed here and increasingly adopted elsewhere, including Montréal[21]. It is important that we consider the potential for extra-statal mechanisms of social organizing and the role that this form of organizing plays by creating a social space for political debate. Through such mechanisms, individuals are able to collectively organize and advance popular causes to a state of broad social realization. Within the space of our current study, we will consider the facilitation of active non-statal citizenship within the framework of community radio and organizations related to this movement. Defined within this scope, community radio stations and their related organizations provide mechanisms for collective social development in a number of manners similar to the movements which have catalysed social change in Latin America. As we will explore in the following chapters, these mechanisms manifest themselves at three distinct yet interconnected levels. Communities and individuals organize within the social and media space of community radio stations; associations of like-minded stations work together for the benefit of their members and often

20 Please see Chapter Five for further discussion of the evolution of community radio and social movements in Uruguay.
21 Le Plateau-de-Montréal is currently conducting the first participatory budget initiative within the city of Montréal. Information on the initiative can be found online : http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=98,2993584&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL

serve as a direct interface with the State; and international organizations unite a diverse range of community radio stations and serve as a global representative of an international movement. Following from this base, we will continue by considering community radio as a citizen-based social communication structure through which a true democratization of media use can be attained.

2.2 Democratizing Communication : More Than Speaking Louder

Media plays a fundamental and pervasive role in our individual lives and in the manner by which we are represented within society. It is a tool of social protagonism, instilling within us knowledge, providing access to knowledge and contributing to the formation of opinions while enabling us to disseminate this information to others by various means and to various ends. We live in a world which is overwhelmingly and inescapably mediatized. This is both a common fact of life and a social framework which permeates throughout the developed and developing worlds, albeit to a greater extent within urban centres. To be present in the media is to be represented within the greater whole of society, to be present in the greater imagination. In our contemporary world, such representation is usually carried out by others – largely by media professionals who serve as our proxy. This representation-by-proxy is predominantly exhibited in a relationship of inequality which privileges the emitter to information and thus to the power inherent to this possession. While the holder of information attains and retains a privileged state of power, the receptor is confined to the status of consumer, a problematic further compounded by the dominance and concentration of commercial mass media (Martín-Barbero, 2004, p. 299). This has become a template for the popular understanding of successful media and successful social communication. Accordingly, the popular comprehension of society's larger role in media use and communication has been reduced to that of a consuming mass, a passively receptive audience rather than actively interpretive responder. Effectiveness and success are gauged through the efficiency of message delivery to a defined audience (i.e. number of television spectator-consumers or radio listeners). Neither dialogue nor the negotiation inherent to social communication is part of the equation. Evidence

of this situation can be seen in the inability of community radio within "First World" urban centres to devise adequate methodologies with which to measure their effectiveness, instead relying on statistics of "listenership" as opposed to community participation (ID21, 2006). This situation can also be observed in the inability of telecommunications regulators[22] to address community radio as a form of distinct media (Amodeo, 2006) and in the unique position of listenership ratings and profit margins as measures for success in commercial radio.

The structural alienation of the individual as a communicational protagonist can be seen as evidence of a more fundamental political and social crisis (Martín-Barbero, 2004, p. 313) in which inequality at the level of social communication via media use has not only become acceptable but is now the prevalent norm. A social state identified in our earlier discussion of citizenship as "social authoritarianism", evidence can be seen in the dominant success of corporate mass media and the correlative footprint which it has been granted both in legislation and public imagination. Change in one of these areas is likely contingent on change in the other. The maintenance of democracy has long been viewed as a central role of the media with philosophers eternally espousing the importance of a well-informed citizenry. While democracy is not necessarily based on absolute equality, it is based upon adequate representation of self as citizen within social and political structures. That said, how does one adequately engage in citizenship via media use in a society which is largely massified (Yánez Uribe, 2005, p.3)? In more direct and practical terms, can we create broad social and legal frameworks which facilitate the popular use of media as a means of social communication?

In order to address such a question, we must first address the underlying issues noted above. We must re-envision media itself as a sociopolitical and economic construct as well as revisiting notions of successful communication and successful media (Martín-Barbero, 2004, p. 302). Success can be neither simple reception nor successful emission, rather its definition

---

22 CRTC community radio policy defines campus-community radio stations in terms of markets. As shall be examined in Chapter Four, community radio in Canada has been defined as an alternative to commercial and public broadcasters.

must be product of the negotiation inherent to communication and the resulting social effects. Today, dominant media models are profit and sales-driven. In re-envisioning media and communications we must break from the dominant model of media which has historically favoured commercial and state enterprise over civil and public organization. Policy and politics are largely driven by what are defined and represented as economic realities while harder-to-measure factors such as social, cultural, and democratic benefits become secondary topics of discussion or are perceived as positive by-products of economics (Martín-Barbero, 2005, p. 306). Only by adopting strategies that place these social, cultural and democratic values at the centre of social debate and awareness can this situation change.

2.2.1 Alternate Models of Communication and Media Use

Dominant models for communication and media use in North American consistently privilege the transmitter/emitter of messages over the receiver of these messages. This persistent inequality makes itself known on four interrelated levels. On a broad social scale, mass media is understood within a uni-directional, audience-driven model. The corporate monopolization of these forms of media has served to further designate this model as a social norm by obstructing the feasibility of practical alternatives that can function on equal scale. This has been practiced through dominance of market as well as dominance of natural resources in the case of radio broadcasting[23]. Following in kind, media policy makers and regulators in North America dedicate the majority of their resources to the upkeep of these corporate media systems (Amodeo, 2006; McChesney, 2004; Bagdikian, 1992). Likewise, the academic analysis of communication and media use in anglophone North America has largely restricted its work to the confines of this dominant model[24] while providing few fully developed alternatives. In the realm of print media, Jay Rosen proposes a model of "public journalism" which seeks to

---

23 CJLO, the campus-community broadcaster of Concordia University in Montréal, Québec, was recently granted an AM broadcasting license. They could not apply for an FM license because there was no space left on the Montréal metropolitan radio spectrum. Please see Chapter Four for further presentation of this case. In Uruguay, proposed legislation will ideally reserve frequencies for community radio use. Please see Chapter Five for further discussion.

24 We also touch on this in Chapter One. Please see pgs. 6-7.

implicate the newspaper industry more directly within their communities/markets (Rosen, 1996). While his work is based on the utopian ideals of a healthy democracy fueled by a diversely informed public sphere (Álvarez Teijeiro, 2000), Rosen ultimately stays the proven course, arguing that newspapers must maintain closer community relations in order to survive in a competitive marketplace. As we explored briefly in Section 2.1 and in Chapter One, the theoretical and practical examination of alternative modes of communication and media use are similarly limited and under-developed, leaving non-commercial media as well as the study of this media in a state of persistent marginality. We are unsure why so little research and theoretical development has occurred outside the dominant realm in communications and media studies and suggest that the comprehensive examination of this problematic is important to the advancement of the field of communication studies as a whole. It is precisely due to this absence of human or citizen-centred media theory in the North American anglophone canon of communications research that we seek here to introduce concepts that have developed within francophone Québec and in Latin America.

It has been posited that the fundamental privileging of the emitter within the field of communication studies is an ethical problem perhaps related to the historical practice of separating the technical aspects of media from the comprehension of the impact of socio-economic factors on notions of access, use and participation (Urribarrí, 1999). This situation can be observed in the practice of communications regulation in Canada, a topic we will address in Chapter Four. It is important to note that we have found no work of North American anglophone origin which succeeds in breaking away from this dominant theoretical model. We have also found no work that addresses the systematic organization of alternative media organizations and the potential for their widespread integration into popular media use. It appears that there are, perhaps, certain utopian or idealist theories which rest absent from the canon of communication studies and thus subsequent theoretical development and real-world realization. Coincidentally, we have encountered work within Québec and Uruguay that provides us with a theoretical model of egalitarian communication. Referred to as the

EMEREC in Québec (émission-être-réception) and "emirec" in Uruguay (emisor-receptor)[25], this model has been developed by Jean Cloutier (Cloutier, 1973; Cloutier, 2001) and subsequently adapted by Mario Kaplún (Kaplún, 1985)[26]. In breaking down the functional boundaries that have been constructed between emitter and receptor, they propose the co-existence and co-dependence of these two constructs within one form. It is to this model of egalitarian communication that we now turn in order to demonstrate the feasibility of such a theoretical model within the practical setting of community radio.

In defining the manner in which we communicate, from the broad regulated structures of radio and telecommunications to less financially profound yet no less important structures for social communication, we effectively define the essence of the society in which we live. As demonstrated thus far, our most dominant systems of communication and media use are based primarily on models of inequality. The model of the emirec, the emitter-receptor, provides a unique alternative. Cloutier situates his construct of the emirec within an open system of communication constituted of all mankind as opposed to systems of communication based primarily on technology (Cloutier, 2001, p. 40). Within the model of the emirec, communication is fundamentally dialogic. The one-way transmission of a message is nothing more than the simple diffusion of information. For communication to be successful, feedback is required. The model of the emirec focuses upon the individual and the ability of the individual to fully interact with its social environment. Every individual has the potential to function socially and communicatively as an emitter-receptor. At the heart of Cloutier's theory is a fundamental understanding of interactive, interpersonal and social communication as a human right. Necessary to the preservation and active use of this human right is the maintenance of an open and supportive social communication system. Within such a system,

---

25 For the sake of clarity and simplicity, we will refer, herein, to the "emirec" or "emitter-receptor".
26 Unfortunately, we have been unable to acquire a copy of the noted publication. Thus, in considering the work of Mario Kaplún, we will rely primarily upon secondary texts which address the body of his work. According to Gabriel Kaplún, son of Mario Kaplún and professor of communications at Universidad de la República del Uruguay, Cloutier is the original creator of this theory in the 1970's (Cloutier, 1973). Mario Kaplún adopted it for use in his work, namely in popular education and communication.

every individual is equally capable of communicating with others through any form of media (Cloutier, 2001, p. 41). A fairly idealistic idea, it is one that we will temper with practicality.

The majority of the forms of mass media in practice today are subject to privatization to some extent simply due to the medium by which they diffuse their messages. Television is largely distributed through privately-owned cable and satellite networks, the written press on printed paper and increasingly on the Internet. While community television does exist in Canada, it exists on a small scale and either broadcasts at very low power or distributes cable programming over private distribution networks (CRTC 2003-413). Community-based radio, however, utilizes the radio spectrum which has been recognized universally as the property of mankind. As such, it offers the ideal real-world setting for the realization of a resolutely open system of communication where the construct of the emirec can successfully function. We would like to propose that the radio spectrum has the potential to serve as the medium with which we can construct a system for widespread dialogic media use. In addition, this approach – that of equal access and equal voices – is an ideal base philosophy for management and development of the spectrum. Radio provides the opportunity for creating open social communication systems within stations themselves and on a larger social scale. According to Cloutier, media plays a number of roles within such an open system of communication. It acts as an intermediary between diverse emirecs and serves a means of message diffusion and diffusion of cultural products (Cloutier, 2001, pp. 50-51). This is the base from which we will work, throughout the following chapters, to evaluate the potential of community-based radio as an egalitarian form of mass and social communication. In our next section, we will approach the work of Colombian researcher and philosopher Jesús Martín-Barbero in an effort to further develop a theoretical bed from which the models of emitter-receiver and open systems of communication will be practically embodied in the form of community radio. Thus, our theoretical postulations will become increasingly concrete through the facilitation of their practical application in conjunction with our methodological tools of analysis.

2.2.2 Preconditions for Open Systems of Social Communication Through Media Use

The crafting of communications policy is, in practice, the construction of our social systems of communication. Through the creation of legally-defined communicational entities (radio stations, television stations, distribution networks, etc.) and their accompanying policies, social, legal and economic frameworks are erected which incorporate various individuals and groups according to certain pre-defined values or ideologies. Common understandings and practices of communications policy have a tendency to separate the "flesh and blood" or "human" side of communications from the technical side. This can be seen in examples such as the Canadian regulatory system, whereby one body regulates the technical limitations of the radio spectrum while another crafts the social policy of national communications[27]. However, if we are to construct large-scale systems of communication on egalitarian and humanist terms rather than relying on factors such as market and technical efficacy, a different approach is required. Jesús Martín-Barbero suggests that, in order to more completely understand the relationships between media and society there is a "necessity to insert the relations of television (media) policy by mapping them across three key lines of consideration:

1. the construction of the public;
2. the constitution of the media within a space of social recognition;
3. new forms of existence and the exercise of citizenship (Martín-Barbero, 2004, p. 322).

We will explore each of these submissions in order to provide a theoretical and, more importantly, a practical framework for the regulation and construction of a citizen-based media system. Such a result would ideally serve as an interface between the State and society based primarily on terms of communication rights and the access to media required to satisfy these rights.

In considering the creation of a system of media that is, in purpose and design, accessible to all citizens, we must first evaluate the role of the communications regulator and its relationship with the public. As mentioned above, communications regulation is predominantly

---

27 Please see Chapter Four, page #, for an in-depth analysis of Canadian campus-community
regulatory policy.

approached technocratically, placing strong emphasis on technologies and their functions as communication mediums. Such an approach avoids, through its practice of dividing the "social" from the "technical", addressing the social tissue which ties us together as individuals. Instead, by separating the fibers of the social tissue – humans from the manner in which they communicate – fully-developed social actors are reduced to one-dimensional participants – simple emitters or receptors (Martín-Barbero, 2004, p. 313). For Martín-Barbero, the broad practice of such a narrow form of social policy at a level of dominant social authority is nothing less than a sign of deep socio-political crisis. The strictly technocratic management of our social systems of communication serves to advance the long-term reconfiguration of individuals as social communicational actors (Martín-Barbero, 2004, p. 314). This is evidenced in the dominance of uni-directional mass media within the greater social imagination as well as in the work and imagination of policy makers and communication analysts. After consecutive decades of such practice, we have lost our broad social sense of community or "togetherness". This is both the end result of technocratic media development/evolution and a sign of social crisis. In persisting in this social state, we as society are provided with a stratified system in which to interact with one another as members of the "public". Such a system negates entirely the possibility of equal access to lines of social communication.

Contrary to the beliefs of some regulatory practitioners[28], we put forward the stance that communications regulation is a tool of great social and political significance in that it facilitates mechanisms for interpersonal and social communication. As such, it is a mechanism of the State with privileged access to the public and plays a key role in defining the inclusive scope of the public. Regulators embody a unique position in guiding the communicational evolution of society. This evolution is a process that both illustrates our current state of social divisions and provides direction for future social evolution by embodying the self-expression of society – or at the very least those members of society with adequate access to communications

---

28 CRTC Chief Advisor for Radio and Television and Distribution, Mike Amodeo, has told us that his institution does not make any political or ideological decisions, rather it follows the rule of government (Amodeo, 2006).

media. In order to assure that whatever inequalities have developed in our social system are not replicated (and thus magnified) through our communications system, the provision of equal access to communications media must be based on notions of social and cultural plurality. Without systems of communication which structurally provide for and guarantee plurality, we ultimately find ourselves with disproportionate representation of the society in which we live and communicate. While the open communication system proposed within Cloutier's theory of the emirec is, indeed, a theoretical ideal, it is one that should be considered if not attained. It is only within such a system that all members of society can represent themselves on equal terms.

Media use has the potential to provide the individual and the community in which she/he lives with spaces for broad social representation and self-expression. As such, it can play an important role in politically and socially empowering all members of society. "When a broadcaster gives the microphone to a woman from a neighborhood social group so that she can recount to the chief of the city water system how her neighborhood has been without water for two months, and the functionary promises *publically* that the problem will be solved in two weeks, this is political action" (Martín-Barbero, 2004, p. 315)[29]. Martín-Barbero seeks to emphasize the potential of media use to magnify political situations from a quotidian perspective. The example he uses is telling and multi-faceted. By "giving the microphone" to member from the community, a radio station can play a vital role in expanding spaces for active citizenship. Traditionally, the most active space for everyday people to exercise their status as citizens has been through statally defined political channels. The introduction of media use as a political activity – one with which individuals can actively make claims to their rights as citizens, extends the field of political representation in unlimited directions by creating spaces for ongoing political and social dialogue. However, if this instance is unique to the individual radio station and the individuals involved, it negates the opportunity for further and more widespread social engagement and political accessibility. Comprehensive approaches to building open and supportive social communication systems are needed in order to assure that

---

29 Our translation.

examples such as this (as well as those explored in the second half of our study) do not appear as mere positive anomalies.

2.3 Conclusion

The theoretical tools explored here exemplify the complexity and multi-faceted quality of our problematic as well as the relative scarcity of tools available to researchers in the field of community media. In we are to advance in the study of communications and community media, it is imperative that we assemble an array of approaches relavent to our subjects rather than our strict domain in order to fully comprehend the relationships between individuals within society and the roles (potential and actual) of media use in these relationships. It is to this end that we advocate a close working relationship between communications analysts, practitioners and regulators as theory without practice is ultimately impractical. While we understand theoretical approaches to be of great utility, we believe that such approaches in the study of community media can be more substantially developed in partnership between these diverse actors as opposed to each working in relative isolation. We believe that the theoretical framework provided here will be helpful both to ourselves and the reader in approaching and interpreting the results of our research. As well, we regard the knowledge of our interview subjects – these very analysts, practitioners, and regulators - to be at least as vital to the understanding of the role community radio in modern society. Please consider what has been presented thus far as a starting point. It is these individuals who we believe to be most capable of expressing the unrealized potential of this media and the socio-political frameworks which are needed in order to develop community radio to its highest potential. As we progress, their experiences will contribute to the development of a profound understanding of our problematic.

CHAPITRE III

MÉTHODOLOGIE

3.1.1 Selection of Subjects

As we note in Chapter One, while there is a fairly broad international body of literature on the subject community radio this form of media has never been studied as a media system in North America. Studies performed in North American tend to be limited to case studies within the scope of masters' theses or within compiled collections of case studies. Large-scale Latin American studies that have performed this type of research and analysis have been primarily function-driven in that they had the ultimate goal of evaluating the state of community radio in Latin America and evaluating mechanisms for improvement (Geerts and van Oeyen, 2001; Geerts, van Oeyen, and Villamayor, 2003). While these are very thorough studies, they omit a number of countries both with lesser developed community radio systems[30] (Uruguay, Haití, Costa Rica, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panamá) and Brasil (due to its physical size and linguistic complexity) (Geerts and van Oeyen, 2001, pp. 21-22). One legislative study has been conducted concerning community radio, but restricts itself to the sole examination of legislation and takes no further steps to examine the tangible effects of legislation on community radio stations (UNESCO, Sánchez, 2003). Similarly, numerous studies in North America address the topic of media concentration[31], but also restrict their discussion to a narrow consideration of media democratization through regulation of monopoly and not necessarily through a process by which media use is fully integrated as a social right. Thus, it

30 This is our guess as the authors do not explain the omission of countries other than Brasil.
31 Please see Chapter One for more elaborate discussion on this topic.

is our aim to conduct a comparative case study which meets the following criteria :

1. Examines community radio systems in Latin America and North America as delimited media systems which play roles within larger communication systems;

2. Integrates the comparative study of media concentration and media legislation with the qualitative study of individual radio stations and other stakeholders within community radio systems; and

3. Is conducted cross-culturally in an effort to understand, define and refine practical and theoretical comprehensions of communicational rights and democratized media.

3.1.2 Selection of Geographic Locations

This study aims to examine the community radio systems of two different and diverse cities: Montevideo, Uruguay and Montréal, Québec, Canada. The selection of geographic areas of study is based upon a historic similarity in the development of community media in both urban centres and their larger surroundings. Community radio was first experimented with by the Uruguayan labour movement in the Montevideo barrio of Cerro in the 1950's (Emisora de la Villa, 2005). Montréal community radio grew from a momentum which linked social and labour movements in Québec with the popular use of media originating in the publication of community and labour journals[32] (Raboy, 1983). In addition, levels of media concentration are very high in Uruguay (Mastrini, 2006; Barreiro, Lima, Romano and Stolovich, 2004), Québec (Université Laval, 2006), and Canada (Université Laval, 2006). The choice of these subjects also provides an ideal opportunity for examining the development of community radio legislation. Canada has legally recognized community radio since the 1970's while such legislation is currently being developed in Uruguay[33]. Given this juxtaposition, we will observe and take part in the process leading up to the legalization of community radio in Uruguay while equally evaluating Canada's legislation and support structure.

---

32 As we will see in Chapter 5, a number of Uruguayan community radio stations have their origins in community journals.

33 As of 15 September 2006.

3.1.3 Delimitation of Scope

We feel that a study charged with determining, in part, the role of community radio should ideally consist of extensive case studies of the individual selected radio stations. Due to human, financial and time limitations, we have instead condensed these case studies into interviews with the management collectives or directors of the majority of campus-community and community radio stations in Montreal and Montevideo. It is not our distinct goal to measure the success of each station in performing its social roles. Rather, we hope to determine the self-perceived roles of community radio from the perspective of those most implicated in this form of media practice and the feasibility of these roles within current socio-political frameworks. In addition, we believe it necessary to examine the concept of community as it is defined within the structure of community radio and within the requisite social and legal structures.

3.1.4 Past Studies

As we explored in Section 1.2.2, there have been a number of past studies concerning community radio which operate within a strictly delimited scope. We look to five studies among these for methodological inspiration as well as an understanding of the real-world applicability of our work. These are the only examples we have found of studies which engage the subject of community radio in a manner other than the realization of single-subject case studies.

In 1999, a member of ALER, while observing the state of legislation and physical, economic and political constraints facing community radio in Latin America, questioned the viability of this media. With this question in hand, ALER organized the first large-scale study of community radio and proceeded to examine this media in 12 countries along each of the following lines : sociopolitical support structures, political opposition, economic and physical resources (Geerts and van Oeyen, 2001). The methodological approach of this study relies upon a distributed network of researchers and interviewers and places great emphasis on

understanding the reality community radio from within the institution. Rather than produce a scientific document, these researchers have produced a study that pinpoints the strengths and weakness of community radio and the social systems in which it exists, ultimately providing a document of equal use to practitioners and researchers. The results of this first study were further expanded into a second (Geerts, van Oeyen and Villamayor, 2003) which presents what the authors have determined to be the finest experiences of community radio in Latin America according to similar methodology. On a more localized scale, one study has analysed the state of community radio in Chile (Yánez Uribe and Rodríguez Llona, 2001) and has been developed similarly.

In the case of Uruguay in particular, we look to two studies for inspiration. Marcos Robledo's 1998 honours thesis on community radio in Uruguay provides us with a first glimpse at this media, providing us with interview transcripts and a historical marker to use in comparison to our findings. A more recent study, published under the title *Community Radio or Community Noise?*[34], offers us methodological and historical aides as well. The authors conduct interviews with station collectives, analysis of community participation in programming and analysis of programming content. The interviews conducted and programming analyzed within the scope of this study were realized between 2003 and the analysis conducted between 2003-2005, during which time the political situation in Uruguay changed drastically (see Chapter 5). While we did not receive a copy of this work until May 2006, we interviewed many of the same individuals. A comparison between these interviews and those we have conducted will provide a practical method of observing the evolution of this media over this space of two years as well as before and after the recent political changes. Thus, while we have not modeled our study on this concurrent one, it provides an ideal opportunity for historical analysis.

---

34 "Radio o ruido comunitario?"

3.1.5 Personal Experience

Our extensive background in community radio contributes fundamentally to the manner in which we have formulated and conducted our study. We have actively volunteered at community radio stations in Canada and the USA since 1993. The majority of our volunteer work has been conducted at CKUT Radio in Montréal, a station that has been included in this study. During this time, we have volunteered as a music and spoken word programmer and producer, served on management and hiring committees, as well as the Board of Directors. In addition, we are currently on the Board of Directors of the National Campus and Community Radio Association. During the term of our research we also established a *pro bono* working relationship with AMARC-América Latína y Caribe, contributing an analysis of Canadian community radio legislation to a comparative study of such legislation in 16 countries. The results of this study will be distilled into a report of best practices for creating enabling social and legal environments for community radio and will be presented to the Inter-American Human Rights Commission. With AMARC International, we served as part of a delegation from Québec community radio stations in an accredited journalist capacity at the People's Summit and the Summit of the Americas in Argentina in November 2005. Thus, we are extremely familiar with community radio both locally and on an international level.

We feel that such experience is necessary and beneficial for the study of community media. Indeed, the majority of studies we have found have been developed by implicated members of these community media. Such personal history greatly facilitates the research process, allowing one to immediately address the issues at hand rather than first becoming familiar with the media itself. In addition, it provides us with another manner of presenting ourselves as researchers when approaching our subjects. We are not only interested in our subject; we have a vested interest. This has proved important in the proceedings of our study in Montréal as we are already a member of a small community. In Montevideo, we found ourselves acting as a representative of Montréal community radio in addition to our role as researcher. This was especially important in this context as it permitted us to quickly gain

access to a distributed network of unlicensed community broadcasters who then put us in touch with other such broadcasters. With no central organization, it was necessary to become a *de facto* member of the Uruguayan community radio movement in order to gain complete access to its membership.

3.2 Methodological Approach

The delimitations of sociopolitical borders are of primary importance to the successful facilitation of social research. Not only do we define our research subjects, but we define the extent to which we will examine them and our lines of examination. Such a delimitation is vital in the development and realization of case studies, providing necessary methodological structures. While this methodological efficiency may enable the timely conduction of research and analysis of social phenomena within prescribed boundaries, it provides limited space for the development of more general social theory outside these defined norms. This situation is further manifest through our natural tendencies to work from familiar traditions or paradigms of social understanding. You might say we are bound by our geography and the various frontiers that define it. Comparative case studies that cross sociopolitical and cultural (if not geographic) borders can provide us with research frameworks through which traditional social research requirements can be met while equally providing theoretical space for fundamental analysis, synthesis, and reaction. Thus, by introducing foreign traditions of social research and practice, it is possible to gain a uniquely critical perspective of the environment in which one operates and envision radical transformations in cultural practices which may otherwise not be possible.

While introducing non-Northern and non-European approches to theorizing the use of community radio (as presented in Chapter Two), we will work with a similar model in terms of practical methodology. By juxtaposing the community radio systems of two very different national communication systems, we hope to discern common social and communicative values that exist at the root of community radio use and practice. In order to more broadly inform our perspectives on both systems, we have equally engaged in dialogue with community radio

station members, local communication specialists, regulators and community radio production groups. In addition to carrying out a large-scale comparative study of community radio systems, we offer the testimony of our subjects as a uniquely informed history of the development, current state and possible future of community radio.

3.2.1 Regulatory Frameworks

While many forms of mass communication are appropriated for community use, the ultimate social legitimacy for this type of media is wholesale integration into national communications regulatory systems. Serving as the sociopolitical and legislative superstructure for our systems of communication, communications regulators guide the development of communication and media use as well as the public and political perception of legitimate uses for media. With this in mind, each study will include an analysis of the current national communication structure in order to determine the ways in which these regulatory systems enable or impede the development and advancement of community radio.

3.2.2 The Researcher as Catalyst

The practice of community media seeks to provide media space for the under-represented and ordinary citizen as well as spaces for community dialogue. We believe that the study of this media should operate somewhat similarly. As community media researchers, it is our social responsibility to provide more than data that is simply reflective of our subjects. Accordingly, we have entered into our research with three goals in mind: 1) to collection data relavent to the completion of our study; 2) to inspire reflection and dialogue among members of the community radio systems of Montréal and Montevideo and between these individuals/groups and State regulators; and 3) provide methodological and theoretical frameworks as well as qualitative data which can be used by researchers in future studies. Our study has not developed in a traditional fashion and we have found ourselves in many unique situations, often accidentally, where we have acted as a catalyst of this sort. Thus, included with our subject data, we will present the reader with examples of these catalytic instances in order

to demonstrate the types of opportunities one can take advantage of as a community media researcher and the possible effects of research-driven intervention.

*** ***

3.3 Montréal - Composition of Corpus

In examining campus-community and community radio in Montréal, we have limited ourselves to considering the community radio system within the urban confines of the Island of Montréal. In addition, we have engaged certain local communication experts and regulatory actors in order to provide a balanced set of perspectives on our subject.

3.3.1 Montréal - Radio Stations

The CRTC provides us with definitions of community and campus-community radio which are elaborated within their community and campus-community broadcast licenses. In a general survey of the national campus-community radio sector, we did not find there to be many unlicensed broadcasters currently operating in Montréal[35] nor groups in the Montréal area in the process of developing community radio projects. Thus, our selection criteria is limited to licensed campus-community and community broadcasters on the island of Montréal as defined by CRTC Public Notices 2000-12 and 2000-13. Initially, we had considered including broadcasters in suburban areas of Montréal, but ultimately limited this study to urban stations. This decision was arrived at after discussions with Lucie Gagnon[36] and Bruce Girard[37] over the differences between urban and rural community radio stations. We propose that future studies be pursued with greater resources in order to fully address this complex subject. Also, we had initially planned to include one university-based Internet broadcaster, but this proved to be

---

35 This segment of research was conducted within the scope of our analytical work for AMARC-ALC for their comparative case study of community radio legislation (AMARC-ALC, 2006).

36 Lucie Gagnon is secrétaire générale of l'Association des radios communautaires du Québec.

37 Bruce Girard is a founding member of AMARC, international development consultant, expert in community radio and an informal mentor during the Montevideo leg of our fieldwork.

logistically impossible[38]. The following table lists the stations ultimately included, the dates of interview and their license status.

Table 3.1
Primary Interviews : Montréal, 2006

Date	Organization	Status
26 January 2006	CJLO	Concordia University– Internet only, awarded AM campus-community license in March 2006 but not yet broadcasting
2 February 2006	CINQ FM	community radio license
7 February 2006	CIBL	community radio license
25 February 2006	CISM	Université du Montréal - campus-community license
22 March 2006	CKUT	McGill – campus-community radio license

3.3.2 Montréal - Radio Station Interviews

When approaching the Montréal radio stations, we requested interviews with either the station manager, the management collective or a representative of the collective. In Chapters Four and Five, we will present each station individually, relying primarily on these semi-guided interviews and supplementary data that has been provided by the stations. We will then analyze the individual stations and their financial, human and physical resources while incorporating the following analytical structure. Our interviews of stations in Montevideo will be evaluated according to the same framework except for in unique cases which are noted.

---

38 The Internet-based broadcaster not included is CHOQ which operates at Université du Québec à Montréal. Due to time constraints, we had to ultimately omit this station after three months without communication with its management staff.

Interview Grid

History

We seek to pinpoint the origins of community radio in Montréal and to trace its evolution to the present. While past studies have addressed the origins of community radio in Québec (Fillon, 1994; Proulx, 1979), no recent studies continue the development and documentation of such data.

1. Year founded – The year of origin situates radio station origins within the regulatory history of the country. The age of the station can possibly used as evidence of sustainability.

2. General history – What are the origins of the radio station? Who founded it and why? What sort of transitions has it gone through? What are their historical ties with their communities and how have these connections been maintained?

Role

While there is a strong international community radio movement that can be observed in the work of large international organizations such as AMARC and ALER, the definition of "community radio" and the specific role of community radio depends very much on factors that cannot necessarily be generalized. Examining the self-defined roles of community radio stations in Montréal and Montevideo and the other factors pertinent to our study, we will determine the commonalities and inconsistencies within these two community radio systems and provide one or more definitions of "community radio".

1. Role of individual radio station – What communities does the radio station serve and what role does it play in these communities?

2. Guiding ideology – What is the fundamental inspiration of the radio station members? Are they actively political/revolutionary, trying to promote cultural

diversity, or simply providing an all-inclusive mouthpiece to the community?

3. Formal community ties – How does the community participate actively and regularly in the operation of the radio station? Is the radio station structurally tied to the community in any formal manner?

4. Role of community radio system – What does each radio station see as the role of the entire system Montréal and Montevideo community radio stations? What purpose does this system serve in the larger national media systems?

Funding

Is community radio financially sustainable? Are funding sources diversified? Is funding community-based and community-controlled? If there is funding provided through granting organizations or institutions? If so, is it tied to certain operational conditions?

1. Budget – What is the operational budget of each radio station and is it sufficient to meet their needs as a community media outlet?

2. Funding sources – What are the sources of funding for each radio station? Are they sustainable? Do the stations rely on the personal funds of their immediate membership, the larger local community, advertising, institutional, governmental, NGO funding or any other sources?

Infrastructure

Adequate human, financial and physical resources are vital to the successful operation of a community radio station as with any other media organization. Does the station have such adequate resources? What technical resources are seen as being necessary to the production of radio? Are community radio stations accessible to their communities in terms of broadcast range and participatory systems of integration?

1. Location – Where is the radio station physically located? Is in a centrally-located, community accessible location? What neighbourhood is it located in and how is this neighbourhood characterized (urban, rural, poor, middle-class, metropolitan, etc)?

2. Transmitter power / broadcast range – Is the radio station limited to an immediate localized audience due to poor technical resources?

3. Studios – What sort of broadcast facilities does each radio station have? Do they find their infrastructure to be adequate? Is it sustainable?

4. Libraries – Does the radio station have an audio library for use by volunteers?

5. Internet connection / computer use – Does the radio station have access to the Internet? Do they broadcast on the Internet? Do they use computers as a regular part of their broadcast infrastructure and, if so, how?

Station Structure

How are stations managed? How do they structurally assure that they are engaged with their local communities? How do they insure institutional continuity within organizations that are volunteer-based?

1. Basic structure – Is the radio station organized collectively or hierarchically? Is it structurally tied to the community in any way?

2. Core staff – Are there paid employees to provide continuity in the development of the radio station? Is the core staff of the radio station made up of volunteers?

3. Volunteers – How many active volunteers work at the radio station and how regularly do they contribute?

Programming

Content analysis of radio programming will not be included in this study largely due to restrictions of time and resources. Instead, programming will be addressed in

terms of structure and accessibility to community participation.

1. Hours of operation – Do the radio stations broadcast regularly? What factors determine broadcast schedules?

2. Type of programming – What is the express intent of the programming which they conduct? What sort of programming is it?

3. Programming Management - Who makes programming decisions?

Self-evaluation

Can the radio stations measure what they do and their effectiveness as a community-based media institution? Are systems of self-evaluation in place and, if so, what are they?

1. Method – How does the radio station measure its success as a community radio station?

2. Suggestions – How can the community radio movement, as a whole, develop and institute methods for self-evaluation?

Regulation

From the perspective of Montréal-based community radio stations, does Canada's regulatory system adequately enable them to fulfill their mandates?

1. Is the regulatory environment of Canada one which enables the radio station to fully develop and thrive as a media institution?

2. What can the federal government and/or CRTC do to improve the state of community radio in Canada?

Community radio system

While there are over 140 campus and community radio stations in Canada and seven in the Montréal area[39], there is no central association which represents them all as a

---

39 Two licensed community broadcasters, CHAA and CHAI, operate on the South Shore of Montréal. They have not been included in this study because they do not operate as urban community

sector. Working in tandem with interviews of the three relevant community radio associations (see Section 3.3.3), these factors serve to evaluate the organizational health of the community radio system itself.

1. Inter-station cooperation – Is their active cooperation between this radio station and others?

2. Coordination – What is the role of groups such as ARCQ, ARQ, and NCRA? How active are Montréal community radio stations within these groups?

3.3.3 Montréal - Community Radio Associations

There are three main campus-community and community radio associations in Canada : the National Campus and Community Radio Association, l'Association des radios communautaires du Québec and l'Alliance des radio communautaires du Canada. While their membership does not encompass the entirety of campus-community and community stations in the country, they do include the majority of stations and are the oldest such associations. While one station included in this study, CISM, is a member of the Coalition des radios universitaires, we have decided not to include this association due to their relative inactivity in the arena of broadcasting policy. Our interviews with the selected associations aim to elaborate upon the following topics:

1. The involvement of these associations in the developmental history of campus-community and community radio in Canada;
2. From the perspective of these associations, the role of campus-community and community radio in Canada;
3. Financial resources available to these types of organizations;
4. The role these associations currently play.

---

broadcasters.

Table 3.2

Interviews with Associations : Montréal, 2006

Date	Organization/Individual	Criteria
8 February 2006	Magalie Paré - ARCQ	Association des radiodiffuseurs communautaires des Québec
10 February 2006	Serge Paquin - ARC	Alliance des radios communautaires
10 February 2006	Melissa Kaestner - NCRA	National Campus-Community Radio Association

3.3.4 Montréal - Local Communications Specialists

The evolution of communication systems is a dynamic process which progresses continually. Communications policy-making is both a motor of this evolution and a result of it. Rather than simply interpret Canada's broadcasting policy as it has been prescribed, we have decided to include two specialists in our study in order to provide a more complete understanding of the policy-making process, the rationale of current broadcasting policy concerning campus-community and community radio in Canada and to obtain an informed and unbiased perspective on this media. They are : Mike Amodeo, CRTC Chief Advisor on Radio and Television and Professor Marc Raboy, specialist on Canadian broadcast policy and author of several books on Canadian media.

3.4 Montevideo – Composition of Corpus

Community radio does not legally exist in Uruguay. There are, however, many small radio stations which identify as community radio stations. Many of these stations have organized themselves into two separate associations, AMARC-Uruguay[40] and ECOS. Our first investigatory contact was the International Secretariat of AMARC in Montréal who provided us with a list of member stations in Uruguay with email and/or telephone contact information.

---

40 While AMARC does not actively establish itself as a local coordinator of community radio stations, groups in Uruguay and Mexico have adapted AMARC's principals and forged formal relations with this international organization.

While long-time members of the Uruguayan community radio movement estimate at least 60-80 community stations in operation (Alternativa FM, 2005; Emisora de la Villa, 2005, ECOS, 2005), we decided to limit our study to members of these two associations within the urban centre of Montevideo. In addition to members of the majority of Montevideo stations, we also interviewed a number of local communications specialists who have been implicated in the Uruguayan and Latin American community radio movements for several years.

3.4.1 Montevideo – Radio Stations

Our objective was to interview a representative or representatives of the operational core of each community radio station in the Montevideo metropolitan area, therefore conducting a study capable of taking into account the unique character of each group independently of others. In total, 16 community radio stations in the Montevideo metropolitan area were visited and representatives were interviewed. Interviews were also conducted with two community radios in the interior of the country, but we have chosen to omit these from our study due to the complexity of analysing rural stations and urban stations simultaneously (as in the case of Montréal stations). Efforts to coordinate a visit and interview with one other Montevideo area radio station[41] were ultimately fruitless. One other refused to be visited or interviewed, stating that they work within an extremely marginalized community in the "red zone" of Cerro[42] and did not want themselves nor their community to be taken advantage of for the sake of a study. Two others were not visited simply due to lack of time and contact information[43]. Due to their operating schedules, most stations could only be visited on weekends. During several of our station visits, we were interviewed on-air about our research project and community radio in Canada. The following page documents our interview process in Montevideo.

---

41 We were unable to arrange an interview Germinal FM after two months of sporadic email and phone contact.

42 Resistencia FM replied to an emailed interview request that they were very implicated in their community – one of the poorest in Montevideo – and preferred to keep a low profile.

43 We did not make contact with En Construcción FM and Radio Cimarrona, both current (July 2006) AMARC-Uruguay members and located in Montevideo.

Table 3.3

Primary Interviews : Uruguay, 2005

Date	Subject	Note/Radio
10 May 2005	David Rabinovitch – Radio Timbó	Located in San José (interior of country), *omitted*
14 June 2005	Juan Pablo	Radio FEUU
16 June 2005	Mario Perez	La Angostura
17 June 2005	Carlos	Radio de Prado, was interviewed on-air
22 June 2005	Héctor and Omar	Radio Contonia FM
25 June 2005	Radio collective	La Barriada FM is part of "el galpon de corrales" community centre, interviewed twice on-air
26 June 2005	Radio La Bemba	no interview on tape, interviewed on-air
27 June 2005	José	Radio La Cotorra
1 July 2005	Juan	Radio La Klassista
1 July 2005	Victoria and David	Emisora de la Villa
2 July 2005	Radio collective	Radio La Voz
3 July 2005	Radio collective	Alternativa FM – interviewed on-air
7 July 2005	Radio collective	Espika FM, located in town of Santa Lucia (interior of country), interviewed, *omitted*
29 July 2005	Radio collective	El Puente FM
30 July 2005	Radio collective	La Esquina FM
31 July 2005	follow-up visits	La Cotorra & La Villa

3.4.2 Montevideo – Radio Station Interviews

We conducted guided interviews with the management collectives of each station or a representative of these collectives. While a few of these interviews were conducted in bars and cafes, the majority of our interviews were carried out at the stations themselves during their hours of operation. The interview process often took between four to six hours, including travel time. Usually, we would spend the afternoon or evening with the station participants and were frequently interviewed on-air ourselves. We aimed to engage our subjects in conversation regarding the history of their radio stations, the role their radio plays in the community, the role of community radio in general, the possibility for expansion of broadcast range (in terms of technical capability and programming capacity), as well as their own personal histories in the context of community media. Our interviews will be analysed according to criteria noted in section 3.3.2, incorporating to the following qualifications and particular nuances.

History
In the narratives of these interviews, responses to these questions often speak to the following questions on the role of community radio. Here, we seek to pinpoint the origins of community radio in Uruguay and to trace its evolution to the present. By synthesizing these results with the histories presented in past studies, we will be able to present a complete and current history of community radio in Montevideo.

Programming
Content analysis of radio programming will not be included in this study largely due to restrictions of time and resources. Instead, programming will be addressed in

terms of structure and accessibility to community participation. The authors of "Radio comunitario o ruido comunitario" conduct content analysis of the programming of five Uruguayan community radio stations. We do not know, however, if this is relavent given the sporadic developmental nature of these stations.

Regulation

During 2004-2005, a group of institutions in Uruguay began to develop model legislation on community radio to propose to the federal government. This group is made up of the Instituto de Estudios Legales y Sociales (IELSUR[44]), Licenciature de la Comunicación de la Universidad de la República[45], Asociación de la Prensa Uruguaya (APU)[46], and the World Association of Community Broadcasters (AMARC). However, the inclusive consultation or participation of all existing community broadcasters was never fully organized with members of ECOS left out during the majority of its development[47]. This section of the study seeks to determine the diversity of opinion that may exist on the topic and the possible side-effects of community radio legislation.

1. Project of law – Community radio is currently unregulated in Uruguay. What are the prerogatives of each radio station concerning the current AMARC project of law which will recommend a process of regularization to the federal government?

2. Suggestions – How would each radio improve the situation of community radio in Uruguay in terms of current legislation?

3. Desire to change – The regularization of community radio in Uruguay would

---

44 Institute of Legal and Social Studies. Online: http://www.instantfacts.se/ielsur.html
45 Communications Program of the University of the Republic of Uruguay. Online: http://www.liccom.edu.uy/
46 Uruguayan Press Association. Online: http://www.apu.org.uy/
47 We attended, by manner of coincidence, a meeting of ECOS and a legal representative of the group developing the new legislation and have been party to much of its debate within both associations.

potentially provide community radio stations with the opportunity to develop larger projects in which broader broadcast ranges, more regular broadcast schedules, and sustainable financial, human, and physical infrastructures could be realized. Provided with such an opportunity, would the radio station change in any way? Why or why not?

Sociopolitical environment

Potentials of new government – Do they have confidence that the newly elected government of Uruguay will be able to affect positive change in terms of social and telecommunications policy? Is there a difference in the perspectives of the older radio stations who have survived past persecution and newer radio stations who have never been persecuted?

Community radio system

Over the course of the interview process, it quickly became apparent that there is a long-standing divide between the two community radio associations, demonstrating an observable fragmentation within the movement. The answers to these questions will provide a greater understanding of this divide and insight into the community radio movement.

3.4.3 Montevideo – Supplementary Interviews and Documentary Research

We conducted our fieldwork within the space of a summer internship performing research on quotidian communication with Professors Monica Maronna and Rosario Sanchez at Universidad Católica in Montevideo, Uruguay[48]. With the entrance of a newly elected progressive government two months before we began our fieldwork, we arrived in Uruguay during noticeably confusing times. Social policy of every sort was suddenly serious grounds for public and official debate, including telecommunications regulation. In order to better understand the sociopolitical context of our research, we called upon a number of local communications experts and other individuals with vast experience within the local

---

48 This internship / stage de recherche was part of Professor Carmen Rico's Quebsud research program.

community radio movement. These include Gustavo Gómez, director of the legislative program of AMARC-ALC, members of four community radio production groups and Gabriel Kaplún, director of the graduate program in communications at Universidad de la República del Uruguay and coordinator of the Media Committee of the political party of the new government[49]. In addition, we met regularly with Canadian researcher and communications consultant Bruce Girard in order to gain a greater perspective of community radio in Latin America. Through these interviews, we were able to collect a great deal of commentary on the history of community media and media regulation in Uruguay and began to comprehend the complicated political scene. While our community radio background helped us gain access to primary interview subjects, regular meetings with locally-based communications researchers helped us understand the theoretical, functional, and methodological intricacies of our research. We also visited a number of Argentinian community radio stations in a casual capacity during which time we had the occasion to interview the director of La Tribu FM[50], Argentina's oldest community radio station. This interview and related visits provided a broader understanding of the state of community radio in Latin America. Meetings with Mr. Girard were regular and informal. All others were recorded as formal interviews and have been documented in the accompanying interview list.

Since November 2004, AMARC has worked with various other social organizations in Uruguay to develop legislation on community radio for future proposal to the government. As part of this process, they held two public seminars in Montevideo, both sponsored by UNESCO, both of which we attended. The first took place on 26 May, 2005 and was entitled "Freedom of the press, media, and governability of democracy." The second, on 8 November 2005, was for the purpose of dialogue on the subject of the now-completed model legislation[51]. These events provided a wealth of resources, allowing for a more profound contextualization of

---

49 The Frente Amplio – the political coalition party currently in power in Uruguay, composed a set of 34 committees charged with evaluating the state of Uruguayan society. These committees have no formal government function and were most active before the 2004 presidential election.
50 La Tribu FM, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Online: (http://www.fmlatribu.com)
51 Known as the "proyecto de ley" or "project of law".

community radio within Uruguay and more generally within modern democratic society. In doing so, they assembled community radio practitioners from throughout the country, regulatory representatives from Argentina, Colombia and Venezuela, and representatives from various stakeholders including the commercial radio sector. These events signify a substantive advance in the public consideration of community radio in Uruguay and will be presented, in part, within our study. The following table documents our supplementary interview process:

Table 3.4
Supplementary Interviews : Uruguay, 2005

Date	Subject	Note
12 May 2005	Gustavo Gómez, AMARC	Interview on legislation and future possibilities
13 may 2005	Elena Fonseca, Cotidiano Mujer[52]	Host of program which is member of AMARC, provides history of post-dictatorship social movements in Uruguay
19 May 2005	Carlos Caseras, Comcosur	AMARC representative in Uruguay
15 June 2005	Mauricio de los Santos RadioMundoReal	Former AMARC representative in Uruguay, coordinator of radiomundoreal.com
28 June 2005	ECOS collective	Meeting between ECOS and legal representative of model legislation design group.
5 July 2005	Juan Pablo Mirza Testimonios[53]	Preliminary meeting
21 July	Gastón	La Tribu FM, Buenos Aires
26 July 2005	Testimonios	Interview with collective

---

52 Cotidiano Mujer or "Quotidian Woman" is the oldest feminist publication in Uruguay. A large organization, it rents radio airtime from a private broadcaster to air a program called Nunca en Domingo or "Nothing on Sunday." Online: http://www.cotidianomujer.org.uy
53 Translation : testimonies.

Date	Subject	Note
1 August	Gabriel Kaplún	Universidad de la República, MPP-FA Media Committee
May – August 2005	Bruce Girard[54]	Community radio researcher and consultant, weekly informal meetings

3.5 Case Study Analysis and Synthesis

Our data consists of the noted interviews, documentation provided by radio stations and otherwise collected during our research, correspondence with our subjects and the publicly available policy documents relavent to community radio in Canada and Uruguay. In the process of research and analysis, we will present each of the proposed case studies individually, first analyzing the community radio systems – these consisting of the stations themselves and associated production groups in the case that they are present. In a second step, we will analyse the social, political and economic systems in which community radio exists. Finally, we will synthesize these results in order to trace the developmental history of community radio in each environment in order to present an all-inclusive portrait of these communications systems and to determine the level to which community radio in Montréal and Montevideo is able to operate to its fullest potential.

3.5.1 Community Radio Systems

In the preceding section we presented our analytical methodology. Working with this framework, we will evaluate each selected radio station in order to determine the success of each station in operating as open and inclusive centres for community media use. Within this analysis, we will focus upon the stations themselves in order to determine individual operational ideologies, organizational/structural behaviour, definitions of community and community access and funding patterns. Do community radio stations limit their own potential

---

54 Bruce Girard is one of the founders of AMARC and has been working in the field of community radio, communications and development since the 1980's. Online: http://www.comunica.org

as a citizen-based media due to internal factors? Are they self-marginalizing, marginalized, or successfully operating outside mass society?

3.5.2 Social, Political and Economic Systems

Social communication systems – community-based and commercial alike – work within a number of larger social frameworks that influence their operations both on a basic functional level and on a broad ideological level. With this in mind, we will evaluate the effects of the current and historical social, political and economic systems of Montréal and Montevideo on the operations of community radio stations. For the purpose of this study, we delimit our inquiry of these systems as follows :

> *Social system :* What is the popular social comprehension of communication and
> media use and production? To what extent is community media and
> community radio incorporated within this view?

> *Political system :* What has been the historical approach of the government (local,
> federal) with regard to community radio? What are the current
> regulations which apply to community radio? Is there governmental
> financial support for community radio? Do the regulations
> pertaining to community radio enable it to operate to its full
> potential? How can these regulations be improved?

> *Economic system :* What is the relationship between community radio and the greater
> economic system in which it is situated? Can community radio
> adequately fund itself within such a framework?

3.6 Comparative Analysis and Synthesis of Case Studies

In addition to evaluating the community radio systems of Montréal and Montevideo according to their ability to serve as inclusive communicational conduits, it is important for us to take the occasion to evaluate the social values inherent to the stations themselves and to their particular social systems. Community radio is a media that exists on a vast international scale, manifesting itself in countless societies and the particularities of these societies. By juxtaposing two structurally and culturally different community radio systems, we hope to discern values in common as well as values unique to each situation. Such cross-cultural analysis will enable us to make theoretical postulations on modern perceptions communication rights, media use and citizenship. We will make recommendations of best social practices for creating social systems that innately enable the use of communications media for social communication, social self-representation and community dialogue. Thus, we present this work as a study of community radio as an example of the potential inherent to all forms of media.

CHAPITRE IV

ÉTUDE DE CAS - MONTRÉAL

4.1 Community Radio in Canada

The form of self-expression exercised through broadcasting is defined in Canada through two foundational pieces of legislation. The first is the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* which guarantees individuals the fundamental right of self-expression. Specifically, Section Two includes "freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression including freedom of the press and other media of communications" (Department of Justice, 1982, Part 1, Section 2B). The national broadcasting system itself is defined within the *Broadcast Act* and is comprised of three distinct sectors managed by a central regulatory body.

> The Canadian broadcasting system, operating primarily in the English and French languages and comprising of public, private and community elements, makes use of radio frequencies that are public property and provides, through its programming, a public service essential to the maintenance and enhancement of national identity and cultural sovereignty. (CRTC, 1991, Part 1, Section 3.1.b).

It is important to note that community broadcasting is recognized as a central element in a successful national broadcasting system and the construction and maintenance of "nation identity". Such recognition defines this form of media as fundamentally equal to what are today dominant forms of broadcasting in terms of license ownership (Amodeo, 2006) and infrastructure. In addition, all broadcast media is reserved as a public service for use by the

nation's citizenry. It is with this theoretical equality of broadcasting sectors and universal public service in mind that we examine the current state and future potential of community broadcasting in Montréal.

The first campus-based radio station in Canada appeared in 1922 at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, yet the first community broadcasters were not founded until 1974-1975 in Vancouver, Kitchener, Ottawa and Montréal (Stevenson, Ward and Kaestner, 2004). The Montréal station and other Québec-based broadcasters sprung, in part, from an an effort by the provincial government to develop community media under the guidance of locally-based community production committees (Raboy, 1990, pp. 223-237). Québec community broadcasting would begin to grow in 1975 when the Parti Quebecois government expanded its Programme d'Aide aux Médias Communautaires (PAMEC). With the support of the Ministry of Communications, twenty-two community radio stations were operating in the province at this time with several more in the planning stages. Today, the Montréal metropolitan area provides a fairly representative cross-section of campus and community broadcasting, illustrating a diverse variety of radio projects as well as the organizational efforts of the community broadcasting movement. Within the space of this case study, we examine the five currently licensed campus-community and community broadcasters located on the Island of Montréal. These include three campus-community broadcasters[55] - CKUT, CISM, and CJLO – and two community broadcasters – CINQ and CIBL. Among these broadcasters are members of three associations of such broadcasters – the National Campus and Community Radio Association (NCRA/ANREC), l'Association des radiodiffuseurs communautaires du Québec (ARCQ) and La coalition des radios universitaires (CRU). While we have included the first two associations in our study as well as l'Alliance des radios communautaires du Canada (ARC), we have omitted CRU primarily due to their relative inactivity with regard to broadcast policy as well as other contributing factors[56].

55 All campus-based broadcasters in Canada are defined as campus-community broadcasters and are mandated to act as a conduit between universities and their greater communities.

56 The general manager of the one CRU member station we did interview, CISM, was openly hostile to our work as well as proposed involvement with community-centred broadcasting associations

4.1.1 Broadcasting Policy : Legal Foundations

The above mentioned *Broadcasting Act* serves as an overall framework for the conception and realization of radio broadcast media in Canada. This piece of legislation defines the three key sectors of the Canadian national broadcast system : commercial, public and community. It also defines the general structure of the CBC and of the CRTC, leaving it to the CRTC itself to define the workings of commercial and community broadcasting. The first level of radio broadcasting policy generated by the CRTC is embodied in the *Radio Regulations*. Here, the regulator defines the general terms for broadcast regulations by setting content standards, terms for election-related endorsements, broadcast log requirements, ownership rules and working definitions of commercial and community radio stations. It is also within this document that the regulator defines the term "market", this being the unique term used to address the physical and radiophonic presence of a broadcaster.

4.1.2 Campus-Community and Community Broadcasting Policy

The policies governing community broadcasting in Canada have been reviewed and revised many times. The most recent review occurred in 1998 with new policy released in 2000. The stations included in this study have been licensed as either community broadcasters or campus-community broadcasters. Campus broadcasters are mandated to play a distinct role both in their universities and the community-at-large.

Community-based campus: The primary role of these stations is to provide alternative programming such as music, especially Canadian music, not generally heard on commercial stations (including special interest music, as well as styles of popular music seldom broadcast), in-depth spoken word programming, and programming targeted to specific groups within the community. Although students play an important role in programming, community-based campus stations may also provide access to members of the community at large. Such stations also provide training in radio production to volunteers. (CRTC, Public Notice 2000-12)

---

such as the ARCQ and NCRA. For further discussion of CISM, please see Section 4.3.

Community broadcasters are provided with a similar mandate, charged with providing accessible media space to their general communities, training to community members and providing a diversity of programming.

Community radio station : A community radio station is owned and controlled by a not-for-profit organization, the structure of which provides for membership, management, operation and programming primarily by members of the community at large. Programming should reflect the diversity of the market that the station is licensed to serve.

The mandate of a community radio station is to "provide community access to the airwaves and to offer diverse programming that reflects the needs and interests of the community that the station is licensed to serve, including : music by new and local talent, music not generally broadcast by commercial stations, spoken word programming and local information."

(CRTC, Public Notice 2000-13)

While defining the mandate of community-based broadcasters as community-focused, the CRTC utilizes the sole concept of "market" to envision the social landscape within which community, commercial and public broadcasters co-exist. "Market" is, in fact, defined through the measurement parameters of Bureau of Broadcast Measurement (BBM), a private entity that tracks the listenership of broadcasters[57] (CRTC, Radio Regulations, 1986). The regulator defines a number of programming requirements for campus and community broadcasters. While the examination of these factors is outside the scope of our study, the determining factors provide an insight into the regulator's comprehension of the national broadcasting system and the place of community radio in this system. Programming requirements for campus-community broadcasters are equal wherever the broadcaster is located. However, programming requirements and advertising regulations for community broadcasters are strictly defined in opposition to and in subordination to commercial and public broadcasters and

---

57 BBM measurements are the standard of measurement for commercial broadcasters. In order to gain access to statistics pertinent to a broadcaster, that broadcaster must be a subscribing member of BBM. This subscription cost is historically outside the means of community broadcasters. Online: http://www.bbm.ca

according to market.

Type A – "A community radio station is Type A if, at the time of licensing, no other station, other than one owned by CBC, is operating in the same language in all or part of its market."

Type B - "A community radio station is Type B if, when the license is issued, at least one other station, other than a station owned by the CBC, is licensed to operate in the same language in all or any part of the same market." (CRTC, Public Notice 2000-13)

The main difference in current regulations for the two categories concerns required programming content in that Type A stations are mandated to air a smaller quantity of spoken word programming and avant-garde types of musical programming. Until 2000, Type A had been restricted to airing "non-competitive" advertising in order to assure that their radio aesthetic would not evolve into a commercial one. This restriction was lifted in 2000, leaving the door open for more lucrative advertising possibilities for all campus and community stations. This is the single most significant change that occurred in the 2000 policy revision. Rather than exploring public funding mechanisms for public broadcasting, the regulator mandated a commercial, advertising-based approach for funding community radio.

4.2 CKUT Radio – 90.3 FM – Radio McGill – http://www.ckut.ca

CKUT is a campus-community broadcaster attached to McGill University in Montréal[58]. It broadcasts with a power of 5,500 watts at the 90.3 FM frequency. This broadcaster was most recently examined within Frédéric Dubois' 2005 masters' thesis on autonomous media (Dubois, 2005).

4.2.1 History

Campus-based radio has existed at McGill University since as early as the 1950's. Eventually, in 1987, the CRTC made a call for applications for a campus-community radio

---

58 It should be noted that we have been actively engaged on a strictly volunteer basis at CKUT since 1995.

station in Montréal which was answered by the radio clubs then active at McGill and Concordia University. The license was ultimately awarded to McGill's radio club, making it the only English-language community broadcaster in Montréal. Given this unique status, the station has attracted a large anglophone and allophone community contingent interested in having access to media (Burns, 2006). Today, CKUT is among the largest campus-community broadcasters in Canada in terms of financial and human resources and broadcast power. In Montréal, it has become a hub for the Anglophone independent music and arts communities. This station is likely the first Canadian campus-community radio to broadcast on the Internet having started to do so in 1997.

4.2.2 Role

CKUT plays a number of social roles within the city of Montréal. As a campus-community broadcaster, it has the mandate of providing training and radio broadcasting opportunities to its volunteers. Rather than operate simply as a radio station, it is more of a "community social resource centre in the way that people come here, build friendships, create networks formally and informally with other people in their community or people in other communities". The mandate of the station is to provide spaces of representation for all communities within Montréal and to "expose news, music and culture that isn't even being superficially examined anywhere else on the dial" (Saljoughi, 2006).

For Saljoughi, key aspects of community radio that help define it in the larger context of Canadian media are inclusiveness and access. These can be considered the "heart of community radio" in that they constitute a volunteer-driven, inclusive and open structure of operation. All programming and most other tasks performed at the station are carried out on a volunteer basis, enabling individuals to acquire a significant base of experience in the making of radio. That said, community radio still "has a long way to go in terms of what we cover, in terms of balance in our programming. (...) Community radio serves a purpose in that it covers a lot of things, stories that aren't heard in other media forms, but we still have a long way to go and staying relavent will be really looking at that question and trying to answer it" (Saljoughi,

2006).

Formal ties to communities are primarily maintained through programming with a large number of Montréal communities represented on the airwaves. Programming coordinators are charged with performing outreach in communities not yet represented in terms of news, cultural and musical programming. The Programming Committee (see Section 4.2.3) consists of stakeholders from various communities, each contributing to a balance in programming decisions and representing their respective constituencies.

4.2.3 Internal Structure

CKUT is the only station included in our study which is organized non-hierarchically. There is a core collective of seven paid staff complimented by two part-time employees. All staff are paid equally and the administrative role of "monthly facilitator" rotates monthly among these staff members.

Table 4.1

CKUT Radio Paid Staff

Title	Duties
Music Programming Coordinator	Coordinating and training music volunteers, interviews, record label relations, overnight programming.
Music Resources Coordinator	Record library management and upkeep, library volunteer training and coordination, record label relations.
Community News Coordinator	Coordinating and training news volunteers and programming.
Culture Programming Coordinator	Coordinating and training spoken word/culture programming and volunteers.
Sales Manager	Advertising sales, advertising-for-goods exchange negotiations[59].

---

59 The station often exchanges advertising for goods and services such as website hosting and studio equipment.

Fund-raising Coordinator	Annual funding campaign, funding research and grant-writing.
Production Coordinator	Training volunteers in radio production, responsible for upkeep of studios.
Accountant (Part-time)	Book-keeping and accounting for station and all departments.
Administration (Part-time)	Management of external contracts.

All members of staff are members of the Steering Committee which is also includes three volunteers – these individuals representing the music, spoken word and production departments. This committee deals with the daily functioning of the radio station. The primary work of paid staff is to facilitate the work of volunteers. The Board of Directors is the ultimate authority and is legally responsible for all actions of the station, its staff and volunteers. Its membership represents the general Montréal community, station staff, McGill undergraduate and graduate students, McGill academic staff and McGill non-academic staff. There can be a maximum of two non-Canadian members, yet they must have legal status in Canada. In addition, the Programming Committee is charged with managing the programming grid through the evaluation of applications for new programs, continual evaluation of current programs and managing listener complaints. The committee consists of elected representatives from the McGill community, general Montréal community, the Montréal black community, Francophone community and volunteer representatives from the Music and Spoken Word/News departments. Staff members from these two departments are also included, but have no voting rights.

Most campus-community and community broadcasters have a form of tiered membership which equates the privileges of membership (training, programming, decision making) with participation in the life of the organization. While all McGill undergraduate students are automatically members through their annual payment of fees, individuals must contribute a minimum of four hours monthly in order to fully benefit. There is, however, no system for accounting for such criteria and a casual understanding that free time can be limited

for many people. Thus, while the station has over 15,000 members due to McGill University's student population, it has approximately 400 active volunteers.

4.2.4 Programming

CKUT broadcasts 24 hours per day with programs ranging from 30-300 minutes in duration. Programs air at varying frequency, the majority airing once weekly with certain programs airing only once or twice per month. There are currently 108 distinct programs represented on the broadcast schedule. The Programming Committee, described above, makes all decisions concerning CKUT programming in terms of approval of new programs and evaluation of current programs. Radio programs, however, manage themselves. Over the past three years, a number of shows have become collectively structured and are facilitated by the relavent departmental coordinator. All programming from midnight-6am falls outside regular CRTC broadcasting guidelines and, at this station, is the sole responsibility of the Music Programming Coordinator. CKUT does not organize its programming according to theme-oriented blocks. However, most evening programming tends to be musical in content and there is news and current events programming every morning and evening, Monday through Friday. Daytime programming is an equal mix of music and spoken word. Such an arrangement provides accessible alternatives to dominant forms of radio programming (CBC/SRC and commercial radio)[60]. CKUT presents its programming according to the following categories:

Table 4.2

CKUT Programming

Beats, Soul, Reggae	Rock
They'll Play Anything	Wide Wide Wide World
Electronica	New Soundz
Folk, Country, Bluegrass	Women
Communities	Current Affairs / Politics
Jazz, Blues, Gospel	Culture

[60] In our casual observations, we have seen that many commercial broadcasters, the CBC and SRC have similar broadcasting patterns.

4.2.5 Methods of Internal Evaluation

CKUT does not employ any methodological research tools nor listenership polls in order to measure their success as a community-based broadcaster. Instead, their success can be observed more fluidly through their presence in the community. While an understanding of estimated listenership can be important, it is more important for the station to assure that it maintains an open, transparent and accessible infrastructure that communities can interface with.

> "I think other ways we can judge it (our success) are through things like feedback we get from listeners and people who aren't listeners but have heard about what we do. For example, in the music department...people using our music charts, requesting interviews with our programmers, our relationships with people in the music industry, things that reflect how relavent we are (...) But I think the greatest thing is community involvement." (Saljoughi, 2006)

The primary indicator of success that exists at CKUT is broad and varied community implication in the programming and management of the station. Rough estimations of community appreciation can be observed in advertising-related sectors. An informal measure is found in the broadcaster's annual funding drive which runs during a 10-day stretch once yearly, generating an average of $60-70,000 in pledged donations with an average 70% return. Another means of measuring and assuring station presence in the community is through advertising whereby CKUT offers local and independent groups (musical, academic, activist, etc) affordable or free advertising in exchange for reciprocal media presence within the context of their events. The station does not, however, regularly review the fine details of mechanisms nor does it currently have a strategy in place for considering other forms of measurement.

4.2.6 Infrastructure

From 1987-1995, this broadcaster was located in two rooms of the basement of the McGill Student Union Building. Today it is located on the bottom two floors of a building belonging to McGill University and situated in downtown Montréal. Its broadcast range is considerable; with a 5,5000 watt transmitter it can be heard throughout Montréal and often into

parts of New York State and Ontario[61]. Situated on these two floors are five offices for paid staff and volunteers, one production studio, one editing studio, a vast library of recordings (approximately 90,000 albums), and an on-air studio. The station has converted their production studio to a mix of digital and analogue equipment over the past four years. While they find their physical situation to be adequate for their work, they would ideally like to own their own building with space for an ever-expanding library, less cramped office space and larger studios. CKUT has digital mobile recording resources for volunteer use, an adequate but limited quantity of computer editing stations with Internet access, and has been broadcasting on-line since 1997. They currently have the most sophisticated Internet broadcasting system of any Montréal station, offering their broadcast in multiple live streams, archived programs for download and "podcasts" of all programs[62]. The station also regularly broadcasts concerts and community events with the aid of open-source Internet technology. CKUT is not easily accessible to physically disabled individuals.

4.2.7 Financial Resources

As with most stations examined in this study, CKUT supplied us with a thorough and up-to-date copy of their operating budget. For the year 2005-2006, the broadcaster has budgeted $402,060 of revenue and $383,089 in expenses. A significant percentage of revenue comes in the form of a student levy whereby every McGill undergraduate student contributes $8 yearly for a total of $165,000. This amount is continually in flux as students can opt out of their contribution and the number of enrolled students changes from year to year. Other significant areas of revenue are sub-carrier rental[63] (two contracts for a total $63,855), advertising ($110,000) and fund raising ($48,000). While funding is diversified among these

---

61 Due to a technical issue – the "shadow" of the transmitter and tower – CKUT cannot be easily received within the McGill student residences. In recent years, the station and university have created a dedicated Internet stream for students residing here.

62 "Podcasting" is a term related to the advent of the Apple iPod but not limited to the use of this specific mobile audio player. It allows Internet users to subscribe to and automatically download programs for future listening or archival purposes.

63 Many FM stations rent their harmonic side-bands to niche-market broadcasters. Until recent years, these broadcasters were primarily Muzak broadcasters. CKUT rents their side-bands to two ethnic broadcasters whose communities must purchase special receivers to receive their signal.

sources, such funding is not necessarily reliable. In the case of student fees, CKUT has been negotiating with an uncooperative university administration for the past five years during which time this funding was withheld twice. In addition, any member of the McGill student community can, at any time, organize a referendum calling into question this significant source of funding. Instability can be observed in the other major sources of revenue as well. Sub-carriers account for substantial revenue but have proven fairly unreliable over the years. Similarly, the majority of CKUT advertisers are "really small, unstable businesses and emerging creative producers." The station purposely keeps its advertising rates minimal in order to provide maximum benefit to local, independent entrepreneurs, artists, social groups, etc. (Burns, 2006). CKUT is not eligible for funding from PAMEC nor many other granting agencies because they are affiliated with a university. Likewise, it has proven difficult for the station to receive charitable tax status due to its affiliation with a university that has such status yet will not share it with the broadcaster. The broadcaster occasionally hosts grant-funded projects whereby troubled teens or single mothers (examples of two past projects) acquire radio production skills. While beneficial to all involved, the financial benefit of such projects is usually minimal and are accompanied by a large administrative burden. (Burns, 2006).

The bulk of CKUT expenses lie in three main areas. Payroll expenses account for $215,312 with each full-time employee making $22,750 per year. Annual rent for the station studios and offices amounts to $39,470 (paid to McGill University) and fees related to transmitter hosting and broadcast tower rental amount to $33,250. Station revenue has not increased substantially in many years. There is no system for regular wage increases, staff do not have any medical benefits, nor is their funding for staff development. While rental fees increase annually, none of CKUT's revenue sources increase at an equal and predictable rate. Due to poor salaries, many staff members supplement their income with freelance employment. This situation regularly leads to staff burn-out with most staff members working at the station a maximum of three to four years.

4.2.8 Inter-station Relations

CKUT does not have any formal ties with other Montréal campus-community and community radio stations. There are, however, a number of volunteers who contribute their time and programming here and at other stations. Members of CKUT reported from the Summit of the Americas and People's Summit in Mar del Plata, Argentina with an AMARC-organized delegation of Québec community broadcasters. Members were also present at the 2006 World Social Forum in Caracas, Venezuela. The broadcaster has been a long-time member of the NCRA and is one of two member-stations in Québec[64]. Today, CKUT is one of a number of NCRA member-stations across Canada that exchange programming on a regular basis. It is also part of an organizational effort to create a national independent news agency, building upon the network that already exists informally among stations, the NCRA and other organizational efforts. CKUT has no relationships with ARCQ, ARC or CRU.

*** ***

4.3 CISM – 89.3 FM - "La Marge" - http://www.cism.umontreal.ca

CISM is the campus-community broadcaster affiliated with Université du Montréal.

4.3.1 History

CISM received their broadcast license in 1990, entering as the most powerful Francophone campus-community broadcaster in Canada. The roots of the station lie with a small group of students at Université du Montréal who began to explore the possibility of founding such a broadcaster in 1970. In 1980, the students of Université du Montréal decided to create the station in an instructional capacity upon recommendation of a feasibility study. As with the other broadcasters presented in this study, there are notable delays between the initial organizing efforts and the ultimate founding of the licensed broadcaster. In this case, CISM began broadcasting on-campus in 1985, received their campus-community license in 1990 and

---

64 The other is CJMQ in Lennoxville. Online: http://www.cjmq.fm

began broadcasting on FM in 1991. They transmit at 10,000 watts, the most powerful of the broadcasters in this study. Their rationale for this status is a need to broadcast to the St-Hyacinthe satellite campus of Université du Montréal. (St-Onge, 2006) The station's broadcast radius is approximately 70 km. CISM suffered from notable financial and organizational troubles between approximately 1998-2003 and appears to be undergoing a current "re-branding" as well as a re-working of operational policy.

4.3.2 Role

CISM exists primarily to act as a trampoline for emerging Québecois talent not yet known to mainstream media. Although the CRTC policy mandates campus-based broadcasters to incorporate the larger community in the operations of the station, the station maintains that their target audience is francophone students between the ages of 18-34. The director general of the station, Guillaume St-Onge, believes strongly that the credibility of community radio has been damaged by its historical connections to progressive social and political movements. Such connections have left community radio socially and economically marginalized. By restricting programming to mainly underground and emerging music, St-Onge aims to "restore credibility" to the institution. (St-Onge, 2006).

4.3.3 Internal Structure

CISM is organized hierarchically with a director general responsible for overseeing all operations. It has a total of seven paid staff. Rather than rely on a volunteer-based programming committee, the program director is charged with overall management of the programming schedule and is aided by a paid assistant. Two programming-focused staff coordinate music and cultural programming. In addition, there is a promotions and sales director who is responsible for outward station promotion and advertising sales. Finally, one employee is charged with maintaining the station technical resources and production needs. Besides paid employees, the station has designated music directors who are volunteers responsible for managing certain genres of music. In this case, they are : loud rock, anglophone

hip-hop / soul / funk, jazz / world music and electronic (rpm). A number of other volunteers are responsible for coordinating the general volunteer body which amounts to 200 active members.

4.3.4 Programming

All programming at CISM is managed by the programming director in conjunction with the musical and cultural directors. While staff at all other broadcasters in this study produce programming in a uniquely volunteer capacity, this is not the case at CISM, the practice having changed with the hiring of a new music director in the past year. While all programming had previously been produced by volunteers, the music director is now responsible for assembling automated playlists which are broadcast a total of 40 hours per week between 13 distinct programs. In addition, a nightly 1-hour airs which presents the weekly charts[65], based on weekly programming which is dominated by the pre-defined programming of the music department. This is a practice that we have only before witnessed in commercial radio. We will conclude by suggesting that CISM is currently in violation of their campus-community broadcast license. The CRTC outlines strict programming criteria in order to assure a high level of diversity, one of these criteria being a required 25% spoken word programming. CISM broadcasts a total of 12.5 hours of non-musical programming weekly, amounting to 7%.

4.3.5 Methods of Internal Evaluation

BBM (Bureau of Broadcast Measurement) surveys are the primary method of evaluation in the world of commercial radio. They have been historically avoided by community radio stations as these surveys are expensive and provide only one range of measurement : whether an emitted message has been received. As evidenced by the various systems utilized by other broadcasters in this study, community radio traditionally places an

---

65 Radio stations compile weekly charts which represent the current popularity of artists, albums and record companies. These are often contributed to larger charts compiled by publications and used as an example of a station's relevance when asking record labels for promotional servicing.

emphasis on accessibility and community presence, factors BBM cannot address. To the contrary, Mr. St-Onge asserts that BBM surveys are the only manner by which community radio can measure its success as a broadcaster. For him, proof of listenership is in these basic numbers. This year, CISM subscribed to a BBM survey for the first time. The results state that CISM has 70,000 regular listeners in the Montréal area. When we suggested that BBM surveys were limited in their ability to take into account more complex social factors, he immediately dismissed such talk as "leftist, progressive" and basically useless for attracting advertisers. (St-Onge, 2006).

4.3.6 Infrastructure

CISM is located deep inside a building on the campus of Université du Montréal. While the building is easily accessible by public transportation, the station itself is hard to find and not very accessible to the physically handicapped. The physical space includes a large volunteer area, three offices for staff, production studio, library and on-air studio. They recently invested $60,000 in their studios (Robillard Laveaux, 2006). The station broadcasts on-line and offers some, but not all, of their programs for archived download. Their infrastructure appears sufficient for the programming they are engaged in.

4.3.7 Financial Resources

CISM is the only broadcaster in this study which refused to provide us with complete financial records, instead giving us a one-page abstract of minimal detail for reasons of confidentiality. All other broadcasters have been willing to explain their financial situation and history in detail and have provided recent budgets and annual reports (if available). Eventually, we were provided with a copy of the CISM financial records by a colleague at Université du Montréal.

This broadcaster receives the largest amount of single-source funding of all stations examined in our study, this due to the large student population of Université de Montréal. Each

student contributes $2 per session ($1 per session for students at l'École Polytechnique and Éducation Permanent). For the 2005 budget year, they received $180,881. An additional $132,778 is generated by advertising, $52,248 through rental of studios and services, $15,588 through fund raising productions and promotional events and $2,966 from a funding campaign. Mr. St-Onge informed us that they would be discontinuing their funding campaign due the small return on a large amount of labour. He asserted that the tradition of donating money to campus and community broadcasters is absent in the French culture. All other broadcasters in this study, with the exception of CJLO, successfully operates an annual funding campaign. While it is financially beneficial, it also serves to maintain visibility in the community at large and is often used as a gauge of community appreciation.

Salary costs at CISM amount to $189,284 with an additional $34,889 contributed to sales commissions. The broadcaster pays $13,897 for antenna rental, a rate that increases by a small margin annually. While Mr. St-Onge told us that the station had accumulated a large debt in recent years, he would not quantify nor explain this debt. According to the financial records, CISM has an outstanding loan from Université du Montréal of $90,000 (down from $110,000 the previous year) which it is repaying at a rate of $15,000 per year without interest. They owe the Fédération des associations étudiantes de campus de l'Université de Montréal an additional $7,000. The station does not pay rent and we assume these costs are absorbed by the Fédération. In 2004, CISM had engaged in good and services exchanges at a rate of $201,000. This was reduced this to $69,500 in 2005. As seen in the other subjects of this study, goods and services exchanges are mechanisms for offering small local businesses advertising that would otherwise be unreasonably expensive. In return, the broadcaster receives goods or services they could not otherwise afford and increase their visibility as an accessible broadcaster. Mr. St-Onge explained that the station has no desire to forge and maintain community relations in such a manner and that advertising should be sold, not bartered. (St-Onge, 2006).

The broadcaster seems to have its finances in good order. While their debt is sizable,

they are operating with exactly the surplus they are scheduled to repay annually. The station also benefits greatly from rent-free living. However, we are concerned that CISM is making itself less accessible to the community in an effort to obtain further financial stability through their changes in advertising policy. This is a concern that we have heard from various Montréal community members, local artists and CISM programmers and is an issue which may eventually damage the station reputation within the community and thus, their financial resources. In particular, we questioned Mr. St-Onge about policies whereby programmers are only permitted to comprehensively announce events for promoters and artists who have paid for advertising. His response was that paid advertising takes priority. All other broadcasters in this study encourage their programmers to announce all local events, free of charge.

4.3.8 Inter-station Relations

This broadcaster has no formal relations with any other stations. CISM has no relationship with AMARC, NCRA or ARCQ. They are one of the five members of CRU.

*** ***

4.4 CINQ - "Radio Centre-Ville" – 102.3 FM – http://www.radiocentreville.com

CINQ, popularly known as Radio Centre-Ville, is the oldest community broadcaster in Montréal. Given their uniquely defined multi-cultural mandate, they have been the subject of several academic studies. A chapter presenting the broadcaster appears in Bruce Girard's *A Passion for Radio* (Girard, 1992, pp. 39-46).

4.4.1 History

The roots of Radio Centre-Ville lie in Québec's movements for social change during the 1960-1970's. In 1970, members of five Montréal communities – anglophone, francophone, hispanophone, Portuguese and Greek – began to consider the possibility of founding a community radio station. Their motives were primarily 1) to help members of their distinct

communities to better integrate themselves into the larger Montréal community and; 2) to provide a means of mass communication to those without such access. Members of this core group incorporated the station in 1972[66], began broadcasting from the studios of Radio McGill and began preparing an application to the CRTC. In 1974, CKRL in Québec City became the first licensed community broadcaster in the province. On 27 January 1975, Radio Centre-Ville began broadcasting with a power of 8 watts – a range of 1 to 2 kilometers. Throughout the 1980's, they raised funds for three power upgrades, eventually graduating to 1300 watts in 1991 (Kapetanakis, 2006).

4.4.2 Role

The mandate which is projected by Radio Centre-Ville is very clearly defined. Rather than "give a voice to the voiceless" they provide an organizational centre for the sectors of Montréal society that are marginalized both socially and in their portrayal in the media. Within this organization, the so-called "voiceless" can represent themselves. From its inception, Radio Centre-Ville has placed a strong emphasis on inter-cultural exchange as well as distinct cultural representation. The media structure of a community radio station serves to provide a counterbalance to non-representative corporate media and a point of convergence for social groups working for common causes such as "citizen participation, solidarity, social justice and the democratization of communications media" (Radio Centre-Ville, 2005, p. 7)[67]. Today, the station is organized into seven linguistically defined production teams. By maintaining a permanent media environment for these communities, Radio Centre-Ville facilitates the integration of new immigrants into their distinct communities as well as into the broader communities of Québec and Canada.

> They participate in the social life of Québec by communicating their own culture, and at the same time, help their compatriots become more aware of Québec and Canadian current events and culture. Listeners benefit from information in their own languages about the new social environment to which they must adapt, and they conserve their

---

66 Radio Centre-Ville Saint-Louis Inc.
67 Our translation.

cultural origins. (Girard, 1992, p. 42.)

This broadcaster believes fully that regularized audience participation is necessary in order for such work to be successful. To this end, they have developed a series of operational principles. While we can attest from personal experience that many of the stations examined in the current study also work according to such precepts, Radio Centre-Ville is the only station that has clearly defined them as operational guidelines. We excerpt these from the stations "Welcome Manual":[68]

Radio Centre-Ville will encourage listener participation by various means:

- by permitting access to the airwaves;
- by continually offering training in the production of radio programs;
- by demonstrating local musical and literary talent;
- by organizing or promoting the organization of forums of public debate;
- by encouraging new approaches to programming and public interest;
- by encouraging new and innovative approaches to radio;
- by producing programs developed more in the critical spirit than that of conformity.

Formal ties with communities are embodied in the form of seven radio production groups : French, English, Spanish, Creole, Chinese, Greek and Portuguese. It is the responsibility of these teams to maintain open relations with the various social groups within their communities and to assure that their programming and community outreach work adheres to these principles.

4.4.3 Internal Structure

The operations of Radio Centre-Ville are organized hierarchically with a director general responsible for the daily functioning of the organization. The broadcaster has 10 other employees. Four volunteer coordinators assure that there is a presence at the station day, night, and on the weekend. One of these coordinators functions as an information coordinator to facilitate the activities of volunteers. In addition, the station has an accountant, technical director and an individual centrally responsible for interviews. Radio Centre-Ville hosts a

---

68 Our translation.

project called Radio-Enfant (Kid's Radio) which is funded mainly by Centraide[69] and employs three staff.

Unlike CKUT, the coordination of programming at Radio Centre-Ville is entirely in the hands of volunteers. For this reason, the concept of membership at the station is taken very seriously. The volunteer base is organized into seven linguistic production teams as noted above. Each team is responsible for coordinating all of their programs and for any collaborations between teams. Before volunteers can be fully integrated into the station as "members" they must first implicate themselves in the work of the station. Eventually, they stand before the membership committee which determines the extent of their participation and knowledge and ultimately grants them membership or not. The teams have no standard operating procedures and arrive at decisions according to their own devices. In order to coordinate programming more broadly, organize a unified station body and encourage inter-cultural exchange, an "inter-team" committee consists of one representative from each linguistic team and a member of the Board of Directors (Kapetanakis, 2006).

As with all incorporated broadcasters, the Board of Directors is the ultimate legal authority within the organization. Here, they are required to be Canadian citizens and to have been implicated in the organization for a minimum of nine months. Contrary to other stations examined here, seats on the Board of Directors are not defined by constituency. Instead, the body is elected or its membership reconfirmed annually.

4.4.4 Programming

Radio Centre-Ville broadcasts 24-hours per day with programs varying from 30-300 minutes in length. As noted above, each of the seven linguistic production teams at the station is responsible for coordinating and producing their own programming. They are mandated by the CRTC to broadcast 50% French-language content, the other 50% of airtime split among six

---

69 Centraide is the United Way of Canada, a large community-works oriented NGO. They are online at http://www.centraide.ca

minority languages.

Table 4.3

Breakdown of Radio Centre-Ville Programming

Language	Number of Programs	Hours of Programming
English	17	16.5
Spanish	13	49
Creole	11	11
Chinese	5	5
Greek	33	12.5
Portuguese	27	29
French	79	79

Among these programs are nightly Portuguese-language music magazines, daily Greek and Spanish community programming, daily news programming and a late-night program for Haitian taxi drivers. Even with this incredible diversity of programming, director general Evan Kapetanakis finds the CRTC regulations to be limiting. He feels the high percentage requirement of French-language limits the number of new communities that can be integrated into the station (Kapetanakis, 2006).

4.4.5 Methods of Internal Evaluation

For the past three or four years, Radio Centre-Ville has been relying on listener surveys to calculate their number of listeners in order to provide potential advertisers with a concrete demonstration of their footprint. The latest survey puts this number at 100,000 listeners (Kapetanakis, 2006). In addition, they keep track of the number of phone call inquiries they receive daily, their working relationships with social groups and letters and emails from listeners. Another way they measure the success of their work as a community broadcaster is through monitoring new program proposals and communications between programmers and their audiences. Like other stations, they receive a large portion of their annual funding from the Montréal community and the fact that they are surviving financially is a testament to

community appreciation of their work. Kapetanakis believes that, given their resources, it is impossible to determine the social impact of their organization in a thorough manner.

4.4.6 Infrastructure

Radio Centre-Ville has been located on two floors of a commercial building in the Mile End neighbourhood of Montréal since 1982. Their broadcast range includes the better part of the Island of Montréal, but does not quite reach the extremities. The physical space includes three offices for staff, large meeting spaces for volunteers, two digital production studios and a digital/analogue on-air studio. The station library is not very accessible. It is split into seven small libraries, one for each linguistic team with only those members having access. Centre-Ville broadcasts on-line, but does not offer archives of their programming. While their physical space has been adequate for many years, it is not conducive to growth and provides very limited space for library or studio space. It is also is not easily accessible to physically disabled individuals.

4.4.7 Financial Resources

Radio Centre-Ville provided us with their budget for the year 2005-2006. Similar to CKUT, their revenue was budgeted at $399,558 and their expenses budgeted equally. Roughly half of the revenue for this budget year was generated through general operational grants and through project-based grants. This all amounts to $224,528 and comes from six separate streams. An additional $97,430 was budgeted as commercial revenue generated by advertising, community announcements and sponsorships. The third main source of revenue is community-generated and accounts for $42,100 coming from an annual lottery, membership fees, fund raising and special programming. They also manage to make $30,000 through rental of their production studios. While CKUT's budget remained relatively static between recent budget years, Centre-Ville suffered a considerable $43,000 drop in revenue from the previous year, due entirely to cuts in subsidized funding and community-generated revenue. Their funding is quite diversified, yet the largest sources seem to be in decline.

Centre-Ville's expenses lie in a number of categories. Salaries account for $155,358. Annual rent accounts for an additional $26,000. Advertising-related costs amount to $46,600. Basic administration costs for the station, not including salaries, are $48,400. The second most significant source of revenue for Radio Centre-Ville, project funding, is also its second most significant expense at $107,000. Revenue does appear to be regular enough that graduated wage increases are granted annually. While the budget we have been provided with does not detail exact salaries, graduated wage increases signal that the broadcaster makes efforts to pay a living wage and perhaps suffers from a lesser rate of staff turnover than some other stations. This, however, may be to the detriment of other station needs.

4.4.8 Inter-station Relations

Similar to CKUT, Radio Centre-Ville does not have formal ties with other broadcasters. They have been an active member of ARCQ for many years. Community journalists from this broadcaster were members of the AMARC delegation of Québec community broadcasters to the Summit of the Americas and People's Summit in Mar del Plata, Argentina in November 2005. In addition, programmers at Centre-Ville regularly collaborate with broadcasters in their home countries. Some members of the station perform programming at CKUT and CIBL. Radio Centre-Ville has no affiliation with the NCRA, ARC or CRU.

*** ***

4.5 CJLO – http://www.cjlo.com

CJLO is the Internet broadcaster of Concordia University. They recently received their AM campus-community broadcasting license. The university has two campuses and, until 1998, two closed-circuit radio stations CRSG and CFLI.

4.5.1 History

Until 1998, each of Concordia University's two campuses operated a closed-circuit

campus radio station. These two stations, CRSG and CFLI, then merged into CJLO and began broadcasting by cable FM to the Concordia student residences. Early plans to apply for an FM broadcast license were hampered by high staff turnover. In 2002, CJLO began to broadcast on-line, using this structure as a springboard to AM/FM broadcasting. Finally, their CRTC broadcast license application was filed in 2005 and they were granted an AM license in March 2006. When they begin broadcasting in January 2007, they will be the only campus-community broadcaster in Montréal on the AM band due to the fact that there is no more space left on the city's FM band.

4.5.2 Role

CJLO primarily serves the student body of Concordia University, but also counts several community members among its volunteers. Much of their specific broadcasting mandate will be developed when they are an AM broadcaster with the ability to reach the broader community of Montréal. Today, they mainly aim to promote independent and underground music and to provide a space where individuals can gain experience in radio. Station manager David Caporicci-Urovitch[70] thinks it is important that there be a media space for people to express views not included in the mainstream media. (Caporicci-Urovitch, 2006).

4.5.3 Internal Structure

The broadcaster currently has two paid staff, the general manager and program director. The general manager is responsible for the overall management of the organization and currently responsible for laying the physical and organizational groundwork for a station that will soon be making the transition from Internet broadcaster to licensed radio broadcaster. The program director is responsible for all programming management. All other staff are volunteers. Two music directors manage the record library and music industry relations. An additional four volunteers act as specialized music directors, each focusing on "non-indie rock" genres, specifically hiphop, electronic music, metal and world beat. Administrative tasks are

---

70 David Caporicci-Orovitch left the station shortly after we interviewed him. The current (August 2006) station manager is Chris Quinnell.

split among five volunteer staff : sales manager, executive assistant, entertainment director, IT director and librarian. Technical responsibilities are shared by the production director and engineer/technician. While all other stations included in this study employ a number of full-time staff and limited part-time staff, all volunteer staff at CJLO work a minimum of 2-8 hours per week. CJLO has a 5-person Board of Directors consisting of the station manager, one Concordia faculty member, one community member at large, and two station members. All but the station manager have 2-year terms. The broadcaster currently has 80 active members who need to have volunteered at least 6 hours of their time in the last year.

4.5.4 Programming

CJLO does not broadcast live 24-hours a day. Currently, they provide 93 hours of live programming weekly. This time consists of 45 programs, three of them spoken word, but not news or current affairs based. All other programming is music-based and defined according to the following genres : rock-alt, hiphop, jazz, world beat, punk, country, metal, rpm (electronic).. When not broadcasting live, digitized archives of past programs are played randomly. When the broadcaster becomes an AM station, it will invest in radio automation software and digitize their record collection in order to provide randomly generated, automated programming. There is no programming committee, rather the program director makes all programming decisions individually.

4.5.5 Methods of Internal Evaluation

As an Internet broadcaster, CJLO relies primarily upon website statistics to inform them of their listenership. Caporicci-Urovitch believes that this form of radio has not become as popular in North America as in Europe because it is not as accessible as FM and AM radio. The station does not have any formal mechanisms for measuring the presence of their station in the community other than listener feedback. Once CJLO begins broadcasting on AM, they will operate within the physical community of Montréal and be able to consider more concrete mechanisms.

4.5.6 Infrastructure

CJLO is located at the Loyola campus of Concordia University, far from the downtown core of Montréal and not easily accessible to the general community. The physical space consists of three offices for staff, a production studio, record library and on-air studio. This station is the only one in our study with a second studio fit for mixing and broadcasting live bands. As the station grows in terms of volunteers, paid staff, and library space, we predict space problems in the coming three to five years. The station is accessible by elevator but difficult to locate.

4.5.7 Financial Resources

The sole source of budgeted funding for CJLO is approximately $150,000 in the form of a student levy. Each Concordia University student pays $0.25 per credit. The station's largest current expense, similar to the situation elsewhere, is salaries which add up to $52,500 between the two paid staff positions. Unlike the other broadcasters in Montréal, their physical space has been provided free of charge by the Concordia Student Union. In the future they will be spending approximately $18,000 annually on land rental for the physical location of their antenna and transmitter as well as $25,000 for the purchase of their AM antenna. The informal budget which they provided us also includes $10,000 towards the launching of the station in January. While the station is operating at a surplus with $150,000 in revenue and $137,000 in expenses, it is presently quite disorganized. Only recently were we able to obtain a copy of the CJLO budget after five months of intermittent contact with two previous station managers and one member of the Board of Directors. Lacking an accountant, the station manager is responsible for finances as well as the rapid evolution of the station. It is our opinion that CJLO will have to make a significant effort not to fall into financial and organizational disarray.

4.5.8 Inter-station Relations

CJLO is still in the midst of becoming a operating broadcaster and have not joined the membership of any campus-community broadcasting associations. They are considering

joining the NCRA and have been in regular contact with other Canadian stations in order to request advice on the various processes involved in the structuring of a radio station.

*** ***

4.6 CIBL – "Radio Montréal" - 101.5 FM – http://www.cibl.cam.org

CIBL is the sole independent francophone community radio in Montréal.

4.6.1 History

CIBL was born of the 1970's Québec student movement and was primarily product of the work of four students from Université du Québec à Montréal. Planning for the station began in 1978. In 1980, it received its license and began broadcasting. The first ten years saw much financial and organizational instability after which time their situation stabilized. The station experienced another period of extreme organizational and financial turbulence between 2000-2005, the two factors compounding one another. It is currently experiencing a period of renewed stability. (Doré, 2006). CIBL has recently dubbed itself "Radio-Montréal" in an effort to more globally engage the larger community of Montréal.

4.6.2 Role

CIBL has, since its inception, been identified as the francophone community broadcaster of Montréal. It is a point of reference for francophone culture outside the mainstream. While it was born of the student movement, it has grown to become a broadcaster "by and for the greater Montréal community." The majority of Montréal media is commercially owned and managed by a profit-driven agenda. By creating an accessible and participatory media space for community members that interprets profit as the social good, CIBL facilitates the dissemination of independent voices and information (Doré, 2006). In terms of information and cultural product, it is the mandate of CIBL to promote emerging, marginalized and local perspectives on the world.

4.6.3 Internal Structure

This broadcaster is organized hierarchically with a staff of nine full-time employees and one part-time employee. The director general is responsible for all operations and financial management of the station while the assistant to the director aides with these tasks. Three individuals are charged with coordinating volunteer programmers : the cultural coordinator, news coordinator and music coordinator. Other full-time positions include advertising manager, publicity producer, and membership and funding coordinator. The programming director is responsible for the coordination of programming under the guidance of a volunteer-based programming committee. The volunteer coordinator is employed on a part-time basis. As with other stations, staff are not paid for programming, rather they are paid for the facilitation of volunteer labour and programming. CIBL currently has 250-300 active volunteers. Similar to Radio Centre-Ville, the Board of Directors consists entirely of community members who are elected at regular intervals. The director general also sits on this body.

4.6.4 Programming

CIBL broadcasts 24 hours per day with program length ranging from 1-6 hours. All programming is managed by the programming committee and the station changes their schedule seasonally (summer and autumn/winter). Similar to CKUT and Radio Centre-Ville, they have standard programming at certain intervals of the day, produced by a different team each program. In this case, the broadcaster has morning culture and current events programs, noontime local news and a 4pm-6pm news magazine Monday to Friday. The current schedule includes 82 different programs identified according the following categories :

Table 4.4

CIBL Programming Categories

Lifestyle magazine	Specialized music
Cultural magazine	Citizen's magazine

Lifestyle magazine	Specialized music
Creative emission	Montréaler magazine
Multi-cultural magazine	Francophone magazine

4.6.5 Methods of Internal Evaluation

Like many of the broadcasters in this study, CIBL relies primarily upon listenership surveys as a manner of illustrating their community presence. According to their latest statistics, this station has 125,000 regular listeners and 253,000 occasional listeners. Assistant to the general director Geneviève Doré was unable to elaborate upon any other systems CIBL employs internally for measuring their presence in the community and the presence of the community on its airwaves.

4.6.6 Infrastructure

This broadcaster is located on the second floor of a commercial building in the Hochelaga-Maisonneuve district of Montréal, a historically poor and working-class Francophone neighbourhood. Their location is not easily accessible to physically disabled individuals. It is, however, more spacious than other stations included in this study. Paid staff occupy four offices while the volunteer news room is located in a large room equipped with computer editing and research stations. In addition, they have two professional-quality production studios, one on-air studio and a record library. Of the broadcasters examined here, CIBL is the only one that appears to have a sustainable physical location. They also have the least expensive rent other than CJLO and CISM who live rent-free.

4.6.7 Financial Resources

CIBL has suffered a great deal of financial and organizational turmoil during the past five years (Doré, 2006). This turbulence seems to have finally settled during the current budget year. The broadcaster provided us with financial records to demonstrate this fact. While they had a budget of $383,842 for the 2004 fiscal year with a deficit of $11,334, this decreased

massively to a budgeted $286,882 the following year with an operating deficit of $220. The losses experienced in this period are contributed to sudden decreases in operating grants ($-18,225), exchange of services ($-114,377) and fund raising ($-8,455). Operating grants for the current 2005-2006 budget year have continued to decrease, now at $96,300.

The broadcaster has a hopeful outlook for all of its revenue streams this year. With a budgeted revenue of $415,800 and an operating surplus of $5,114, very little is actually guaranteed. $200,000 is budgeted to advertising, increasing from previous years at $103,501 (2004) and $148,948 (2005). A further $20,000 is budgeted to a community-driven lottery (a fund raising effort not included in previous budgets), $50,000 from the annual fund raising campaign (increasing from $16,705 in 2005), and $15,000 in an exchange of services for Internet access. An additioinal $34,500 has been budgeted in the form of corporate and community memberships. While Geneviève Doré, assistant to the director general, explained their current situation as stable, we believe that true stability will only be attained when their financial resources can be regularized over a number of consecutive years. Based on salaries alone, they are currently in a very precarious position with $96,300 in guaranteed grants and $218,216 promised in salaries. This broadcaster spends the most on salaries of all subjects and has the least amount of regularized funding. They will need overwhelming community support in the coming year to stay avoid another institutional crisis.

4.6.8 Inter-station Relations

As with the other broadcasters in this study, CIBL does not have any formal ties with other broadcasters. There is, however, volunteer overlap with numerous individuals contributing their programming to CIBL, CINQ and CKUT. Members of this station were part of the aforementioned AMARC delegation to the Summit of the Americas and People's Summit in Mar del Plata, Argentina in 2006. They are active members of ARQC and their current director general, Éric Lefebvre, is a member of the ARQC board of directors.

*** ***

4.7 Summary : Montréal Campus-Community and Community Radio

Each of the five campus-community and community broadcasters in Montréal presents itself as an organization with a unique identity, each playing a unique role in the greater community of Montréal. While charged by the CRTC with the task of complimenting public and commercial broadcasters, community radio stations compliment one another, as well. Through our research, we have found common factors in the developmental histories of the broadcasters, common and recurring problems that regularly threaten the stability and viability of this media, and a variety of ideologies that drive the operations of community radio. While the community radio system of Montréal has both the potential and mandate to operate as an open system of social communication, there are a number of significant obstacles to its successful development on a broad social scale. Though it has been defined as an equal third of the national broadcasting system, community radio has not been afforded the social or economic infrastructures necessary to attain and maintain such equal status.

The key and defining obstacle to the development of a socially-pervasive and financially viable system of community radio in Canada is the inability of the Canadian telecommunications regulator, the CRTC, to comprehend this media as a unique means of communication with unique needs and products. As we noted earlier, this media is defined according to opposing standards. On one hand, it is charged with representing the communities in which it operates, providing media voices, organizational and dialogic spaces and radio skills to the individuals who make up these communities. One of the three pre-defined sectors of the national broadcasting system, it within this space that the experiences, views, and identities of "the public" can be continually developed. On the other hand, it is consistently held to and defined within standards that are alien to these fundamentally social roles. The public broadcaster is largely funded by federal tax revenue and commercial radio through advertising revenue. Community radio has been given the task of carrying out fundamentally public broadcasting with limited advertising revenue and no federal funding.

The concept of community is one that can be interpreted and represented in many complex ways. Communities can be defined according to geographic, religious, ethnic, age-related, sexual and artistic bounds and number of listeners among others. Community, in the practice of Canadian community radio, is the community-at-large, a collection of communities of every sort. Rather than consider the disparate social bodies of the nation in humanist and decidedly complex terms, the CRTC instead operates according to definitions of "market" according to the Bureau of Broadcasting Measurement or the scientific measurement of broadcast range. The Bureau of Broadcasting Measurement is a private, non-governmental entity whose membership is primarily made up of private broadcasters.

> "Market means"
>
> (a) in the case of an A.M station, the A.M. daytime 15mV/m contour or the central area as defined by the Bureau of Broadcast Measurement (BBM), whichever is smaller, or
>
> (b) in the case of an F.M station, the F.M. 3mV/m contour or the central area as defined by the Bureau of Broadcasting Measurement (BBM), whichever is smaller (CRTC, Radio Regulations, 1986)

A market is, by most basic definition, a place where goods are bought and sold. The above criteria we would qualify as the general delineation of radio marketplaces. Community radio, however, operates on a plane of social communication and social capital, monetary capital serving to simply maintain the infrastructure. The structuring of our national broadcasting system upon a market-based foundation limits the regulator, broadcasters and society alike when approaching concepts of audience and successful communication and media use. Such ideas can thus only be approached from a profit-driven vantage point at the exclusion of non-profit approaches to media use.

4.7.1 Common Histories and Common Problems

The five broadcasters profiled in this chapter share distinct patterns of organizational development. The two oldest broadcasters, CIBL and CINQ, arose from the Québec social and student movements of the 1970's. CKUT and CJLO, the two anglophone campus-community stations, were the product of long-running closed-circuit radio clubs. CISM appears to have

originated within the 1970's student movement, then becoming a closed-circuit broadcaster in the 1980's, eventually becoming a licensed FM station. The gestation period for these stations is lengthy for a number of reasons. When campus-community and community stations are founded, they often have little if any financial support, assuring that the large majority of labour is performed by volunteers, often at a high rate of turnover. Community-based stations organize themselves more quickly, receiving licences and founding their stations within 2-3 years of initiation. Campus-based stations tend to take longer, perhaps due to their strong yet migratory student volunteer base.

The four oldest broadcasters in our study have all experienced periods of financial and organizational disarray at regular 5-10 year intervals. Almost without exception, when a broadcaster has experienced internal turbulence financial turbulence has followed or accompanied it. None of the broadcasters are necessarily in good financial or organizational health. In the past 12 months, all but two staff positions at CKUT have rotated. After five years of negotiations with McGill University and consecutive years of decreasing fund raising returns, the station's finances remain unstable. CIBL claims to be experiencing their first year of financial and organizational stability in five years. They have "re-branded" themselves "Radio Montréal" and are attempting to make their station more accessible to and implicated in the general Montréal community. While they have budgeted for more revenue this year, the majority comes in non-guaranteed advertising. CINQ is the oldest broadcaster in our study and appears to be the most stable. They also have the most guaranteed non-student fee revenue, this coming in the form of grants. CISM, while it appears to be financially stable is operating on unsure legal ground. They appear to be willing to sacrifice the legitimacy of legal broadcasting for financial legitimacy. This broadcaster has also "re-branded" themselves recently but more in the aesthetic of commercial radio. Finally, CJLO is too young a station to have acquired the stability accompanied by years of broadcasting. While their finances are in good order, their overhead is minimal and they have had three station managers in the past 10 months.

4.7.2 Factors Aggravating Marginality

The community broadcasting sector has been founded upon the concepts of community involvement, local media representation and diversification and democratization of media resources and content. Without market safeguards in place, however, this mandate remains severely handicapped. In particular, Canada has no federal legislation concerning media ownership concentration. Instead, the CRTC relies on the Broadcasting Act as guidance for creating new policy when needed. In addition, Canada has no legislation pertaining to media cross-ownership. These factors contribute to a continuing privatization of the public media sphere, most recently evidenced in the record-breaking merger of Bell Globemedia and CHUM (Summerfield, 2006). The combination of these factors create a federally-approved social communication system in which corporate media growth is encouraged, often to the detriment of local concerns[71] while community broadcasters – charged explicitly with local concerns, are simply permitted to exist without financial or morale support.

The CRTC dedicates very few resources to campus and community radio, overwhelmed as it is with requests from commercial entities (Amodeo, 2006). Thus, the regulator has shifted the task of learning about its licensed broadcasters onto the broadcasters themselves. The commercial sector has a strong and centralized lobbying group in the form of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB) which represents over 600 private broadcasters[72]. Canadian campus and community radio have three central associations which represent 89 of the 141 campus-community and community broadcasters in the country. Although these associations, presented briefly in Chapter 1, have been existence for an average of 20 years, they are only now beginning to effectively collaborate as a lobbying group charged with the task of educating government on the realities of campus and community radio. This situation further exemplifies the marginal status of campus and community radio within the world of regulation. While the public broadcaster maintains logically direct dialogue with its patrons and commercial radio is

---

71 The Bell Globemedia and CHUM merger immediately triggered the firing of 281 employees formerly implicated in local programming (Summerfield, 13 July 2006).

72 Data from CAB website. On-line: http://www.cab-acr.ca/english/about/faqs/default.shtm#1 . Accessed 9 August 2006.

provided with a marketplace from which to generate financial resources, community radio has been left entirely to its own devices in terms of all financial and social resources.

4.7.3 The Feasibility of an Open Communication System

We maintain that the ideal role of the campus and community radio system is to facilitate the participation of individuals and communities in the construction of an accessible space for community engagement, dialogue, self-expression and self-representation. Based on the data presented here and gathered from all parties interviewed, we have determined certain social actions which would increase the feasibility of such a system in Canada. Central to them all is a fundamental social re-evaluation of media use and communication.

- Examining the role of the regulator : Telecommunications regulators fundamentally determine the mechanisms by which we communicate as a society. However, in our discussions with the CRTC, they have maintained that social policy can be separated from communications policy (NCRC, 2006). If the regulator is to concretely integrate the community sector into the national broadcasting system, it must re-evaluate this system and its role in structuring it in terms founded upon social communication rather than market.

- Examining the social role of communication and media use :
The social roles of communication and media use are developed at many levels of our society. Dominant notions primarily point to commercial concerns which have been formalized in the structure of our communication systems, negating the possibility that non-commercial forms of communication and media use can exist as more than an "alternative." The debate over such a subject can only effectively take place through media to which individuals have equal access as creators and consumers.

- Management of radio spectrum : Canada's radio spectrum is managed by an entity concerned solely with proper transmission and reception of machine-generated signal – Industry Canada. With no social policy tied to the technical management of our airwaves, this has become a "first-come, first-served" process. Given the typically long incubation required for community broadcasters, this has left little room in Canada's urban centres for new community broadcasters, as in the case of CJLO. Reserving frequencies nationally for community use would avoid this situation and play a role in assuring the continued development of community radio across the country. It is also a concept currently being explored as a possible

proposed standard for the Americas (AMARC-ALC, 2006).

- Public funding for public media : Federal funding for public broadcasting is not a new concept. In fact, the CBC currently receives almost $1 billion annually from Parliament (Friends of Canadian Broadcasting, 2004). Canada is one of the few developed nations that does not have a funding mechanism for community radio (Stevenson, 2006). Operating with much less overhead and fewer resources than commercial and public broadcasters as well as immeasurable amounts of volunteer labour, these broadcasters produce programming that is locally engaged and community-driven. With federal funding mechanism in place, broadcasters could turn their focus on their specialty : programming. Québec is the only province in Canada that provides funding to community broadcasters. However, campus-based broadcasters are excluded and funding levels have decreased regularly in recent years.

The attainment of a truly open system of social communication in Canada is a goal of idealism, but not of utopia. We put forth the position that our systems of communication – media the most pervasive among them – must be structured in a manner which does not necessarily implicate all citizens but does assure that they can implicate themselves. As we have demonstrated, our current systems negate this possibility to a large extent. Our data illustrates a community broadcasting system that has been historically and consistently relegated to a marginal position in the national broadcasting system rather than being wholeheartedly considered as an equal third of this equation. Our proposition is not a political one, rather one based on fundamentals of democracy and collectivity. It is crucial to the progress of society that we take the opportunity to evaluate our social values and the levels to which they permeate our sociopolitical structures. We propose that this process is not at all limited to the field of broadcasting or media use, but to our subsistance as citizens of a democratic and egalitarian society. We will address this proposal more deeply in the following two chapters.

CHAPITRE V

ÉTUDE DE CAS – MONTEVIDEO

5.1 Community Radio in Uruguay

Like many countries in Latin America, Uruguay experienced an extended period of dictatorship, in this case from 1973-1984. Closely tied to Argentina, it has also experienced corresponding economic crises since the end of dictatorship, the most recent taking place in 2002. Democracy, however, is a serious tradition in this country. From 1951-1966, the presidency was replaced with a 9-person council in order to prevent a concentration of power. It is obligatory to vote. In 2004, Uruguay elected a progressive government – from a broad coalition of non-traditional parties called the Frente Amplio or "Broad Front". This is the first non-traditional party to ever take power. As with many other Latin American countries who have recently elected progressive governments, social and labour movements are highly active throughout many sectors of society. With this recent political transition comes the hopeful possibility of the masses to take part in the frank and democratic reconstruction of society and the examination of all its parts – including the media. The modern roots of many of these movements in Uruguay lie in a collective need to reconstruct society and the social fabric after the fall of the dictatorship in 1985 (Fonseca, 2005). In the course of our research, we have been told of union-supported radio stations that operated in some neighbourhoods of Montevideo in the 1950's (Emisora de La Villa, 2005), but have found no further documentation of their existence[73]. The more recent roots of community radio can be found in these efforts to re-

[73] The absence of supporting documentation is not surprising given the historical lack of academic and governmental attention given broadcast media in Uruguay.

organize post-dictatorship society – a situation consistently explained to me by the community radio stations included in this study and reaffirmed in others (Curuchet, Girola and Orcajo, 2006, p. 16).

5.1.1 Community Radio in Uruguay : Legal Foundations

There is no current legislation on community radio in Uruguay nor has there ever been. Community radio stations have historically been identified by the authorities as "pirate" or "low-power" radio stations. To this day, radio licenses are granted by presidential decree. In 2001, URSEC[74], the country's first telecommunications regulator, was created (Government of Uruguay, 2001). Until this moment, the spectrum had been managed by the Department of Defense. In 2002, URSEC presented a project of law proposing the regulation of low-power and university radio. It would have limited community broadcasters to a 1.5 kilometer broadcast range but was not passed into law (Government of Uruguay, 2002). Finally, in 2003, Decree 114/003 was passed and provided, for the first time, a concrete framework for the administration and control of the national radio spectrum and hinted at the inclusion of community radio in the future of radio spectrum administration (Government of Uruguay, 2003). Radio regulation has not developed any further since this point in time. Since 2004, however, AMARC has been working in concert with IELSUR, the communications faculty of the Universidad de la República, and APU to develop legislation for proposal to the government. This "project of law" is officially entitled "Law to guarantee freedom of expression by means of community broadcast media[75]. The Uruguayan parliament has been studying this proposed legislation throughout the summer of 2006.

The community radio movement in Uruguay has been plagued in the past by government oppression, including the shutdown of stations and confiscation of equipment (Robledo, 1998). This persecution took place regularly throughout the 1990's and as recently as

---

74 Unidad Reguladora de Servicios de Communicationes or "Regulatory Unit of Communication Services. Online: http://www.ursec.gub.uy/

75 Ley para Garantizar la Libertad de Expresión a través de los Medios Comunitarios por Radiodifusión. Our translation.

2002, when four stations were raided during the country's most recent economic crisis. One of these stations, El Quijote, is no longer in operation. Levels of persecution seem to depend on the political climate. (Alternativa FM, 2005; La Voz, 2005, El Puente, 2005, Emisora de la Villa, 2005). Having interviewed the majority of Montevideo-based community radio stations, we can confidently say that there has been no further persecution on the part of the government since the incidents of 2002.

5.1.2 Political Change and Social Change

Leading up to the November 2004 presidential election, the Frente Amplio formed a number of working groups charged with examining the social, economic and political structures of Uruguay. One of these working groups was the communications media unit, coordinated by Professor Gabriel Kaplún. The work of this committee effectively constitutes the first time that a potential or actual governing party has ever seriously considered the management of the country's media. Among the recommendations made by this committee are the legalization and regularization of community radio broadcasters and transfer of media policy and regulation to the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kaplún, 2005). While the power to grant broadcast licenses remains in the hands of the Presidency (referred to as the *Poder Ejecutivo* or *Executive Power*), there have been some substantial signals of potential change. At a UNESCO/AMARC seminar in May 2005, Uruguayan vice-president Rodolfo Nin Novoa announced that his recently elected government would legalize community radio (Curuchet, Girola and Orcajo, 2006,, p. 21). On 26 July 2006, President Tabaré Vázquez granted a broadcast license to the communications faculty of the Universidad de la República – the first educational or community license to ever be granted. Most recently, it was announced on 11 August 2006 that the Uruguayan government will adopt legislation on community radio by the end of this year and will work with the parties responsible for the development of the above-mentioned "project of law" to improve their proposal[76].

---

76 Personal e-mail from Gustavo Gómez, director of legislative program of AMARC-América Latina y Caribe. 11 August 2006.

5.1.3 Delimiting Community Radio in Uruguay

While there is no legal definition of community radio in Uruguay, the movement has defined itself in the form of two coordinating associations, ECOS and AMARC-Uruguay. The fundaments of each association are quite similar, but also include certain points that have contributed to a serious rift between the two groups[77]. In 1996, ECOS was initiated by a core of stations in Montevideo. Their principals place a heavy emphasis on participatory communication and democracy at all levels of society. The objectives of the association are defined as "the democratization of communication, the recomposition of the social fabric and to support, encourage and forment the creation of new community radios" (ECOS, 2005). In that they are conscious tools for democratic social change, ECOS believes community radio stations must be organized in a horizontal collective manner. AMARC-Uruguay defines community radio in a similar manner, yet provides more room in terms of organizational structure. Rather than require community radios to manage themselves collectively, it is up to the implicated individuals to decide what sort of organizational structure works best for their distinct project. ECOS currently has 23 member stations while AMARC-Uruguay counts 26 member stations, four associated programs that rent broadcast time from commercial broadcasters, one associated community publication and one community news agency. Germinal FM[78] is currently a member of both associations and other stations have switched between the two over the years. There are also an uncertain number of unlicensed radio stations, community and otherwise, which do not belong to either organization. With neither a licensing structure in place for community radio nor an organization of all-inclusive membership, it is impossible to know exactly how many stations are in operation. Long-time members of the community radio movement estimate at least 80-100 community stations operating in the country (Alternativa FM, 2005; Radio Contonía, 2005). We have chosen to include only member stations of ECOS and AMARC-Uruguay in our study as well as three

77 During our research, we learned that the two associations had not formally spoken with one another since 1998. However, the individuals implicated in each association often know one another on a personal basis.
78 Unfortunately, Germinal FM has not been included in this study as we were unable to arrange for a visit and interview during our research period in Montevideo.

independent community radio production groups whose members have been implicated in the movement for long periods of time, in some cases since its inception in 1985.

*** ***

5.2 Radio FEUU F.M – 102.5 Metropolitana - http://www.feuu.edu.uy/radio/index.html

Radio FEUU is the community broadcaster of the students federation of Universidad de la República del Uruguay in downtown Montevideo. FEUU is the Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios del Uruguay[79]

5.2.1 History

In December 2005, Radio FEUU turned 10 years old. It is not currently broadcasting but has always done so sporadically. This situation is largely due to the fact that they have no fixed physical location. They have changed frequencies numerous times in order to avoid interference with licensed commercial broadcasters.

5.2.2 Role

Rather than function according to a fixed location and broadcast schedule, Radio FEUU organizes as a tool of social mobilization when it is needed. It has been used during student strikes and other moments of intense social conflict. "We have the vision that the radio is not only a radio but a whole mountain of possibilities, a social group which can say what it thinks. It is not for us to operate with a false sense of neutrality, to be objective when in reality we are not" (Radio FEUU, 2005). As the radio station of the students' federation, one of their regular themes is increasing educational funding in Uruguay. They "consider that community radios are an important tools for the democratization of communication" (Radio FEUU, 2005).

---

79 Federation of Uruguayan University Students. Online: http://www.feuu.edu.uy/

5.2.3 Internal Structure

Radio FEUU consists of a small operational collective. We interviewed Juan Pablo who, at the time, had been the coordinator of the radio for two years. Members are implicated in a number of social movements and mobilize the station when it is needed.

5.2.4 Programming

Radio FEUU has no regular programming. When broadcasting, they assemble programming related to their cause of mobilization.

5.2.5 Methods of Internal Evaluation

The station has no methods of internal evaluation. Proof of their relevance can be seen in their long tenure maintaining a presence in Montevideo while lacking a fixed address. They are also associated with many active social organizations who find great value in a broadcaster such as this one.

5.2.6 Infrastructure

This broadcaster has no fixed address or studios. Their coordinator operates out of a shared student federation office in downtown Montevideo. When the radio is in operation, it has the largest geographic presence of the community radio stations in Uruguay, covering the majority of the Montevideo metropolitan area.

5.2.7 Financial Resources : None

5.2.8 Inter-station Relations

Radio FEUU has been one of the key members of ECOS-Uruguay.

5.3 La Angostura FM – 88.9 FM San José de Carrasco

La Angostura was the youngest stations we visited at 2 months old.

5.3.1 History

This broadcaster has its roots in a community newspaper, also entitled La Angostura. The name "is a historic name for the liberators of this zone during the epoch of Spanish colonization. The story originates here, a history populated by situations of resistance. This was a place for free men during the time of colonization. It was through here that slaves, Indians and prisoners of war dispersed" (Perez, 2005). The radio was founded in April 2005, two months before our visit. The periodical was started a year earlier.

5.3.2 Role

The mandate of La Angostura is "to always be at the service of the community, the neighborhood, the people." "Of radios in general and media of communication in general, we believe they are effecting the population in a negative manner because they induce one to think in an equivocated manner, without working for cultural development, without working for the growth of knowledge, objective information nor the search for truth. Thus, radios in general, which hold substantial economic power, do not permit the immense majority of the population to participate with their ideas, to be able to broadcast their needs, their problematic and to express themselves with an open mind. It is for this reason, too, that we have our radio, intending to express ourselves freely. And we think that for the fundamental network of communications media, who are the largest and strongest with most financial means, the fundamental error, it could be said, is this : ultimately, they are molders of opinion who permit the consolidation of foreign ideas and often make people party to this practice, effectively working against themselves, such is the influence of communications media." The radio also serves actively as a central point for discussing various topics of public concern, be they familial problems, computer problems or carpentry.

5.3.3 Internal Structure

At the time of interview, there were 50 individuals actively involved with the radio station. They work in a collective consensus-based manner. All programs are open to criticism from the other members of the collective and the greater community. There is no director and there are no staff members.

5.3.4 Programming

The following is a summary of the station's programming. Where time is not mentioned, scheduling is sporadic.

- 8h00-12h00 daily : *La angostura entre todos* - focuses on local issues in an effort to collect positive and constructive ideas for improving the economic and social aspects of the neighbourhood. This program has much community participation.
- Afternoons : Programs produced in cooperation with students and teachers in the public schools. Initiated soon after the radio''s founding.
- Programming dealing with issues of gender.
- Environmental programming focusing on the poor state of the local canal.
- Programming focusing on the local coastal economy.
- Fishing
- Tourism
- Youth issues : music, local problematics of drugs and unemployment, education.

5.3.5 Methods of Internal Evaluation

This broadcaster has no defined methods of internal evaluation. It is entirely volunteer-run and their continued development and fundamental community presence currently serves as a marker of their success.

5.3.6 Infrastructure

La Angostura is situated in San José de Carrasco, on the outskirts of Montevideo. They have been given one room at the local cultural centre to use for their studio, the transmitter mounted on the wall and antenna atop the building. They have a very basic studio installation, consisting of a computer, mixer and microphone. All of their equipment, transmitter included, has been leant by other community radio stations or by community

members.

5.3.7 Financial Resources : None

5.3.8 Inter-Station Relations

La Angostura is a member of AMARC-Uruguay and has received support from other local stations in terms of training and equipment.

*** ***

5.4 Radio del Prado[80] – 99.9 FM – Paso del la Arena

Radio del Prado is another young community radio station, having started operating six months before our visit.

5.4.1 History

This station began broadcasting 31 December, 2004. The founding members had formerly gained experience at another station called La Ruta[81] FM which is no longer on-air.

5.4.2 Role

"Radio can emphasize a whole mountain of things, but I think that the one it emphasizes most is the solidarity that exists. We help with which we are familiar, we always do. I think we're in it to give people help. The people who work on the social programs are like this. I like it for that; I don't get too focused on people becoming wonderful programmers, I get focused on them working in solidarity." (Radio del Prado, 2005)

---

80 The name is a reference to the neighbourhood. Thus, Radio Prado.
81 La Ruta is a reference to the road or highway.

5.4.3 Internal Structure

At the time of our visit, the station had not composed any formal decision-making bodies. It is mainly managed by Carlos, the director of the station its principal provider.

5.4.4 Programming

With the aid of a computer, Radio del Prado broadcasts 24 hours per day with 12 live programs weekly. We were interviewed during the weekly sports show. The following is a summary of the station's programming :

- Four social programs
- Current events and news
- Much music geared to an older audience whose tastes are often ignored by commercial radio
- Tropical music in the evenings
- Sports

5.4.5 Methods of Internal Evaluation : None

5.4.6 Infrastructure

Radio del Prado is located in the neighbourhood of Paso de la arena. A neighbourhood with a high level of poverty, members of the station accompanied us to the bus stop for our safety. The station itself is housed in the garage of Carlos who is the director of the station. They have an elevated antenna which helps provide more far-reaching coverage than many other stations. Studios consist of a computer, mixer and two microphones.

5.4.7 Financial Resources

Main expenses for the station are electricity and equipment repairs. Volunteers who program musical shows pay a small monthly fee while social programs do not. They also receive occasional contributions from local businesses.

5.4.8 Inter-Station Relations

Radio del Prado is a member of AMARC-Uruguay and has benefited greatly from workshops the organization facilitates in order to train new community radio practitioners.

*** ***

5.5 Radio Contonía FM[82] – 107.5 FM – Ciudad Vieja – http://www.contonia.cjb.net/

Radio Contonía is one of the older stations in this study and maintains a very active presence during Carnival.

5.5.1 History

Radio Contonía began broadcasting on 22 June 2001. It has been traditionally a radio of the street, bringing its medium directly to the community. The central and founding members were implicated in other street-based movements since the late 1980's such as street theatre, pirate radio and the anti-racist movement. It has not been broadcasting since late 2005 due to technical problems.

5.5.2 Role

"A community radio is for the people and needs to linked to them as a media that revolves around the geographically local problematic. That's to say, it's not the same thing as a national radio. If you lose your dog, you're not going to go to a national radio to get help looking for it." "This is the spirit in which community radio was born in this country." It grew out the need of the people to communicate more freely, around the same time as neighbourhood periodicals. "These processes'do not appear with progressive governments, they're dreams that appear during repressive governments because it is then that the need to communicate becomes known." (Radio Contonía, 2005)

---

82 Contonía is a play on words meaning "with sound" or "with tone" as opposed to "sintonía" which means "without tone".

5.5.3 Internal Structure

Contonía is collectively organized, its membership consisting of whoever is available. On the evening of our interview, there were four members present, two adults who are the main organizers of the station and two young teenagers.

5.5.4 Programming

When broadcasting, Radio Contonía airs Monday, Tuesday, Friday and Saturday from 20h00 onward. Their current program schedule consists of nine shows, all focusing on their subjects in the context of the neighbourhood of Ciudad Vieja.

- Everyday events in the neighbourhood
- Neighbourhood sports (including broadcasts of soccer games)
- Rock music
- Cultural events

5.5.5 Methods of Internal Evaluation : None

5.5.6 Infrastructure

The station has been given a room in the local cultural centre which also pays for its electricity. Their studio consists of a mixer, turntable, walkman and microphone. When on-air, they usually broadcast on the Internet as well. While their studio resources are limited, they can easily transport them for street-level broadcasts.

5.5.7 Financial Resources

The station has no financial resources. When it needs to raise funds for purchasing or repairing equipment, it organizes dances or lotteries.

5.5.8 Inter-Station Relations

Radio Contonía is a long-time member of ECOS.

5.6 Barriada FM[83] – 107.1 – Villa Española - http://elgalpon.revolt.org/

Barriada FM is located in one of the poorest and most dangerous neighbourhoods of Montevideo, Villa Espanola. We spent about 12 hours with the station and their community members.

5.6.1 History

Barriada FM grew out of a neighbourhood social centre called El Galpon de Corrales[84]. A food kitchen was founded first, followed by the radio in 1999. Today, the centre serves as a safe meeting place for residents to gather and offers many series of free courses on various subjects.

5.6.2 Role

"The objective was to have a media at the service of the neighbours. It also started as a response to economic crisis in the country and social problems of this liberated (from dictatorship) country. As a form of expression for the people of the neighbourhood who didn't have access to communications media. As a media where neighbours can participate directly. What it addresses is a work of communication that functions according to the particularities of the zone. So that social organizations and the audience can communicate in a double sense : it doesn't only transmit to the neighbourhood so much as the neighbourhood works to generate participation. The pertinence of the people. (...) It's not just anything that goes on here, it's representative of the people in the sense of the difficulties and problems they may have. Approaching this from a presupposition that communications media are open or closed. Like the commercial news that doesn't tell the entire truth. The truth that is not expressed is what we address." "We believe that community radios should be inserted in larger projects that address other problematics, where there are community kitchens and libraries. (...) They are tools for the development of the social fabric. Communications media are fountains of power, thus we

---

83 The word "barriada" infers "family of the barrio" or "family of the neighbourhood".
84 The name translates as "The Shack or Garage of Corrales", Corrales being the street it is located on.

need to socialize them and distribute this power. In this framework, community radios fulfill the role of socializing this power that accompanies media of communication." (Barriada, 2005)

5.6.3 Internal Structure

This station is organized horizontally and based on direct democracy. Members of the station compose a radio commission which represents the radio within the larger workings of the social centre in which they are housed. Other bodies within the centre include the social centre commission, food kitchen commission and culture commission.

5.6.4 Programming

The radio commission makes all programming decisions. The station insists that its fundamental values of diversity and plurality are reflected in their programming. They are heavily integrated with other social organizations and at the time of interview had human rights programming produced by Amnesty International and local human rights groups as well as various musical programs. The station broadcasts from 17h00-24h00 Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

5.6.5 Methods of Internal Evaluation

The station has no defined methods of internal evaluation, but does have mechanisms for the review of programming. It is deeply rooted in its community and would cease to exist if its work were not successful.

5.6.6 Infrastructure

La Barriada benefits greatly from rent and bill-free housing in the Galpon de Corrales social centre in the Montevideo neighbourhood of Villa Española. Their small studio was among the most sophisticated we encountered, with separate vox booth[85] and technician areas, one microphone, a computer, old stereos used as tape decks and a mixing board.

---

85 Typical studio arrangements separate the host from the technician. The host's location is referred to as the "vox booth".

5.6.7 Financial Resources

The stations finances are addressed within the larger scope of the social centre.

5.6.8 Inter-Station Relations

La Barriada has been a very involved member of ECOS as well as the international independent media movement.

*** ***

5.7 Emisora de la Villa[86] – 104.9 – Cerro

Emisora de la Villa, also known as "La Villa", is one of the oldest stations in our study. We are unsure of their current status as they are no longer affiliated with ECOS and AMARC-Uruguay and we have been unable to make contact with its members. This station was included in a 1998 masters' thesis *Esas Radios Raras*[87] (Robledo, 1998).

5.7.1 History

"In the case of our radio here in La Villa, it impossible to talk about it without framing it within the context of our work in the neighbourhood which goes back much further than the radio in particular." "That which is the project of the radio should not be considered as a project unto itself as much as operating thanks to a much larger social project that saw the potential and proposed the necessity of an alternative communications media as a media, channel or tool for strengthening this established social project." The neighbourhoods of Cerro and La Teja[88] have a strong history of neighbourhood organizing and labour movements going back to the 1950's. The project which La Villa is part of operated from 1984-1998 as a children's community kitchen. The development of this project quickened after a hunger strike by workers from one of the main neighbourhood slaughterhouses. "From this time on, the

---

86 "Villa" refers to the neighbourhood of Villa Cerro, also known as Cerro. The name can be translated as "Radio of Villa Cerro".

87 *"These Strange Radios"*.

88 El Puente, another station in our study, is located in La Teja.

schools began providing food to children, but on the other hand the new times came with new problems, including the growth of the periphery of the zone, the dismantling of industry and changes in the world of employment. After this, we decided to develop the community centre and between 1996-1998 went through a process of transition." (Emisora de la Villa, 2005).

The station itself began broadcasting in 21 April 1996 (Robledo, 1998, p. 25). During this same period, they were one of the founding stations of ECOS. In 1996, Emisora de la Villa was shutdown by the government three times, luckily never losing their transmitter. For the following few years, they would broadcast from the homes of neighbours in order to avoid detection. 2002 would see Emisora de la Villa raided by the authorities at the same time as La Voz[89] El Puente[90] and Alternativa[91]. (Emisora de la Villa, 2005). According to a representative from ECOS, Emisora de la Villa is currently broadcasting "with great difficulty" and its members have not been active within the movement in recent months.[92]

5.7.2 Role

In the midst of serious negative changes in the neighbourhood, members of this community development project began to consider alternative forms of media. "When I tell you today that we did not believe in media I mean that we did not know how to speak about the freedom each individual can exercise in order to express themselves, to express their worries and problems, their propositions at a cultural level, a social level, a political level, questions of ethnicity and gender. There is an infinitude of questions. We, in particular, implemented the instrument of the radio as a social and community tool for the neighbourhood. To maintain life and minimize and stimulate everything related to social happenings. From therein, I'd have to say that the principal fundaments of this centre have to do with solidarity. With the recovery, the revalorization and the practice of solidarity. Besides that there are other fundamental themes that have to do with class independence...as a revindication of the independence of the

89 Section 5.8
90 Section 5.10
91 Section 5.11
92 Personal email from Gustavo, representative of Ecos and member of Barriada FM. 17 August 2006.

social and union movements that are excluded from politics. We believe that this is fundamental in order to be able to take adequate participatory action. The autonomy of the social space must eventually become a legitimate question for the State. Autonomy is a much broader concept. It has nothing to do with the apolitical. To the contrary, we believe that as social organizations we play a political role in that we facilitate the politics that we delimit. (...) All of this has to do with the radio, why we do radio and how we do radio. We give absolute programming priority to all the social organizations of the neighbourhood. (...) We believe that community radio and alternative medias are closely linked to popular direct action. It is a decision to create a different current of information. When we began with the idea of community radio, we departed from a base analysis of the role of communications media, the deformation of symbols. Notions that people can represent themselves and reproduce what is close to them in life, that which makes up their comportment and is their unique and total thought." (Emisora de la Villa, 2005).

5.7.3 Internal Structure

The radio exists within the larger structure of the community centre. It is represented in the space of regular plenaries that take place within the management of the centre.

5.7.4 Programming

Programming priority is given to community social organizations. At the time of interview, a proposal from the local athletic club was being examined and they had recently hosted programs produced by workers at the local slaughterhouse. "Within the radio we also have places especially for expressions emanating from the centre itself in that they function as neighbourhood chronicles. These news programs are divided into an hour of national politics and news and an international hour where the Latinamerican continent takes precedence. We have another program called *Rights and Humans* that focuses specifically on the theme of human rights in Uruguay in function of what occurred during the dictatorship and what has been taking place since. (...) Right now we have a program by a group of high school kids that

addresses various topics." (Emisora de la Villa, 2005). Programming at La Villa is generated by the community itself and changes on a regular basis. When we visited, they were broadcasting on Saturdays and Sundays.

5.7.5 Methods of Internal Evaluation

This broadcaster has no formal methods of internal evaluation. Considering their absolute reliance on the immediate community, they would cease to exist if their work were not carried out well.

5.7.6 Infrastructure

Emisora de la Villa is located within one room of a community centre in the poverty-stricken neighbourhood of Cerro. As with other stations, our interview subjects accompanied us to the bus stop in the evening for our safety. Their studio installation is very minimal, consisting of a mixer, cd player, turntable and two microphones.

5.7.7 Financial Resources

"The project of the centre is financed by members and collaborators – a large number who participate in the activities and others who contribute and do not participate in activities. We have other financing mechanisms just like all the other social organizations. We have festivals with entrance fees and singers. Basically, we finance it like that. Every autonomous project costs blood, sweat and tears." In the late 1990's, ECOS received financial support from a German foundation with which to purchase studio equipment for a number of its stations. Emisora de la Villa was one of these beneficiaries. (Emisora de la Villa, 2005).

5.7.8 Inter-Station Relations

Emisora de la Villa was one of the founders of ECOS. They are no longer members of ECOS nor are they members of AMARC-Uruguay.

*** ***

5.8 La Voz[93] – 88.7 FM – Villa Colón – http://www.fotolog.com/lavozfm

La Voz is one of the older stations in our study and an active member of ECOS.

5.8.1 History

La Voz began broadcasting in 1998 in the Montevideo neighbourhood of Villa Colón, far from downtown and among many housing cooperatives. "It has grown little by little, precariously, as the project of a group of companions who wanted to have a media of communication in the neighbourhood that would pay attention to the needs of the people of the neighbourhood. It was less a complaint than a proposition, that one could come here and be part of things and look for a means of changing the conditions of life." The station was raided by the authorities in 2002 at the same time as Emisora de La Villa, El Puente and Alternativa FM. (La Voz, 2005).

5.8.2 Role

"The idea of the radio is not only to be a broadcaster. It's fine if people simply enjoy doing it, but it's more than that...that the people of the neighbourhood can come and have their own proper space. That any group from the neighbourhood can participate. For example, three weeks ago we were broadcasting from the slaughterhouse where people, for various reasons, were on strike and occupying the building. Radio isn't only a tool that people can come to, but it can also go to them. It's an important tool of communication but also one of struggle. If we only have a radio for playing music, so I can hear my voice, so I can have a little rock music program, the radio remains just that – a hobby that never goes anywhere and never does anything constructive. The big problem that we're experiencing today is on a subjective level, a cerebral level. Today in Uruguay, the conditions of life, that which is normal life, that which one lives, that which one plays, that which one tastes, that which one wins is the worst moment in the history of Uruguay. Never was there an economic crisis with so many people excluded, marginalized, set outside of everything. In the 1960's, when there was a guerrilla operating in

---

93 "The Voice".

Uruguay, things were better. But today we're in this terrible crisis and still nothing can make a difference. We believe that some of the fundamental actors that influence this state of paralysis are the commercial communications media as generators of opinion : the television, the networks, the owners and PR men. But there's another campaign, a popular campaign, that really does see things from a different vantage point." (La Voz, 2005)

5.8.3 Internal Structure

The station has no formal structure, per se. It operates as a collective made up of implicated individuals.

5.8.4 Programming

La Voz broadcasts from 18h00-24h00 Friday and Saturday and from 8h00-12h00 on Sundays. Musical programs range from rock to rap and reggae. They have a Saturday afternoon program for the local seniors, an environmental program, student programs and a program that focuses on the physical and social state of the neighbourhood.

5.8.5 Methods of Internal Evaluation

La Voz has no formal methods of evaluation. However, as the case with many stations in this study, they would cease to exist without the participation and support of their community.

5.8.6 Infrastructure

This station broadcasts from the neighbourhood sports club. Their studio is minimal to the point of easily portable : a mixer, a microphone and two walkmen. It is likely a continual work-in-progress.

5.8.7 Financial Resources : None

5.8.8 Inter-Station Relations

La Voz is an active member of ECOS.

*** ***

5.9 Alternativa FM – 105.5 – Nuevo Paris

Alternativa FM is one of the oldest stations in our study and represents a unique melding of alternative culture and community-based programming. It was previously examined in *Esas Radios Raras* (Robledo, 1998), *Las Otras Radios*[94] (Bouissa, Curuchet and Orcajo, 1998) and *Radio comunitaria o ruido comunitario?*[95] (Curuchet, Girola and Orcajo, 2006).

5.9.1 History

Alternativa FM began broadcasting on 4 February 1995. It began as the project of three friends who were unsatisfied with commercial radio. "Within the first couple months there were problems. Mainly because the first government raid occurred about 10 months after we began broadcasting. We were receiving threats by telephone. Since we were three blocks from the police station, we suddenly began getting calls from a supposed policeman telling us to stop broadcasting..but of course it was illegal and all. (...) And then in December 1995, the Dirección Nacional de Comunicaciones[96] came and raided us for the first time. I'm pretty sure they took all of our equipment. This happened one month after Radio FEUU began broadcasting. This was the first year of the second mandate of President Sanguinetti and he eventually gained the support of the university and the students' federation to officially evict radio FEUU from the Hospital del Clínicas. (...) The presence of Radio FEUU was a catalyst and when they started broadcasting we all got shutdown. During this period, we were broadcasting from Adrian's house. The original idea was to play music that you couldn't hear anywhere else. It was a pirate radio, you could say." "In 1999, the owner of the house where

---

94 *"The Other Radios"*.

95 *"Community radio or community noise?"*.

96 National Direction of Communications. This was the telecommunications regulator prior to the creation of URSEC.

we were located decided he didn't want the radio there anymore and we had to stop broadcasting from there. Marcelo was checking things out at another radio called "Sudestada" that was broadcasting from a housing cooperative nearby. It became a logical fusion of Alternativa with its equipment and infrastructure and the people that were there. The project became, effectively, part of the cooperative and acquired more formal and community characteristics. In 1996 or '97, more anarchist members of Alternativa started another station called "La Intrusa[97]" that lasted a couple months and was shutdown one day." "We moved into this location in 2000-2001 but we've always been in this neighbourhood."

5.9.2 Role

"The fundament of this radio is that we want to do radio, we're doing it. Everything else supports being on-air doing radio. I think this is something sacred for us, doing radio. And we're all learning together. I'm the oldest here, I've been here through all the changes of the radio and I'm realizing that change can be a good thing. But when the radio was born in '95 as a counterculture vehicle, it didn't understand this sort of thing. It was born sort of as the reaction of four anarcho punk guys who couldn't find music they wanted to listen to. (...) Alternative communication wouldn't exist if the necessity wasn't there." "For that part, it's clear that to get a transmitter and grab a frequency illegally is a political act. But it's not a medium for nothing, it's not a radio to win supporters for one side or another. There are radios that are born like that; our genesis is different and we're fighting tooth and nail to maintain this structure as a radio emminating culture through music. (...) The radio is probably the most accessible, because you can listen to it anytime. We are transmitting cultural artifacts, but not as they're commonly considered (by the mainstream media – as products). What we're doing is sharing our vision of music, our form of life, sense of humour. And the only thing we ask, the only thing that helps us do this is that somebody calls. We're all involved with whatever other social and political groups, but this radio is not the vehicle of any particular group. There are radios that are vehicles of a left-wing group where they've decided, genuinely it appears to me,

---

97 The name can be translated as "The Intruder", a reference to clandestine pirate radio broadcasting.

to have a revolution through the airwaves. Groups of the extreme left who are calling for revolution, but this doesn't work for us. We're much more...you could say we want revolution but we have much more patience. I think that what is revolutionary is that anybody can express his ideas on this radio without limit." (Alternativa FM, 2005)

5.9.3 Internal Structure

Alternativa FM is independent of any other groups. Their membership is made up of all active participants. This group forms a formal body – the Assembly – that decides what days the station will broadcast and who will bring it on-air and take it of-air. The assembly occasionally creates committees for certain projects. Everybody is entitled to use the equipment, archives, publications, record library and books. "There is the virtual "boss" of the neighbours who come and say they want to make a complaint and the radio belongs to them, too." (Curuchet, Girola and Orcajo, 2006, pp. 74-75)

5.9.4 Programming

The Assembly of the membership makes all programming decisions. In the case of new programs, we have a Programming Committee that evaluates each program. These decisions are approved by the Assembly. The station's schedule over the years has varied from broadcasting 24h00-3h00 to seven days per week, 18h00-24h00. They currently air from 9h00-24h00 Saturdays and 18h00-24 Sundays. They have some thirteen programs, roughly 2/3 music and 1/3 news and current events based. We were interviewed during a politics and punk rock program. Their programming is historically quite revolutionary for the location and in the late 1990's they had very active feminist and gay programming. (Alternative FM, 2005)

5.9.5 Methods of Internal Evaluation

This station has no formal methods of internal evaluation except for the approval of programs. Alternativa FM has been shutdown by the authorities a total of five times, losing

their studio equipment several times in the process. They seem to persist due to equal parts community support and strong internal organization.

5.9.6 Infrastructure

In the two years before our visit, Alternativa FM had relocated to a structure next to the cultural centre of an under-construction housing cooperative (that of the soccer league). It's members have constructed the most sophisticated studio of all we have examined, built into an underground olive oil storage container. They are the only station with a music library and well insulated and isolated studios. Most stations have one or two microphones while this studio has four installed for interviews and dialogue. They also have cd players (opposed to using Walkmen or home stereos) and a professional quality soundboard. Alternativa FM benefited from the German foundation funding that permitted ECOS to furnish stations with needed equipment. However, this equipment was seized by the authorities in 1998. In 1999, a ferry carrying a group of station members to Argentina sunk. When matters were settled, these individuals each donated a portion of their insurance settlement to purchasing new equipment for the station (Alternativa FM, 2005). They also have the greatest range of all the regularly broadcasting stations thanks to a 35 watt transmitter and a 16-meter elevated broadcast antenna (Curuchet, Girola and Orcajo, 2006). They can be heard in a large part of the west side of Montevideo and would like to ideally broadcast to the entire city.

5.9.7 Financial Resources

"Alternativa FM is supported by its own active members. Each program pays a monthly fee of 60 pesos ($3 U.S.) per hour per month. There are some community members who have launched an advertising project in recent years." "Then there is the Listener's Club which was launched this year (2003). A community member pays 5 pesos (33 cents U.S.) monthly, is able to participate at the radio and receives certain discounts from local stores. They can also take part in whatever workshops we organize and other activities and they also get access to the phonographic archives of the radio or our library." (Curuchet, Girola and

Orcajo, 2006, pp. 69-82)

5.9.8 Inter-Station Relations

Alternativa FM was one of the founding stations of Ecos and has formerly been a member of AMARC-Uruguay as well. During our research, we encountered members of the station at other stations in Uruguay and Argentina.

*** ***

5.10 El Puente[98] – 103.3 FM – La Teja – http://www.lateja.org.uy/elpuente2.html

El Puente is often used as an ideal point of comparison for community radios in Uruguay. It is the oldest station, a founder of ECOS and AMARC-Uruguay and the only station with paid employees. This radio was previously examined in *Esas Radios Raras* (Robledo, 1998), *Las Otras Radios* (Bouissa, Curuchet and Orcajo 1998) and *Radio comunitaria o ruido comunitario?* (Curuchet, Girola and Orcajo, 2006).

5.10.1 History

"In 1989, a neighbourhood periodical was created that had links with various youth movements – anti-racist, anti State oppression. This periodical was created because in the neighbourhood there was no local print media in which the residents could present their opinion and their form of viewing the world. "El Tejano" came out of this. In 1994, these same people saw a need to implicate more youth. Youth culture in Latin America, just as much of the rest of the world, isn't drawn to periodicals much. We saw other examples such as La Tribu[99] in Buenos Aires and how we could have an easily accessible electronic media." They assembled

---

98 "The Point" is a reference to a central community meeting point and can also be translated as "The Bridge" - a reference to the use of the radio as a link for community members as well as to an important part of the neighbourhood infrastructure.

99 La Tribu is the oldest community radio station in Argentina and serves as an important example of the potential for community radio in Latin America and elsewhere. On-line: http://www.fmlatribu.com/

members from various parts of the community in order to understand exactly what the neighbourhood needed from a radio station. Finally, they began broadcasting on 19 July 1994, airing only on the weekends." "In 1995 the raids of our radio stations began, persecution on the part of the government." They were raided three times, sometimes saving their equipment, sometimes losing it. Until 1997, they had no fixed location for the station. From 1997-2002, they were hidden in the garage of a community member. Since 2003, they have rented the top floor of a building and created a physically permanent and accessible location. (El Puente, 2005)

5.10.2 Role

The founders of El Puente chose the medium of radio due to its cheap and easy accessibility. It is also very well received by a youth population otherwise under-served by commercial media. "This is a neighbourhood on the periphery of Montevideo, a zone of conflict that is in the conventional media a lot but is only characterized by death, robberies, drugs, etc." "When I began at this radio, I was 15, 16 years old and if somebody had told me at that time that it was a television, I would have had to show my face, at a time when the illegality of this activity was made very clear by the government through very strong repression...it would have been a very big risk with a very insecure media. Television requires a different type of production, of language, of convention that makes it inaccessible to anybody." "We do this primarily because we like to do radio, because we chose this medium, because we're militants of this media of communication. Because we think that we need to look for change. (...) We're also a nexus for various things. For example, with the Internet, people from the neighbourhood who are elsewhere in the world can send things to the radio and we pass their communications on the air to their families who are here. We also participate in various local organizations."

5.10.3 Internal Structure

El Puente's operations are organized around a Steering Committee or *Comisión Directiva* composed of seven people. At the time of our visit, these individuals functioned as staff members are were paid 50 pesos ($2.50 CDN.) per hour. The roles of these individuals are subject to change and the group works collectively. They regularly appoint members to be responsible for the following tasks :

- Organize radio operators
- Supervise technical operations
- Organize and supervise programmers
- Station director (responsible for overall operations)

All station members are permitted to participate in this body. Sub-groups of the body include the Programming Department, Creative Department and Press Department.

5.10.4 Programming

While it broadcasts 24 hours per day with the help of computer automation, El Puente only broadcasts live from 19h30-24h00 Fridays, 9h00-23h00 Saturdays and 12h00-19h00 Sundays. They are the only station that broadcasts continually on the Internet. During the three broadcast days, they air 17 programs. Daytime programming is predominantly news and culture-based and evenings are primarily music. Two of the four Sunday programs are repeats of Friday and Saturday programs. Two of the 17 programs are reserved for neighbourhood youth, sometime produced in cooperation with the schools.

5.10.5 Methods of Internal Evaluation

As with other stations in this study, El Puente has no formal methods of internal evaluation. However, we have been told of a recent study which demonstrated that the broadcaster has a higher listenership in their neighbourhood of La Teja than any commercial broadcasters (Kaplún, 2005).

5.10.6 Infrastructure

El Puente is the only station in this study that rents its office space. They use computers and Internet technology very heavily. While their broadcast studios are spacious, they are not as well assembled as those of Barriada or Alternativa FM. The station has two rooms used as offices and a large space for meetings. However, it does not have a library. It is located on the major street of the neighbourhood and easily accessible. While they have the most powerful transmitter of any regularly broadcasting radio (40 watts), their range is impeded by the size and location of their broadcast antenna (nine meters at a low altitude).

5.10.7 Financial Resources

The station organizes raffles, dances and funding campaigns. They rent their studio on occasion to local bands for recording. Other funding comes from the programs themselves, each paying 30 pesos per person per month or 150 pesos per program. These fees are not obligatory. They also receive money from local businesses in exchange for casual verbal advertising – a practice known "underwriting".

5.10.8 Inter-Station Relations

El Puente was one of the founding stations of ECOS and AMARC-Uruguay. Today they are heavily involved in AMARC-Uruguay and their members are implicated in the development of the earlier-noted project of law on community radio. This station also houses the Legislative Program of AMARC-ALC. It is very well connected and very active in the local and international community radio movements.

5.11 La Esquina FM[100] – 105.5 FM – Las Acacias

La Esquina FM has been one of the core members of the Uruguayan community radio movement, but was experiencing a period of difficulty when we visited them in 2005. The station was previously examined in *Esas Radios Raras* (Robledo, 1998) and *Las Otras Radios*

100"The Corner" is a reference to the neighbourhood street corners, a gathering place for youth.

(Bouissa, Curuchet and Orcajo, 1998).

5.11.1 History

"La Esquina FM 105.5 is in the barrio of Las Acacias. We've been doing this for nine years, since 22h00 on 6 July 1996. (...) The idea came from a group of youth who wanted to do something different in the neighbourhood, which was faltering. They were kids, we were kids from the barrio who wanted to do something since there was nothing here, we had no periodical, cultural centre, no library. And at this time there were some other community radios that were beginning to grow. So we said why not have one here. (...) The people from El Puente and La Villa helped us out technically with a transmitter, mixer, microphone and gave us an idea of how and why to do radio." For the better part of their existence, this station has had no fixed address. In the months before we visited, they moved into a building that the neighbourhood was organizing as a community library. (La Esquina FM. 2005)

5.11.2 Role

"It's a bit of that, that the radio is *of* the neighbourhood and that any neighbour can come and put forward their interests, that the radio is at the disposal of the neighbourhood. It works a bit in like this to further democratize information for those that aren't heard in any forum and are effectively voiceless, this is a media where they can come and express what they are thinking and feeling." "We're tired of communications media resting in the hands of very few people and sometimes there is news we want to hear, or music or themes that we want to address that commercial radio doesn't touch in any manner." "There's also the other story, to use the radio as a tool for socialization, for making information accessible and to use it as a beacon, a connection between all that characterizes our neighbourhood." "We also have a social work to carry out in the neighbourhood : we participate as coordinators at the level of Human Rights, sometimes in the Plenary[101], we participate in marches, of 1 May (Labour Day),

---

[101] The Plenary is the Memory and Justice Plenary or Plenaria Memoria y Justicia, an open plenary on human rights organized by established social movements.

denunciations of the dictatorship's torturers[102]. Also activities focused on the neighbourhood, promotions of activities, meeting with the local membership of FUCVAM[103] and the local water movement."

5.11.3 Internal Structure

La Esquina was experiencing a severe drop in participation when we visited and currently relies on the efforts of whatever individuals are regularly implicated in the organization. That said, their small group works collectively and makes decisions by consensus. They meet every two weeks to discuss technical issues, programming, funding plans and community outreach.

5.11.4 Programming

La Esquina broadcasts on Saturdays from 18h00-22h00. Their programming evolves regularly with the involvement of many neighbourhood organizations such as social groups, housing collectives and soccer clubs.

5.11.5 Methods of Internal Evaluation

The station has no methods of internal evaluation other than bi-weekly meetings to address the state of the organization.

5.11.6 Infrastructure

La Esquina FM is located in the neighbourhood of Las Acacias, approximately 45 minutes from downtown Montevideo by bus. Their studio consists of a small concrete room in a structure recently designated the community library. Their studio equipment was supplied by

---

102These are organized by the Plenary.

103Federación Uruguaya de Cooperativas de Vivienda por Ayuda Mutua or Uruguayan Federation of Housing Cooperatives and Mutual Aid. FUCVAM is the national federation of housing collectives. In existence since 1970, it works with unions and other social organizations to construct housing collectives throughout Uruguay. As of 2004, there were over 330 such collectives housing over 16,000 families. On-line: http://www.fucvam.org.uy/

a pool of equipment purchased by ECOS in the late 1990's. It is very minimal and consists of a mixer, personal cd players and a microphone. When we visited, they were experiencing severe problems with their transmitter, neighbours were receiving the station's signal through their televisions instead of their radios and the evening broadcast was cancelled.

5.11.7 Financial Resources

The station resources are financed mainly by dances and various other small-scale fund raising events. Their transmitter was purchased as a result of many dances organized expressly for that reason. At the time of visit, the station was selling CD compilations for 40 pesos.

5.11.8 Inter-Station Relations

La Esquina FM was one of the founding stations of Ecos and has equally been a long-term member of AMARC-Uruguay.

*** ***

5.12 Independent Production Organizations

Although we have included three independent production organizations in our study, we have ultimately chosen to provide only minimal summaries for the sake of brevity[104]. Each of these three groups is tightly tied to the community radio movement in a variety of manners. We encourage the reader to examine the groups and their work independently.

5.12.1 Testimonios[105] – http://www.testimonios.org

"The profile of Testimonios has always been to provide a platform to the protagonists, not to speak too much ourselves as announcers or interviewers, more to speak with the people. (...) We avoid, above all, politically directive language, that of union organizers, etc. so that the

---

104 Please note that future versions of this work will ideally include all subjects that have been ultimately omitted from our study.

105 "Testimonies" is a reference to the goal of the group, that everyday people be provided the means to testify to their human condition.

people can express themselves directly as testimony of their life, their thoughts and political considerations" Testimonios began in 1987 as a program hosted at a community radio called Emisora del Palacio[106]. At this time they produced a 1-hour Saturday afternoon program. As with many early community radios. their initial effort began as a manner of coping with post-dictatorship society. Rather than limit themselves to a single urban neighbourhood, however, Testimonios began to visit the interior of the country and to examine the effects of dictatorship on the country as a whole. With the closing of Emisora del Palacio in the 1990's, they began to rent space from a commercial broadcaster. During this same period, they began to produce documentary series with the Landless Movement in Brasil and other significant social movements outside the country. Due to further financial difficulties, namely the 2002 economic crisis, they began to offer their programs only on the Internet. In recent years, they have produced impressive work examining the Landless Movement in Argentina, the worker-managed factory movement in Argentina and even the 2002 Summit of the Americas in Québec City. Their programs are distributed casually among Uruguayan community radios as well as in Argentina and throughout the world. Testimonios has survived mainly on funding from German foundations. (Testimonios, 2005).

5.12.2 Comcosur - http://www.comcosur.com.uy/

Comcosur stands for "Comunicación Participativa Cono Sur" or "Southern Cone Participatory Communication". It is an organization that works closely with AMARC and a myriad of other social and communicational actors in Latin America for the democratization of communication. To this end, they produce a weekly program called *Ethernautas* that is publicly available and regular news summaries that are distributed several times a week by email. Their sophisticated production studio is also made available to members of community radio stations, these organizations lacking such infrastructure. The programs produced by Comcosur are aired regularly in Uruguay and throughout Latin America and elsewhere. Their

---

106 The name is in reference to the neighbourhood surrounding the Palacio Legislativo – the seat of the Uruguayan national government in Montevideo. Emisora del Palacio also operated as a clandestine community broadcaster during the dictatorship.

work is currently funded by German foundations. (Caseras, 2005).

5.12.3 Radiomundoreal – http://www.radiomundoreal.fm

In 2003, Radiomundoreal or Real World Radio was founded as a project of REDES – Amigos de la Tierra (Friends of the Earth) and AMARC. Today it is funded entirely by REDES – Amigos de la Tierra and is an Internet-based broadcaster and networking centre for community broadcasters in Latin America and anywhere with Internet access. The group regularly sends teams to broadcast from important international events such as the World Social Forum, World Trade Organization meetings, Summits of the Americas and People's Summits. Its translation department provides programming in English, Spanish and Portuguese and will offer French in 2007. They also run related website called Foroderadios.fm (Forum of Radios) which has grown as a central location for community radio stations present at the World Social Forum and offers programming in English, Spanish, French, Portuguese, German and Dutch. When we visited in 2005, they had 13 employees. They are the best equipped of all production groups in Uruguay. (e los Santos, 2005)

5.13 Summary : Community Radio in Montevideo, Uruguay

It is safe to say that the community radio movement in Uruguay at a vital and central turning point in its history. The recent changes in political climate have contributed to a surge in idealist hopes and demands on a new government. Should it take the necessary steps, this will be the first post-dictatorship government in Uruguay to seriously examine telecommunications policy. In doing so, it will have to consider not simply the place of community radio in a media system but every facet of the system itself. Evaluating the state and potential for community radio can potentially be the first step in extensive this process. Such an occasion provides the opportunity to comprehensively examine the values upon which systems of communication are based and to further develop a pre-existing system in which inclusive and participatory communication is a fundamental base rather than a by-product.

5.13.1 Histories and Roles

We have examined a large number of community radio stations in Montevideo, but certainly not all. During our research, we spent time with a small group of individuals in their early 20's who had plans to found a community radio station with funding from the Frente Amplio, were refused access to a radio station working with one of the most marginalized populations in the city and made contact with a 16-year old boy who had recently founded a station at his housing cooperative. However, our study presents a broad and representative cross-section of the stations operating in the city and detailed analysis of their histories and operations. It is important that the reader understand the micro-scale of these stations and the roles they play in their immediate geographic locations. The community/audience of each station has historically defined by limited broadcast ranges and the explicit needs of localized social development projects. No matter their age, the stations in our study all share common histories leading to the need of people to reconstitute democratic society and the rights inherent to such society[107]. The sole support systems for community radio here are the communities in which they operate and the network of community radio stations and like-minded media groups in the country and, to a certain extent, outside the country. While community-based radio has been funded and used as a development tool by various NGOs and development agencies around the world, this has never been the case Uruguay. Indeed, many broadcasters proudly expressed their independence from foreign NGO's. The stations presented here originate from three social locations : 1) other community radio stations; 2) community journals or periodicals; and 3) neighbourhood-based social development projects. Without exception, they are community-created tools with community-defined objectives. Each of these radios is in a similar precarious position that is made viable through the support of these communities alone.

5.13.2 The Viability of Community Radio in Uruguay

In August 2005, at the end of our research period, we interviewed Professor Gabriel Kaplún, coordinator of the Frente Amplio "Communications Media Unit" and professor of

107 There is also a distinct characteristic of neighbourhood identity in Montevideo which exhibits itself through the various radio stations, soccer clubs, cultural centres and musical groups.

communications at the Universidad de la República del Uruguay. Professor Kaplún has worked closely with unions, popular education groups and social organizations in Uruguay and throughout Latin America and has observed the development of community radio here since its inception[108]. We asked him to comment the social, political and economic viability of community radio and media reform in Uruguay.

"I think (the creation of a democratized national system of communication) is socially viable. It's not easy, but I think the social side is where there's more strength. For the experiences, such as the radios, there are many previous examples because there's a certain tradition of citizen participation, not always fertile, sometimes there's participation without results which discourages participation. But there's a pretty extensive history in Uruguay of grass-roots movements, citizen movements and the such. This seems to me to be the social base of other possibilities for communication. These radios demonstrate this. They have fundamentally grown from these types of movements or from a small group tied to a movement of this sort. The radios are not always *of* these movements but at the very least have a relationship with social movements. All this to say, yes there are possibilities, but they won't be easily attained and are always volunteer efforts with problems of development. Economically, I think there are also possibilities, but this is a bit more complicated because to be viable you need to think about what your funding mechanisms are going to be. For example, some radios are closed to the idea of advertising while others want to sell it." "The political level is where I think are the most problems that have to be left to others who are now five months into their new formation as a government[109]. One of the few things that was clear was the resolution of the situation of the community radios and we're not seeing concrete signals from the government. This shows that there is no political willingness with respect to this matter. Perhaps because it is not considered to be a priority because there are other priorities. I think it's true that there are other very urgent priorities in this country today. The poverty, *el plan de*

---

108 Gabriel Kaplún on-line : http://www.liccom.edu.uy/docencia/curriculum/gkaplun.html
109The Frente Amplio took presidential power on 1 March 2005 while their winning election was held on 31 October 2004.

emergencia[110], there are other problems. Nevertheless, this is something they could have dealt with well at the beginning of their mandate and it will be more difficult to resolve when more time has passed." (Kaplún, 2005).

In the time since this interview, significant events have taken place that signal the political will of the Uruguayan government to legalize community radio. However, concurrent actions within the community radio movement emphasize a continued divide in this movement itself. As described in section 5.1.2, proposed legislation on community radio has been under development since 2004. The development of this legislation has been a fairly public affair but not an all-inclusive one. The following timeline details key events in the development of this legislation. In the case of meetings and seminars, we have been present in an observational capacity.

- 26 May 2005 : During an AMARC/UNESCO seminar "Freedom of the press, media and democratic governability[111]", the vice-president of Uruguay states that his government will legalize community radio.

- 28 June 2005 : Meeting between ECOS and legal representative of the group developing the project of law. The delegation invites ECOS to assist in the final redaction. ECOS refuses on the basis that the bulk of development has already taken place without their involvement and that they cannot adequately provide constructive input on the legislation within the time proposed.
- 8 November 2005 : AMARC and UNESCO organize a public seminar for the formal presentation and debate of the project of law. The commercial radio sector voices their opposition. ECOS enters the debate publicly for the first time. They appear to be willing to integrate themselves into the future of this project of legalization and regularization while opposing certain points on seemingly ideological grounds.

- 26 July 2006 : Tabaré Vázquez, president of Uruguay, grants a broadcast license to the communications faculty of the Universidad de la República del Uruguay. This is the first non-commercial license ever awarded in Uruguay.

110"The emergency plan" is the national welfare program. It is in the midst of reform.

111 "Libertad de la prensa, medios y gobernabilidad democrática." On-line:
http://lac.derechos.apc.org/eventoft.shtml?x=33320

- 8 August 2006 : Following their second national conference, ECOS issues a press release rejecting the project of law on the following grounds :
- The project of law requires stations to become legal incorporated entities in which certain individuals are legally charged with the responsibility of the station. ECOS claims this is incompatible to the collective organizational nature of their member stations.
- The project of law does not call for the reform of "Executive Power" whereby the president directly grants broadcast licenses.
- The creation of an independent regulatory body to govern community radio serves primarily to legitimate state control over community radios.
- URSEC, the telecommunications regulator, is "a repressive organization"
- Punitive measures date back to a law passed by the dictatorship rather than creating new mechanisms of regulation and punishment.
  This statement is, in fact, false according to the latest revision of the project of law presented to the government. It does, however, provide a prime example of the dangers in the inclusion of only one set of organized community radios in the development of this legislation.

- 11 August 2006 : The Uruguayan government gives notice to AMARC-ALC that they will work with the parties implicated in the development of the project of law to produce a final version and legalize community radio this year.

The general exclusion of ECOS from the development of this legislation and their subsequent rejection of its contents poses a potentially significant obstacle to any practical process of legalization and regularization. After two decades of operation as "illegal" broadcasters, the members of these stations and their communities have come to understand the construct of a "community radio station" in terms having more to do with absolute freedom of expression than with legal definition. Throughout our interview process, we asked each broadcaster – both members of ECOS and AMARC - if the legalization of their radio stations would change their mode of operations. By this we mean the possibility of more regular broadcasting hours, the possible consolidation of small-scale community broadcasters into larger stations, increased broadcasting range, etc. Every single station in our study replied that they would not. (Alternativa FM is a partial exception to this rule. They uniquely represent counter-culture movements in Montevideo and would like this aspect of their broadcasting to reach a larger audience. Their social work, however, is localized.) This dedication to the scale and focus of the work of community radios presents the idea of "legalization" in a much different light. In

an environment where people generally trust the government very little yet put enormous faith in written policy and political process[112], the most immediate primary benefit of legalization is protection from future persecution by the federal regulators. For the developers of the project of law, this step is necessary to guarantee the growth of community radio. Their work is a definite first step towards the gradual repartitioning of the national media system with an understanding that society and its forms of communication require time to evolve. To the contrary, ECOS advocates the immediate and wholesale reevaluation of the nation's communication system.

The viability of community radio in Uruguay is an issue with more than the general social, financial and political vectors relative to the state of government and larger society. It is equally in the hands of the movement itself. Should legislation be passed that, in function, risks alienating 50% of the organized standards-based community broadcasters, we are confident that these stations will continue their work, in contravention of regulation yet with the support of their communities. However, it is our opinion that the process of legalization and regularization put forward in the project of law is a just and crucial one which adequately integrates community members, social institutions and the State into a communications system management framework while leaving flexibility for evolution and change. In particular, the project of law supports the following :

- Radio broadcasting is a technical tool for freedom of expression and information, rights that are universally recognized and guaranteed.

- Radio frequencies must be reserved for community and civil society use.
  This is a unique approach to spectrum management for which we see application in other countries, as well.

- The mandate of community radio is defined as "the promotion of social development, human rights, cultural diversity, plurality of information and opinion, democratic values, the satisfaction of the necessities of social communication, peaceful coexistence and the strengthening of vehicles that are the essence of cultural and social identity.

112Two examples : During our research tenure in Uruguay, the right to water was added to the Constitution amidst protests against water privatization. Rather than initiate a civil war against the dictatorship, Uruguayan society organized a referendum on the dictatorship in the early 1980's.

- Creation of a designated community radio arm of URSEC charged with regulating community radio independently of commercial radio
(Project of law)

While the fundamental right of self-expression has been universally recognized, it is not always the case that the mechanisms for this expression are equally supported. The proposed legislation, through its recognition of community radio as a distinct communications media *and especially* the necessity of this media to be regulated according to its own standards serves to assure that this will not be the case in Uruguay. We believe the future of community broadcasting here has much potential. The key to its success, above all else, is the strong relationship that already exists between the broadcasters and their communities. This is a relationship that, with the dedication of station volunteers, has made the continued existence of these broadcasters possible. The potential to create a fundamentally open system of communication born of this equation. The role these stations play and the tradition in which they develop is a result of very unique circumstances that have innately linked them to a consistent ideology of community social work. Community radio in Uruguay is a well-honed and focused tool that, with the proper direction, funding and care can ultimately be transformed into a true vehicle of participatory and inclusive social communication.

CHAPITRE VI

SYNTHÈSE

Throughout the preceding five chapters, we have evaluated the potential for creating an open system of social communication through media use within pre-existing national media systems. We have used community radio as the subject of this study, primarily due to its vast and varied international presence and the predefinition of the radio spectrum as a limited natural resource belonging to all mankind. Our choice of the radio medium has also been influenced by the highly commercialized and monopolized state of the national broadcast systems in our two subject locations – Montréal, Canada and Montevideo, Uruguay. Examining the community radio systems of each city and the related legislation, we have provided thorough portraits of each system and the particular state of each system in terms of social presence, ideological diversity, resources and challenges. Neither system is ideal, indeed both are very much embroiled in continual development and a search for broader legitimacy. Our communicational superstructures reflect the society in which we live as well as facilitating its evolution. By altering these superstructures and creating spaces for direct citizen implication, participation and social dialogue, we develop the potential for living and communicating in similarly democratic manners. This goal is contrary to currently pervasive market-dominated systems of media use whereby the objective is not tied to dialogic communication but rather simple diffusion. Approaches to attaining such an objective, however, have been historically limited within North American traditions of communications research and practice. It is our hope that the work included here can serve as another step towards expanding the footprint of

community-based and participatory media within communication studies and towards the further legitimation of this form of media on a broad social scale.

6.1 Community Radio in Montréal and Montevideo

While commercial radio has evolved with market forces, community radio has been born of the simple needs of individuals and their communities to communicate, create public media spaces for social dialogue and to represent themselves within the larger sphere of media. Throughout the development of community radio, the approaches of telecommunications regulators has served to shape it in distinct ways. While these approaches have often been at odds with the ideals embodied and facilitated by community radio, they have nonetheless contributed to its ideological and functional development. The community radio systems of Montréal and Montevideo have developed accordingly, each displaying a variety of projects with distinct goals and approaches to the use of a common medium. Rather than function according to a global standard, community radio is a medium that is adopted and shaped by social bodies as a tool designed to meet their particular needs. The delimitation of these needs as well as concepts of community provide us with some of the tools necessary for understanding the potential of media democracy on a global and necessarily cross-cultural scale.

6.1.1 Concepts of Community Exhibited in Community Radio

As previously summarized, community radio has developed in distinctly different manners in Montevideo and Montréal. However, in each case this form of media originated by citizens who themselves recognized the need to create accessible media institutions. This process was started in Canada in the 1970's and is very much still underway. While afforded theoretical legal equality within the national communications system, Canadian community broadcasting is still working to acquire the resources and correlative organizational stability and communications policy to make this a functional reality. As detailed in Chapter IV, the national broadcasting system has been deemed vital to the maintenance of Canadian identity. National

identity in the social sphere of Montréal is a decidedly complicated subject influenced by a number of factors including ethnic communities, linguistic communities and socially and politically defined communities. Rather than facilitate a single and unified "Canadian identity", community radio provides social spaces for individuals of these distinct communities to interact and engage one another. "Communities" that we have observed most regularly integrated into the operations of Montréal community radio tend to fall into (but are not limited to) the following categories :

Table 6.1 : Montréal Radio "Communities"

ethnic communities	linguistic communities
communities based on sexual orientation	artistic communities
musically-oriented communities	university-related communities
communities based on gender	communities based on race
religious communities	political communities

The communications policy that governs Canadian community radio does very little in addressing the definition of "community" aspect of community radio and has thus left the development of this concept very much in the hands of practitioners. Each station in our study has defined their member communities according to various factors in their developmental history such as physical location and the guiding decisions of implicated individuals. Montréal community radio stations function primarily as central spaces for the interchange of distinct communities and media tools with which they can represent themselves within the larger Montréal community. Stations here are not limited to a defined broadcast radius as a matter of explicit policy. Instead, they have a tendency to have a much smaller broadcast range than their commercial counterparts due to economic and radio spectrum limitations that are a result of communications policy. Thus, stations in Montréal tend to serve physically accessible communities within the urban centre more actively than those that lie geographically outside

their scope. That said, the increased use of Internet technology is effectively changing the ways in which the media of radio is used and communities are defined. While it is a topic far too vast to be wholly included in the current work, we suggest that future research on this phenomena would be of great practical and theoretical use.

Montevideo is a city of 1.5 million people, most of whom share similar ethnic backgrounds. Many are second or third generation immigrants from Spain or Italy while immigrant populations from other regions and indigenous populations are very small. While this makes for a fairly homogeneous populace in terms of language and popular culture, concepts of community have developed around neighbourhood or "barrio" identity. Most neighbourhoods have their own musical groups, *murgas*, which perform during the annual Carnival. Many neighbourhoods also have their own soccer teams. During our research, we found that most poor neighbourhoods in Montevideo have at least one community cultural centre (often incorporating a community library, educational programs and food kitchen) and at least one community radio station. The wealthier neighbourhoods tend to not have any stations. Almost all community radio stations can be heard only in their immediate geographic neighbourhood while a few broadcast at a maximum range of 3-5 kilometers. The origin of this extremely localized model of community radio is a composite of imposed technical limitations, the exercise of barrio identity and the role of these stations within larger social development projects. In the first case, such operations have always been illegal, making them difficult to maintain in terms of human, technical and physical resources. Several stations in Montevideo recounted to us stories of risky and transient clandestine community broadcasting, often hampered by government persecution, equipment seizures and regular relocations. Most broadcasters have only recently moved into permanent locations. Thus, this extreme limitation of resources and threat of overt governmental oppression has forced community radio to develop on a very small scale. At the same time, these broadcasters operate in a country that is still very much recovering from a recent economic crisis which continues to create new levels of poverty and socio-economic marginality. In order to survive in such an environment, these

broadcasters rely directly on their geographic communities for resources. In addition, many of these broadcasters have their origins in other neighbourhood social groups and local development projects. All Montevideo broadcasters included in this study are adamant that the work they perform is locally-focused and locally-defined. In order to continue with the work of rebuilding post-dictatorship society, such work must be performed with attention given to every concerned individual, independent of outside influence, such as that of non-governmental organizations.

In the context of our study, community is an explicitly social construct. More than a simple assemblage of individuals, community includes the social networks of these individuals and the communicational networks through which they interact with one another as citizens. Community radio, in that it functions primarily at this level of social relations, provides an infrastructure whereby this complicated social web can manifest itself publicly. It is a fluid form of media, constantly refined and re-defined by its practitioners and audiences depending on their particular needs.

6.1.2 Roles and Ideologies Observed in Community Radio

The roles that community radio plays and the ideologies that drive it are inextricably tied to the particular historical circumstances of each broadcast system and the society in which it works. The community radio systems of Montevideo and Montréal exhibit characteristics that are unique to each system as well as certain commonalities that allow us to extrapolate more general theory concerning the use of this media.

A great variety of self-defined roles and ideologies can be found within the Montréal community broadcasting system due to the extreme diversity of individuals and communities involved. Indeed, we have been party to divisive debate within stations and at a broader national level concerning "the role" of community radio. There are several approaches that co-exist to a certain extent within single stations and within the broader system. We can identify a

number of philosophies that drive community radio in the urban centre of Montréal. The self-defined roles and ideologies observed here can be generally understood according to the following denotations:

1) Community radio operates as an open dialogic space that facilitates diverse community involvement and interaction. As such, it is a space in which various communities and factions within these communities can represent themselves within the popular public sphere.

2) It is a tool of political mobilization through which social and political groups that are traditionally denied direct media representation can reclaim these public resources in order to justly represent themselves, their causes and the experiences that define their existence.

3) By putting the means of media construction into the hands of its traditional consumers, the power inherent to media is demystified. Individuals are specialists in their own experience. As such, they have the natural right to represent this experience in the public eye and can do so with greater accuracy and accessibility than traditional commercial media.

4) Community radio is a tool of community building in that it provides centres for citizen implication, community organizing and facilitates the integration of individuals into new communities and spaces for community debate and dialogue. It aids in the maintenance of the larger urban community by providing a space in which distinct communities interact as they might not otherwise.

5) Community radio is the "voice of the voiceless". This is a catchphrase that has historically been used to express the social role of community radio. It infers that

commercial media serves as the voice of privileged members of society while community media represents those marginalized by commercial media systems and within the larger organization of society.

The self-defined roles and ideologies employed in Montevideo are similar to those of Montréal but manifest themselves in a very different manner. All broadcasters which we examined here define themselves within a tiered, but not necessarily hierarchically defined, process of social reconstruction. While not all stations are integrated into the physical structures that house these processes on a local level, the are all directly implicated through their active relationships with neighbourhood social organizations. This tiered process is organized in the following manner :

1) Grassroots organizing has become a well-honed practice in Uruguay since the fall of the dictatorship in 1984. A great lack of government-funded social services combined with a distrust of the State have provided the inspiration and necessity for their continued development since this period (Fonseca, 2005). While the sociopolitical environment within the country may be undergoing positive change (as detailed in Chapter V), the current government is handicapped by an immense national debt, the effects of a recent economic crisis (2002) and social support systems that are in need of repair. Thus, the established system of grassroots community support systems have gained an increased level of importance in the maintenance of Uruguayan society.

2) As seen in the testimony of many of our interview subjects, community radio in Montevideo has grown out of both this network of neighbourhood-level social development projects and the need to recreate spaces for public dialogue and free expression. Working within this system, community broadcasters play an integral role in the reconstituting popular notions of free speech, public politics and critical social dialogue

3) Working within their individual communities, stations largely define their role within the context of the larger project of social reconstruction. With this social reconstitution as their goal, they employ many of the approaches evident in Montréal. In particular, stations in Montevideo see their work as a reclamation of media space for use by local voices. The act of speaking, giving testimony of one's life experiences is of great importance. Rather than function simply as a manner of demystifying media, this functions as a realignment of the right to free expression, effectively returning the function of free speech to the public. Community radio in Montevideo also serves as an important manner by which to implicate youth, both politically and critically.

Mass media is most popularly used and consumed as a form of information, entertainment and social control. The concept of community, as it is defined and utilized above, is rarely if ever encountered in commercial media. While a similar mapping of community groups does occur, these groups are considered only in terms of audience and market. However, when the structure and driving forces of mass media originate within the social bodies of communities rather than the expert devices of State and industry, media evolves as an integral of our social communication infrastructure. Community radio plays an integral role in providing tools with which to build fluid routes of communication between members of the public and those who manage the our public communication resources. By claiming speech and expression through the use of media as a common human right, the politics of communication become a thing of everyday concern to which we all have direct access. This opening of the private political sphere can be seen as the single foundation for community broadcasting in Montréal and Montevideo. Every project we have examined here seeks, through a diverse variety of manners, to create a fluid and open communication structure through which citizens can adequately participate in public life. In doing so, they contribute fundamentally to the evolution of open and accessible communications systems in which the idealism that marks such concepts as the emirec, participatory democracy and participatory communication can be realized.

6.2 The Feasibility of International Standards for Open Systems of Communication

We seek here to suggest concrete approaches to the eventual attainment of a theoretical ideal, this being the creation of pervasive systems of accessible and participatory community-based broadcasting. The current and historical approaches to communications regulation have much affected the academic analysis and popular comprehension of media use as a means of social communication. Understanding that our communicational superstructures equally reflect and facilitate our development as a society, we propose a gradual yet fundamental re-visioning of communications regulation. Such a process is not necessarily the precursor to a populist reworking of our communications networks and their related culture industries, rather it embodies great potential in contributing to the further development of modern democratic society. Thus, we will detail key obstacles to the development of open systems of social communication with the community broadcasting systems of Montréal and Montevideo serving as our examples. Finally we will propose certain standards vital to the general application of this ideal.

6.2.1 Technocratic Communications Regulation

As detailed earlier, the current telecommunications regulatory structures of our subject locations – Montevideo, Uruguay and Montréal, Canada – function largely to the exclusion of the public whose communications they regulate. Specifically, they lack systems that assure equal stakeholder representation within their decision-making bodies and structures that assure comprehensive, regular and fluid consultation with the societies they are charged with regulating. Both countries have a long-standing tradition of keeping the management of communications systems, more or less, behind closed doors.

In Canada, the CRTC commissioners – those who make the ultimate decisions concerning telecommunications licensing and policy – have never counted a member of the community broadcasting sector among their ranks (Kaestner, 2006). Rather than organize their seats according to the sectors that have been defined in the *Broadcasting Act*, operations are

split between radio broadcasting and telecommunications sectors and geographic regions. Of the eleven commissioners currently in power, four have backgrounds in telecommunications law (one of these having also worked as a television producer at the CBC), six have recently been executives of large communications corporations and one has worked with the National Film Board of Canada. All commissioners are appointed to their position by a process of the Privy Council (Paquin, 2005).

It would be logical to assume that the management of the social communication superstructures of a democratic society would be inclusive and transparent. In practice, though, the processes of policy creation, reform and management is largely reserved as a specialized matter for the CRTC and representatives of industry associations. The general public has only two mechanisms by which to take part in the process of media regulation – through participation in public hearings or the filing of complaints. The CRTC considers itself a non-interventionist regulator and it largely the responsibility of broadcasters and their audiences to assure that broadcasting mandates are satisfied (Amodeo, 2006), a stance that further discourages constructive dialogue between the regulator and the general public.

No federal government in Uruguay has ever addressed the subject of communications regulation in earnest (Kaplún, 2005), although some significant reforms have been made between 1985-2006. Until 2002, all telecommunications regulation fell under the power of the Department of Defense, incorporated in the body of the National Communications Directive. Broadcast licenses have always been and continue to be granted exclusively by the office of the president. The creation of URSEC in 2002 represents the first major step in managing the national communications infrastructure of Uruguay. There is no system of public intervention similar to the public hearings of the Canadian system. In addition, to this day, community broadcasting is considered an illegal activity with no possible license categorization. The only affirmative manner by which to advocate regulatory reform has been through the independent work and legislative redaction of implicated social organizations and the higher-level

involvement of AMARC-ALC and UNESCO.

If our systems of communication continue to be regulated in the tradition of these regulators, the results will undoubtedly resemble the evolution which has occurred throughout the previous twenty years. As detailed in earlier chapters, the social and industrial guidance provided in the form of regulatory policy has contributed greatly to a private monopolization of the public sphere as well as general social understandings of media use and communication. In order to avert the continuation of this evolution, regulators must create structures through which society-at-large can play an active and critical role in the workings of communication policy and regulation.

6.2.2 Inclusive Regulation

The role of Canada's national broadcasting system is resolutely defined as the maintenance, development and exercise of Canadian identity. By devising a system that includes community, commercial and public broadcasting elements, the crafters of Canada's communications policy have insinuated that these three sectors necessarily co-exist at the benefit of one another as well as the benefit of the nation. Thus, one would assume that the regulator of this system would assure that these three vital sectors are equally represented within the regulating body itself and that regulatory policies would provide for the realization of this role according to the particularities of each distinct broadcasting sector. While policy has been developed for community radio in Canada, the methods by which it is evaluated are ultimately do not differ much from those of commercial broadcasters. If the national broadcasting system is to fully satisfy its fundamental social role, the sectors must compliment one another in more than theoretical manners. Their distinct relationships with the public must be clearly defined in concert with this public.

We have encountered a few historical and theoretical examples exist of regulatory structures that are capable of incorporating community radio in a manner that recognizes it as a

distinct form of media operating according to community-specific markers of function and success. In the 1970's, several proposals to this end originated in the province of Québec. Firstly, the Fédération Professionnelle des Journalistes du Québec[113] (FPJQ) proposed mandatory tripartite "news management councils" for all public and private media in order to structurally and actively link media creation with the communities they represent. In 1972, the Parti Québécois expressed the desire to create a framework for "collective communication". Following a similar trajectory, the Québec Commission of Education, Cultural Affairs & Communication proposed the creation of "community production committees" which would be financed by commercial broadcasters (in this case, cable television providers). (Raboy, 1990, pp. 208-223). More recently, proposals have come in the context of Uruguayan regulatory reform. In informal discussions with members of Alternativa FM and ECOS, it was suggested that community broadcasters and their implicated communities should create formal bodies of community members that would assure active community involvement and assure that broadcasters satisfy community needs. A more thoroughly developed proposal that will likely pass into law by January 2007 is included in the aforementioned "project of law" and will create a sub-division of the communications regulator charged with regulating community radio and nothing more. Such a body will include representation from various social groups representing the general population and community broadcasters themselves, thus developing the capacity to determine sector-specific policies.

6.2.3 The Social Provision of Resources

Community radio, while assured a role in Canada's broadcasting system and future legal legitimation in Uruguay, has been historically denied the financial resources necessary to function in a manner that promotes sustainable institutional, and thus sectoral, development. While the public broadcasters embodied in the CBC and SRC are given the mandate of providing media of uniquely Canadian character, these broadcasters severely limit their engagement with the public. While operating on large budgets sourced from federal tax dollars

---

113The Fédération Professionnelle des Journalistes du Québec can be found on-line at ·
  ·http://www.fpjq.org/

(and to a smaller extent, advertising revenue), they typically operate in a manner identical to that of commercial broadcasters. Working without the pressures observed in under-funded community broadcasters, these public broadcasters create a standard image of "national identity" to the participatory exclusion of the multitude of communities that constitute the "nation". If we are to work to the successful goal of building national identity in a multi-cultural society, public resources and public space must be afforded to media that works primarily to comprehensively engage and include all citizens. In order to comprehensively reiterate the poor state of financial resources that we have observed during our research, we provide here a synthesis of all broadcasters observed and current finances. Keep in mind that the Montréal broadcasters included here are among the best funded campus-community and community stations in Canada (Kaestner, 2006; Paquin, 2006; Paré, 2006). The budgeted revenue of the CBC-SRC for the year 2004-2005 was $1.715 billion (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation-Radio Canada, 2005, p. 47).

Table 6.2

Synthesis of Broadcasters and Financial Resources (Montréal)

Broadcaster	Revenue (2004-2005)
CKUT (Montréal)	$402,060
CISM (Montréal)	$384,461
CINQ (Montréal)	$399,558
CJLO (Montréal)	$150,000
CIBL (Montréal)	$415,800

Table 6.3

Synthesis of Broadcasters and Financial Resources (Montevideo)

Radio FEUU (Montevideo)	$0
La Angostura FM (Montevideo)	$0
Radio del Prado (Montevideo)	$0
Radio Contonía (Montevideo)	$0

Barriada FM (Montevideo)	$0
Emisora de la Villa (Montevideo)	$0
La Voz (Montevideo)	$0
Alternativa FM (Montevideo)	$0
El Puente (Montevideo)	unspecified (enough to pay rent and minimal salaries)
La Esquina (Montevideo)	$0

The CRTC identifies itself as a decidedly "hands-off" regulator. Through this practice, they attempt to separate the ideological roots of communications policy from strictly technical details of said policy. Such an approach ultimately has led to a system in which the more tangible and insistent enterprises of commercial broadcasting are afforded a much higher level of attention than community-based broadcasters. Further, while it is the expert organization charged by Parliament with directing the nation's communication systems, the CRTC insists that it bound to the *Broadcasting Act* and can only act within the parameters defined by its scribes (Amodeo, 2005; NCRC, 2006). We will argue that every decision made and every policy enacted by the regulator is pro-active in that it carried out within the interpretation of this act and with the understanding that such actions affect individuals, communities and our collective social evolution. As such, it is the role of the regulator to assure that all communications sectors are in equally good health, thereby assuring the health of the system as a whole.

6.2.4 Conclusion

Each of the experiences of community radio we have examined in this study has been molded by the political and social realities of their nations. The current state of our national media systems reflect, through the media they produce as well as the manners in which their structures evolve and the state of social dialogue in each location. While academic investigation and citizen-level media regularly work to demystify the realities of mass media,

the functional processes of creating truly accessible media on a broad social scale are consistently fragmented. Rather than attempt to mold existing systems into democratic and participatory forms, there is a tendency to leave the inherent inequality of these old systems behind to seek new hope in virtual spaces. In North America, we are at a state in the evolution of approaches to media democratization where we are predominantly satisfied to limit our debate to examinations of corporate monopoly. While more extreme notions of the debate do occur within the world of academia and activism, these have not yet trickled down to popular society. If media reform is to be a successful pursuit with ideals truly rooted in the needs and desires of citizens, it must itself be a popular, democratic and inclusive process.

It is telling that the Montréal community radio movement, and perhaps the Canadian movement as a whole, displays a variety of complimentary and sometimes contradictory ideologies and practices while the Uruguayan movement is, at the very least, ideologically well-developed and consistent. Canadian human rights have been defined : we are guaranteed all which has been decreed in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, including freedom of the press and other media of communications. In Canada, however, we do not take the opportunity as a social body to examine the pervasiveness of these values. Following this cue, the Canadian Radio-Telecommunications Commission considers media regulation, in practice as well as definition, to be based on balancing markets rather than the communicational rights of individuals in society (Amodeo, 2006). Our social value systems have been overridden by the more powerful ones of economics and politics. Having never undergone a social process defining our explicit rights as citizens, we have no traditional understanding of our social communicational needs and rights nor an understanding of how to define, attain and retain such rights.

The Uruguayan situation offers a key counterpoint. Shaped by a collective need to reconstitute society and its communicational fabric, community broadcasting has evolved along consistent lines of democracy at all levels. Human rights are the standard upon which all

sectors of society should be constructed. Intellectual traditions that share these same origins in social crisis and democratic and participatory approaches offer us tools with which to evaluate the Canadian situation. Not only does the Uruguayan experience of community radio enable us to see the potential of devising community radio policy that understands this media as a wholly social good, it helps us envision the role of community radio and communications media in general on a purely social scale, minus our customary complications of economics and market. Creating similar media policy in Canada is not a simple matter. In carrying out such a process, we trigger a revaluation of all broadcasting sectors according to the level at which they serve the needs of citizens – those who own the airwaves.

6.3 The Future of Independent Media Studies

While the study of commercial media has been historically central to the North American curriculum of communications and media studies, community media rarely appears as a subject of study. As documented in earlier chapters, this has inevitably led to a severe lack of theoretical tools with which to examine uniquely citizen-based media. The maligned presence of community is further compounded by a severe lack of published examples of community media research. Indeed, we have encountered the majority of the examples we have employed in our own research while carrying out our field research in Uruguay and Argentina. If we are to advance the field of independent media studies, and ideally correlative fields of independent media, we must take definite steps as academics, practitioners and otherwise interested parties to assure regular academic development, tied to the practices of media use and media regulation.

6.3.1 Proposals for Future Development

There exist certain factors inherent to the field of independent media studies that make it a logistically difficult field of study, namely issues of culture and linguistics. As a necessary requirement of the work we have engaged in through this study, we have encountered both of these issues and, we feel, used them to our advantage. Studies in independent media can

greatly benefit from cross-cultural exchange. We have found this of great utility with regard to the manner in which we have conducted our research in Uruguay and Canada. We have equally observed the importance and difficulty of cross-cultural dialogue on community media in the form of moderated international discussions on community radio such as the earlier noted email dialogue hosted by the British development group ID21[114] in February 2006. Through both of these activities, we have observed that the study of independent media in North America has a tendency to limit its perspectives to those most available in the English language. As such, when we have the opportunity to escape our geographical and ideological limitations, we gain newfound perspectives on our personal experiences and acquire new research tools. The internationalizing of independent media studies is vital to the development of richly elaborated theoretical tools that can be of equal service to researchers and practitioners.

We find it necessary to pursue this type of research in a participatory manner, thus becoming part of the cultures that embody community media. Within the current climate and tradition of communications research, the study of independent and community-based media is a decidedly political decision. That said, it is a field with much potential in terms of theoretical and methodological development as well as practical application. As researchers, we occupy a privileged position between practitioners, audiences/communities and regulators. By engaging these three groups collectively and regularly, we can work to facilitate not only our research but the advancement of egalitarian media on a global scale. To this end we propose the following structures as means by which to facilitate the development of community-based media as a subject of academic study as well as a popularly accessible form of media :

1. The creation of a multi-lingual, international network of independent and community media researchers, practitioners and regulators : A large amount of our primary research sources have been only published locally, if at all, leaving a gap in the knowledge available elsewhere. Increasing dialogue among these groups and sharing

---

[114] ID21. Online: http://www.id21.org/

of resources and data generates a dynamic body of work while bridging the gap between the theories evident in research and regulation and the realities that play out in the practice of community media.

2.   Regular working dialogues between researchers, practitioners and regulators in public forums : Dialogue on our social communication structures as well as the regulation of these structures should not only be created in public, but must implicate the public. By creating open spaces for such dialogue to occur, we lay the foundation for the development of dynamic, transparent and inclusive systems of regulation.

Throughout the process of research and redaction, we have come to understand the potential of the communications researcher as a catalyst for social change. As a researcher, we have engaged in frank dialogue on the limitations and potential of community radio with all broadcasters noted in this study as well as representatives from the CRTC and Canadian and Uruguayan community radio associations. While we expected our work to be well-received by community broadcasters, we have been happily surprised by the level of frank dialogue and reflection that has subsequently occurred within the CRTC. We have taken part in processes similar to those described above, namely two public seminars in Montevideo organized by AMARC-ALC and UNESCO around the discussion of community radio legislation in Uruguay (Chapter V). It is here that we came to fully understand the value of public dialogue between the diverse actors involved – rarely would they meet otherwise. It is our hope that this work and the dialogue that has contributed to it will continue to contribute to the advancement of a truly inclusive and representative system of national media.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE SÉLECTIVE

Alternativa FM. 2005. *Semi-guided interview with radio collective on Alternativa FM and community radio*. Montevideo: recording and transcription, 3 July.

Alvarez, Sonia E., Evelina Dagnino, and Arturo Escobar. 1998. *Cultures of Politics, Politics of Culture. Re-visioning Latin American Social Movements*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Álvarez Teijeiro, Carlos. Comunicación, 2000. *Democracia y Ciudadanía: Fundamentos teóricos del Public Journalism*. |Democracy and Citizenship: Theoretical Fundamentals of Public Journalism|. Buenos Aires: Édiciones CICCUS/La Crujía.

Amodeo, Mike. 2006. Semi-guided *interview on CRTC and community radio policy*. Ottawa: recording and transcription, 3 March.

Arendt, Hannah. 1958. *The Human Condition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Arendt, Hannah. 1966. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.

Atton, Chris. 2002. *Alternative Media*. London: SAGE.

Bagdikian, Ben H. 1992. *The Media Monopoly*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Barnett, Clive and Murray Low. 2004. *Spaces of Democracy : Geographical Perspectives on Citizenship, Participation and Representation*. London: SAGE Publications.

Barreiro, Sylvia, Deborah Lima, Gabriel Romano and Luis Stolovich. 2004. *La mapa del poder económico en los medios de comunicatión en Uruguay*. |The Map of Economic Power in the Communications Media of Uruguay|. Montevideo: AMARC-ALC y REDES – Amigos de la Tierra.

Barriada FM. 2005. *Semi-guided interview with radio collective on Barriada FM and community radio*. Montevideo: recording and transcription, 25 June.

Belibi Mengueme, Mireille Simone. 1998. *Les radios communautaires et leurs publiques : CIBL face à l'indifference de l'auditoire d'origine africaine*. Diss. Université du Québec à Montréal.

Bouissa Alfredo and Eduardo Curuchet and Oscar Orcajo. 1998. *Las otras radios: entre la legitimidad y la legalidad*. |The Other Radios: In-between Legitimacy and Legality|. Montevideo: Editorial Nordan. (Out-of-print, excerpts online: <http://www.lateja.org.uy/elpuente/epotrasradios.html>).

Burns, Louise. 2006. *Semi-guided interview on CKUT and community radio.* Montréal: recording and transcription, 22 March.

Canada, Justice Canada. 1982. Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Online : http://lois.justice.gc.ca/en/charter/index.html

Canada, Canadian Radio-Telecommunications Commission (1986) Radio Regulations. Online : http://www.crtc.gc.ca/eng/LEGAL/Radioreg.htm

Canada, Canadian Radio-Telecommunications Commission. 1991. Broadcasting Act. Ottawa: Government of Canada http://www.crtc.gc.ca/eng/LEGAL/BROAD.HTM
Canada, Canadian Radio-Telecommunications Commission (2000) Campus-community radio policy. Public Notice CRTC 2000-12. Online : http://www.crtc.gc.ca/archive/eng/Notices/2000/PB2000-12.htm

Canada, Canadian Radio-Telecommunications Commission (2000) Community radio policy. Public Notice CRTC 2000-13. Online : http://www.crtc.gc.ca/archive/eng/Notices/2000/PB2000-13.htm

Canada, Canadian Radio-Telecommunications Commission (2003) Broadcasting Decision CRTC 2003-413. *New, low-power community television station in Québec.* Online : http://www.crtc.gc.ca/archive/ENG/Decisions/2003/db2003-413.htm

Canada, Heritage Canada. 2005. Our Cultural Sovereignty : The Second Century of Canadian Broadcasting.

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation – Radio Canada. 2005. *What is a Public Space?.* Annual Report 2004-2005. Online: http://cbc.radio-canada.ca/annualreports/2004-2005/index.shtml

Caporicci-Orovitch, David. 2006. *Semi-guided interview on CJLO and community radio.* Montréal: recording and transcription, 26 January.

Caseras, Carlos. 2005. *Semi-guided interview on Comcosur and community radio.* Montevideo: recording and transcription, 19 May.

Cloutier, Jean. 1973. *La communication audio-scripto-visuelle a l'heure des self-media : ou l'ere d'emerec.* Montréal : Presses de l'Université du Montréal.

Cloutier, Jean. 2001. *Petit traité de communication. EMEREC à l'heure des Technologies Numériques.* Montréal: Les éditions Carte Blanche.

Collectif Radios Libres Populaires. 1978. *Les radios libres.* Paris: F. Maspero.

Conill, Jesús and Vincent Gonzálvez, Eds. 2004. *Ética de los medios: Una apuesta por la ciudadanía audiovisual*. [Media Ethics: A Wager on Audiovisual Citizenship]. Barcelona: Gedisa Editorial.

Curuchet, Eduardo, Mariella Girola and Oscar Orcajo, 2006. *Radio comunitaria o ruido comunitario?*. [Community Radio or Community Noise?]. Montevideo: Tres Monos Comunicación.

Dagnino, Evelina. 2005. *Meanings of Citizenship in Latin America*. IDS Working Paper 258. Brighton: Institute for Development Studies, November.

Dagron, Alfonso Gumucio. 2001. *Making Waves: Stories of Participatory Communication for Social Change*. New York: Rockefeller Foundation.

De los Santos, Mauricio. 2005. *Semi-guided interview on Radiomundoreal and community radio*. Montevideo: recording and transcription, 15 June.

D'Entrèves, Maurizio Passerin. 1994. *The Political Philosophy of Hannah Arendt*. NewYork : Routledge.

Doré, Geneviève. 2006. *Semi-guided interview on CIBL and community radio*. Montréal: recording and transcription, 7 February.

Downing, John. 1996. *Internationalizing Media Theory: Transition, Power, Culture*. London: SAGE Publications.

Dubois, Frédéric. 2005. *Médias Autonomes et Internet : À L'Origine d'une Contre-Publicité?*. Diss. Université du Québec à Montréal.

ECOS. 2005. *Radios Comunitarias, Voces del Pueblo*. [Community Radio, Voices of the People]. Montevideo.

El Puente. 2005. *Semi-guided interview with radio collective on El Puente and community radio*. Montevideo: recording and transcription, 29 July.

Emisora de la Villa. 2005. *Semi-guided interview with Daniel and Victoria on Emisora de la Villa and community radio*. Montevideo: recording and transcription, 1 July.

Espika FM. 2005. *Semi-guided interview with radio collective on Espika FM and community radio*. Santa Lucia (Uruguay): recording and transcription, 7 July.
Fairchild, Charles. 2001. *Community Radio and Public Culture – Being an Examination of*

Media Access and Equity in the Nations of North America. Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press, Inc.

Filion, Michel. 1994. *Radiodiffusion et Société Distincte*. Québec: Éditions du Méridian.

Fonseca, Elena. 2005. *Semi-guided interview on Cotidiano Mujer, community radio and Uruguayan social movements*. Montevideo: recording and transcription, 13 May.

Friends of Canadian Broadcasting / Canadian Press 2004. *10 M. CBC Budget Cut Permanent..* Online: http://www.friends.ca/News/Friends_News/archives/articles11080404.asp 6 November.

Geerts, Andrés and Victor van Oeyen. 2001. *La radio popular frente al nuevo siglo: estudio de vigencia e incidencia.* [Popular Radio in the 21st Century: A Study in Vigilance and Incidence]. Quito: ALER.

Geerts, Andrés, Victor van Ooyen, and Claudia Villamayor. 2003. *La radio popular y comunitaria frente al nuevo siglo: la practica inspira.* [Popular Radio and the 21st Century: Inspiring Practice]. Quito: ALER.

Gingras, Anne-Marie. 1999. *Médias et Démocratie : Le Grand Malentendu.* St-Foy: Presses de l'Université du Québec.

Girard, Bruce. 1992. *A Passion for Radio. Montréal*: Black Rose Books.

Gómez, Gustavo. 2005. *Semi-guided interview on World Summit on the Information Society and community radio in Uruguay*. Montevideo: recording and transcription, 12 May.

Howley, Kevin. 2005. *Community Media : People, Places and Communication Technologies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

ID21. 2006. Moderated email discussion: Community Radio for development, ID21. Online: http://www.id21.org/communityradio/index.html February.
Kabeer, Naila, ed. 2005. *Inclusive Citizenship: Meanings and Expressions*. New York: Zed Books.

Kaestner, Melissa. 2006. *Semi-guided interview on NCRA and community radio*. Ottawa: recording and transcription, 10 February.

Kaltenback, Josée. 1992. *Radiodiffusion et démocratisation de l'espace public : le cas des radios communautaires au Canada.* Diss. Université du Québec à Montréal.
Kapetanakis, Evan. 2006. *Semi-guided interview on CINQ and community radio*. Montréal: recording and transcription, 2 February.

Kaplún, Mario. 1985. *El comunicador popular*. Quito: CIESPAL.

Kaplún, Gabriel. 2005. *Semi-guided interview on communications regulation in Uruguay*. Montevideo: recording and transcription, 1 August.

King, Gretchen. 2002. *100 Years of Radio: Exploring the Foundations of the Listener-Sponsorship Model as a Tool for Public Communication*. Diss. Syracuse University.

La Esquina. 2005. *Semi-guided interview with radio collective on La Esquina and community radio*. Montevideo: recording and transcription, 30 July.

La Voz. 2005. *Semi-guided interview with radio collective on La Voz FM and community radio*. Montevideo: recording and transcription, 2 July.

Lamas, Ernesto and Ximena Tordini. 2000. *La Tribu : Comunicación Alternativa*. [The Tribe: Alternative Communication]. Buenos Aires: Ediciones La Tribu.

Lewis, Peter M. and Jerry Booth. 1990. *The Invisible Medium: Public, Commercial and Community Radio*. Washington, D.C: Howard University Press.

Martín-Barbero, Jesús. 2004. *Oficio de Cartógrafo: Travesías de la comunicación en la cultura*. [The Profession of Cartographer: Crossings of Communication and Culture]. Buenos Aires: Fondo de la Cultura Económica.

Mastrini, Guillermo and Martín Becerra.. 2006. *Periodistas y Magnates. Estructura y Concentración de las Industrias Culturales en América Latina*. [Journalists and Magnets. Structure and Concentration of Culture Industries in Latin America]. Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros.

McChesney, Robert. 2004. *The Problem of the Media: U.S. Communication Politics in the 21ˢᵗ Century*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Monk, Lisa. 1997. *Beyond Polarity : Campus-Community Radio and New Relations of Power in Radio Broadcasting Policy in Canada*. Diss. Concordia University.

Müller, Markus. 2006. *Who Owns the Internet? Ownership as a Legal Basis for American Control of the Internet*. Fordham Intellectual Property, Media & Entertainment Law Journal, Vol. 15, Book 2, Forthcoming Online : http://ssrn.com/abstract=605104

Myamu-Musembi, Celestine. 2005. "Towards an actor-oriented perspective on human rights." *Inclusive Citizenship: Meanings and Expressions*. New York: Zed Books.

NCRC 2006. National Campus-Community Radio Conference 2006. Question and Answer Session with Mike Amodeo and Caroline Côté of CRTC.

Paquin, Serge. 2006. *Semi-guided interview on ARC and community radio*. Ottawa: recording and transcription, 10 February.

Paré, Magalie. 2006. *Semi-guided interview on ARCQ and community radio*. Montréal: recording and transcription, 8 February.

Perez, Mario. 2005. *Semi-guided interview on La Angostura and community radio*. Montevideo: recording and transcription, 16 June.

Proulx, Gilles. 1979. *L'aventure de la radio au Québec*. Montréal: Les Éditions La Presse, LTÉE.

Proulx, Gilles. 1973. *Pour une radio reformée*. Montréal: Éditions du Jour.

Rabinovitch, David. 2005. *Semi-guided interview on Radio Timbó and community radio*. Montevideo: recording and transcription, 10 May.

Raboy, Marc. 1983. *Libérer la communication - medias et mouvements sociaux au Quebec : 1960-1980*. Montreal : Nouvelle optique.

Raboy, Marc. 1990. *Missed Opportunities: The Story of Canada's Broadcasting Policy*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Raboy, Marc. 2000. *Les médias québécois : presse, radio, télévision, inforoute*. Boucherville, Québec : G. Morin.

Radio Centre-Ville. 2005. *Manuel d'accueil à Radio Centre-Ville*. Montréal: Radio Centre-Ville Inc.

Radio Contonía. 2005. *Semi-guided interview with Héctor and Omar on Radio Contonía and community radio*. Montevideo: recording and transcription, 22 June.

Radio del Prado. 2005. *Semi-guided interview with Carlos on Radio del Prado and community radio*. Montevideo: recording and transcription, 17 June.

Radio FEUU. 2005. *Semi-guided interview with Juan Pablo on Radio FEUU and community radio*. Montevideo: recording and transcription, 14 June.

Robillard Laveaux, Olivier. 2006. *La marge sort de la marge.* Voir Magazine, 9 February.

Robledo, Marcos. 1998. *Esas Radios Raras.* [These Strange Radios]. Diss. Universidad Católica del Uruguay.

Rodriguez, Clemencia. 2001. *Fissures in the Mediascape: an international study of citizens' media.* Cresskill, New Jersey : Hampton Press.

Rosen, Jay. 1996. *Getting the Connections Right: Public Journalism and the Troubles in the Press.* New York: Twentieth Century Press.

Saint-Onge, Guillaume. 2006. *Semi-guided interview on CISM and community radio.* Montréal: recording and transcription, 25 February.

Saljoughi, Sara. 2006. *Semi-guided interview on CKUT and community radio.* Montréal: recording and transcription. 22 March.

Schulman, Mark.1985. *Neighbourhood Radio as Community Communication.* Diss. The Union Graduate School, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Senecal, Michel. 1983. *Pratique alternative en communication audio-visuelle au Québec : essai de reflexion théorique.* Diss. Université du Québec.

Senecal, Michel. 1995. *L'espace médiatique. Les communications à l'épreuve de la démocratie.* Montréal: Éditions Liber.

Smythe, Dallas. 1981 *Dependency Road: Communications, Capitalism, Consciousness, and Canada.* Norwood, New Jersey: ABLEX.

Smythe, Dallas. 1994. *Counterclockwise: Perspectives on Communication.* Ed. Thomas Guback. Boulder : Westview Press.

Soley, Lawrence C. and John S. Nichols. 1987. *Clandestine Radio Broadcasting: A Story of Recolutionary and Counterrevolutionary Electronic Communication.* New York: Praeger.

Stevenson, John Harris, Tristis Ward, and Melissa Kaestner. (2004). *NCRA/ANREC History.* Ottawa: NCRA/ANREC.

Stevenson, John Harris. 2006. *Community Radio Support in Other Jurisdictions.* Ottawa: NCRA/ANREC.

Summerfield, Patti. 2006. *Bell Globemedia gobbles up CHUM*. Media in Canada, 12 July. On-line: http://www.mediaincanada.com/articles/mic/20060712/chum.html?word=bell

Summerfield, Patti. 2006. *CHUM to save almost $15 million through restructuring; nearly 300 lose jobs.* Media in Canada, 13 July. On-line: http://www.mediaincanada.com/articles/mic/20060713/chum.html?word=bell

Testimonios. 2005. *Semi-guided interview with collective.* Montevideo: recording and transcription, 26 July.

Université Laval. Centre d'études sur les médias. 2006. "Concentration des médias." Online: http://www.cem.ulaval.ca/concentration.html *Accessed regularly from January 2005 to present. Last update June 2006.*

Urribarrí, Raisa. 1999. *El Uso de Internet y La Teoría de la Comunicación.* [Internet Usage and Communications Theory]. Mistica. Online: http://www.comunicacionymedios.com/Reflexion/teorias/internet.htm

Worthen, Ben. 2006. "Who owns the Internet? We have a map that shows you." CIO Magazine. 17 March.. Online: http://blogs.cio.com/node/209.

UNESCO. 2003. Division for Freedom of Expression, Democracy and Peace – Communication and Information Sector. Ed. Dr. Gloria Cecilia Sánchez. Legislation on community radio broadcasting: Comparative study of the legislation of 13 countries. Online: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001309/130970e.pdf

Université Laval, Centre d'études sur les médias. 2006. *Concentration des médias.* Online: http://www.cem.ulaval.ca/concentration.html

Uruguay, URSEC. 2003. Decreto 113/003, Reglamento de Administración y Control del Espectro Radioeléctrico, 25 March 2003. http://aa.chasque.net/aa/slice.php3?slice_id=c1d61026161fced1ec8034c6933a49df&encap=false&x=410

Uruguay, Poder Ejecutivo. 2001. Ley # 17.296, Creacion URSEC, funciones y competencias. 23 February 2001. http://aa.chasque.net/aa/slice.php3?slice_id=c1d61026161fced1ec8034c6933a49df&encap=false&x=414

Yáñez Uribe, Leonel and María Angélica Rodríguez Llona. 2001. *Radios Comunitarias y de Mínima Cobertura: Diagnóstico Estado de Situación de las Radios Comunitarias Chilenas.*

[Community Radios and Radios of Minimal Coverage: Diagnostic of the State of Chilean Community Radio]. Santiago : ECO, Educación y Comunicationes.

Yánez Uribe, Leonel. 2005. *Radio comunitaria, territorio y cultura: aproximación a la comprensión actual del fenómeno*. [Community Radio, Territory and Culture: Approximation of the Actual Comprehension of This Phenomena]. Universidad de Chile, Instituto de la comunicacón e imagen, Centro de estudios de la comunicación. Online: http://www.comunicacion.uchile.cl/yanez2005.html.

Ziccardi, Alicia, ed. 2002. *Pobreza, Desigualidad Social y Ciudadanía : Los límites de de las políticas sociales en América Latina*. [Social and Citizenship Inequality: The Limits of Social Politics in Latin America]. Buenos Aires: CLASCO.

Ley para Garantizar la Libertad de Expresión a través de los Medios Comunitarios por Radiodifusión. [Law to Guarantee the Freedom of Expression by Means of Community Broadcast Media]. This project of law has been ultimately developed through public consultation. It is available online: http://legislaciones.amarc.org/Pagina_uruguayPROY.htm