

## **An Internet Radio from Turkey as an Example of Community Radio: Nor Radyo**

### *Türkiye’de Topluluk Medyasına Örnek Olarak Bir İnternet Radyosu: Nor Radyo*

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#### **ABSTRACT**

*In this article study, community media and community radios, as different kinds of alternative media will be examined under a theoretical framework. Then Nor Radyo, an internet radio which is an example of the community radios from Turkey will be taken into consideration as the field study. Nor Radyo will be examined within the context of the rhizomatic approach and community radios, over the example of Nor Radyo, will be measured as to whether or not they voice the sound of the counter publicity. For the field study, in-depth interviews were made by Nor Radyo programme-makers; and content and critical discourse analysis was applied in relation with the Nor Radyo programmes.*

#### **Key Words**

*Community Media, Community Radio, Counter Publicity, Nor Radyo*

#### **ÖZET**

*Bu makale çalışmasında bir alternatif medya çeşidi olan topluluk medyası ve topluluk radyoları teorik çerçeve kapsamında irdelenecektir. Daha sonrasında ise saha araştırması olarak Türkiye’den topluluk radyolarına örnek olarak bir internet radyosu olan Nor Radyo ele alınacaktır. Nor Radyo rizomatik yaklaşım bağlamında incelenecek ve Nor Radyo özelinde topluluk radyolarının karşıt kamusallığın sesini dile getirip getirmediği ölçülecektir. Saha araştırması için Nor Radyo programcıları ile derinlemesine görüşme yapılmış; Nor Radyo programlarına ise içerik ve eleştirel söylem analizi uygulanmıştır.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *Topluluk Medyası, Topluluk Radyosu, Karşıt Kamusalılık, Nor Radyo*

## **Introduction**

Increasing commercialization of the media environment during the globalisation process which is being lived since the 1970's until today caused radical voices to be excluded from the dominant public sphere. The mainstream media has become the voice of the dominant discourses than ever before. And the social sectors whose voices cannot be heard are represented only over the interpretative schedules of the dominant classes. Consequently, in the mainstream media labourers, peasants, homosexuals, women, anti-war people, ecologists and ethnical and minority groups are usually alienated and marginalised.

However, the influence of globalisation has been bidirectional. When on the one hand, world has been commercialised than ever before, on the other hand, globalisation has created its own opponents. Thus in every part of the world, social sectors that are excluded by globalisation increased quantitatively. These social masses created a counter publicity in time and in this world-wide counter publicity the alter-globalisation movement or in other words globalisation from below started.

Downing (2001), who establishes relationality among these new types of social movements and the alternative media, states that '70's has been a period of transition in between broad historical currents and it also established a barrier. The students' movement, academic freedom and civil rights movement, ecologist, homosexual and feminist movements extended the borders of the bourgeois public sphere. The new social movements which are continuations of 1968, by using every kind of communication tools, did not limit politics with the seizure of the political power in the narrow sense of the word, but aimed transformation of daily life.

The social movements, especially in the '70's and '80's, by appropriating their own alternative communication tools, assumed representation of an alternative discourse *vis a vis* the media and the dominant discourses. The alternative media and

the new social movements have a dialectical relationship. Among the characteristics of the alternative media, it can be stated that it is anti-hierarchical, it is non-commercial, it is organised in favour of the interests of the society, it takes its decisions collectively and direct democracy is prevailing etc. These features overlap with the organisational philosophy of the new social movements. (Downing, 2001, p.29)

### **An Alternative Type of Media: The Community Media**

Traber (1985, p. 3), in his article titled as “Alternative Journalism, Alternative Media”, states that alternative media has two faces as the advocacy media and the grassroot media. The advocacy media contains news issues and alternative social actors different than the mainstream media. And the grassroot media is formed by the direct participation and by self-journalism of the ordinary people. Rather the products which the smaller communities publish can be included in this group. Consequently the community media is a subgroup which enters within the content of the alternative media.

The concept of community refers to presence of close and concrete human ties, to a collective identity and to the concept of “a big family”. (Tönnies, 1963; Morris and Morton, 1998, pp. 12-13) And the constitutive concepts of a collective identity or the group relations are the geography, the ethnicity and the commonality of interest. (Leunissen, 1986, pp. 57-82’s study as stated in Carpentier, Lie and Servaes, 2001, p.4) On the other hand, the studies made about the influence of information and communication technologies over the daily life showed that, the communities can be formed not only in geographically defined spaces; but like the user groups, also in the cyber space. (Jones, 1995, pp. 10-35) And the commonalities of interest can be formed at the scale of the cities which grow and unite, at the scale of nations and continents. And among the members of the community there are the feelings of

belonging and sharing together with direct and frequent contacts. (Lewis, 1993, p. 13)  
 A community is constructed by its members actively and from this construction an identity is derived. Thus appears a community of identity. (Carpentier, Lie and Servaes, 2001, p. 5) In the community media studies, community is used as a group of people who share common interests and/or live in a certain geographical area. (Milan, 2009, p. 608) The marriage of the concepts like the local public sphere and the community laid down the foundations of a new term. This term is “community communication” which refers to the community structure within a certain geographical tie or to a community independent from the space. (Hollander, 2002, p. 31-46)

**Table 1: Defining the Community**

<i>Community as close and concrete human ties, as “commonality”, as collective identity in identifying group relations.</i>		
<b><u>Traditional</u></b>	<b><u>Re conceptualisation 1</u></b> Defining geographical with non-geographical	<b><u>Re conceptualisation 2</u></b> Defining structural/material with cultural
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Geography</li> <li>● Ethnicity</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● community of interest</li> <li>● virtual or online community</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● interpretive community</li> <li>● community of meaning</li> </ul>

**Source:** Nico Carpentier, Rico Lie and Jan Servaes, “Community Media – Muting the Democratic Media Discourse?”, **The International Social Theory Consortium Second Annual Conference**, Brighton, 5-8 July 2001, p.5.

The studies of the community media first were born out of the efforts to “democratize” the media. In 1976, UNESCO established a commission in order to examine the questions of international communication, especially the inequality of information flow among the first and the third world countries. The Latin American academics who were influential over the debates argued that the underdevelopment of the south (the third world) was partly stemming from the unequal information

exchange coming from the north. The aim of the UNESCO debate was to establish a “New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO)”. The McBride Report which was the result of the debate recommended south to south communication should be developed and more democratic national politics, including an ethics law about the mass media, should be implemented. Hence the terms of “access”, “participation” and “self-governance” appeared as democratic media indicators within this context. When the United States of America, in 1984, withdrew its membership and finance from the UNESCO communication movement, the debates were interrupted. (Rennie, 2006, p. 17)

It might be told that the community media is the media which is used by a society or people who have common ideas, common characteristics, interests or ownership. (Possi, 2003, p. 167-169) The community media is the kind of media which ensures media plurality, freedom to speech, diversity of content, and representation of distinct groups and interests of the society; which encourages public and gender balanced access, support for cultural diversity, self governance and media literacy, open dialogue at the local level and transparency and which voice the sound of the voiceless and which becomes the voice of the people. (Milan, 2009, p. 600) The community media is used for mobilization, for sensitization and for education for holistic development. The community media is small-scaled and it is non-profit seeking, it is open or accountable to the community which it serves, essentially it is run by volunteers, it is open to the participation of the community members in terms of programme-making and governance, it enables participation and access in terms of integrating the non-professional media producers into the work, and it contributes to the social change.

Community media can serve communities of interest, geographical communities and cultural communities. The key role of the community media is to green tolerance and pluralism in the society. Community media provides public

broadcasting service and presents accessibility for all. On the other hand, it serves to reproduction and representation of the common, shared interests. In this sense, the community media presents a tool of empowerment for the marginalized communities. Under the framework of all these features, the community media constitutes a separate subgroup within the media sector. (European Parliament, 2007, p. 3)

This subgroup is an alternative to the established processes and conditions of media production; it is free from the intervention of the state, market actors and multilateral institutions; it is produced by the local communities in their own languages, about issues which they assume significance with regard to their own needs, and for their own consumption. Thus it is also an alternative to the dominant media as to the content. (Saeed, 2009, p. 470) The community media presents news and information appropriate for the needs of the community members, it integrates its members in the public debates and it contributes to their empowerment in social and political aspects. In general, the ownership and control of the community media is shared by the local residents, local administrations and community based organisations. The content is considered and produced at the local level. (Jankowski, 2003, p. 8) The community media establishes counterbalances against concentration of media power in the hands of a few numbers of people and against the homogenisation of the cultural content. Community broadcasts present alternatives for endogenous development. It makes programmes over the basis of specific needs such as health, education, employment, gender, peace and environment. Community media uses the language (languages) of the community members. It accepts the positive, moral and cultural values of the community to which it serves. The community media is expected not to broadcast sexist or biased programmes against the handicapped and the minority groups. The community media may be an important tool for the disadvantages members of the community to become active

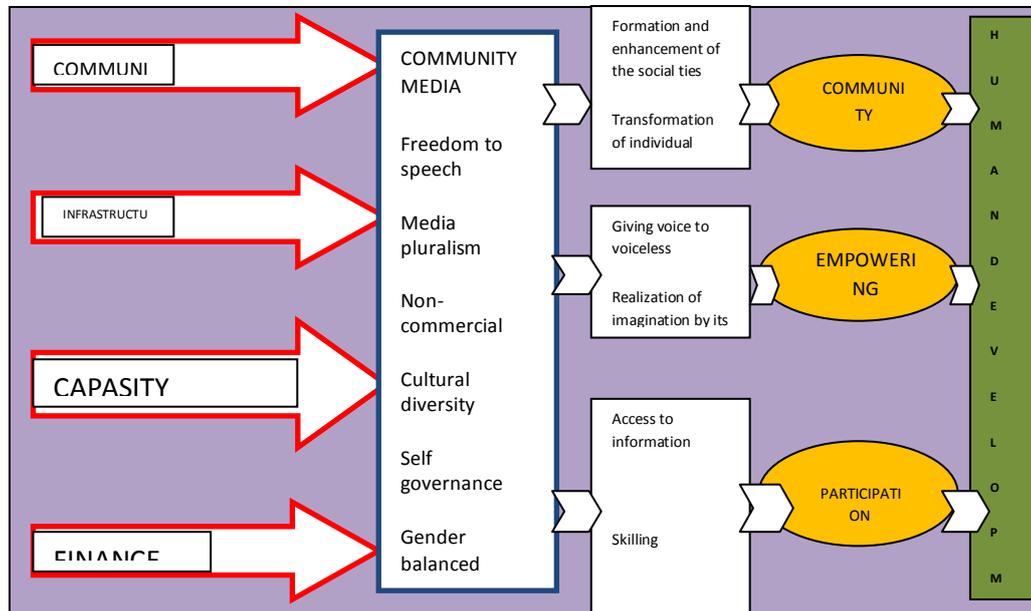
participants of the society and to participate in debates that are important for them. The sector in general also has been an educational basis for its volunteers to become future media professionals. (European Parliament, 2007, p. 23) And distribution of the content may be by cable television infrastructure or by electronic networks like the Internet. (Jankowski, 2003, p.8) Funding of the community media is not essentially commercial though it may include total budget company sponsorship, advertisements with limited numbers and kind, and by governmental subsidies.(Jankowski, 2003, p.8) In some examples, both due to editorial preferences and as they do not constitute an attractive target for the advertisers, they do not broadcast advertisements. However lacking of stable financing resources, like subsidies that are governed by the state, endangers their existence. (Milan, 2009, p. 600) And in some cases some of them are against receiving advertisements and state support on ideological or pragmatic basis. In administrative terms, they have a broadcasting board or boards or administrators. In other words, community media is people's media made by the people for the people. These are services which influence the public opinion, create consensus and enhance democracy.

NWICO advocates point out the Bolivarian miners' radio which appeared at the end of the 1940's as the first example of the democratic community media. This first appearance in fact was a protest movement in a tin mine.(Rennie, 2006, p.18) While the community media developed in 1950's in the North America, in the West Europe it appeared in the 1960's and 1970's. (European Parliament, 2008, p.9) According to the community radio operation definition which is accepted by the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters European Branch (AMARC-Europe), community media is called as the popular radio, educative radio, miner's radio or peasant radio in Latin America. While in Africa references are made to local rural radio or bush radio, in Europe in general it is called as the union radio, free radio, neighbourhood radio or the community radio. While the Asian talks about

radio for development, in Australia it is called the Aborigine radio, public radio and community radio. (Servaes, 1999, p. 259)

Community media is seen as a natural part of the contemporary democracies in general and it is considered as a field of variety and values to which market and state cannot reach. Community radio has been created by the belief that civil society is in need of communication platforms. Thus community media and civil society are interdependent in this sense. Especially the pirate broadcasts which do not have commercial characteristics caused the community media to appear. As it is observed in the European context, community broadcasting, in many examples, was established as a result of the continuous pressures coming from the community groups rather than directives inspired by the state. The community media can present alternatives to the communication agenda which is established by the dominant social-political or even cultural order by contributing to the political emancipation and democratization processes and by creating change in life conditions of the poor, marginalised, deprived or oppressed communities. The community media makes contributions to the social and cultural dimensions of development by presenting channels for development, for social and political empowerment and for realization of citizen's rights. (Milan, 2009, p. 601)

Figure 1: Connection in Between the Community Media and Human Development



Source: Stefania Milan, “Four Steps to Community Media as a Development Tool”, *Development in Practice*, Volume: 19, Numbers: 4-5 (June 2009), p. 601.

### The Rhizomatic Approach about Community Media

Carpentier and et. al. (2001), classified their theoretical approach about community media into four categories. These are:

- Community media in terms of serving a community,
- Community media as an alternative to the mainstream media,
- Community media as part of the civil society and
- Community media as rhizome.

**Table 2: Four Theoretical Approaches about Community Media**

	<b>Media-centred</b>	<b>Society-centred</b>
<b>Autonomous identity of CM (Essentialist)</b>	<u>Approach I:</u> Serving the community	<u>Approach III:</u> <u>Part of the civil society</u>
<b>CM identity in relation with the other identities (relationalist)</b>	<u>Approach II:</u> Alternative against the mainstream	<u>Approach IV:</u> Rhizome

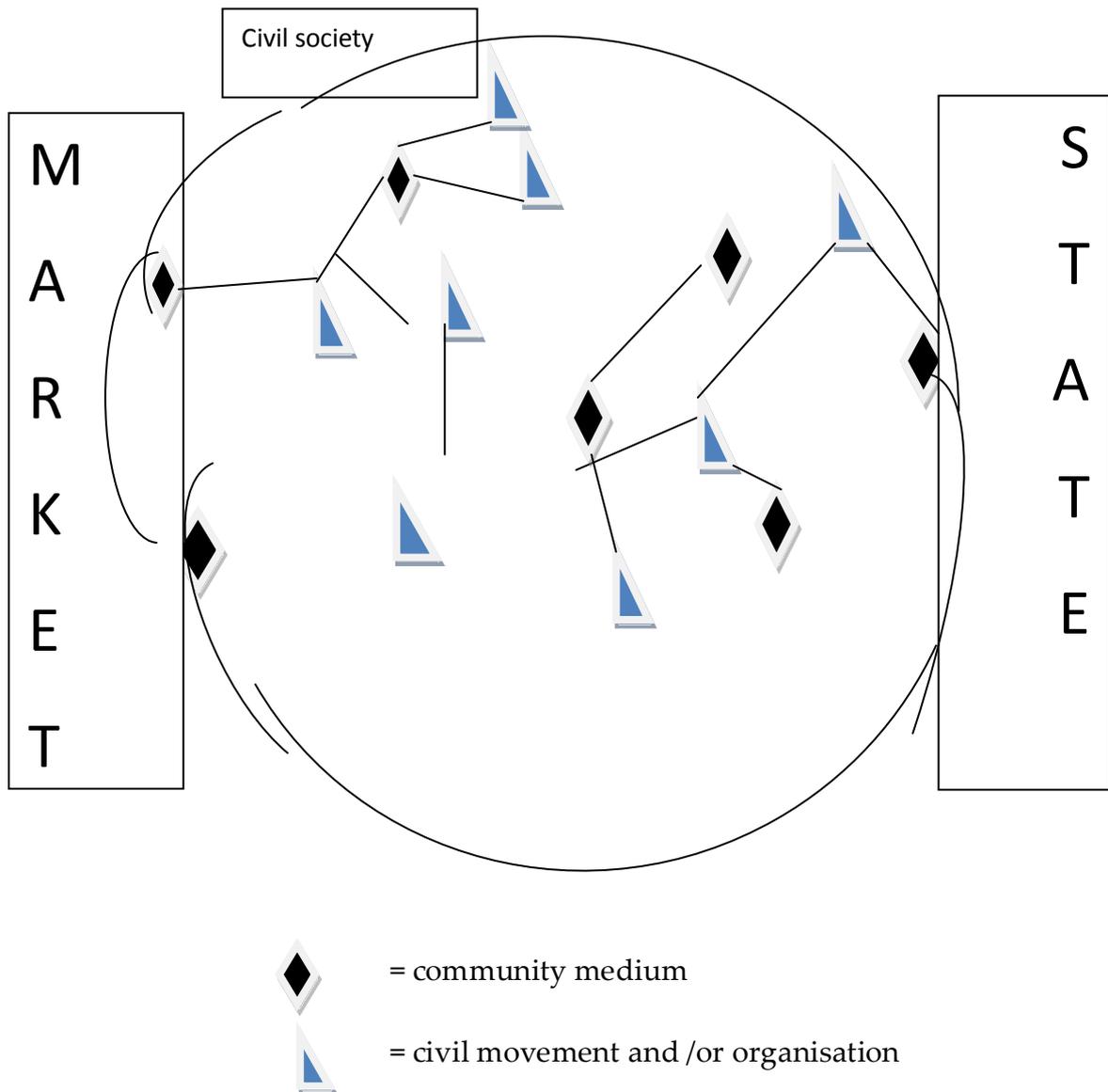
**Source:** Nico Carpentier, Rico Lie and Jan Servaes, “Community Media – Muting the Democratic Media Discourse?”, **The International Social Theory Consortium Second Annual Conference**, Brighton, 5-8 July 2001, p.3.

This research is founded over the rhizomatic approach among these four approaches. In the rhizomatic approach, the civil society approach is been radicalized by taking the rhizome theory of Deleuze and Guattari (1987) as its basis and it is been connected by the community media, as the alternative media relationalist approach. The rhizome metaphor is based on conjoining the rhizomatic and dendritical ideas. The dendritical is linear, hierarchical and sedentary. According to Deleuze and Guattari, this is the philosophy of the state. On the other hand, rhizomatic is non-linear, anarchic and nomadic. Different than the trees and their roots, rhizome connects any one point to any one point. (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) This metaphor highlights the role that the community media plays as a crossroad of civil society connected organisations and movements. Rhizome, constantly establishes connections in between semiotic chains, power organisations and conditions which are relative in terms of artistic, scientific and social struggles. In case of the community media, these connections are not only relevant for the constitutive role which the community media plays and can play in the civil society. At the same time, it is relevant for the connections which the community media can establish with the layers of state and market without losing its proper identities. In this sense community media does not operate totally out of the market and/or the state. Thus as

different from the approach where it is fictionalised as the alternative of the mainstream, its hostile relation against the market and the state is softened. Community media establishes distinct types of relations with the market and/or state usually in order to continue its existence. (Carpentier and et. al., 2001, p.12) This fourth approach rather highlights the significance given to civil society and in connection with this to democracy. Contrary with the third approach, the main emphasis when defining the significance of the community media, is not made over the role they play as part of the public sphere but over the catalyst role they may play, by being functionalized as a crossroad where people from distinct types of movements and struggles, like people who are members of distinct women, peasant, student's movement and/or anti-racist movement can meet and cooperate. In this way the community media does not only function as a tool where a group of people involved with only a certain issue can express their voices, but at the same time it can play a catalyst function by redefining non-partisanship and neutrality and by grouping people and organisations that are active in distinct types of equality struggles. (Carpentier and et.al., 2001, p. 13) Mouffe (1997, p. 18), at this point, emphasises that connection should be established among distinct democratic struggles like anti-racism, anti-sexism and anti-capitalism in a manner to enable a common articulation. Also, community media as rhizome approach enables highlighting the fluidity and indeterminacy of the community media organisations, in contradiction with the rigid forms where the mainstream public and commercial media function. This volatility makes the community media more difficult to be taken under control and to be imprisoned by the laws, and consequently ensure their independence. (Carpentier and et al., 2001, p. 13) The community media as rhizome approach enables a rather combative relationship to replace the hostile relationship among the community media and the mainstream media. In other words, it pre-assumes that the "other" is not seen anymore as an enemy to be destroyed but as an

“opponent”, thus as someone who we can struggle with his/her ideas but who we shall never discuss his/her right to defend such ideas. (Mouffe, 1999, p. 755)

Figure 2: Civil Society and Community Media as Rhizome



Democratic Media Discourse?", **The International Social Theory Consortium Second Annual Conference**, Brighton, 5-8 July 2001, p.13.

## **The Subject Matter, Methodology and Hypothesis of the Research**

For the field research of this article study, Nor Radyo is selected as an example of the community media and within the context of the rhizomatic approach; it is evaluated in terms of the community media characteristics. In the first stage, it is tried to be proved within the rhizomatic approach that Nor Radyo is a community media practice example, and in the second stage, it is tried to be proved whether or not the community media expresses the voice of the counter publicity. During this study the methods of literature survey, in-depth interview, and content and critical discourse analysis were used. The in-depth interviews are constituted by the interviews made by the Nor Radyo managers and programme-makers. And for the Nor Radyo programmes a mixed method is selected. In quantitative terms content analysis and in qualitative terms critical discourse analysis were applied.

And the hypotheses of the research are constituted by the following:

**Hypothesis 1:** Nor Radyo is a community media within the context of the rhizomatic approach.

**Hypothesis 2:** Community media expresses the voice of the counter publicity.

## **The Universe and Sample of the Research**

The universe of the research is constituted by 36 volunteers working in Nor Radyo. And the sample of the research is constituted by 11 people who are randomly selected by taking accessibility into consideration. The interviewers are constituted by Nor Radyo General Broadcasting Manager, members of the Broadcasting Board, the technically responsible person and the program makers. The interviewers are coded as the following: G1, Y1, Y2, P1, P2, P3, P4(a), P4(b), P5, P6, P7 and P8.

In the in-depth interviews the questions that were addressed to the interviewers are grouped into two categories. These are institutional identity and programme-maker definition.

On the other hand, four programmes which were broadcasted in between the dates of 20-26 February 2012 were included into the content of the research. These four programmes were grouped into three categories as the mother tongue, gender/LGBT individuals and ecology. While these four were selected among the programmes which were broadcasted during a week, one mother tongue programme was selected as it overlapped with 21<sup>st</sup> February World Mother Language Day. In order to show the attitude of distinct ethnicities about language and culture, and in order to determine how much it attributes significance to difference, Adyghean and Chechen programme analysis were made on the World Mother Language Day. Hence whether the radio takes place within the framework of counter publicity or not and the attitude of the radio in this field will be determined. And the other three programmes are within the categories of LGBT/ Gender and ecology. The aim of selecting these programmes is to measure whether or not Nor Radyo has efforts in order to give visibility to such issues which the political power and the mainstream media ignores. The programmes are coded as M1, M2, M3 and M4. Seven categories are determined for the program analysis. These are:

- Evaluation of the Information from the Exclusive /Inclusive Angle,
- Evaluation from the Angle of Critical Approach Against the Dominant Discourse (Opponent Discourse /Pro-Power Discourse),
- Evaluation in Terms of Giving Visibility to What is Ignored in the Mainstream Media,
- Evaluation from the Angle of Dissidence Against the Political Power,

- Evaluation in terms of the Critique of the Official Ideology,
- Evaluation in terms of Implicit Meaning/Express Meaning and
- Evaluation of the Programme in terms of Interaction.

### **The Institutional Identity of Nor Radyo**

Nor Radyo which started its broadcasting history on 17<sup>th</sup> January 2009 in Hrant Dink's memorial with the title of "Forgetting is Losing" which Nor Zartonk organised in the Tobacco Depot during the broadcasting period February 2012-June 2012 made broadcasts in 9 languages, namely in Turkish, Armenian, Greek, Lazuri, Hamshenian, Chechen, Adyghean, Kurdish and Zazaki. The radio is in air for 24 hours. Together with Nor Radyo, Hrant Dink's dream about a radio in the Armenian language was in a sense realized.

The meaning of the name Nor Radyo is "New Radio" in Armenian. Nor Radyo is an Internet radio project where all people can freely express themselves and share their cultures. "Nor Radyo is the voice of multiculturalism and living all together. In this context it stands against every kind of racial, ethnical and sexual discrimination in favour of peace, freedom, equality and brotherhood/sisterhood".(www.norradyo.com) This little manifesto shows us that Nor Radyo has the above defined community radio characteristics. And in a similar way, as it is mentioned in Nor Radyo's programme-maker's manual, the radio programme-makers are prohibited to defend nationalism, sexual discrimination and (including skin colour discrimination) racism. These criteria also show us that Nor Radyo has the community radio characteristics.

Nor Radyo has a broadcasting board constituted by three people. In general, this board is changed in every four months. And the decisions are taken in the monthly meetings where the programme-makers also participate. This type which is horizontal in

terms of the organisational structure and organisation is overlapping with the community media in the context of the rhizomatic approach.

Nor Radyo gave place to the workers, animal rights, women movement, LGBT individuals, gender, green movements, and to Armenian, Greek, Circassian, Chechen, Kurdish, Zazaki, Hamshenian and Lazuki people in the programmes it broadcasted until today. Thus Nor Radyo is overlapping with the community media content criteria with the above defined content.

In the rhizomatic approach, the emphasis is made on the catalyst role they can play as crossroads where people from distinct types of movements and struggles, like the people who are members of distinct women, peasant, student movements and/or anti-racist movement can meet and cooperate. Nor Radyo is just a practical indicator of this theoretical situation. Nor Radyo broadcasters are individuals who are within distinct civil movements and struggles and they somehow met and entered into cooperation in Nor Radyo. Y1 is from the Hadig Initiative which was formed after the death of Hrant Dink, Y2 is a member of Nor Zartonk, P1 is an individual in the women's movement and, P2 is in the ecology movement, P3 in Palestinian movement, P4(a) in Circassian movement, and P5 in Lazuki movement. And their passage to Nor Radyo was over their acquaintance in these civil movements. P1, P2, P5 and P6 passed from being a part of the audience to being radio programme-makers. However while the passages of all its broadcasters to Nor Radyo were over a certain acquaintance (close circle) P6 came just from the audience. And this is also a typical characteristic of the community media. The community members to whom the community media serves can participate in the broadcasts actively.

Nor Radyo's doors are open to everyone along with its broadcasting principles. And some programme-makers passed from being an audience to being

programme-makers. And this shows us that Nor Radyo is overlapping with the principles of “access” and “participation”.

While some of the Nor Radyo programme-makers make their broadcasts from the Nor Radyo room in the Armenian Culture and Solidarity Association, some make it from their houses. On the other hand, there are programme-makers who make broadcast from Diyarbakır, İzmir, İzmit, Ankara, France and Germany. And within the content of the rhizomatic approach this characteristic of Nor Radyo overlaps with the “deterritorial” characteristic of the community media.

Funding of Nor Radyo is met in general by Nor Zartonk (New Awakening) which is a democratic civil society organisation. However in recent times the radio tries to constitute its own budget through the activities (like the audience meetings and solidarity concerts) it organises. Nor Radyo absolutely does not think of receiving advertisements, however along the principles of the radio, sponsorship agreements are welcomed. However the radio did not sign any sponsorship agreement until today. These characteristics also overlap with the above mentioned structural characteristics of the community media.

Serving a certain community and to be in close dialogue with the community it serves are among the typical characteristics of the community media. When Nor Radyo is examined, it is seen that its audience is constituted generally from the close circle and some of its audience became programme-makers later. And this again shows us that Nor Radyo has another characteristic of the community media.

Nor Radyo, sometimes becomes news in the alternative and mainstream media. While the rhizomatic approach argues that the community radio should be in a non-hostile but a combative relationship with the mainstream media, it also defends that community radio may sometimes go in cooperation with the

mainstream media. News about Nor Radyo in the mainstream media is an indicator of this cooperation.

Nor Radyo programme-makers establish communication over MSN, Skype, Twitter, Facebook and E-Mail with their audience. And it makes its promotion again over these outlets and the press. Nor Radyo is open to “access” and “participation” which are typical characteristics of the community media.

There are sometimes interruptions in the broadcasting flow of Nor Radyo and some programmes cannot be broadcasted. Thus as they depend on the volunteering principle, lack of regular broadcasting flows are among the typical characteristics of the community radios.

Within the content of the research, the troubles they experienced were asked to the Nor Radyo programme-makers. The troubles which the Nor Radyo programme-makers live can be grouped as the following:

- Difficulty in finding programme-makers in the mother tongue,
- Difficulties in promotion,
- Troubles in coordination due to the radio organisation’s volunteering basis,
- Technical problems such as the frequent broadcasting interruptions,
- Troubles stemming from miscommunication,
- Low level of the audience.

When we look at all of these troubles we can say that these are among the typical characteristics of the community radios. Community radios do not make professional broadcasting, they do not have regular broadcasting flows and they serve not to broad masses but to a certain community.

Under the light of this entire information, it might be told that Hypothesis 1 is verified. Thus when the above listed characteristics are taken into consideration, within the rhizomatic approach Nor Radyo is a community media.

### **Nor Radyo's Definition of a Programme-maker and Counter Publicity**

In this section it will be measured over Nor Radyo's definition of a programme-maker, whether or not Nor Radyo is expressing the voice of the counter publicity.

TRT (Turkish Radio and Television) started its Armenian language broadcasts after the Nor Radyo, on 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2009. While the Armenians in Turkey talk with the Western Armenian language, TRT makes its broadcasts in Eastern Armenian language. The research participant general broadcasting manager, members of the broadcasting board and programme-makers of Nor Radyo which makes multi-cultured and multi-language broadcasts were asked their views about the multi-language broadcasts of TRT. G1, Y1, Y2, P1 and P5 had a totally negative approach about the multi-language broadcasts of TRT and criticised the state policies. G1 while stating that multi-language broadcasting requires being an alternative, Y1 qualified the multi-language broadcasts of TRT with the word "lip service" by giving the example that TRT is broadcasting in Eastern Armenian while the Armenian community in Turkey talks Western Armenian. Y2 criticised TRT's multi-language broadcasts by emphasising that it imposes the state ideology. P1 criticised the policies of the state on the mother tongue and used the word "non sincere". And P5 criticised TRT's multi-language broadcasts in terms of the content and stated that TRT's multi-language broadcasts do not in depth contain the views of the parties about the issue taken into consideration. G1, Y1, Y2, P1 and P5 constituted a counter publicity with their discourses criticising the state policies and practices. And P2, P3 and P4 stated that TRT's multi-language broadcasts are first of all a step

and an advance in terms of democracy but continued their words by saying but... P2, by showing BBC which makes public service broadcasting in England as an example argued that TRT needs to be autonomous. P3 criticised TRT's multi-language broadcasts by saying that it transmits the state ideology and P4 emphasised that the content and policy of the broadcasting is deficient. Even though P2, P3 and P4 stated that TRT's multi-language broadcasts are an advance and a step, again they constituted a counter publicity by developing a counter discourse criticising the state policies and practices.

Within the rhizomatic context the community media is in a non hostile but in a competitive relationship with the mainstream media and may start a connection with the mainstream media when needed. Within the content of the research, their perspectives were asked to the Nor Radyo programme-makers about the mainstream media. All of the interviewers were critical about the mainstream media. While G1 was emphasising that mainstream media is the voice of the political power and the powerful; Y2 stated that the mainstream media is pro-government and expresses the official thesis. P1 described the mainstream media with the words of racist, chauvinist and sexist. While P3 and P4(a) were emphasising that the mainstream media in Turkey is moving towards monophony, stressed that the mainstream media is nationalist and chauvinist. Under the light of all these information it may be told that Nor Radyo broadcasters create a counter publicity against the dominant discourse of the mainstream media.

After first explaining the "community media" concept and the community media legislation and practices in the European Union countries to the participating Nor Radyo broadcasters they were asked whether or not they would like such practices to be present in Turkey. According to the outcome, all of the interviewers stated positive views about the community media practices in the European Union but they stated their hesitations in the example of Turkey. P1 and P4(a) were totally

positive about the issue. G1, Y1, Y2, P3 and P5 stated their concerns that in the case in Turkey would the state gave such a support to the community media, together with state intervention may come too. P2 thought it was not very probable to have such practices in Turkey in the short run. The outcome shows the distrust of the interviewers about the State of the Turkish Republic and the state policies. For Turkey which is in the process of affiliation with the European, importing the legal legislation about community media to Turkey does not seem believable; and there is a prejudice that even though it might be imported, together with it state intervention may also come. In this context the interviewers create a counter publicity in terms of a critical perspective about the state policies.

Within the content of the research, their demands about both for broadcasting and for the civil movements they are representing were asked to the Nor Radyo programme-makers. Expectations and demands of the interviewers from the state may be listed as the following:

- Existence of freedom to speech and opinion,
- Positive discrimination,
- Closed schools to be reopened,
- Education system to be changed,
- The history books to be rewritten,
- Abolition of the (nationalist) daily morning motto in the schools,
- The churches that are disappearing in Anatolia to be taken under protection,
- The Turkey-Armenia border to be opened,
- Right to education in the mother tongue,

- Legal recognition of the Cem-houses (sanctuaries of the Alevi people),
- Hydro Electrical Energy Central constructions to be stopped,
- No nuclear energy centrals to be constructed,
- Abolition of the ban over the political activities in the universities,
- Abolition of the ban over the scarf in the universities,
- Right to broadcast in the mother tongue,
- All ethnical and minority groups that are living in Anatolia to be taken under legal security.

When the above listed outcomes are looked at, except one of them (abolition of the ban over the scarf) the others are critical against the current state policies. The interviewers are criticising the current system and have demands. And this is an indicator that Nor Radyo broadcasters constitute a counter publicity. Hypothesis 2 as to “Community media expresses the voice of the counter publicity” is verified by the in-depth interviews. When the results that come out of the in-depth interviews are looked at, in terms of the views about TRT’s multi language broadcasts, the views about the mainstream media, the views about the import of the legal legislation and practice about the community media in the European Union to Turkey and in terms of the demands, the interviewers developed a counter publicity against the dominant discourse that is constituted by the mainstream media, state and the political power.

## Content and Critical Discourse Analysis About the Nor Radyo Programmes

**Table 3: Breakdown of the Nor Radyo Programmes**

Programme Code	Programme Name	Date of broadcast	Time of broadcast	Duration	Band/Live	Guest
M1	Voice of the Narts	21.02.2012	21:00-22:00	01:00:48	Live	None
M2	Nude Voices	22.2.2012	20:00-21:00	01:13:23	Live	Yes
M3	Gin u Gyank	21.02.2012	20:00-21:00	37:35	Live	Yes
M4	Ecotopia	24.02.2012	15:00-16:00	01:09:26	Live	Yes

In the M1 coded programme to which content and critical discourse analysis is applied, P4(a) and P4(b) developed a critical discourse against the policies of UNESCO. They had an opposing attitude about UNESCO's position to state Circassian as a language and not to include Chechen into its content. And they show that they do not limit the political power or the dominant discourse only within the framework of the country's borders and they also oppose in general to the dominant discourse in the world, to the dominant discourse constituted by the neo liberal paradigm and their impositions, over such criticism they have against the UNESCO. On the other hand, P4(b) made self-criticism about the Chechen which P4(b) is also a member of and developed an opponent discourse. And this shows that they are not only opponent against an outer group but also against an inner group when needed. On the other hand, P4(b) and P4(a) point out how hegemony is established in the field of language. They followed a critical attitude around this hegemonic approach in the world and the paradigm of this hegemony. They qualified the use of English which belongs to 4% of the world nations by 65% of the world population as a movement to establish hegemony and they developed a discourse against this hegemony. In another section, P4(b), criticised the Turkization ideology which is the

official ideology of the republican policies and the fact of creating a uniform nation within this unitary state and developed a discourse against the official ideology.

Consequently, the programme coded M1, in terms of an evaluation of the information within the context of the perspective, by developing an opponent discourse in terms of critical attitude against the dominant discourse, by making what the mainstream media ignores visible and by developing an opponent discourse against the political power and criticising the official ideology created a counter publicity.

And the guests who were selected in the programme coded M2, in one sense show the perspective of the programme-maker. While in a program about the LGBT individuals the programme-maker could give the floor to a family defending heterosexuality, this was not the case. As heterosexuality is the dominant discourse, instead of that, it explains the LGBT individuals over the process of transformation of the families which were grown up by the heterosexual consciousness. And this is important for the problems of the families with LGBT individuals live, for communication they have with their children and for such transformation processes to be understood. Thus the guests and the selection of the guests of the programme also give the perspective about that programme. In this sense, it is seen that Nor Radyo selects people who are against the dominant discourse and have an opponent standing and create a counter publicity.

And in the programme coded as M3, while P1 is telling what is experienced in Gerze (a small Black Sea town where a thermic central planned to be built), used words such as intervention, resistance, and struggle and reclaiming one's own life. Activism of P1, who is also an activist, is reflected on the language used and words selected. P1 is developing not a pro-power but an opponent discourse. The actions organised by the people of Gerze against the thermic central is called by K as a

struggle for life. Also the words used by K like the words struggle, resistance, capitalist collaborators are striking. The opponent discourse also in the language used by K who is too an activist and the words selected attract attention. K is referring both to the political power and to the Anadolu Group which is an investor capital group which applies anti-environmentalist projects in this field, by saying “capitalist collaborators”. In our age where we live in a capitalist order, K is developing a discourse against the dominant paradigms and creates a counter publicity. And in another example, P1 criticises the attitude of the government about the thermic centrals, HEC’s and nuclear centrals by saying “the energy policies run by the state”. In one sense the government is blamed by joining the massacre against the nature and it is implied that it is in collaboration with the firms that will build these centrals. On the other hand, by stating that the state exposes violence by the security forces against those who resist against the central constructions and this is done in order to support the central constructing firms, an opponent discourse is developed against the political power.

And in the programme coded M4, in the entire discourses of P8 and K, by stating that, the projects that are named as the “Urban Transformation” that are applied in the world and in our country, on the one hand destroys the natural, historical texture of the city and its cultural values and spoil the ecological balances, and on the other hand these projects are in general rent projects of globalisation which displace the citizens with low income levels from their life areas, the dominant discourse called as the “urban transformation” which is tried to be shown like beautiful by the central and local administrations are opposed. While an opponent discourse is being developed against the dominant discourse called as the “Urban Transformation”, previous policies of Özal and Dalan were criticised. On the other hand, by showing Zaha Hadid, Sulukule, Tarlabası, Fener Balat and Süleymaniye projects as examples, these projects are stated to displace the poor citizens. Another

opponent discourse which takes place in the dialogues is on the consumption culture. P8 and K criticised the consumption culture which is a reality of today's post-modern society. Another point is the criticisms that are expressed about the destruction of the public sphere under the name of urban transformation. At this point P8 and K state that the public sphere which is indispensable for democracy is being destroyed under the name of "Urban Transformation". On the other hand, that the guest selected for the programme was an opponent, and that the urban transformation issue was taken into consideration by talking about both the historical process and the developments both in Turkey and in the world, caused the fact to be explained with all of its aspects. In the mainstream media the news about the urban transformation took place as the new enacted laws and developments. But Nor Radyo approached to urban transformation with critical eyes and made the invisible face of the fact visible. The news about the urban transformation in the mainstream media took place as "TOKİ gave houses to Sulukule people, they move to beautiful houses". In Nor Radyo in the programme coded as M4, the issue was debated by stating that the culture of this people was destroyed, by examining the issues they are victimized and experience difficult conditions, and by creating a counter publicity. The most important characteristic of the public sphere is that negotiability of the distinct opinions to become visible. Thus Nor Radyo by making the invisible of the mainstream media visible, by causing the invisible, non-criticised dimensions of this fact to appear in this counter publicity, causes the issue to be negotiated in a different manner in the public opinion over contradiction. K, in all of the discourses which take place in the thesis study of K, developed an opponent discourse against the attitude of the central and local political power - which, despite the earthquake fact which was experienced and to be experienced in this country (in general and in Istanbul in particular) do not apply projects that must be implemented by central and local administrations (like it happened in Japan and in similar developed countries in

order to minimize our losses after the earthquake) but instead highlight projects named as urban transformation (which destroy the natural and historical texture of the city and its cultural values, spoil the ecological balances and displace the citizens from their living areas along with the global policies.)

Both the results obtained from the in-depth interviews, and the analysis of the critical discourse that is applied to programmes coded as M1, M2, M3 and M4, show that Nor Radyo broadcasters create counter publicity in terms of a critical approach against the dominant discourse and in terms of giving visibility to what is ignored in the mainstream media and in terms of opposition and in terms of criticising the official ideology against the political power. And this verifies Hypothesis 2.

### **Conclusion and Evaluation**

The community media by playing a significant role in the construction of democracy and citizenship, in the social struggles and in raising awareness represents a vital input in the development processes. However in spite of this vital input, the community media still confronts with troubles which are due to the restrictions caused by the national media laws. Turkey too is a country where such troubles about the community media are experienced. It is not possible to say that the environment of freedom which is experienced in Western Europe in terms of the community media is prevailing in Turkey. The Radio Television Supreme Board Code makes the definition of the local radio/media under the name of the “private radio and television broadcasting”, and does not legally recognise the identity of the community radio or community media. Thus it is expected from the radios which try to make broadcasting as community radio/media to obey the same conditions with the commercial radio/televisions in issues such as broadcasting permissions and licenses.

Nor Radyo is an example from Turkey for a community media practice and it expresses the voice of the counter publicity. The research verified that the community media is the voice of counter publicity over the special example of Nor Radyo. There is need for the counter publicity to express its voice for a more democratic society. Spheres must be opened to identities which are oppressed and alienated in the society by the dominant discourse. Community media has such a function. And in terms of a more democratic media environment and for media pluralism, the community media which makes small-scaled, alternative public service broadcasting independent both from the commercial interests and from the state must be supported in our country. Thus Nor Radyo model where multi-cultured and multi-language broadcasting is run must be encouraged in our country for the development of democracy.

On the other hand, in the forthcoming studies, Nor Radyo might be compared with examples from abroad or research might be done over the Nor Radyo audience about reception.

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