The Radical Pedagogy of Community Radio and the Case of Radio al-Balad 92.4 FM: Community Radio News Audiences and Political Change in Jordan

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Dedication

To community radio warriors worldwide.

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Abstract (Français / English)

La radio communautaire demeure une forme médiatique peu étudiée dans la région arabe, et ce malgré un intérêt récent vis-à-vis de l'étude des communications pour le changement social. Parce que les théories des médias communautaires restent largement développées dans les contextes occidentaux, les voix et les expériences des auditoires des médias communautaires dans des contextes non occidentaux restent souvent inconnues. Cette thèse contribue à l'étude des médias communautaires en documentant l'impact politique de la radio communautaire et l'imputabilité de cette pratique, en se basant sur les expériences des producteurs, productrices et auditeurs, auditrices de nouvelles d'actualité des radios communautaires. Elle aborde plus spécifiquement le cas de Radio al-Balad 92,4 FM, la première et seule station de radio communautaire à Amman en Jordanie. Basée sur un modèle de recherche qualitative, collaborative, et engagée, l'étude repose sur des données recueillies auprès de soixante-sept participants, en utilisant une approche mixte qui inclut notamment la mise en récit (*storytelling*). En conclusion, l'étude positionne la radio communautaire comme une forme de mouvement social ancré dans l'histoire politique des médias communautaires populaires (*grassroots*), les inégalités qui façonnent la régulation et la pratique de la radiodiffusion FM en Jordanie et finalement, une approche de pédagogie radicale concernant la gouvernance des radios communautaires, la programmation des nouvelles d'actualité et les pratiques d'engagement des audiences à Radio Al-Balad.

Community radio remains an understudied form of media in the Arab region despite new interest in studying social change communications. Because theories of community media remain largely developed in Western contexts, the voices and experiences of community media audiences in non-Western contexts are rarely heard. This dissertation contributes to community media studies by documenting the political impact of community radio and the accountability of the practice itself based on the experiences of community radio news producers and listeners of Radio al-Balad 92.4 FM, the first and only community radio station broadcasting in Amman, Jordan. Based on a research design that is qualitative, collaborative, and engaged, this study draws on data collected from sixty-seven study participants using a mixed-method approach that includes storytelling. The findings position community radio as a form of social movement media based on the grassroots political communication history of community broadcasting, the inequalities shaping the local FM broadcasting regulations and practices in Jordan, and the radical pedagogical approach of community radio governance, news programming, and audience engagement practices at Radio al-Balad.

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This dissertation project first took form in the fall of 2010 when I submitted a research proposal to Professor Steve Jordan who supervised my independent study of his qualitative research methods course. During this same semester, my first as a doctoral student, I attended the AMARC 10 conference in La Plata, Argentina, and shortly after, the streets erupted in popular uprisings across the West Asia and North Africa (WANA) region. My second year at McGill began with a six month long labour strike by support staff that was replaced by a six month long student strike across the province of Quebec. The plethora of social movement events of this decade and the radical roots of community radio inspire this research.

Throughout this time, my scholarly pursuits in classes with Professors Darin Barney, Marc Raboy, Arne Hintz, Marcos Ancelovici, and my supervisor Professor Becky Lentz have all shaped this project. Further, the comprehensive exam I prepared with Professors Lentz and Jenny Burman and the dissertation proposal I defended with Professors Lentz, Barney, and Gabriella Coleman generated new insights. I am also grateful to media scholars Georgette Wang, Marwan Kraidy, John Downing, Annabelle Sreberny, Michael Meadows, and Antonio La Pastina for their advice and time.

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CHAPTER 1 - Occupy the Media

> *Something that we cannot deny is that Radio al-Balad is at the forefront of political and social education in Amman. The station's programming covers issues that touch the silent majority of Jordan, which is more than 75% of Jordan. We are able to break the wall of silence and fears* (Listeners' Club Member 7, 2013).

Chatting with a senior audience researcher during our interview and guided tour of a global audience research corporation's facilities in Amman, Jordan, he shared with me, "I don't trust the media or politics" (Senior Researcher, 2013). When I asked why he holds such a negative view of the media and politics he added, "If you look at the roots of media ownership in Jordan, you will laugh a lot" (Senior Researcher, 2013). We had just toured a two-floor maze of offices filled with workers responsible for surveying audiences as well as analyzing and archiving all of the media broadcasted in Jordan, Iraq, and Palestine. He offered his views of the media in Jordan because I am interested in the relationship between media and political change and I was in his office to understand how he studies the impact of Jordan's broadcast media on audiences. In addition to storing a massive archive of broadcast data on dozens of servers, his company is in the business of mining and selling audience data to media and advertising industries as intelligence that helps them increase profits for the region's multimillion-dollar media economy (Ipsos Jordan, 2010). At the end of our tour, my source concluded, "I think the best thing to occupy *is* the media" (Senior Researcher, 2013).

My informant was referring to the media monopoly held by the ruling elite in Jordan. A quick glance at the FM dial in Jordan reveals ninety-nine percent of the radio stations are owned by the state including government agencies like the state broadcaster, Jordan Radio and Television (JRTV), as well as other stations run by the military and the police or business associates of the King. In this all too common context privately owned and state-run media

uphold social peace and reinforce national identity to maintain political power and high economic profits. This audience research specialist working in Jordan gave me an insider's view of the Jordanian media industry's desire for money, influence, and power while insisting that occupying the media is key to transforming the political sphere in Jordan.

Conducting research about Jordan's first community radio station often led to conversations like this one, about the role of media in changing local politics. For over fifteen years in my academic studies and my work as a practitioner within community media organizations, I have been reflecting on the role and impact of independent, community-owned communication institutions and infrastructure in supporting social movements. Before beginning my doctoral studies, I travelled to Jordan in late 2009 to visit family in the Middle East. During this trip, I had the opportunity to tour and interview news producers at Jordan's first community radio station, Radio al-Balad 92.4 FM. Two features stood out about the station's programming and structure. Radio al-Balad was founded as a local news station, which contrasts with many community stations in the United States and Canada that typically offer music or cultural programs and often struggle to maintain news departments (King, Albinati, Khoo, Moores, & Tunsistra-Harris, forthcoming). Additionally, the station has a Listeners' Club that is active in station programming and works within the community to address political and social problems. These practices are the complete opposite of the corporate and state-run media institutions in Jordan that focus on regional or international news (Pintak, 2007). Most radio stations on the FM dial do not engage audiences within their governance structures or news production practices. This uniqueness among media institutions in Jordan is what made Radio al-Balad an inspiring example of community media to study how local news produced by and for the community can be used to influence political change.

While the practices of community media institutions are determined by local realities including regulatory, legal, and economic environments (Coyer, 2011), community radio stations worldwide generally have similar missions to serve the community. Some community radio stations, like Radio al-Balad, maintain a board of directors alongside a mix of paid staff and volunteers who operate the station, making the organization a "media institution" (Downing, 2000) as well as a non-profit organization (Coyer, 2011). In addition, the programming and production practices of community radio stations are often mandated to serve needs of listeners with some stations specifically serving groups underrepresented or marginalized by state and commercial media institutions. Radio al-Balad members attending the global congress of the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (known by its French acronym AMARC for the Association mondiale des radiodiffuseurs communautaires) held in Amman in 2006 defined community radio as "community owned and controlled, giving access to voices in the community and encouraging diversity, creativity and participation" (Aqrabawi, Zaidah, & Kuttab, 2006, p. 2). By contrast, the founding statutes of AMARC, an organization with four-thousand members in over one hundred and thirty countries, offers an international perspective on the definition of community radio, which is defined in section 1.3 as: "a non-profit radio broadcaster who, in accordance with the fundamental principles of AMARC, offers a service to the community in which it is located or which it serves, while promoting community expression and participation" (AMARC, 2003).

AMARC's statute builds upon its principles declaring community radio broadcasters support "the expression of different social, political and cultural movements" and advance "peace, friendship among peoples" (AMARC, n.d.). In comparison to these practitioner-oriented definitions of community radio broadcasting, Canada's regulatory commission, which has

recognized community media as a third pillar of the broadcasting system since 1991 (Government of Canada, 1991), defines community radio differently in Public Notice CRTC 2000-13 as:

> A community radio station is owned and controlled by a not-for-profit organization, the structure of which provides 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 (CRTC, 2000).

The definitions by practitioners and regulators reveal different approaches to the practice of community radio. Even so, while the above definitions suggest community radio fosters community participation, the mission of community radio is distinguished differently. Both the regulatory perspective of Canada's CRTC and the definition of community radio offered by Radio al-Balad station members emphasize diversity, while AMARC specifies supporting social movements. Indeed, the practice of community radio varies worldwide, as Buckley, the former president of AMARC, acknowledges:

> There is no single definition of community broadcasting, and there are almost as many models as there are stations. Each ... is a hybrid, a unique communication process shaped by its environment and the distinct culture, history, and reality of the community it serves (Buckley, Duer, Mendel, & Siochru, 2008, p. 207).

Members of Radio al-Balad similarly recognize that local experiences shape the practice of community radio in Jordan, observing:

> While [community radio in Jordan] constitutes a realm for the expression of diverse collectives, social groups and their discourses, and their intervention in civic life, it is

> restricted by a non-democratic political system, conservative practices of politicians and a tribal social system (Aqrabawi et al., 2006, p. 2).

Identifying the influence of local political and social structures on community radio practices in Jordan, Radio al-Balad members elaborate that community radio seeks to exercise democracy ("Community Radio in Jordan," 2009) and weaken the government's monopoly over local media (Aqrabawi et al., 2006, p. 5). Studies of community radio must account for how local practices and different definitions of community radio are shaped by specific contexts.

Worldwide, community radio stations are unique in their charters in that they are guided by participatory values in their work towards democratizing local media and political landscapes (AMARC, 2003). Scholars of community media who study community radio stations recognize these institutions produce media as a tool for education, inspiring audiences to become political actors who contest power and injustice (Couldry & Curran, 2003; Milan, 2008; Rodriguez, 2001). In Jordan, AmmanNet.net was launched in 2000 to produce independent local news for Internet distribution. Before receiving its FM licence in 2005, Radio al-Balad's audio reports appeared on the radio dial in Amman. This was because content uploaded to the station's website, AmmanNet.net, was aired by nearby radio stations in Palestine whose signal could be heard in Amman. Station founder Daoud Kuttab recalls: "What we were doing was new and slightly dangerous in the Arab world [because] we were kind of doing something illegal but in a legal way" (Aqrabawi et al., 2006, p. 15; Pintak, 2007, p. 2). Effectively the station had no choice but to take this kind of illegal but legal action. When the organization was founded in 2000, Jordan's FM dial was limited to state-run broadcasters. The only way to get on the FM dial without risk from the authorities was to air content over signals that crossed the border between Palestine and Jordan. After applying for a radio licence in 2005, AmmanNet began broadcasting

on the FM dial reaching listeners throughout the greater Amman area (reaching over two-million people). By 2008, the station had re-branded itself as Radio al-Balad 92.4 FM. The station's new name and logo identifies the station as for the people and the country as illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Radio al-Balad's logo and slogan --"Voice of the people and country."

After a decade of work organizing the first community radio station in Jordan, AmmanNet/Radio al-Balad marked its tenth anniversary in 2010. Yet, a blind spot is evident within community media and global media scholarship regarding the phenomena of community radio in the Arab region of the Middle East. Academic interest in the influence of Arab media has flourished in recent decades, as demonstrated in various works (Dajani, 2012, 2013; Eickelman & Anderson, 2003; El-Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003; Hafez, 2008; Hafez & Paletz, 2001; Kraidy, 2009, 2011; Kraidy & Khalil, 2010; Lynch, 2005; Sakr, 2001, 2002, 2007; Zweiri & Murphy, 2012). This English language scholarship largely concerns the policies of Arab states towards mass media and the growing public sphere, including the influences of state and commercially produced Arabic media and its audiences on internal and external power structures and political cultures. These scholars have yet to study Arab community media institutions, like Radio al-Balad.

Academic scholarship on Arab media is broadening to include views of some kinds of alternative media practices. Most notably Hirschkind (2006) and Miller (2007) documented the

use of cassette tapes as a popular form of Do-It-Yourself (or DIY) media in Egypt and Yemen. Khalil (2013) has written about youth-generated media in Lebanon and Saudi Arabia, and Norman (2010) has described the role of alternative media outlets in Palestine during the second intifada. These works are scattered and do not address the gap in scholarship focusing on Arab community media institutions, like community radio stations.

Today, community radio remains an understudied form of media in the Arab region despite new interest in studying social change communications. Since the recent eruption of street protests in the West Asia and North Africa (WANA) region, media activism and the use of communication technology to support social movements has become a popular topic in scholarship on the Arab media sphere. Headlines proclaimed the 2011 political changes in Tunisia and Egypt as "Twitter" or "Facebook" revolutions (BBC, 2015; Estes, 2011). Yet a more grounded analysis recognizes the limitations of Internet availability, which is a necessary precondition for the use of social media (Hindman, 2008; Lentz, 2011).

In addition, online media activism in the WANA region is vulnerable to governments who regularly block websites, slow down Internet traffic, and disrupt cell phone transmissions as means to repress political dissent and organizing (Selim, 2011; Sreberny, 2011). One example of the silencing of online media activism took place during the first days of the massive street protests in Egypt in January 2011, when the regime took measures to impose an Internet shutdown that effectively purged the country off the world's digital map (Al Jazeera English, 2011; Richtel, 2011). In Jordan, the control over the Internet maintained by authorities is similarly overt. On June 2, 2013, nearly three hundred independent news websites were shut down by the government. Some journalists attributed the shutdown to the Jordanian government wanting to remove online content circulating about protests against violence waged by security

forces raging at the time in the south of the country. Others pointed to the blocking of hundreds of websites as a pre-emptive strategy taken by Jordanian authorities to avoid potential unrest due to a looming hike in electricity fees mandated by the International Monetary Fund (Kuttab, 2013). At the top of the government's shutdown list was AmmanNet.net. Hundreds of independent news websites were effectively blocked until they registered with the government, which included hiring a member of the Jordan Press Association as editor. Yet, Radio al-Balad continued broadcasting over the FM dial while mirrors were set up to work around the shutdown and bring the station's website AmmanNet.net back online. While the authorities in Jordan and Egypt acted quickly suppress online activism, radio stations, like Radio al-Balad, broadcasting via the electromagnetic spectrum were not as easily silenced.

Because of repressive methods engaged by authorities like the ones just described, media activists worldwide rely on a diversity of tactics for mobilization. Face-to-face communication (Dajani, 2012) and grassroots media, such as community radio, are important tactics to consider when investigating how media support struggles for social and political change. By overemphasising the role of Facebook and Twitter, scholarship on social media and the Arab uprisings neglects the larger environment of media practices for social change. Community-owned communication technology, even when shutdown or confiscated by the government, remains affordable and accessible. Further, radio broadcasting can be easily resurrected, as was the experience of many of the clandestine, exile, liberation, and revolutionary radio stations (Soley, 1982). These qualities make radio an autonomous communication technology that can be operated without state authorization or despite sanctions.

In the aftermath of the uprisings of 2011, the lessons learned about the repression of online media activism sparked an increase in the opening of community radio stations (Kuttab,

2012). Throughout the region, media activists are taking to the airwaves to open stations and break the state and commercial monopoly of the airwaves. Community radio stations have sprung up online and others have captured the airwaves in Palestine, Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, the Jordan Valley, and Morocco, though often without licences. These stations are part of *Aswatona* (meaning "Our voices" online at http://aswatona.net), a new network of community radio stations in the region formed after the Arab uprisings. This network of stations, stretching from the Middle East to North Africa, is evidence of the continued relevance of community radio in the region for audiences and media activists. Research on the practices and impact of community radio in the Middle East necessarily prioritizes the scholarly study of community-owned communication infrastructure. This research focusing on community media contrasts with study of corporate controlled social media platforms; the former allows insights on uses of media by political actors beyond the limited history and reach of the Internet. Wherever governments are weak or politics are in transition, researching community media is imperative.

By *community media*, I mean non-profit, participatory media institutions, like community radio stations, that are largely volunteer-run and provide a service to a specific community of producers and audiences. Scholars have observed that community radio stations have a long history working to facilitate empowerment and social change (Dagron, 2001). Indeed, some have called community radio the "original social media" (Robinson, 2012).

Significance of This Study

Over the last decade, a plethora of literature has emerged describing the history and participatory practices of community media (H. Anderson, 2011; Atton, 2001, 2003; Carpentier, 2011; Carpentier, Lie, & Servaes, 2003; Couldry & Curran, 2003; Coyer, 2008a, 2008b, 2011; Dagron, 2001; Downing, 2000, 2003, 2006, 2008, 2010; Fairchild, 2001; Gordon, 2009; Harcup,

2005, 2011; Howley, 2005, 2010b; Huesca, 2008; Kidd, 2002, 2003; Milan, 2008, 2013; Rennie, 2006; Rodriguez, 2001; Rodríguez, Kidd, & Stein, 2009; Sussman & Estes, 2005; Wolfson, 2012). Yet, theories of community media remain inchoate (Hadl & Dongwon, 2008), leaving the impact of community media or the accountability of the practice itself understudied. Although the practice of community radio is considered to be one of the original uses of the medium (Douglas, 1986; Kidd, 1998) studies of community radio were scant until the 1980s (Hadl & Dongwon, 2008, p. 82; Lewis, 1984a, p. 21). Since then, several studies observe that community radio engages community participation (Dagron, 2001; Girard, 1992; Rodriguez, 2001; Sussman & Estes, 2005). However, only a handful of researchers have examined the impact of these practices within community radio stations (Anderson, 2011; Fairchild, 2001; Khan, 2010). Another gap concerns the audiences of community media who are understudied in audience research or studies of community radio.

Community media audiences have yet to be prioritized by academic and industry researchers who largely focus on audiences as consumers of for-profit media. Even though audience research has dominated communication studies since the field's founding (Dohle, 2008), not many scholars are concerned with the experiences of those who tune-in to community television or community radio. The tools of audience researchers may have changed over the years, but the sites of their work have largely remained homogenous in depicting audiences that are White and/or Western (Parameswaran, 2003, 2013). Even where qualitative audience research has re-located itself to non-Western research sites, scholarly attention remains largely on audiences of *private* sector media (Abu-Lughod, 1997; Kraidy, 2009; La Pastina, 2004; Murphy, 1999; Rao, 2007). Bollywood and Telenovela series are examples of a few of these types of media that have been the focus of research in non-Western contexts. Choosing not to

look beyond private media and corporate-controlled platforms leaves the voices and experiences of community media audiences in non-Western contexts largely unheard and understudied.

Indeed, alternative media scholar Downing (2003) and community radio researchers Meadows, Forde, Ewart, and Foxwell (2005, 2006, 2007) elaborate on how audiences of community media have largely gone unnoticed in media studies. Rauch (2007, 2015) has produced several studies of alternative media audiences and Orozco (2011) has gathered data among audiences of two community radio stations in the United States. Only Australia's community media sector has benefitted from large-scale data gathering facilitated by Meadows and his team of researchers studying audiences tuning-in to dozens of community radio and television stations (Meadows et al., 2007). Too few media scholars have turned to community media audiences to allow the "community" to assess how effectively it is being served by their community radio stations. Reviewing the broader state of audience research, Downing (2003) laments that studies have neglected the experiences of community media audiences. He writes:

> It is a paradox … given that alternative-media activists represent in a sense the most active segment of the so-called 'active audience'.... One would imagine that they above all would be passionately concerned with how their own media products are being received and used (Downing, 2003, pp. 625–626).

Downing acknowledges the limited resources and the day-to-day challenges that inhibit community media institutions from engaging in extensive qualitative or quantitative audience research, so his appeals are addressed to the research community. Downing declares, "[I]t is likely to be academic researchers or no one who will engage these matters" (2003, pp. 641–642). My research investigating the impact of community media institutions will amplify the voices and experiences of community radio audiences in Jordan.

Building on the impact studies of community radio facilitated by UNESCO (Berrigan, 1977, 1981), media scholars (Hearn, Tacchi, Foth, & Lennie, 2008; Lewis, 1994, 2006b; O'Sullivan & Lewis, 2006; Tacchi, Slater, & Hearn, 2003), and anthropologists (Keith, 1995), I draw on the techniques of community radio audience researchers such as Gordon's (2012) combined qualitative and quantitative approach, the cooperative research methods facilitated by Meadows et al. (2007), and Jallov's (2005) 'bare foot' impact assessment to synthesize my own innovative techniques for conducting non-commercial audience research. In the larger field of community media studies that includes the community press, community television, and various forms of community media activism, there remains an absence of qualitative research on the impact of community radio or the accountability of the practice in the Arab region. Also lacking in scholarship on community media are theories of community radio based on experiences in the Arab world. This elision of Arab community media from global media studies, community media studies, and audience research deserves greater scholarly attention given the renewed interest in the region among activists and scholars thinking about the relationship between communication technology and social change.

My research on Radio al-Balad is intended to address this gap by situating study of community radio within the Arab media landscape, asking about the role of community media more broadly, specifically purportedly *old* forms of media like community radio, in cultivating political change in Jordan. More specifically, my research focuses on non-commercial community radio institutions and their audiences to document how community radio station practices work to engage listeners as political actors. For community radio stations, producers are often part of an audience before becoming involved in station programming. Stations like Radio al-Balad provide training and air-time to ensure audiences are actively part of the

production process. The Listeners' Club mentioned earlier was established by Radio al-Balad audience members in 2006, providing a space for fellow listeners to join in autonomous collective action within the station and in the community. For stations organized in this manner, the community radio audience is not distant or unknowable (McQuail, 1997). At Radio al-Balad, listeners contribute to regular remote broadcasts from the communities the station serves, talk back programs with phone lines open for caller participation, and the Listeners' Club, which meets regularly to provide feedback to the station and engage in community campaigns and political action. Indeed, the relations between a community radio station and its audiences are not one hundred percent mediated through programming, but rather built on face-to-face relationships.

To evaluate the political impact of community radio in Jordan, I undertook a case study of the country's first community radio station to understand more about the process of political learning facilitated by the station's governance, news programming, and audience engagement practices. Drawing on personal narratives, focus groups, participant observation, and field interviews for this case study, I enriched these primary data with secondary sources to situate practices at Radio al-Balad within the larger history of community radio broadcasting and the specific social, political, and economic forces that shape FM broadcasting and regulation in Jordan. In this view, my study draws on the historical contexts that shape community radio practices in Jordan while also gathering local knowledge to inform my case study's reflection on the radical pedagogy of community radio. Within community media institutions, like Radio al-Balad, I observe the pedagogy engaged in community radio governance, news programming, and audience engagement practices seeks to engage station members and audiences as political actors. I extend the works of critical consciousness educators like Freire (1970, 1972, 1985) and

hooks (2003), radical adult education scholarship (Foley, 1999; Kapoor & Choudry, 2010; Newman, 2006; Shragge, 2013), and Downing's volumes on radical media (2000) and social movement media (2010) to define the radical pedagogy of community radio. Following Downing (2000), radical, in this context, does not reference a singular form of left politics, but rather encompasses the definition of learning conceived within radical adult education scholarship to view the transformative pedagogical practices of community radio stations that cultivate political actors and stimulate social movements. Viewing the radical pedagogy of community radio can make apparent the processes of political learning engaged in by producers and audiences of community radio stations.

Research Questions Borne from Community Radio Practice and Scholarship

As a participant in community media movements, I have directly witnessed the impact of and benefitted from the radical pedagogy of community radio. As part of the Independent Media Centre movement that began in 1999, I traveled across the United States and Canada to participate in nearly a dozen Indymedia convergences. Indymedia.org quickly became an open publishing, participatory news website for media activists around the globe at a time when many households had just started accessing the Internet at home (Downing, 2006; Kidd, 2002, 2003). Through my participation within Indymedia, I learned how to use digital editing software to edit and upload audio, build and install FM radio transmitters, and produce live programming from street protests. Moving from being a media activist with Indymedia to working in the campus-community radio sector in Canada provided insights into the challenges that regulated non-profit community media organizations face in their work to democratize local media and politics.

Working in a licenced community radio station, I collaborated with hundreds of volunteers at CKUT to build a collective, non-hierarchical structure within the community news

department. During my years on staff at CKUT, we launched GroundWire, a national news program that prioritizes coverage of social movements and employs anti-oppressive and collaborative production practices (King et al., forthcoming) and founded Canada's only fourteen-hour talk show about poverty and homelessness, called the Homelessness Radio Marathon (Mooers, 2010), broadcasting live from the streets overnight during the middle of winter and covering housing as a human right in Canada. These media projects seek to transform the media landscape and empower volunteers throughout the planning and production processes. Occasionally these programs win awards, but even more gratifying are calls from listeners offering their appreciation or requesting copies of the programming.

Then some listeners come into community radio stations like CKUT to become volunteer producers and during the process of becoming media activists, they also get involved in social movements followed by CKUT. For example, consider the case of a McGill undergraduate student studying computer science, who prior to her engagement at CKUT, had no activist experience, but after becoming a member of the community news department she began organizing with the Indigenous People's Solidarity Movement, an Indigenous rights network. These listeners find community news production practices and programming inspiring, moving many to join mobilizations in Montreal and beyond. Community radio programming is an obvious tool for politicizing listeners as well as for community news producers who seek to mobilize political change. Over the last 25 years, CKUT has effectively become a space that not only produces social change activists but also welcomes activists to produce media. In 2005, CKUT amended its news policy to affirm that community news journalism is a tool for inspiring grassroots activism (CKUT, 2013, p. 10). Where policies, volunteers, and staff can change,

remaining embedded in social movements and using radio to empower media activists is a challenge.

Part of the struggle to maintain community radio stations that welcome social movements and media activists are the internal and external challenges. First, federal regulations affect stations through licensing and other requirements set by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). Also evident are the day-to-day internal challenges of fulfilling the mandates of our station to our audiences and/or members (from the view point of community radio often these are not distinctly separate groups). And, of course, community radio stations experience daily conflicts that ensure they are moving in the right direction with the best goals in mind. Occasionally, conflict can be so disruptive that even community media institutions with many years of service can find their doors locked as was the case for CKLN, Toronto's oldest campus-community radio station (Vukets & Infantry, 2011). The knowledge I acquired as a participant in community radio and media activist movements reveals practitioner experience is a resource for scholarship designed not just to extract information about organizational practices or challenges, but also to assist community radio stations and community media scholars to critically evaluate these community-owned media institutions through the perspectives of audiences, that is, the communities community media are mandated to serve.

My insider view of community media organizations leads me to conclude that the experiences of listeners within the station and in the community are critical to sustaining stations through inevitable challenges and crises. Thus, a central theme in this research project is recognition of the political impact of community radio on audiences as listeners as well as participants within the station. The potential for conflict is inherent in community radio stations

that strive to be democratic and inclusive in their pursuits of media justice and social change (Fairchild, 2001). With this view, this study seeks to illuminate the radical pedagogy of community radio: a pedagogy that can provide valuable insights into the organization of community radio as a vibrant form of community media and the mechanisms of accountability and sustainability that should be in place for ostensibly more democratic forms of media to fulfill their mandates.

Approaching community media studies (and more specifically, community radio studies) as a scholar-activist and practitioner lends a critical eye to the theories and methods deployed in the global study of community media. Further, locating my research of community radio in the WANA region offers an opportunity to question many of the assumptions underlying the theorization of community radio that appear in English language academic studies of community media. The institutionalization of the field of communication studies in the 1950s served to solidify a number of assumptions made within communication and media research, including the universal application of Euro-American models and methods (Semati, 2004, p. 6). Indeed, the de-Westernization discussion aims to re-orient some of the questions raised by postcolonial and critical development scholars (Wang, 2013). Community media studies informed by global media scholarship benefits from postcolonial and critical development researchers who expose the limits of modernization theory and move beyond a technologistic approach to communication studies, which is currently the orientation of much of the scholarship concerning the democratizing potential of social media. Postcolonial and critical development research also emphasizes historicizing discourses, problematizing power structures, and drawing on local knowledge and the experiences of grassroots communities (King, 2012a). My investigation of

the relationship between community radio and political change in Jordan is informed by post-colonial, critical development, and de-Westernizing debates.

Reflecting on the practices of community media in the WANA region requires internationalizing interpretive paradigms and theories popular within community media research (Downing, 1996). For example, concepts like development or the public sphere in Jordan are shaped by specific sociocultural, economic, and political contexts, including historical and ongoing colonialism in the region. For these reasons, my research is necessarily informed by a critical political economy view of Jordan's media landscape (Mosco, 2009; Sreberny-Mohammadi & Mohammadi, 1994; Wasko, 2005) that documents different experiences of capitalist modernity from colonialism to neo-liberalism. To extend the views offered by a political economy approach, I prioritize local knowledge by engaging qualitative methods to inform my investigation of Radio al-Balad's governance, news production, and audience engagement practices in Jordan. This project's focus on community radio in Amman, Jordan, implements the objectives of critical political economy research as well as the goals identified within the de-Westernizing debate.

Conclusion

The near absence of English language scholarship concerning Arab community media leads to few research tools built on the experiences of community radio practitioners and audiences in the WANA region. Research on community radio audiences in the WANA region is critical to understanding the role of older forms of media in cultivating political change. My goal is to problematize community radio, offering a critical view of Radio al-Balad's governance, news production, and audience engagement practices. Documenting the experiences of Radio al-Balad audiences as political actors, my fieldwork has been guided by the following question: To

what extent does Radio al-Balad's news programming influence the political lives of its audiences? My secondary research questions investigate the institutional structures and practices to engage audience members in assessing the impact and challenges resulting from these practices. These secondary research questions include:

1. What is the structural organization regarding governance, news programming, and audience participation within Radio al-Balad? What principles guide participation at Radio al-Balad (inclusion, reciprocal collaboration, self-organization, redistribution of power, etc.)?
2. What ways do news audiences of Radio al-Balad engage and influence these structures? How are audiences of Radio al-Balad using community radio news programs for consciousness raising and education? What challenges to participation do audiences encounter within the station and in the community?

Indeed, "participatory media deserve a participatory method of assessment" (Lewis, 2006b, p. 204). Thus, my project is guided by a participatory and collaborative research methodology that includes personal narratives to ensure stakeholders articulate their own experiences. These experiences documented at Radio al-Balad are not presented in isolation but are viewed within the social, political, and economic contexts shaping the FM dial in Jordan and the global history of the development of community radio.

The chapters that follow elaborate the political impact of community radio in Jordan at three levels of analysis to understand the formation and results of Radio al-Balad's governance, news programming, and audience engagement practices. Embracing the de-Westernizing debate in communication research (Wang, 2013), Chapter 2 offers "A Brief History of Community Radio." This chapter analyzes the history of community broadcasting to highlight the disparate

roots and a common history of community radio practices. In contrast to other histories of community media (Lewis, 1984a; Milan, 2013; Rennie, 2006; Rodriguez, 2001), my timeline offers a periodization of the broader landscape of the development of community radio not previously provided. This timeline considers the complex ecology of actors, policies, and processes (Raboy & Padovani, 2010) that contributed to the development of community radio. In this re-narration, the evolution of community radio is situated in its global context of struggle to access the airwaves. The concluding section places this evolution of community radio practices in conversation with trends in community radio studies. This approach is offered as a way to identify several gaps in our knowledge of community radio that my empirical research in Jordan seeks to address.

Chapter 3 builds a theoretical and methodological framework to investigate some of the gaps identified in Chapter 2 within research on community radio. Titled "Theoretical Framework and Research Design for Valuing Community Radio Audiences" this chapter locates the qualitative and collaborative approaches I apply during my fieldwork to prioritize audience experiences in understanding the impact of community radio in Jordan. After reviewing how audiences have been theorized in media studies scholarship, I examine how the ethnographic turn in audience research along with the theorization of community media determines a new approach to address the knowledge deficit concerning community media audiences as participating and political actors within the station and in their communities. This chapter builds on interdisciplinary theoretical perspectives from social movement and third sector studies (Bayat, 2013; Fischer, 2014; Mattoni, 2012; Milan, 2013; Della Porta & Diani, 2013), radical adult education theory (Foley, 1999; Newman, 2006), and anti-oppression literature (Dominelli, 2003; Hancock & Khan, 2004) to inform an approach tailored to the practices and experiences of

community media audiences. I argue community radio is a form of social movement media that engages audiences as political actors within the station and in the community. My approach to engaged non-commercial audience research proposes storytelling and collaborative focus groups as a means to investigate the reception experiences of community radio audiences with the goal of understanding Radio al-Balad's influence on the civic awareness and political engagement of listeners. In conclusion, this chapter reviews the mixed-methodology mobilized during my fieldwork in Amman, Jordan, that reveals and problematizes how community radio programming and practices promote engagement within Radio al-Balad and in the community.

Chapter 4, titled "The Social, Political, and Economic Contexts Shaping the FM Dial in Amman" applies the framework outlined in Chapter 3 and builds on the history compiled in Chapter 2 to provide an overview of broadcasting practices on the FM dial based on seventeen station visits I conducted as part of my dissertation fieldwork in Amman. I investigate how historical, cultural, political, and economic forces have shaped practices on the FM dial and the state's regulation of media. After presenting the historical development of media regulation Jordan, including the effects of past and present manifestations of colonialism on broadcasting, I review the practices of the Amman's top FM radio broadcasters as depicted in station branding, programming, and approaches to audiences. Drawing on historical works (Massad, 2001; Hanieh, 2013) and media policy scholarship (Amin, 2001; Kraidy and Khalil, 2010; Najjar, 2001, 2008; Sakr, 2001, 2002, 2007), this chapter situates the contexts influencing broadcasting practices on the FM dial and audience reception experiences in Amman to discern how radio programming is monopolized by state power, reinforces national identity, and maintains the status quo in Jordan. This view is extended by interviews conducted with local youth and media activists concerning coverage of the Arab uprising in Jordan as well as the perspectives of radio

listeners in Amman collected through random interviews facilitated in taxicabs, a popular location for radio listening. With these data, this chapter builds a context for my case study of Radio al-Balad by distinguishing non-profit, participatory community radio news programming practices on an old (but still relevant) mass media platform that is dominated by state-run and private FM broadcasters.

Building on the historical and political economy contexts offered in Chapters 2 and 4 and applying the framework presented in Chapter 3, Chapter 5, "Case Study of Radio al-Balad: Governance, News Programming, and Listener Engagement," presents my analysis of the stories and experiences shared by Radio al-Balad news audiences and producers. Reviewing over thirty hours of data collected among Radio al-Balad listeners and staff members, including producers and managers, through interviews, personal narratives, and focus groups facilitated over ten weeks in the field during the summers of 2012 and 2013, this chapter explores the impact of Radio al-Balad on the political lives of listeners. This chapter scrutinizes the station's goal to exercise democracy in Jordan by analysing personal narratives that document how news listeners and producers evaluate the station's impact on political change. Audience storytelling reveals how Radio al-Balad listeners engage in political learning opportunities cultivated by community radio programming that not only inform new political identities, but also forge new political structures for autonomous collective action in the station and in the community. Representing the first qualitative study of community radio in the Middle East, this study documents how community radio, from the perspective of Radio al-Balad listeners and news producers, offers a transformative experience by providing a participatory platform for media and political education, broadcasting programming that raises civic awareness and providing space for

autonomous collective action through which audience members can increase their access to political power as well as opportunities for social change.

The final chapter titled “The Radical Pedagogy of Community Radio” offers my conclusions concerning the educational practices engaged at Radio al-Balad that facilitate new political learning environments building on Downing work on radical media (2000) and social movement media (2010). My reflections are inspired by Freire’s (1970, 1972, 1985) lifetime of work on education for liberation with hook’s (2003) critical consciousness teaching methods that consider learning as a political process (Coben, 1998, p. 68). I join these educators in conversation with theories posed by radical adult education scholars who observe educational processes within movements are often embedded in everyday practices and typically not recognized as learning (Foley, 1999; Kapoor & Choudry, 2010; Newman, 2006; Shragge, 2013). From this viewpoint, we can acknowledge the links between community radio in Jordan, radical adult education, and the political transformation of society. This concluding chapter also considers the strategies and impacts Radio al-Balad is engaging with on the FM dial in Amman through what Bayat (2013) calls the “quiet encroachment of the ordinary.” Radio al-Balad’s community radio programming and practices, according to producers and audiences, create a political learning environment that subverts the state's “governmentality” or its ability to govern and contributes to “establishing new lifestyles and new modes of thinking, being and doing things” that advance the needs of ordinary people (Bayat, 2013, p. 249). I conclude the chapter by reflecting on what I refer to as the radical pedagogy of community radio, facilitating the “quiet encroachment of the ordinary” within Jordan’s media sphere, and suggesting directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: A Brief History of Community Radio

The formation of community radio as participatory media seeking to democratize media and political landscapes was not initially conceived of by regulators. The evolution of community radio as a media institution serving the community is the result of a history of struggle and media activism engaged with disparate movements and actors who often captured the airwaves often in defiance of state-run and for-profit broadcasters. Embracing the de-Westernizing debate in communication research (Wang, 2013), this chapter contextualizes the practices of contemporary community radio stations through internationalizing the history of the evolution of the development of community broadcasting.

Existing research on the history of community radio starts in different places and time periods. Some scholars define the beginnings of community radio practices geographically, while others begin in specific communities, and more recent historical work focuses on the policies that regulate community broadcasting. For example, Lewis (1984) and Rennie (2006) look to the Americas in the 1940s to trace the origins of community-inspired radio broadcasting. This point of origin is further specified by Rodriguez (2001) as beginning among Indigenous groups in the Americas to emphasize the Indigenous beginnings of community broadcasting. Kidd's account (1998, p. 70) begins with insurgents and revolutionaries who temporarily took over radio infrastructure in Europe during World War I. Milan (2013) is among researchers (Coyer & Hintz, 2013; Hintz, 2011; Rennie, 2006) who focus on community media policy activism. These histories centered on policy development begin typically in the 1970s when countries like the Australia and Canada moved to regulate community media or start at the international level with the debates at the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

Organization (UNESCO) that enshrined "communication as a human right" (International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, 1980).

Another starting point for constructing the history of community radio could focus on the development of the technology, an approach favored by communication historians like Innis (Buxton, Cheney, & Heyer, 2014). Compiling technological innovations to construct a history of community radio could start in 1906 when Quebec-born Reginald Fessenden broadcast transmissions of voice and music over radio waves (Regal, 2005, p. 32). While some may call Fessenden the "Father of Radio Broadcasting," he was only one among many other inventors, entrepreneurs, and radio hobbyists around the globe who contributed to the development of radio broadcasting technology (Rodriguez, 2001, p. 66). Fessenden's own well-touted achievement of sending sound over radio waves was first patented by Father Roberto Landell de Moura, a Brazilian priest nicknamed the "Marconi of Brazil" (Sterling, 2004, p. 310).

For the present reflection on the history of community radio, the growth and spread of community radio practices will be analyzed in four distinct periods of development. These periods assemble a longer timeline and global (de-Westernized) landscape for mapping the development of community radio. These periods, illustrated in Figure 2, organize the activities and efforts of communities (social movement actors, non-state/corporate actors) deploying radio technology to create media by and for the community. Each period of development casts a wide net to include instances of community broadcasting from around the globe in an effort to map the development of community radio in both practice and regulation while also working to de-Westernize this history by internationalizing the locations and experiences that inform this timeline (Wang, 2013). Whereas previous histories have overemphasized Euro-American

community broadcasting traditions, the periods offered here construct a more inclusive narrative by drawing together relevant historical scholarship and grey literature.

Figure 2: Periods in the evolution of community radio.

Unlike other histories of community media that document the origins of community radio broadcasting (Lewis, 1984a; Milan, 2013; Rennie, 2006; Rodriguez, 2001), this chapter reviews the evolution of community radio practices through compiling a diversity of community-based broadcasting practices. I draw on a complex ecology of actors, policies, and processes (Raboy & Padovani, 2010) that have contributed to the development of community radio; these include community, union, clandestine, exile, intelligence, liberation, and revolutionary organizations alongside activist groups, Indigenous nations, social movements, non-profit organizations, and regulators. This chronology is organized and analyzed temporally. To assess the theoretical development of community radio and identify gaps in our knowledge of community radio, the concluding section of this chapter places this history in conversation with scholarship on how community radio has been studied. I feature over one hundred years of community-based broadcasting practices to illustrate how the radio medium has always been used as a social change communication technology.

As the first broadcast technology of the industrial period, the radio spectrum, like other new technologies and resources of the time, was quickly colonized by imperial powers for political and economic profit even before the wireless telegraph enabled voices to be broadcast over the airwaves (Kidd, 1998, p. 61). In 1903, at the first international radio conference, and again in 1906, under the first international radio convention, imperial states and their allies

divided the radio spectrum amongst themselves (Smythe, 1981). The countries that signed on to the resulting International Wireless Telegraph Convention included Germany, United States Argentina, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, Denmark, Spain, France, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Monaco, Norway, the Netherlands, Persia, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Sweden, Turkey, and Uruguay (ITU, 2006). These national efforts to restrict radio as a resource for state and corporate broadcasters did not consider provisions to accommodate community-based broadcasting activity. However, the presence of military and commercial broadcasters on the overcrowded radio dial inspired amateur radio enthusiasts to continue broadcasting and working to improve the technology.

The experimentation of radio hobbyists contributed to the development of radio technology and motivated their claims of community ownership over the radio spectrum (Kidd, 1998, p. 68). In the previous chapter, I defined community radio as non-profit, participatory media institutions that are largely volunteer-run and provide a service to a specific community of producers and audiences. Defining the contemporary practice of community radio requires acknowledging no single model exists due to local regulations, laws, and economies. However, a similar mission is evident in the definitions previously cited from Radio al-Balad, AMARC and the CRTC (Chapter 1). Indeed, the orientation of community broadcasters to provide community access and involvement is determined by a shared history that has cultivated community radio practices over time. This chapter traces this common history through four periods to situate the development of this form of community media within a global context.

The first part of this chapter considers the historical periods of community radio as four periods: 1) Experimental; 2) Wildfire; 3) Solidarity; and 4) Resurgence. The concluding part of the chapter uses these periods to situate the gaps in how community radio has been studied. This

mapping of the history of community radio facilitates reflection on how this global media phenomenon has been addressed by scholars, revealing a diversity of tactics among practitioners and exposing the neglect of community radio within media studies.

Tracing the History of Community Radio

While researchers disregarded community radio through much of its history, communities seeking to access the latest communication technology took to the airwaves starting just before the First World War. During this "Experimental" period, disparate instances of community-based broadcasting took to the radio dial in Europe and the Americas. In the early days of radio broadcasting history, state (or military) and commercial domination over the airwaves was contested by individuals experimenting with community-based broadcasting. Among the early radio broadcasters reclaiming radio technology intermittently and temporarily were individuals not affiliated with the state or commercial broadcasters. For example, in North America, thousands of radio hobbyists and hundreds of radio clubs on both sides of the border jammed the radio dial. Later, when all licences were revoked because of war-time restrictions, these radio enthusiasts refused to be silenced and became defiant unlicensed broadcasters (Kidd, 1998, p. 69). In Europe, Irish and German rebels, in 1916 and 1919 respectively, took over radio infrastructure to broadcast their points of view (Kidd, 1998, p. 70). In addition, Boyd's (1999) account of broadcasting history in the Arab world reveals that in the 1920s hundreds of amateurs were also experimenting with radio broadcasting in Cairo (p. 16).

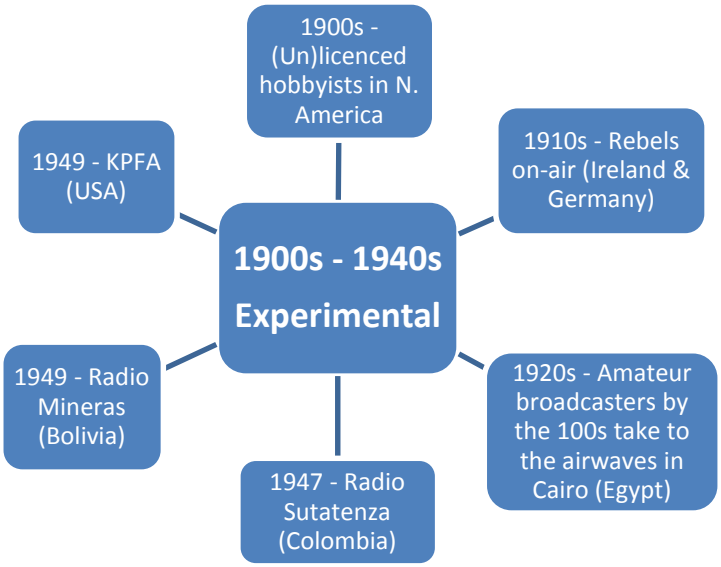
For some, these early activities of community-based radio broadcasters make community radio one of the original uses of the medium (Douglas, 1986; Kidd, 1998). Indeed, Kingston, Ontario (Canada) is home to CFRC 101.9 FM a campus-based community radio station that first went on the air in 1923, making the organization part of one of the longest continuous histories

in radio broadcasting (Redmond & Zimmerman, 2012). In this way, the practice of community broadcasting precedes the licensing and regulation of community radio, which began in the 1970s, and the formation of scholarly interest in research and theorizing community radio, which prior to the 1980s was "scattered" (Hadl & Dongwon, 2008, p. 82; Lewis, 1984a, p. 21).

By the 1940s, experimental insurrectionary broadcasting was complimented by another model when community radio advocates began to set up their own more permanent infrastructure including stations in Colombia in 1947 (Radio Sutatenza), in Bolivia (Radio Mineras) and the United States (KPFA) in 1949 (Lewis, 1984a; Rodriguez, 2001), as illustrated in Figure 3. During the Experimental period, the practice of community radio was refined from isolated broadcasts by radio mutineers, pirates, or hobbyists to communities building radio stations. Radio Sutatenza was founded in Colombia by a Catholic priest and set the stage for the development of what is now a substantial network of educational community radio stations throughout Latin America (Rodriguez, 2001). Soon after the 1949 launch of Radio Mineras in Bolivia, new stations were established and in 1952 twenty-six community radio stations supported by the Miners' Union formed a network as a functional and fundamental part of labour organizing and social resistance (Dagron, 2001; Huesca, 1995). During 1946 in the United States, Lewis Hill, a fired radio news broadcaster and a conscientious objector during the Second World War, established the Pacifica foundation dedicated to peace and justice reporting. To sustain independent, non-profit broadcasting, Hill proposed a new funding model based on listener-sponsorship. In 1949, KPFA in Berkeley became the first non-profit community radio station founded by Pacifica and Hill using this funding model. Pacifica would eventually expand the listener-sponsorship model to build a non-profit, community radio network consisting of five

stations broadcasting from Berkeley, Los Angeles, Houston, New York, Washington, D.C., and hundreds of affiliate stations across the United States (King, 2002).

Figure 3: Experimental period of community radio (1900s-1940s).



Where the first community-based broadcasters operated clandestine stations underground out of necessity or otherwise faced the risk of station closure and/or broadcaster imprisonment, these practices contrasted with community radio stations that were mandated to be accessible to the communities they served. Clandestine stations included the Voice of the Revolution transmitting in 1949 from the Dominican Republic (Soley, 1982, p. 165). The location and source of these types of revolutionary stations were often unknown (Boyd, 1999). In the Middle East, radio was a valued resource in Palestine even before the war and occupation that created the state of Israel in 1948. While Zionist terrorist organizations like the Irgun were operating radio stations as early as 1938, Palestinian Arabs reported atrocities and resisted occupation through broadcasting on the Sawt al-Falestin (Soley, 1982, p. 169). Similarly, from 1948-1950 radio broadcasting was used as a tool of political communication across Europe and on both sides of battles for power. For example, several pro-communist and anti-communist groups

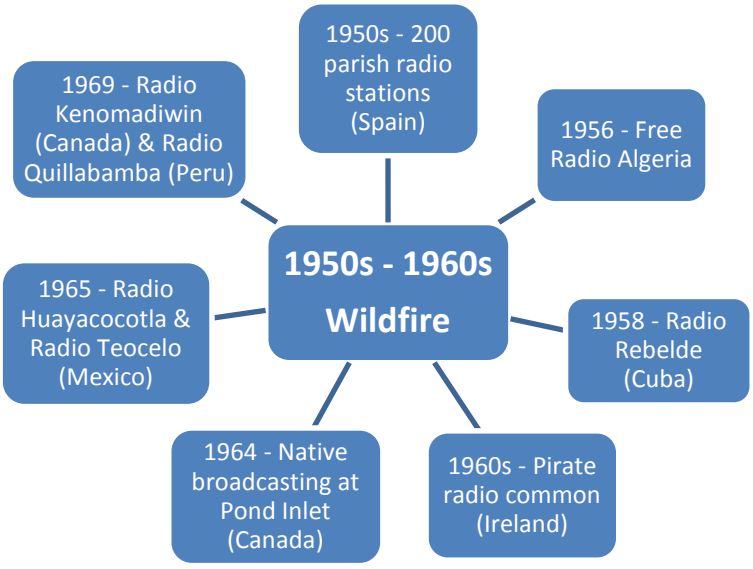
broadcast over the air in Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Italy, Greece, Turkey, and Spain (Soley, 1982, p. 168). Basque separatists also set up radio broadcasting during this period, establishing Radio Euzkadi followed by anti-Franco broadcasters on Radio Claridad in Spain. Anti-fascists in Portugal also set up stations, including Radio Free Portugal and Voice of Freedom (Soley, 1982, p. 168).

The proliferation of political groups operating clandestine stations to capture the airwaves acted as a propellant expanding community radio practices to several continents. These activities in the 1950s marked the beginning of the "Wildfire" period of community radio's history that resulted in the rapid spread of community broadcasting across North and South America, Europe, and Africa (Milan, 2013) as illustrated in Figure 4. These early non-state, non-corporate broadcasters did not have licences. They set up independent, community-based broadcasting that challenged colonial media models put in place through post-war "modernization programs". These programs created national media infrastructure and practices that typically furthered colonization and justified the actions of repressive regimes (Curran & Park, 2000, p. 5; Sosale, 2004, p. 34).

Despite the new nationalizing media landscapes, resistance radio proliferated in Latin America in regions experiencing war and revolutionary activity (Soley, 1982, p. 171). Stations like Radio Rebelde setup in Cuba by Che Guevara in 1958 were also established in Nicaragua and Honduras. Radio use in revolutionary and independence struggles helped to cultivate the spread of technology throughout the Middle East and Africa during 1958-1960. In Africa, la Voix de l'Algerie went on-air in 1956 to aid the Algerian struggle for independence (Fanon, 1994). Indeed, the use of radio during political crises stimulated the creation of even more stations, including stations broadcasting for liberation set up in Iraq, Iran, Lebanon, Algeria,

Jordan, Syria, and the Congo. From 1965-1967, radio broadcasting continued to spread to war zones in Asia, including Laos, Vietnam, Thailand, and Indonesia (Soley, 1982, p. 175). Challenging radio broadcasting by state and/or colonial interests, unlicensed stations went on-air by the hundreds in several countries including Spain in the 1950s and Ireland in the 1960s. In countries experiencing political and economic conflict, stations were set up in solidarity with workers and students on strike, such as Radio Scorpio and Radio Sylvania in Belgium (Rodriguez, 2001). In other communities, radio stations were established through familiar networks, such as the aforementioned Miners' radio growing to 26 stations in Bolivia in 1952 (Light, 2011, p. 53), the beginnings of Indigenous radio in Canada (Minore & Hill, 1990; Roth, 1993), and the spread of community radio through relations in Indigenous and *campesino* communities in Mexico and Peru (Girard, 1992).

Figure 4: Wildfire period of community radio (1950s-1960s).



While the 1950s-1960s saw the emergence of local community broadcasting networks, the next period extended across the 1970s-1980s and represented a new era of "Solidarity" in the history of community radio as defined by new funding mechanisms, the successful passing of

legislation in several countries, and the growth of regional, national, and international networks. This Solidarity period also marks the development of new opportunities when postcolonial demands converged to balance and correct the flow of global communication (Milan, 2013, p. 21). A series of gatherings facilitated by UNESCO took place throughout the 1970s among supporters of restructuring global media flows, producing the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). Just as non-aligned governments of the time were demanding a new political and economic order at the United Nations, NWICO similarly challenged the information order to rectify inequalities due to the proliferation of Euro-American content dominating the global flow of media and information. This new forum exemplified the internationalization of community media activism. NWICO created for the first time global recognition of the importance of local and alternative media. The deliberations also established the international recognition of "communication as a human right" and revised communication development practices to emphasize the value of participatory and local media infrastructure, like community radio stations (International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, 1980; Kidd & Rodriguez, 2009, pp. 3–4; Milan, 2013, p. 23).

The Solidarity period also saw the organization of community radio associations that shared resources, built up sector capacity, and collaborated in policy advocacy initiatives at the regional and national level, including the Ontario Association of Campus Broadcasters (OACB), formed in 1971 to lobby the regulatory commission in Canada, and the National Federation of Community Broadcasters (NFCB), initiated in 1975 by a dozen non-profit community stations in the United States (Raboy, 1993). The NFCB defined its membership as non-profit stations, control by the community, and providing community access (Lewis, 2002). In France, the Association pour la liberation des ondes (ALO) was formed by free radio stations (Raboy, 1993,

p. 132) and soon after in Canada in 1979 the Association des radiodiffuseurs communautaires du Québec (ARCQ) was established by community-licensed broadcasters (NCRA, n.d.). Later in Montreal in 1983, the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (known by its French acronym AMARC) became the first international organization run by community radio stations that advocated for community radio development. Both AMARC and the Canadian National Campus-Community Radio Association (NCRA) were eventually incorporated as non-governmental organizations, the former in 1988 and the latter in 1986. However, before being established as a NGO the NCRA was a young solidarity network functioning as the National Campus Radio Conference bringing together stations annually since 1981 for workshops, collaborative project development, and panel discussions (NCRA, n.d.). These associational developments led to an increase in advocacy by and for community radio practitioners. Indeed, several nations moved to recognize community radio in legislation in the 1980s, including the aforementioned Scandinavian countries, France (Howley, 2005) and Sri Lanka (Weerasinghe, 2010). In some countries community broadcasting spread rapidly after supportive legislation; as was the case in Italy and France, the latter of which saw sixteen thousand local radio stations broadcasting only four years after licensing began (Rennie, 2006). This increase in networking activities and legislation during the Solidarity period is illustrated in Figure 5.

Despite these new associational affiliations and the rise of collective demands for community broadcast licences, new clandestine stations kept opening where liberation struggles continued and community radio remained illegal. Throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s, pirate or unlicensed radio permeated the airwaves in Northern Ireland, El Salvador, Namibia, and Indonesia. In 1973, shortwave radio enthusiasts compiled a list of stations on-air, revealing

broadcast activity by clandestine, exile, intelligence, liberation, and revolutionary organizations in over thirty-seven countries (Soley, 1982, p. 166).

Figure 5: Solidarity period of community radio (1970s-1980s).

- 1972 - 5UV, Radio Adelaide (Austraila)
- 1974 - Vancouver Co-op Radio (Canada)
  - Soon followed by CINQ FM Montreal, CKCU FM Ottawa, and CKWR FM Kitchener
- 1974 - 1st native station in Canada (Big Trout Lake)
- 1974 - Radio Siebo (Dominican Republic)
- 1975 - Stations resist war (Lebanon & Chile)
- 1975 - Ruling at Constitutional Court (Italy)
- 1975 - Quebec launches the Programme d'aide au fonctionnement pour les médias communautaires
- 1978 - Community radio introduced in Sweden (Scandinavia)
  - Soon followed by Norway, Denmark, Findland
- 1979 - Instituto Nacional Indigenista (INI) opens 8 stations within a decade
- 1980s - Proliferation of micro radio (Japan)
- 1980 - *Many Voices, One World* published (MacBride Commission)
- 1981 - Legalization of radio locales (France)
- 1981 - 1st National Campus Radio Conference held in Ottawa (Canada)
- 1985 - Community radio begins post-dictatorship (Uruguay)
- 1982 - Akwesasne Mohawk Nation established CKON (Canada)
- 1983 - Northern Native Broadcast Access Program began (Canada)
- 1983 - Community Radio Association is founded (UK)
- 1983 - World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC) launched
- 1986 - National Campus Community Radio Association founded (Canada)
- 1987 - Radio Margaritas founded in Las Margaritas, Chiapas (México)
- 1989 - Kothmale Community Radio Internet Project (Sri Lanka)

However, revolutionaries broadcasting from stations that existed above or below ground did not always evade repercussions. For example, in 1940, two clandestine radio operators from the Irish Republican Army were sentenced to prison for illegal broadcasting (Soley, 1982, p. 166). Innovative broadcasters modified the technology to avoid getting caught, like technicians at Radio Sandino in Nicaragua who, in 1978, relied on mobile transmitters to keep the authorities

at bay (Raboy, 1993). The audiences of clandestine radio broadcasts also faced difficulties from authorities. After the appearance of la Voix de l'Algerie in the 1950s, radio tuners and even batteries were prohibited from being sold (Fanon, 1994). Later in Vietnam, listeners faced difficulties tuning-in to the broadcasts of Liberation Radio, which were jammed by the South Vietnamese government most of the time (Soley, 1982, p. 176). Such counter measures may limit the participation of community members in stations. In some cases, after the revolution some stations devolved into "party radio" or a platform for the government's voice (Raboy, 1993, p. 131). Even where unlicensed stations may have limited participation, evidence shows audiences still got involved. For example, during a police raid in 1978 on a clandestine radio station in Belgium, listeners surrounded the station and equipment successfully blocking police from entering the station (Raboy, 1993, p. 132). Today, after years of insurrectionary radio practices, laws in Germany and South Africa still declare listening to unlicensed radio broadcasting an illegal act, which can result in the confiscation of an audience member's radio listening equipment (Raboy, 1993, p. 134).

Where some laws effectively criminalized community-based broadcasting and their listeners, regulations in several countries during the Solidarity period of the 1970s-1980s also fostered the licensing of community radio stations, the first being Australia in 1972 followed by Canada in 1974. In some cases, community radio made it onto the FM dial before commercial stations. This happened in much of Scandinavia where even before advertising was allowed on the radio dial, private radio licensing created non-commercial community radio stations in Sweden (1978), followed by Norway (1981) and Denmark (1983). Later in 1985, Finland introduced private licences as well, but at first only for stations supported by advertising revenue (Ala-Fossi, 2008). At the same time, community radio spread rapidly in Quebec after 1975 when

the provincial government began financially supporting the operation of community radio stations through the Programme d'aide au fonctionnement pour les médias communautaires (Light, 2013). In countries without community radio legislation, media activists and communities marginalized by other private or public media continued working to get stations on-air. For example, the Catholic Church expanded the network of educational community radio by opening new stations in Latin American and the Caribbean, including Radio Siebo, which went on-air in 1974 in the Dominican Republic (Radio Seibo, n.d.). In this way, community radio broadcasting in the Americas persisted even in the absence or slow development of supportive legislation and funding mechanisms.

By contrast, the first ruling that immediately enabled the large scale development of community broadcasting was the Italian Constitutional Court decision in 1975, which declared the state's monopoly of the airwaves illegal. Soon after this judgement, unlicensed broadcasting proliferated in Italy with some three hundred stations broadcasting by 1976 (Raboy, 1993, p. 132). This was followed by new unlicensed stations established in the Netherlands - Vrije Keizer Radio, West Germany - Radio Dreyecklantf, Spain - Radio Luna, Denmark - Radio Sokkelantf, France - Radio Libertaire and Radio Verte, Belgium - Radio Air Libre, and the United Kingdom - Radio Arthur (Sakolsky, 2001, p. 9). Many of the stations established during the Solidarity period, like Radio Pirata and Televerdad in México, were temporary experiments that broadcasted to counter state violence, defence human rights, and promote political alternatives (Silva, 2003).

The proliferation of stations broadcasting with and without licences throughout the 1970s resulted in an upsurge in solidarity broadcasting that actively resisted militarization, war, and occupation in El Salvador, Chile, and Lebanon (Scarone Azzi & Sánchez, 2003, p. 54). In

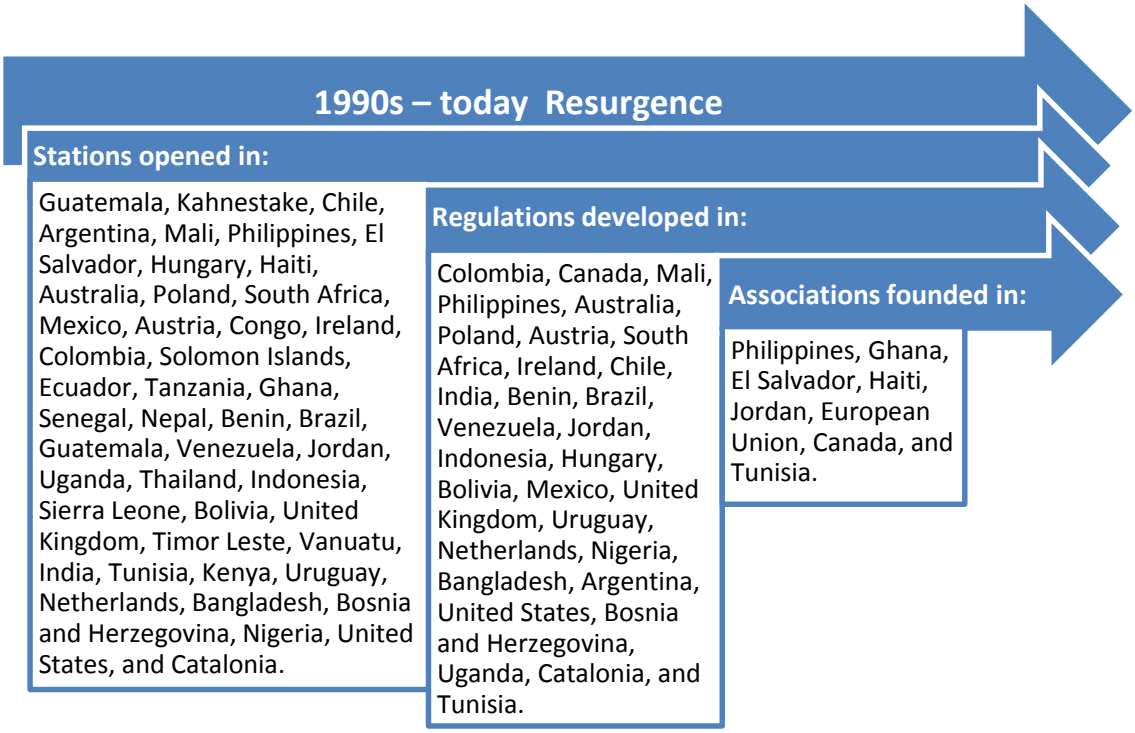
Europe at this time there was a wave of anti-nuclear broadcasting by unlicensed stations (Downing, 1988) and by the 1980s, Japan's FM dial also experienced a surge of low-powered micro broadcasters addressing neighborhood concerns (Sakolsky, 2001, p. 9). Other communities moved to establish stations broadcasting in their own languages. These included the first Indigenous station broadcasting in Navajo in the United States in 1971 (Browne, 1996) and another station transmitting in Gaelic in Ireland in 1972 (Rodriguez, 2001). Indigenous communities in Canada also seeking to broadcast in their Indigenous languages opened the first community-owned station on Indigenous land in 1974 (Minore & Hill, 1990). Resulting from an initiative by the Wawatay Communications Society in Big Trout Lake, the experimental station launched initially to serve an Oji-Cree speaking reserve of approximately seven hundred people and today Wawatay operates a community-owned radio network serving over thirty thousand Indigenous people in the Nishnawbe Aski Nation and Treaty 3 areas (Wawatay, n.d.). A few years later, Quebec became home to Indigenous radio with the establishment of CKRK, the Kahnawake Mohawk Radio Broadcasting system in 1978 (Roth, 1993). Indigenous radio also surged in Mexico after the establishment of the Instituto Nacional Indigenista (INI) in 1979, opening eight stations within a decade (Rodriguez, 2001, p. 30). The spread of Indigenous radio was similar in the United States, which saw twenty-two stations operating by 1991 (Rodriguez, 2001, p. 29).

Despite the gains of community broadcasters in acquiring licensing, regulatory status, or otherwise evading government shutdowns, the 1990s marked a shift in media policies in many countries due to neoliberalization of media markets. Scholars of communications history have noted that the first stage of national media policy development was shaped by values of public service and international cooperation. As a result of this orientation to policy making, many

countries developed strong public or national broadcasting systems, leaving community media unrecognized, unsupported, and unlicensed (Siochrú, Girard, & Mahan, 2002; van Cuilenburg & McQuail, 2003). By the 1990s, new market-based priorities in policy development shifted media regulations towards emphasising private or commercial media, creating new challenges for the growth of community media (Calabrese, 2004, p. 324; Siochrú et al., 2002, p. 27).

Even though neoliberal priorities limited or excluded community media in policy, community radio experienced a "Resurgence" beginning in the 1990s that is continuing through to today. The Resurgence period in the development of community radio included the opening of new stations in nearly fifty countries, the development of community radio regulations in almost forty countries, and community radio associations founded in eight countries, as illustrated in Figure 6. In Chile, community radio stations were established across the country even in the absence of supportive regulations (Jarroud, 2012). Additionally, after a new law in Jordan opened the airwaves to private licensing in 2002, community radio joined the FM dial in 2005 to break the state's monopolization of the broadcasting system held for over five decades. While no community licensing was offered under the new regulations in Jordan, this did not prevent Radio al-Balad 92.4 FM from securing a private FM licence to operate a non-profit community radio station in Amman (Pintak, 2007). In other places like Hungary, Argentina, and Mexico unlicensed radio persisted in the presence of neoliberal agendas. For example, in Hungary, youth founded Tilos Rádió in 1991 and other pirate stations followed soon after (Gosztonyi, 2009, p. 298).

Figure 6: Resurgence period of community radio (1990s-today).



Community radio during the Resurgence stage of development continued to spread to new places, including a psychiatric hospital in Buenos Aires, Argentina (Colifata, n.d.), and occupied Kahnestake surrounded by the Canadian Army just outside of Montreal (Roth, 1993). In addition, La Voz de la Comunidad opened in Guatemala City first broadcasting in 1990 with "a simple system of six cone speakers, a small amplifier and a couple of turntables" and expanding in 1999 to several neighborhoods (Dagron, 2001, p. 101). In 1991, Mali became the first African country to license community radio stations (Buckley et al., 2008, pp. 209–210). In the 2000s, the revitalization of community media was evident in the opening of stations for the first time in Thailand (Ramasoota, 2013), Sierra Leone (UNESCO, 2013b), and Timor Leste (Coyer, 2011, p. 172). In addition, Radio Mang'elete became the first community radio station in Kenya started by a women's network in 2005 (Sterling & Huyer, 2010) and CRST FM104 began serving the islands of Vanuatu in 2004 (UNESCO, 2013a).

Throughout this Resurgence period, more community radio associations were formed, including the Alliance des radios communautaires du Canada in 1991 (NCRA, n.d.), Asociación de Radios y Programas Participativos del Salvador in 1992 (Scarone Azzi & Sánchez, 2003, p. 90), and Ghana Community Broadcasting Services in 1995 (Scarone Azzi & Sánchez, 2003, p. 45). These network activities further increased in the 2000s with associations like the Uganda Media Women's Association opening "Africa's first women's radio station" in 2001 (Fallon, 2013), the Community Media Forum in Europe established in 2004 to lobby European Union institutions (Milan, 2013), and the establishment in Tunisia of the General Union of Free Radio Stations in 2005 to advocate for unlicensed community radio stations (HRW, 2010). Within three decades, AMARC also grew rapidly into a network of more than four thousand community radio stations in over one hundred countries, and produced a number of documents, including ten principles that proposed democratic regulatory standards to promote community broadcasting (AMARC-ALC, 2008).

In addition, the 1990s saw an increase in the number of countries passing legislation or decrees to open the first community stations, including the Philippines, Poland, Colombia, Congo, Ireland, Solomon Islands, Tanzania, Senegal, Nepal, Benin, and Ghana (Buckley et al., 2008; Howley, 2005; Purkarthofer, Pfisterer, & Busch, 2008; Scarone Azzi & Sánchez, 2003; Willum, 2003). Canada's Broadcasting Act passed in 1991 and it defined community media as an "element" of the broadcasting system (Government of Canada, 1991). In countries without legislation, illegal community broadcasters continued to seize the airwaves, as was the case in Hungary and Mexico. In South Africa, where unlicensed stations like Radio Zibonele and Bush Radio broadcasted in support of the movement against Apartheid, new media regulations were eventually proposed in 1993, making licensing for community radio broadcasting one of the

lesser known outcomes of the struggle to topple Apartheid in South Africa. By 1999, South Africa had sixty-five community radio stations on-air (Olorunnisola, 2002).

Similarly, in the 2000s, countries across the globe continued to pass legislation that enabled community radio to flourish, including Bolivia in 2004, 2005, 2006, and 2010; the United Kingdom in 2004 and 2011; India in 2005 and 2011; Uruguay in 2007; Chile in 2008; Bangladesh in 2008 and 2011; Argentina in 2009; Nigeria in 2010; United States in 2011; Tunisia in 2011; Uganda in 2011; and Catalonia in 2011 (Coyer, 2011). Some of these regulations supported the proliferation of community radio through funding mechanisms as was the case in Canada in 2007 and the Netherlands in 2008, the former of which provided project funding and the latter mandated municipalities to fund hundreds of local broadcasters (Buckley et al., 2008). Other regulatory reforms were ineffective, as was the case in Indonesia, where community radio has been legalized since 2002 but remains stagnant today (Coyer, 2011). In Mexico, constitutional reforms in 2006 declared Indigenous communities could operate their own radio stations, but without additional legal reforms Indigenous people in Mexico cannot exercise this right (Pastrana, 2013). The case is similar in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where community radio licensing exists without a funding mechanism and thus there persists a lack of interest in community broadcasting (Coyer, 2011). In Morocco, community radio stations are allowed to broadcast over the Internet only, keeping community voices off the FM dial (UNESCO, 2013c). By contrast, in counties like Venezuela and Hungary regulations introduced in the 2000s resulted in new community radio stations going on-air, the latter of which saw more than seventy stations on-air in less than six years (Hargitai, Szombathy, & Mayer, 2012).

An additional factor aiding the rapid growth of community radio during the Resurgence period was the increasing accessibility and affordability of radio production and distribution

technology. Prior to the 1990s, radio stations or producers wanting to share content either required an expensive connection (typically via satellite or high grade phone line) or relied on shipping recordings through the mail. With the spread of the Internet, new websites were launched like Radio4all.net and Archive.org that went online in 1996 and Indymedia.org created in 1999, for the free uploading and immediate distribution of audio files. The same was true for the impact of software innovations for editing digital audio. Prior to the 1990s, audio editing was a slow and laborious task due to the methods required (like a steady hand and razor blade skills) to edit analog tape recordings. With the introduction of digital audio editing programs in the 1990s, some of which like Cool Edit offered trial versions for free download, anyone could edit audio on multiple tracks and mix in scripting or music easily (Home Recording Forums, 2007). Once the audio file was edited, compressed, and saved on the computer, the producer could send the file through a website like Radio4all.net, Archive.org, or Indymedia.org. By 2000, Audacity, an open source digital audio editing software, was launched for free download and use (Audacity, n.d.). These advances in internet distribution websites and digital audio editing software complimented the increasing affordability of professional portable audio recorders.

Indeed, community media and grassroots activism experienced a mutual renaissance beginning in the 1990s. It continues through to today due in part to a common struggle against injustice and for the advancement of democratic media and communication technology (Milan, 2013). Resembling the revolutionary activity of insurgent broadcasters during the Wildfire period, the reclamation of media by activists during the Resurgence period is best represented by the struggle of Zapatista National Liberation Army against corporate globalization and for self-representation. Deploying creative tactics in the face of state and military power, the Zapatistas mobilized media across platforms from Internet communiques to unlicensed radio broadcasting.

For some, the mobilization of multimedia tactics by the Zapatistas in their liberation struggle inspired a new generation of media activism (Kidd & Rodriguez, 2009, pp. 7–8).

Community media theorists like Kidd and Rodriguez (2009) observed a shift during this time from the struggle to democratize mass media flows which took prominence at the NWICO debates in the 1970s to organizing for democratic media in the 1990s-2000s (Ferron, 2012). Also noted by Milan, the development of community radio was aided by this new wave of media activism in addition to the spread of the Internet to households for the first time (Milan, 2013, p. 34). Such technological advances helped to ensure that radio, although an old medium, remained an accessible communication technology by increasing the simplicity and affordability of the production and broadcast technology (Dunbar-Hester, 2008, p. 203). Indeed, in countries like Australia, community radio stations on the FM dial have crowded out commercial and public broadcasters, especially in rural areas (Kidd & Rodriguez, 2009, p. 14). Since the first broadcast of voice over the radio spectrum, radio broadcasting was transformed by radio enthusiasts and media activists worldwide from a medium for the transportation of mysterious dots and dashes of Morse code to a technology that has the potential to empower communities to represent and hear themselves; and in the case of Australia, communities broadcasters are usurping the FM dial in spite of commercial and state broadcasters (Foxwell-Norton, 2012).

In summary, the above timeline analyses the history of community broadcasting by organizing the development of community radio practices into four distinct periods. Analyzed above, these four periods trace the development community radio around the globe with two goals. The first engages the de-Westernizing debate in communication studies by internationalizing the history of community radio to acknowledge the different origins of the practice and view the common roots of community radio. The second goal emphasizes the

diversity of practices through compiling a multitude of experiments advanced by a complex ecology of actors, policies, and processes that underpin the spread community radio. Unlike other histories of community media (Lewis, 1984a; Milan, 2013; Rennie, 2006; Rodriguez, 2001), this timeline features stations, policies and regulations, as well as associational development, starting in the early 1900s with the first attempts to establish radio broadcasting as a means of self-representation and liberation.

The history of community broadcasting begins in the Experimental period from the 1900s-1940s to precise community radio as one of the original uses of radio broadcast technology (Douglas, 1986; Kidd, 1998). This first period saw radio technology used by revolutionaries and social movements as a tool for grassroots political communication. In addition, this phase saw different types of development, including experiments that advanced radio technology, the building of community accessible radio studios, and the creation new funding models through listener donations, church or union support. This foundation was extended during the Wildfire period in which radio broadcasting by non-state, non-corporate actors spread across several continents. During this period, radio became a necessary feature of liberation struggles and independence movements. Thus, radio as a weapon of resistance was a common feature in war zones and unlicensed stations went on-air by the hundreds. These stations supported students and workers, and united other familiar networks like Indigenous and *campesino* communities.

During the next period community radio stations organized into networks, shared resources, and created advocacy bodies for the first time, making the 1970s-1980s the Solidarity period. In these two decades community radio was supported by new funding initiatives and legislation. While unlicensed radio was still pursued as a necessity and/or a right by communities

in thirty-seven countries, this period also saw communities accessing licensing for the first time, such as Indigenous nations in the United States and Canada. An additional outcome of Solidarity era was the internationalization of community media activism at the NWICO gatherings that enshrined communication a human right and promoted the value of participatory media.

These gains met new challenges during the Resurgence period that began in the 1990s when neoliberal development agendas prioritized commercial media and the privatization of communication infrastructure over the development of community radio. Despite this push back, community media continued to spread at a fast pace to many countries for the first time. When countries like South Africa and Hungary opened up community radio licensing, nearly one hundred community broadcasters went on-air in just a few years. While the Resurgence period saw the increased accessibility of radio production and distribution technology due to developments in digital editing software and Internet audio sharing portals, community radio stations still faced challenges due to local media regulations.

After a global survey of community broadcasters conducted in 2007, AMARC concluded the continuing lack of supportive legislation is the most significant impediment to increasing the civic impact of community radio (AMARC, 2007, p. 10). In the face of these challenges, community radio advocacy increased during the Resurgence period, in part due to the mutual renaissance experienced by community radio and grassroots activism around the start of the twenty-first century. These roots of community broadcasting compiled here and the current Resurgence reveal that the development of community radio as an institution is rooted in the struggle of social movements to access the airwaves.

Historical Trends in Community Radio Scholarship

The renaissance for community media activism described above also eventually spilled over into academia during the 2000s when a plethora of literature was published on alternative journalism and community media, including community radio stations (H. Anderson, 2011; Atton, 2001, 2003; Carpentier, 2011; Carpentier et al., 2003; Couldry & Curran, 2003; Coyer, 2008a, 2008b, 2011; Dagron, 2001; Downing, 2000, 2003, 2006, 2008, 2010; Fairchild, 2001; Gordon, 2009; Harcup, 2005, 2011; Howley, 2005, 2010b; Huesca, 2008; Kidd, 2002, 2003; Milan, 2008, 2013; Rennie, 2006; Rodriguez, 2001; Rodríguez et al., 2009; Sussman & Estes, 2005; Wolfson, 2012). Prior to this contemporary popularity, scholarship on community media and especially community radio was "scattered" (Hadl & Dongwon, 2008, p. 82; Lewis, 1984a, p. 21). The concluding section of this chapter will assemble how community radio has been studied throughout these four periods to assess the theoretical development of community radio within scholarship and identify prominent gaps in our knowledge of community radio.

During the first decades of the evolution of community radio practices, early media critics and scholars of communication studies conceptualized the potential contribution of community media, including blurring audience and producer roles, contributing to media effects, producing alternatives to industry structures, and contributing to the Habermasian political public sphere (Adorno, 2008; Brecht, 1964; Habermas, 2008; Lazarsfeld & Merton, 2008). However, actual theories of community radio arrived several decades later. Up until the 1970s, scholars paid little attention to community radio. For Lewis, this is because:

> Community radio to some extent suffers from the general cultural neglect of radio, and from the point of view of the political economy of research, its standing as a marginal

> type within a marginal subject would suggest it should be poorly studied and researched (2002, p. 51-52).

Indeed, it was Latin American scholars like Freire, Martin-Barbero, Beltrán, Diaz Bordenave, Matta, and Roncagliolo who criticized dominant paradigms concerning mass media and proposed counter models, including alternative and participatory communication (Huesca & Dervin, 1994; Lewis, 2006a, p. 20). However, much of this work stayed within Latin American scholarship because of linguistic divides (Lewis, 2006a, p. 2).

The first English language publications about community media were not by academics, but rather the outcome of the aforementioned NWICO gatherings, hosted by UNESCO throughout the 1970s. To build on and further the issues debated during the NWICO assemblies UNESCO prepared a number of publications on community media (Berrigan, 1977, 1981; Lewis, 1984b) and began to support the establishment of community radio stations, opening stations in Kenya and Sri Lanka (Booth & Lewis, 1989; Dagron, 2001). While community radio was proliferating during the Solidarity period, the CRTC printed "A Resource for the Active Community" (CRTC, 1974), which became the first English language publication to distinguish between community and professional media as well as to define 'community' as geographically bound or linked by interest (Lewis, 2002). Williams' (1974) work on television included references to community media and several European publications at this time also referred to community media, including the British Penguin Education Special series on community television (Lewis, 2002).

While Downing's 1984 publication theorized community radio as *Radical Media* (2000, p. 39), the trickle of descriptive works continued into the 1980s with references to community media in McQuail's volume on communication theory, which included references to

"democratic-participant media" established by "groups, organizations and local communities" (McQuail, 1987, p. 123). In 1989, Lewis and Booth printed *The Invisible Medium*, the first publication to emphasize community radio alongside of public and private radio (Booth & Lewis, 1989, p. ii). During this decade, the Local Radio and Television Group was founded at the 1982 Paris conference of the International Association of Media and Communication Research (Lewis, 2006a). Soon after, the young network published *The People's Voice: Local Radio and Television in Europe* (Jankowski, Prehn, & Stappers, 1992), featuring community radio alongside other examples of democratic communication (Lewis, 2006a).

Community radio remained understudied even with the "cultural turn" in communication studies in the 1990s, which did not shift scholarly attention away from corporate or state media and towards community radio (Hadl & Dongwon, 2008). This changed during the Resurgence period in community radio's developmental history when an explosion of interest in academia regarding community radio began in the 2000s. It was nearly one hundred years after the first communities captured the airwaves that dozens of scholarly works took up the study of community radio as a media institution with unique practices, programming, and audiences. The majority of literature produced concerning community radio prior to the 2000s was descriptive, summarizing a station's origins, programming practices, and/or funding structures (Rodriguez, 2001, p. 11). During the Resurgence period, those academics that did produce theoretical works that focused largely on community radio's contribution to democratizing communication, participation and empowerment, social movements and political change, and countering the status quo (Ferron, 2012; Rauch, 2015; Rodriguez, 2001).

Conclusion

Scholars are correct to identify several gaps in the theorization of community radio, including an absence of works concerning content analysis, internal debates and contradictions, and the impact on audiences (Downing, 2003; Hadl & Dongwon, 2008; Ferron, 2012; Rauch, 2014). Surveying the international English language literature on media research, Hadl and Dongwon are critical of the historic approach of "thinking about media" (2008, 82). For Hadl and Dongwon, any application of community media theory "must tackle the unequal development of research and practice, reconcile the differences in approaches, and account for differences in cultural and linguistic contexts" (2008, p. 103). Tracing the history of the development of community radio practices leads me to Chapter 3, where I review dominant theories of community radio within the context of the WANA region, acknowledging that the study of community radio, like the construction of a global history of community radio, is shaped by local realities.

My approach to theorizing community radio is informed by a global compilation of local histories and experiences, building a rich context to position community media as an institution shaped by the struggle to access the radio spectrum (Smythe, 1981). In this way, my approach to historicizing and theorizing community radio is "tailored to local situations rather than imported uncritically and misapplied" (Curran and Park, 2000, p. 15). In addition, studying community radio's impact on political change in Jordan offers an opportunity to address the knowledge deficits in scholarship that have yet to consider the context and challenges that affect local practices or document the perspectives of community media audiences as participating and political actors within the station and in their communities. I address how I propose to fill that gap in subsequent chapters, namely, through studying the social, political, and economic forces

shaping the FM dial in Amman, the impact of community radio governance and news programming practices on audiences and political change, and the conflicts that shape the sustainability of community radio at Radio al-Balad.

CHAPTER 3: Theoretical Framework and Research Design for Valuing Community Radio Audiences

This dissertation investigates the impact of community radio practices at Radio al-Balad, focusing on the reception and engagement experiences of its audiences, working to address several gaps in scholarship. This chapter situates the theoretical framework and research design I developed to address scholarly gaps using the case study of Radio al-Balad, the only community radio station in Amman, Jordan. My research addresses historical contexts and internal debates that shape Radio al-Balad's programming and governance, distinguishing the station from other FM broadcasters in Amman, Jordan, and documents the impact of Radio al-Balad's programming practices on civic life by investigating engagement and listening experiences of its audiences. This chapter introduces an approach to researching community radio audiences as participating and political actors within the station and in their communities.

Community radio stations worldwide are mandated to empower their audiences and facilitate community participation in political life (AMARC, 2003). The perspectives of listeners are vital to ascertain how community radio stations actually meet the needs of the community. This dissertation that investigates the impact of community radio practices at Radio al-Balad on the political lives of its audiences seeks to address several gaps in scholarship concerning social movement media, community radio, and audiences. This chapter situates the theoretical framework and research design I mobilized to address these scholarly gaps through a case study of Radio al-Balad. As already discussed in Chapter 1, the significance of community radio in the WANA region is in providing a non-profit, community access media institution that supports social and political change by providing local, independent news in a media landscape that is dominated by state-run and for-profit media.

To investigate the role of community radio in cultivating political learning environments and engaging listeners within the station and in the community, my research design foregrounds local knowledge from the perspective of audiences and community radio practitioners. Additionally, I place the experiences of Radio al-Balad's listeners who also produce programming and/or participate in station governance within the historical, political, economic, and cultural contexts that shape the FM dial in Amman. In this way, I contextualize the governance, news programming, and audience engagement practices of community radio in Jordan. This critical inquiry is guided by theoretical perspectives from scholarship on the political economy of communication (Mosco, 2009; Smythe, 1981; Sreberny-Mohammadi & Mohammadi, 1994; Wasko, 2005), social movement and third sector studies (Bayat, 2013; Fischer, 2014; Mattoni, 2012; Milan, 2013; Della Porta & Diani, 2013), radical adult education theory (Dykstra & Law, 1994; Foley, 1999; Freire, 1970, 1972, 1985; Newman, 2006), and anti-oppression literature (Dominelli, 2003; Hancock & Khan, 2004).

My research involved two periods of fieldwork in 2012 and 2013 as well as archival research conducted before, during, and after my trips to Amman. During my fieldwork, I worked at Radio al-Balad to collect data about the station's history, programming and engagement practices, and audience experiences. I also facilitated qualitative, collaborative, and engaged research among Radio al-Balad listeners. To establish a contextual approach to audience research (Livingstone, 2012; Mathieu & Brites, 2015), I used the lens of political economy to analyze primary and secondary sources concerning the FM dial in Amman, placing community radio practices in Jordan within context (Ang, 1995; Morley, 1986; Mosco, 2009; Wasko, 2005). I used storytelling and focus groups to explore the reception and engagement experiences of selected Radio al-Balad listeners, drawing on their local knowledge and experience.

My orientation to community radio audiences is informed by discourses of social change and power rooted in critical development and postcolonial studies (Escobar, 2011; Hobart, 1993; McMichael, 2009b; Scott, 1999; Shome & Hegde, 2002; Sosale, 2004). Drawing from these perspectives, I constructed a theoretical orientation and research design that was relevant to community radio in Jordan, and hopefully, more broadly to the critical study of community radio stations worldwide. Critical and engaged community radio audience research helps illuminate the gaps in the study of community radio identified in Chapter 2, problems concerning internal debate, content, and audiences (Downing, 2003; Ferron, 2012; Hadl & Dongwon, 2008; Rauch, 2015). My theoretical framework and research design addressed these priorities as well as the priority to de-Westernize communication scholarship and move beyond Eurocentric research that uncritically imports or reproduces theories extrapolated from largely Euro-American data sources (Wang, 2013).

A Review of Scholarship Concerning the Audiences and Impact of Radical Media

I begin this chapter by problematizing the theorization of social movement media (Downing, 1988; Sreberny, 2011), community radio (Howley, 2010a; Rennie, 2006), and media audiences (Livingstone, 2012; McQuail, 1997; Napoli, 2010). After a critical review of existing scholarship to illuminate the gaps in the academic literature that my study seeks to fill, I then present the theoretical framework that informs my research design. Following this section, I review the data collection process and analysis methods I used to build my case study of Radio al-Balad and for placing this case study within the historical, political, economic, and cultural contexts. To conclude, I discuss some limitations of my approach to fieldwork among community radio audiences. The following critical assessment identifies several gaps in

contemporary scholarship that inform my own approach to studying community radio as a form of radical media (Downing, 2000) or social movement media (Downing, 2010; Sreberny, 2011). I argue that community radio stations, like Radio al-Balad, are non-profit media institutions that facilitate political learning environments and thereby promote social change.

Gaps Concerning Community Media in Scholarship on Social Movement Media

The contribution of media to advancing social movements and political change is described in scholarship. Yet, only a handful of scholars focus specifically on the role of non-profit, community-owned media in transforming political landscapes. Summarizing the significance of new forms of media in the political landscape of the Middle East, Seib (2007) recognizes that advances in the accessibility of communication technologies in the region have contributed to the "growing irrelevance of borders" and the facilitation of "detours around obstructions created by governments that have traditionally controlled the flow of information" (p. 2). However, other scholars problematize exclusively linking online media platforms to political change and prioritize a research agenda that includes views of offline media (Dajani, 2012). This is especially relevant in a region where independent journalists and social movements have limited Internet availability (Table 1) and difficulty accessing mass media due to "a lower information/media-to-population ratio than the world average, less than 53 newspapers per 1000 citizens, compared to 285 per 1000 people in the industrialized world" (Bayat, 2013, p. 27). In this context, access to independent community media is necessary.

Table 1: Arab uprisings and Internet users by country (2014).

Country	**Bahrain**	**Egypt**	**Tunisia**	**Jordan**	**Syria**	**Libya**	**Yemen**
% of pop. with Internet	96.5	48.3	45.4	44.9	26.6	21.7	19.1

Source: Internet Live Stats (www.InternetLiveStats.com). Estimate data captured September 19, 2015. "Internet user" defined as individual, of any age, who can access the Internet at home, via any device type (computer or mobile) and connection.

Within the study of social movements, leading theorists (Diani, 1997; McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2001; Melucci, 1985) acknowledge the role of media and the importance of information in movement cultivation. Since media and information have become “a central resource” in the development of movements (Melucci, 1985, p. 803), it is crucial that their role and contribution be documented. While social movement theory has increasingly been applied to media studies (Carroll & Hackett, 2006; Lynch, 2005; Milan, 2008, 2013; Milan & Hintz, 2007; Thomas, 2006), researchers tend to borrow theoretical concepts rather than critically engage theory. Media as represented within social movement theory have garnered little serious attention. Where Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) offer a view of how movements can effectively use media, most major theories, like the resource mobilization model (McCarthy & Zald, 1977), simply ignore the importance of movements creating their own media. Further, Diani's (1997) emphasis on the critical need for social movement actors to circulate symbols and ideas within and outside of the movement neglects the relevance of social movement media, focusing instead on the absorption of the movement's intellectual productions into “professional media networks” (p. 141). Where the media garner some attention by leading social movement theorists, the impact of media created and circulated by social movements is left “inarticulated” (Sreberny, 2011).

Bayat has studied social movements in the Middle East for nearly two decades and he questions the value of dominant social movement theories that have been developed in Western political contexts (2013, p. 4). Despite the WANA region being the site of “many insurrectionary episodes, nationwide revolutions, and social movements” (Bayat, 2013, p. 9), Bayat notes the absence of relevant theory. For Bayat, authoritarian states in the WANA region weave a logic of power into their norms and institutions. In this political reality, Bayat situates collective action by “noncollective actors” in subverting the state's “governmentality” or its ability to govern

(Bayat, 2013, p. 249). He observes that it is unrealistic for theorists to expect autonomous political organizations to thrive where authoritarian regimes suppress organized movements.

Social movement scholar Wiktorowicz (2003) who studies the WANA region agrees that local governments ensure non-governmental organizations are instruments of state control rather than mechanisms of collective empowerment. Reviewing the "quiet encroachment" practices of "nonmovements" in the WANA region, Bayat identifies the "socialization of the state" as a process he observes in which noncollective actors influence the state "through establishing new lifestyles and new modes of thinking, being and doing" (2013, p. 251). Such a view emphasizes that authoritarian regimes of the Middle East are limited in the face of "an entire society" engaging "a strategy of active citizenship" in every domain, including children at home, students in university, athletes in stadiums, or workers in factories (Bayat, 2013, p. 249). This, Bayat argues, is "'governmentality' in reverse" (2013, p. 249), setting a new focus for social movement theorists who locate change in transformations of state power. Bayat offers new concepts to expand dominant traditions in social movement studies that rely on Western political concepts like civil society.

Viewing social movements in the WANA region necessitates an understanding of contention in postcolonial states, where economic neoliberalization under the banner of democratization offers very limited forms of political rights and liberties. Scholars must also consider local variables that impact autonomous social movements and investigate what strategies community radio activists mobilize given local political and economic realities. The contribution of scholars like Bayat studying social movements in the WANA region can help build theories of community media as social movement media, positioning community radio as a

facilitator of political learning environments that produce audiences who are political actors engaging in the quiet encroachment of the FM dial and participating in nonmovements.

It is difficult to identify a precise definition of social movement media within scholarship. The concept has been put forward by scholars hoping to bridge the gap between literature on social movements and media studies (Sreberny, 2011). There have been prior attempts made by communication scholars to define these social movement media as “radical media” (Downing, 2000), “small media” (Sreberny-Mohammadi & Mohammadi, 1994), “citizen's media” (Rodriguez, 2001), “autonomous media” (Langlois & Dubois, 2005), and “community media” (Coyer, 2011; Rennie, 2006). Globally, many terms have been used, including *medios populares* in Spanish and *médias libres* in French (Rodríguez, Ferron, & Shamas, 2014, p. 151). Even so, Sreberny and Mohammadi (1994) suggest these different labels commonly portray social movement media “as participatory, public phenomena, controlled neither by states nor big corporations” (p. 20). Recently, Downing published an edited volume proclaiming to offer an *Encyclopedia of Social Movement Media* (2010). While Downing’s encyclopedia largely under-theorizes social movement media, the volume compiles examples beyond the West to offer a wide variety of formats (“from graffiti to the Internet”) and examples of “repressive social movement media, not exclusively progressive ones.” This “dizzying variety” featured within the collection, according to Downing, aims to fill the gap in social movement research created by an orientation towards the global North and an inattention to “communication and media as integral dimensions of social movements” (2010, p. xxv).

Sreberny is another scholar who works in the WANA region and has contributed to the theorization of social movement media for over three decades. Charting the Iranian revolution through its media, Sreberny and her co-author Mohammadi (1994) assert “all revolutions are

communicative processes, including the articulation of sometimes-competing ideologies and demands, the development of leaders and followers, the circulation of information, the exhortations to participation and mobilization" (pp. 19–20). While social movement media, as documented in Iran by Sreberny and Mohammadi, contributed new channels of participation, extended alternative identities and symbols, and served to amplify the opposition, they did not do the work of the revolution in Iran. Rather, according to Sreberny and Mohammadi (1994), face-to-face politics were important, if not necessary, for the revolution to take place (p. 37). Increasingly, however, social movements have relied on links between protesters in the streets and technologically mediated communication (Sreberny, 2011). Analyzing the uprisings that erupted across the WANA region in the winter of 2010-2011, Sreberny (2011) acknowledges multiple factors in the mobilizations, including contemporary form of repressive states, different realities of political action, and varied access to new forms of communication technology. Asserting the importance of "enduring political and cultural bonds" in the lives of political actors, she steps back from the so-called Twitter and Facebook revolutions (BBC, 2015; Estes, 2011) to conclude, "One size doesn't fit all."

Both Downing and Sreberny mend the gap between social movement theory and media studies. They also address a prominent oversight in the study of political communication, which has neglected media practices within social movements and non-profit sector organizations (Mattoni & Treré, 2014). A new generation of scholars is also taking similar approaches, including Milan who employs social movement theory in her research on the practices of community radio stations (2008, 2013) and Mattoni (2012) who draws on social movement theories to discuss grassroots political communication among precarious workers' movements in Italy. This contemporary social movement media and grassroots political communication

scholarship inspires my own work investigating the role of community radio in politicizing and mobilizing audiences. Approaching community radio as social movement media that contributes to grassroots political communication helps bridge the gap between community media studies and social movement theory.

Gaps in Attention to Audiences in Community Radio Scholarship

While the previously mentioned literature views community radio as a form of social movement media contributing to grassroots political communication, a number of gaps have been identified by scholars and practitioners regarding the study of community radio, including a lack of studies concerning its impact on audiences (Downing, 2003; Ferron, 2012; Hadl & Dongwon, 2008; Rauch, 2015). Community radio became a popular topic among academic researchers during the Resurgence period or the most recent time period in the history of community radio practices (Chapter 2). However, much of this scholarship focuses on community radio's contribution to democratizing communication, facilitating community participation and empowerment, strengthening social movements and opportunities for political change, and countering the status quo (Ferron, 2012; Rauch, 2015; Rodriguez, 2001). Research approaching community radio as social movement media should include the perspectives of audiences. Similarly, the theorization of community radio should also draw on audience research conducted in non-Western contexts to validate or extend contemporary concepts. Thus, my research agenda focuses the contexts, practices, and impact of Jordan's first community radio station to contribute to the theorization of community media outside of Western contexts.

Contemporary scholars of community radio prioritize the notion of community, whether geographically defined or constituted through shared feelings. For Carpentier, Lie, and Servaes (2003), the defining features of 'community' in community radio are "direct and frequent contact

between the members and the feeling of belonging and sharing" (p. 54). Carpentier et al. approach community as an active process, rather than a label for a radio station or a group of people. This echoes Hall's (1996) social constructionist view in which identities are not "attributes that people 'have' or 'are' but resources that people 'use,' something they 'do'" (Dolón & Todolí, 2008, p. 8). Carpentier et al. (2003) further suggest that the interaction between audiences and producers shapes a communication process. "One-way communication" becomes "two-way communication" by changing the relationship between the broadcaster and the community (p. 54). Community radio stations that engage audiences in community radio programming practices transform listeners into participating and producing actors. According to Carpentier et al. (2003):

> Societal groups that are misrepresented, disadvantaged, stigmatized, or even repressed can especially benefit from using the channels of communication opened by community media, strengthening their internal identity, manifesting this identity to the outside world, and thus enabling social change and/or development (pp. 55-6).

The conclusions of Carpentier et al. regarding the transformative impact of community radio necessitate investigating these experiences from the perspective of community radio listeners.

The impact of community radio is often built on notions of empowering the "voices of the voiceless" or those communities underrepresented or marginalized by private or public media (Lewis, 2006a). Investigating empowerment requires understanding dynamics of power at play within station engagement practices as experienced by listeners. Speaking with community radio practitioners at the AMARC9 conference, Milan (2008) discovered multiple experiences concerning power among producers. She writes, "The notion of power comes back frequently in the interviews, but it is framed in a 'reversed' way: who 'has the power' does not directly benefit

from it" (Milan, 2008, p. 41). According to Milan, a producer might hold the microphone, but it is the community that defines the issues and engages with them. Milan (2008) notes that the microphone-holder might still take power by determining who speaks, but radio producers "appear to make frequent efforts to share their expertise with newcomers, which is to say to literally 'pass on' the microphone, not only hold it to allow other people to speak" (p. 41). This skill-sharing typifies the practice of transferring knowledge, not only to fulfill the mission of community radio, but also to ensure the continuity of the station by training the next generation of volunteers. But what do audiences have to report of their experiences as community radio listeners and/or volunteers?

A team of researchers in Australia (Meadows et al., 2007) conducted a national qualitative study concerning audiences of community broadcasting to document "the nature of empowering relationships and processes involved" (p. 24). Their investigation of the audience-producer relationship documents expressions of "ownership" of community radio by audience respondents evidencing "a weakening of the 'us' (the audience) and 'them' (the producers)" relationship (Meadows et al., 2007, p. 24). The redefinition of audiences and producers experienced by community radio listeners, according to Meadows et al., disturbs power dynamics that shape hegemonic media production and consumption practices, and as a result empowers audiences as listeners and producers. The contribution of Meadows et al. documenting the Australian experience reveals additional community radio audience research is essential to validate the contemporary theorization of community radio in other regions.

Today, there is a need to consider new approaches to theorizing community media outside of Western contexts and to address how theory can be informed by audience experiences. Hadl and Dongwon (2008) challenge scholars to clarify "in accessible language, the pros and

cons of different approaches in different contexts" (p. 104). Rennie and Howley are community media theorists in English language literature who offer contrasting approaches to the study of community radio. In 2006, Rennie's *Community Media: A Global Introduction* defines community media by tracing the concept of community within democratic theory. Her work illuminates the macro experience of community radio, offering a theoretical lens that views community media as part of civil society, which she identifies as non-state activity (Rennie, 2006, p. 34). Rennie's view places an emphasis on community radio's organizational structure and governance, while also evaluating what community broadcasting is able to achieve through influencing external structures and media policies.

Howley (2009a) offers "Notes on a Theory of Community Radio" in his edited volume called *Understanding Community Media* to present a micro level cultural analysis of community radio. Conceptualizing the relationship between communication and community, Howley draws on Anderson (2006), Carey (1992), and Cohen (1985) to consider the "symbolic construction of community" (Howley, 2010a, p. 64). Borrowing from Hall's definition of articulation, Howley highlights the role community radio plays in articulating community. Hall is a scholar-activist in cultural studies who developed articulation as an analytical and interventional tool to help organize activism (Hall, Morley, & Chen, 1996). As an analytical tool for individuals or groups that are building connections through their actions, Hall proposes articulation as a way to examine the strength of those ties and the differences that are ignored in joining together disparate elements. Hall also views articulation as means to reflect on organizing and to facilitate new alliances (Hall et al., 1996, p. 115).

Hall's definition of articulation helps Howley view the "unity of difference" produced by community communication (2009a, p. 7). Howley's theory of community radio offers a

descriptive and analytical tool for revealing the varied and sometimes competing forces and conditions that shape community radio initiatives. His theorization of community radio offers articulation as a resource for strengthening community media activism by evaluating how community alliances are forged through community radio practices, asking who is included and excluded, and considering new relationships (Howley, 2010a, p. 63). Howley argues,

> [V]iewed through the lens of articulation theory, community radio might be understood as a set of institutional, technical, political, and economic arrangements; a range of social and cultural practices; an ongoing process of community building and maintenance (Howley, 2010a, p. 64).

Howley's theoretical framework offers several insights concerning the impact of community radio. He points to the participatory media ethos of "doing" community-based media that produces alliances that "are neither natural nor inevitable" (Howley, 2010a, pp. 63–65). He further suggest that community radio also affords the possibility of rearticulating by cultivating actions that can "alter, re-make, or re-create any social formation" (Howley, 2010a, p. 65). Howley's approach to theorization also builds on his practitioner experiences within community radio stations. Based on this experience and his articulation framework, Howley studies community media in relationship to cultural imperialism, self-representation, and alliances between social, cultural, and political groups (Howley, 2010b, pp. 34–35).

Both Rennie and Howley re-work Habermas' concept of civil society (1998) to move beyond Eurocentrism (Gunaratne, 2006). Specifically, Rennie (2006) notes that any reflection on civil society must also consider a state's political structure (p. 145). In Jordan, for example, the growth of non-governmental organizations did not precede or lead to political change; rather it followed regime-sponsored reforms (Wiktorowicz, 2003). My own investigation of the impact of

community radio on audiences, social movements, and political change in Jordan considers power differences obfuscated by concepts like civil society to view of those excluded from and social, political, or economic rights (Hadl & Dongwon, 2008, p. 97).

Blindspots in Audience Research in Media and Communication Studies Scholarship

While audiences have been a central subject in media and communication studies since the field's founding (Dohle, 2008), this scholarship rarely investigates the experiences of *community* media audiences. In fact, despite the long history of community radio practices (Chapter 2), community radio audiences have largely been overlooked in scholarship. As described above, researchers concerned with community media focus on the institutional practices, content produced, or the context in which community media operate, rather than on the impact or reception of community media on audiences. Audience research typically focuses on consumers of media produced by private and public institutions. As I detail in this section, this is problematic in the study of community media audiences because the theories and methods deployed in audience scholarship contradict with the experiences of community radio listeners.

The majority of audience reception data collected is produced by audience measurement firms that rely on applied quantitative approaches (Napoli, 2010) that are not a viable option for documenting the experiences of community media audiences. Indeed, many of the basic assumptions made by theorists and researchers concerning audiences (McQuail, 1997) conflict with the practices and experiences of community radio stations and their listeners. For example, by encouraging community members to get involved in programming and in the station's decision-making structures, community radio stations blur the lines between listener and producer by engaging audiences within media production and governance practices as well as autonomous collective action in the community. The experiences of community radio audiences

help to problematize the conceptualization of audiences in scholarship. In addition, the cultural turn in audience studies raises conceptual and methodological questions that also inform new approaches to researching community radio listeners.

Atkinson (2005) contrasts the experiences of audiences of alternative media with the historical approach taken by audience researchers that portray audiences as a *mass* by focusing on mass behavior and media events, or as an *outcome* by focusing on effects and attitude changes, or as an *agent* through documenting uses and gratifications. More recently, Livingstone (2012) has observed a shift from the passive-active audience binary to participatory audiences, where media use is presumed. She writes, "Participation in society increasingly means participation in and through the uses of media, while, in a parallel shift, the complex media landscape offers increasing, though heavily qualified and contingent, opportunities for participation" (Livingstone, 2012, p. 259). Livingstone goes even further, modifying the periodization of audience studies extended by Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998) that originally proposed three shifts in paradigm in behaviour from incorporation-resistance to spectacle-performance. Livingstone (2012) shares the perspectives of the scholars of community radio audiences (Gordon, 2012; Jallov, 2005; Meadows et al., 2007) by arguing that participation is the fourth paradigm (p. 267). She identifies a shift from theorizing active audiences in the late twentieth century to participatory audiences sparked by the greater availability of mediated "opportunity structures" (Cammaerts, 2012) or what Vidali (2010) calls "participant structures" (Livingstone, 2012, p. 265). She reviews new debates concerning "how media enable or impede" audiences as mediated publics that participate in society (Livingstone, 2012, p. 267), which can address audience resistance or identities while emphasising media practices over the interpretation of media content or reception. The conceptualizations of audiences extended by

Livingstone and Atkinson help to problematize approaches to community radio audience research.

Although the field of audience research has many traditions, the cultural turn in audience studies was marked by the publication of Hall's (1996b) encoding/decoding model in 1974 which suggested that the production of meaning in media texts is engaged by media-makers and audiences, the latter of whom may resist preferred meanings encoded in text by interpreting (or decoding) a negotiated or oppositional reading. Subsequent scholarship saw the rise of critical audience researchers like Morley (1986) and Ang (1995) who viewed media use in context where audiences were interpretive communities (Lindlof, 1988). Expanding on this reception, Abu-Lughod (1997) and Larkin (2004) focused on people and media use as practice from an ethnographic perspective. Ethnographic audience research similarly engages in questions of reception and meaning-making employing qualitative methods such as immersion and participant observation in the examination of local cultures. This move towards audience ethnography in media studies was accompanied by a larger crisis in representation debated among ethnographers (Nightingale, 2005; Rosaldo, 1993). Contemporary approaches to audiences provoke new concepts and methodologies for conducting research among community radio listeners.

Limits to Audience Research by Community Radio Stations

Qualitative data on the engagement of community stations' audiences are generally unavailable. This is because community radio practitioners and scholars have yet to take up the debates in contemporary audience research. For example, Radio al-Balad regularly considers the outcomes of its work in project reports to its board of directors, funders, and donors. However, it was surprising for me to learn that the station had only facilitated one focus group among listeners in 2007 and only recently commissioned its first Listener Club phone survey

documenting audience preferences (Harris Interactive, 2010). As a practitioner of community news media, I have learned that this is not uncommon in the field of community radio. This is because most community radio stations are rarely afforded an opportunity to collect such data even though that information is useful for making informed decisions about the station's mandate, programming policies, funding strategies, or advocacy work within the community and among government officials and regulators. Prior to my research intervention, Radio al-Balad had no measure for assessing its mandate to impact the political education of its audiences. Radio al-Balad needed relevant, practical, and accessible methods for gathering qualitative data among listeners that enables the community to assess the station's achievements. This dissertation offers a new direction for conducting engaged, non-commercial audience research by proposing storytelling as a means to investigate the reception experiences of Radio al-Balad's audiences. Collecting qualitative audience data through storytelling is an accessible means for documenting a community radio station's influence on the political awareness and engagement of listeners.

Within the non-profit community radio sector, there are very few practical or affordable opportunities to gather data from listeners. Measuring audience satisfaction is expensive and most broadcasters rely on quantitative data generated by expensive ratings systems that typically only measure reach, not impact (Napoli, 2010). Audiences are largely invisible, as non-participating actors, for public and corporate media, so there is great value in this kind of data for profit-driven media institutions (McQuail, 1997, pp. 4–5). This type of quantitative audience research is beyond the means of and hardly relevant to community broadcasters. Instead of paying for or otherwise collecting quantitative data, some community radio stations rely on their ability to fundraise for part of their operating budget annually from their listeners to mark their

achievements within the community. However, counting listener donations is not the best method for measuring audience engagement (Orozco, 2011, pp. 140–141).

These gaps in the capacity for community radio stations to collect audience data is surprising given how, for community broadcasters like Radio al-Balad, the audience is not distant or unknowable like public or private radio stations might be. In contrast to commercial radio, audience members of community radio are often volunteers who receive training at the station, participate in programming, and/or attend station meetings. These activities for community radio listeners contradict conceptualizations of audiences by theorists that depict passive consumers (McQuail, 1997, p. 22) who have little to do with media production and no opportunity to participate in media governance. In addition, where all seventeen stations I toured in Amman draw on measurement data from Ipsos Jordan, the largest audience research company in the region, Radio al-Balad reports that the company refuses to poll radio listeners on issues relevant for community broadcasters, including topics like ranking the quality of local news or evaluating the trustworthiness of local broadcasters (Manager 1c, 2013). This is more evidence of the need for both theory and method to inform the study of community radio audiences given the political mandate that so often characterizes these stations' founding principles, governance and news programming practices.

Relations between a community radio station and its listeners are not one hundred percent mediated through programming. Yet there is still a need for audiences to be heard beyond on-air or face-to-face encounters in their stations. Several studies observe that community radio engages community participation (Dagron, 2001; Girard, 1992; Rodriguez, 2001; Sussman & Estes, 2005). However, only a handful examines the impact of these practices within community radio stations (Anderson, 2011; Fairchild, 2001; Khan, 2010). Where recent shifts in audience

studies have moved beyond the reception of media (Nightingale, 2005), only a few researchers have turned to community media audiences to allow the community to assess how effectively they are being served by their community radio stations (Jallov, 2005; Meadows et al., 2007; Orozco, 2011). Indeed, alternative media scholar Downing (2003) and community radio researchers like Meadows et al. (2005, 2006, 2007) note that the audiences of community media have largely gone unnoticed.

Theoretical Framework for Research Design

With these ideas in mind, this dissertation contributes to closing the gap in knowledge about community media audiences as participating and political actors within the station and in their communities by hearing from the listeners of a community radio station in Amman, Jordan. Rather than collect quantitative data of Radio al-Balad's audiences or facilitate an ethnography of the media landscape in Jordan, I pursued a political economy of communication approach to analyze the social, political, and economic forces that shape the FM dial in Amman. Viewing the contexts shaping local FM broadcasting practices contextualizes my case study of Radio al-Balad's governance, news programming, and audience engagement practices that prioritizes the experiences of listeners who tune-in to and/or participate in Jordan's first community radio station.

Insights from Current Approaches to Studying Community Radio Audiences

A new wave of engaged, participatory, and action-oriented qualitative research offers innovative techniques for studying the impact of community radio on listeners. Community radio audience researcher Gordon (2012) agrees that community radio stations, especially those stations working in criminalized contexts where community radio is illegal, are not served well by research techniques employed by audience measurement firms. Reflecting on studies of the

impact community radio from UNESCO (Berrigan, 1977, 1981), media scholars (Hearn et al., 2008; Lewis, 1994, 2006b; O'Sullivan & Lewis, 2006; Tacchi et al., 2003)(Hearn et al., 2008; Lewis, 1994, 2006b; O'Sullivan & Lewis, 2006; Tacchi et al., 2003), and anthropologists (Keith, 1995), Gordon concludes that quantitative and qualitative approaches deployed in combination can enrich audience data collected for community radio stations. She argues that quantitative data can give credibility to a station by enumerating audience size and qualitative data can document audience motivations or impact. In contrast, ethnographic action researchers investigating the impact of community radio deploy qualitative methods to document a community's interaction with technology within larger social and cultural structures, referred to as "communicative ecologies" (Tacchi et al., 2003, p. 2).

Where community radio stations have few resources to evaluate station practices, community radio researchers have developed new applied approaches building on the communication for development tradition. Jallov's 'bare foot' impact assessment (2005) offers an approach to community radio audience research that combines ethnographic action research with monitoring and evaluation techniques from communication and development studies. The 'bare foot' impact assessment considers three levels of analysis that include: 1) the internal functioning of the radio station from the point of view of staff and volunteers, 2) the station's programming content and engagement activities through regularly listening to the listeners, and 3) the impact or change achieved through interviews or focus groups in the community (Jallov, 2005, p. 3). This research model is aimed at building the capacity of community radio stations to collect data and conduct assessments without requiring an external researcher. Data collected through this methodology can ensure community radio is achieving station goals and is simultaneously accountable to local partners and funders.

My case study of Radio al-Balad collects data concerning the three areas identified by Jallov, including internal debates, station practices, and impact on listeners, while placing these data in the context of the communicative ecology found on the FM dial. Other researchers similarly foreground participatory and qualitative methods that not only build collaborative research relations to amplify the voices of community radio audiences, but also reflect principles guiding the practices of community radio stations (Meadows et al., 2007; Orozco, 2011; Sobers, 2010). Employing these methods in my own practise with Radio al-Balad, I strived to promote self-representation by gathering audience-produced personal narratives and facilitating a space for listeners to share stories of the impact of community radio in their civic lives.

For the research project *Community Media Matters*, one method inspired by community radio practices used by Meadows et al. (2007) was their approach to focus groups, which they argue matches the democratic ideals of community radio in promoting access and participation. The research team also planned to "find new ways to channel knowledge and findings into practical ends," which they argue ensures the research has "empowering practical possibilities for research participants" (Meadows et al., 2007, p. 21). With these goals, Meadows and his team of researchers developed a method that included "cooperative" focus groups to "complement the nature, goals, and processes of the community broadcasting sector" (2007, p. 23). They write, "[B]y involving community media organizations in our research method and encouraging audience involvement and participation in our discussions about community media, we attempted – by the very nature of our methodology – to achieve this aim of active citizenship" (p. 23). My research design drew on the motivations of Meadows and his team of researchers to build an engaged and collaborative approach. In the field, I valued the recommendations of

Radio al-Balad managers, news producers, volunteers, and listeners regarding the proposed methodology and encouraged their participation in the analysis and reporting of the data.

During the summer of 2012, I invited several Radio al-Balad members, including managers, news producers, and the president of the Listeners' Club, to join a research advisory committee to provide insights on the collection of audience data scheduled for the following summer. When I returned in 2013, no meetings of the research advisory committee were convened. I offered updates and received regular feedback about the project from Radio al-Balad volunteers, like the president of the Listeners' Club, and several station staff members, including the general manager and the station manager. I recruited a new Radio al-Balad volunteer, recommended by station management who worked as my research assistant. My research assistant facilitated and translated random taxicab interviews. She also helped collect and translate listener stories, and she conducted the audience focus groups in Arabic. Throughout our collaboration in the field, my research assistant offered her insights regarding the data collected, deepening my own analysis.

Focus groups were a second opportunity to cultivate collaborative research methods to analyze and enrich the audience data collected through storytelling. An additional strategy engaged by Meadows et al. (2007) to ensure the inclusiveness of their sampling methods within Indigenous communities included monitoring an interactive radio program for five days. The program included on-air interviews with project researchers. Listeners were invited to phone-in to these shows with their comments on community media. According to the researchers, "this represented an excellent opportunity to tap into a range of audience members who not only listened to Indigenous radio but also interacted with other community members and the TalkBack host through the program" (Meadows et al., 2007, p. 30). The interdisciplinary

research design I proposed to study the impact of Radio al-Balad on audiences draws on the insights of community radio audience researchers like Meadows and Jallov to inform my own approach to conducting collaborative and engaged research that prioritizes the knowledge of Radio al-Balad members and listeners.

Milan (2013) also conducts engaged research among media and technology activists. She facilitates an equitable knowledge exchange or "mutual learning" based on "iterative dialogue and horizontal relationships" (Milan, 2013, p. 183). She further observes the intersections of participatory action research and engaged research emphasizing social transformation, collaborative approaches, and reflexivity. This orientation to engage research values research methods that facilitate narratives and other means to document the point-of-view of participants. Milan also ensures representation and analysis are co-constructed by avoiding imposing conclusions or assumptions of researcher. The above engaged, participatory, and action-oriented research approaches extend new methods for valuing community radio listeners.

Theoretical Framework for Researching Radio al-Balad's Impact

At a retreat held in the Dead Sea in 2011, a decade after the founding of AmmanNet, Radio al-Balad programmers, managers, board members, and listeners affirmed their vision of the station to be "the most influential radio in Jordan in order to create a democratic society" (AmmanNet, 2011). According to one producer, Radio al-Balad achieves this mandate by airing community radio programming that supports social movements and forms of power not addressed elsewhere in the media (Producer 1b, 2012). What follows is a review of the political economy of communication, community radio, social movement media, radical adult education, third sector studies, and anti-oppression literatures that I draw on to investigate the impact of

Radio al-Balad's governance, news programming, and audience engagement practices on the political lives of community radio's audiences.

My theoretical framework addresses the gaps identified above in scholarship concerning social movement media, community radio research, and the theorization of audiences. Viewing community radio in the WANA region as a form of social movement media recognizes community radio station practices that help cultivate social movements and political learning opportunities. Investigating these practices at Radio al-Balad problematizes audience theorization by viewing listeners as participating and political actors within the station and in their communities. Further, my case study of Radio al-Balad analyzes the social, political, and economic forces that shape FM dial policies and broadcasting practices to provide a context for reflecting on community radio programming practices and listener experiences. In addition, my approach to studying the impact of community radio perceives political and social change beyond transformations of state power to also examine the impact on social movements and in the political lives of audiences, including station governance practices that perpetuate internal conflicts or oppression.

My research design builds on theoretical framework informed by radical adult education theory and anti-oppression literatures to shape evaluative approaches borrowed from non-profit sector (or third sector) studies. Community radio stations are typically non-profit organizations with mandates guided by participatory values in their work towards democratizing local media and political landscapes. A distinct field of scholarly study has focused its attention on non-profit institutions, philanthropies, and other non-state and non-corporate types of organizations, commonly referred to as third sector studies (Taylor, 2011). Social movement and third sector studies pay little attention to the role of media institutions per se. Yet, both maintain overlapping

interests in the mobilization of collective action however different the starting points. For example, where social movement studies emphasize media use in the service of oppositional politics, studies of the non-profit sector commonly investigate media use for campaigns or coalitions of civic action and public opinion. Della Porta and Diani (2013) suggest the two overlap, creating a common interest in "the mechanisms that facilitate or discourage citizens' involvement in collective action" (p. 69). This orientation is useful in critically evaluating how the reception of community radio programming and engagement practices of community radio stations impact the political education of audiences.

Community radio audiences in Australia report that local news "enables them to participate in the social and political lives of their community" (Meadows, Forde, Ewart, & Foxwell, 2008, p. 8). Indeed, community radio audiences deserve more attention to assess the impacts of this programming on their daily lives and third sector studies helps orient my investigation of issues concerning issues of participation, governance, and accountability. Recently several scholars (Brandsma & Schillemans, 2012; Fischer, 2014) have offered third sector studies new frameworks for measuring impact, accessing participation, and ensuring accountability to funders, governments, and members. Measures offered by Fischer (2014) of governance practices include the distribution of power, resources, and decision-making processes, evident transparency in knowledge and information exchanges, and established collaborative partnerships, inter-institutional dialogue, and greater accountability (p. 458). This work helps to problematize participatory community media, especially where critical development researchers have found that "tyranny is both a real and a potential consequence of participatory development" (Cooke & Kothari, 2001, p. 3). Third sector researchers and critical

development scholars inspire new questions for investigating the impact of community radio stations and programs in the civic lives of audiences.

Combining anti-oppression literature with third sector researchers and critical development scholars who focus on transparency and accountability offers an opportunity to explore the conflictual realities of community radio stations, including “core tensions” identified by Fairchild (2001, p. 7) among community radio stations in Canada and “inter-community discord” described by Huesca (1995, p. 105) that required a response by community radio stations in Bolivia. The corruption of power and privilege is harmful to the sustainability of any community radio station (Hancock & Khan, 2004). This view of conflict helps illuminate the processes of exclusion experienced at Radio al-Balad among audiences and stations members. My approach included approaches found within third sector and development studies. I deployed an anti-oppression lens that views systematic oppression and exclusion of marginalized communities as constituencies who may have similar experiences within their own community radio stations.

Where Dominelli (2003) documents the central role of anti-oppression literature in social work, scholars like Khan (2010) demonstrate the value of this understanding in evaluating the training practices of community radio stations in Canada. Challenging oppression and forms of power not addressed elsewhere in the media is part of the mandate of Radio al-Balad (Producer 1b, 2012). Drawing on anti-oppression literature to inform approaches borrowed from third sector studies allows my research to interrogate this mandate and the station's practices in order to create sustainable mechanisms for participation and accountability. This approach is necessary according to practitioner and scholar Coyer (2011), who examines the “normative view” of community radio. She draws on Williams (1985) who asserts, the word 'community' is always

used positively. Because community radio “is typically seen as a good thing” and “it tends to aspire to some form of inclusiveness,” Coyer (2011) suggests this orientation necessitates a more critical review of each station “to identify who is 'in' and who is 'out;' who belongs and who does not” (pp. 170-1). Thus, using anti-oppression literature offers a lens for viewing the processes within community radio stations that may include or exclude listeners and station members.

Non-profit sector scholarship and anti-oppression literature helps to problematize the mechanisms of engagement practiced by community radio stations, but how does this critical view of community radio practices extend to assessing the political learning environments cultivated by stations? The field of radical adult education offers ways to investigate how learning is built into community organizing and social movement activities. Radical adult education scholar Foley (1999) offers a broad definition of education and learning, emphasizing the relationship between education and collective struggle to build a framework which situates learning and education within a context of political economy, micro politics, ideologies, and discursive practices (pp. 130-131). While the contribution of community radio stations has generally been overlooked in social movement and third sector studies (Holst, 2001, pp. 80–81), the field of radical adult education studies has similarly neglected the role of media in struggles for social change.

Investigating the pedagogical function of community radio in the political lives of Radio al-Balad's audience requires an understanding of radical theories of adult education to evaluate learning in struggle. From this viewpoint, we can approach social movement organizations, and the community radio stations that support them, as facilitating learning environments and acknowledge the links between adult education and the political transformation of society (Foley, 1999). Theorists Dykstra and Law (1994) conceptualize social movements as educative

forces. They argue that the critical pedagogy of movements is one that "critically informs, challenges and engages people in the creation and re-creation of knowledge" (Dykstra & Law, 1994, p. 123). Much of this literature continues a lifetime of work by Freire (Freire, 1970, 1972, 1985) whose education for liberation constructs a "vision of education as preeminently a political process" (Coben, 1998, p. 68). The result is that theories of radical adult education highlight the importance of educative forces necessary for cultivating and sustaining social movements.

Scholars critical of social movement and development studies (McMichael, 2009b) contribute to the debate concerning radical education and social change, offering to revise the "approach to social movement analysis by examining movements not as vehicles of social theory about popular mobilization, but as lenses on the restructuring of the global order" (p. *xiv*). McMichael focuses on "critical struggles" contesting "disempowerment" and seeks to problematize how reality is constructed in modernization models underpinning development narratives. By investigating the "epistemic content of these struggles – how they particularize the meaning of social change through place-based engagements," McMichael (2009a) emphasizes the "values and meanings" embedded in "struggles for rights, access and representation" (p. 4). Unfortunately McMichael's critical development view of the role of social movements in facilitating education, creating knowledge and promoting new meanings or symbols, is rare.

Critical development scholars, like McMichael, value the role of social movements in education and radical adult education theories focus on political education within social movements, but both fields neglect the role of media (Foley, 1996). Downing's (2000) ground breaking work on radical media, a term that includes community radio, documents the ways in which media ferment political change by targeting oppression and strengthening social movements. Many community radio stations encourage their listeners to take an active role in the

station and their communities (Sussman & Estes, 2005). My theoretical framework draws on the theories and practices of radical adult education compiled by Foley (1999) and Newman (2006), the latter of which offers a view of storytelling (a popular tool for community radio productions) as a "magical way of teaching and learning" (p. 256). The former reveals the potential of community media in "informal, incidental and embedded learning" (Foley, 1999, p. 2) that occurs in the civic lives and everyday experiences of community radio audiences. These approaches to the study of radical adult education inform my theoretical framework for valuing the impact of community radio by inspiring relevant methodological tools and research questions.

The preceding literature on radical learning within social movements foregrounds reasons why my methodological approach to investigating the impact of Radio al-Balad prioritizes storytelling among listeners in contrasts with audience research on "decodings" (audience interpretations), which accounts for the bulk of qualitative audience reception studies (Jensen, 2011). Over the years, decoding has been criticized for projecting meaning while ignoring the dynamic practices and divergent experiences of audiences themselves (Ang, 1991). Facilitating storytelling to document experiences of community radio listeners, I also address a broader challenge for contemporary scholars of audiences:

> All audience research faces the problem of how audiences can be researched with any sort of rigor, given the complexity of the communication processes it involves. Audience experiences have to be put into words, and the words have to be interpreted… The study of audience is implicated in the contemporary crisis of knowledge (Nightingale, 2005, p. 376).

A response to important criticisms of ethnography concerning ethics, power, identity, and politics, autoethnography has since evolved as a popular tool within many fields (Jones, Adams, & Ellis, 2013, pp. 25–26). Autoethnography was first termed as a "mode of self-representation" as early as 1975 by American anthropologist Heider (Sobers, 2010, p. 114). This methodology has only just begun to be considered in audience research (Dhoest, 2015). However, Sobers (2010) has taken up autoethnography in the study of community media and he affirms the applicability of this methodology in community radio research:

> [Autoethnography] favours the stakeholders to speak for themselves, presenting individuals articulating what the impacts were on their own lives directly, thus matching the methodology of the study with the principles of the community media sector itself: to enable individuals to represent themselves (p. 2).

To promote self-representation among community radio listeners in Jordan, I gathered audience-produced personal narratives as source data during my fieldwork to facilitate a space for listeners to share stories of the impact of community radio in their civic lives. In this way, I was afforded a greater opportunity to *hear* the listeners.

Hearing listeners in my case study of Radio al-Balad addressed some of the debates raised by contemporary scholars of audience research. Reflecting on the history of audience research in media studies, Livingstone (2012) asks: what are audience researchers seeking to achieve? She proposes that scholars of audiences "are tracking audiencing" as a dynamic practice shaped by specific historical, cultural and technological contexts (p. 267). Livingstone (2012) suggests audience researchers take up interdisciplinary practices while remaining open to understanding the "changing conditions of communication in everyday life" that impact the social uses of media, participation in media, and the contemporary mediation of social and civic

engagement (p. 270-1). Livingstone also identifies Gershon (2010) and Vidali (2010) as media ethnographers who note that audience participation is rooted in media ideologies that "focus on how people understand both the communicative possibilities and the material limitations of a specific channel" that then "shape, although not determine, their communicative practice" (Gershon, 2010, pp. 284–285; quoted in Livingstone, 2012, pp. 266–267). Mathieu and Brites (2015) similarly approach audience research as contextual inquiry (p. 44). The emphasis on context by contemporary scholars of audience research informs my own theoretical approach to the FM dial that aims to contextualize my case study of Radio al-Balad.

I argue the contextualization of audiencing can be revealed through the lens of political economy (Smythe, 1981), which offers a historical analysis of the political policies and economic processes that shape media landscapes and communication experiences. The lens of the political economy of communication, according to Mosco (2009), reveals "the power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and exchange of resources" (p. 55) to view the "deeply contested history" (p. 49) that underpins contemporary media systems. Current themes in political economy of communication research (Wasko, 2005, pp. 38–39) include the historical development of media, media economies, the global communication system, relations between media and state powers, and resistance within media or against media by various publics (unions, workers, citizens, public participants, activists, etc.). Reviewing contemporary trends in the political economy of communication, Mosco (1996) suggests that divergent approaches share a common interest in researching "capital, class, contradiction, conflict and oppositional struggles" (Wasko, 2005, p. 30) while pursuing analysis that seeks to expand the "scholarly imagination" and the possibilities for "social intervention" (Mosco, 1996, pp. 20–21; quoted in Wasko, 2005, p. 31). Research taking up the political economy of

communication in combination with cultural studies approaches, according to Wasko (2005), is needed for "a complete critical analysis of culture and media" (p. 42). The cultural studies approach to audiences reviewed above is complimented by the critical inquiry of media institutions, technologies, practices, content and ideologies (Pendakur, 1993).

To conclude this section on my theoretical framework, I have described why I draw insights from several literatures—the political economy of communication, community radio and social movement media, radical adult education, third sector studies, and anti-oppression literature—to investigate the impact of community radio on the political lives of community radio's audiences for my study of Radio al-Balad. My primary research questions investigated the impact of Radio al-Balad's news programming on the civic life of the station's audiences by exploring audience members' responses to two points of inquiry. The first level of inquiry investigates how the station's news programming informs their political actions or opinions and whether they perceive any specific impacts in their community resulting from news content aired on the station. The second level of inquiry investigates how audience members engage in the structures of the station (for example, its Listeners' Club) and in producing news programming and participating live on-air.

Research Design Framework

Radio al-Balad functions as a representative example of the many other non-profit community radio stations that provide communities with access to a participatory media institution. My investigation of the impact of Radio al-Balad on the political lives of its audiences considers two dimensions of analysis: my case study and the context for the case study (Table 2). The next section of this chapter reviews the data I collected, how these data were analyzed and validated, and the limitations of my research design.

Table 2: Dimensions of research design.

Research Dimension		Research Methods
Context	Jordanian social, political, and economic contexts	Interviews conducted in the field with local activists and analysis of secondary literature.
	Jordanian media system	Interviews conducted in the field with 15 taxi drivers and 2 Radio al-Balad managers, and analysis of secondary literature.
	Amman's FM dial	Guided tours of 17 radio stations in Amman, interviews conducted with 8 radio broadcasters and 2 media researchers employed by the region's largest audience measurement company, as well as various secondary sources of quantitative audience data.
Case Study	Research on the Radio al-Balad's history and governance practices	Interviews conducted in the field with 11 station members and analysis of secondary literature consisting of station artifacts (bylaws, minutes, and other artifacts concerning station operations).
	Research on Radio al-Balad's news programming practices	Participant observation of news programming practices and interviews conducted in the field with 9 news producers working on 5 community news programs.
	Research on Radio al-Balad's listeners	Analysis of phone survey data of 500 listeners. Facilitated storytelling with 13 listeners and 2 audience focus groups with 18 participants.

Context Dimension of Research Framework

I conducted fieldwork and analyzed secondary literature to build the context for my case study. To understand Jordan's political history, I drew primarily on the work of Massad (2001) who conducted extensive research of Jordan's military and legal archives to construct a history of the creation and definition of Jordanian national identity. His work references several examples concerning the role of state-run radio and television broadcasts in imposing the new national identity. For an analysis of the history and policies that fermented the Arab uprisings in 2011-2012, I turned to Hanieh's recent book that documents how the Hashemite regime maintained power in Jordan despite popular street protests against political and economic corruption in Jordan.

To complement Massad's history of Jordanian national identity and Hanieh's work on the Arab uprisings, during the summer of 2012, I met with and interviewed two youth activists who collaborated with Radio al-Balad to understand how the Arab uprisings impacted activism, local media, and politics in Jordan. The interview was conducted in English with open ended questions focusing on Jordan's political history, the media landscape, and contemporary social movements. On a separate occasion during the same summer, one of the youth activists I interviewed also invited me to join a walking tour of Amman, explaining the social and economic development of the capital city. In addition, the following summer I produced several reports for *Electronic Intifada* and CKUT 90.3 FM while I conducted my fieldwork. This journalistic content was produced in English and covered current events and protests, but also offered historical context and analysis provided by local activists, including members from the Jordanian Popular Boycott Movement, the families of Jordanian-Palestinian prisoners on hunger strike in Israeli jails, and a youth activist who was among those protesting Jordan's hosting of the World Economic Forum and Israel's President Shimon Peres' participation.

Expanding on the data concerning Jordan's political history and contemporary activism, I conducted primary and secondary research to understand the history of Jordan's media system. Prior to beginning my fieldwork, I compiled a case study of media policy in Jordan using secondary sources (Article 19, 2006; Najjar, 2001, 2008; Sakr, 2001, 2002, 2007). In the field during the summer of 2013, I facilitated random interviews conducted by my research assistant in Arabic with fifteen taxi drivers to understand the reception experience of dedicated radio listeners (Table 3). This research site became evident to me when I was in the field travelling back and forth to Radio al-Balad with Yafa, my eldest daughter who was 6 years old at the time, at my side. The experience of conducting preliminary fieldwork with my daughter afforded me

social capital both within Radio al-Balad (where I became known as "Um Yafa" meaning "Yafa's mother") and outside of the station. I could easily interact with taxi drivers about their radio listening experiences without breaking local social norms that limit interactions between women riding alone with male taxi drivers. I chose taxicabs as a research site for several reasons. Every cab has a radio and taxi drivers reported listening to radio twelve to fifteen hours a day. Also getting in a cab randomizes the selection process because taxicab drivers represent a broad cross section of Jordanian society. There are drivers with high school degrees, some who are university graduates, those who rent cabs or own their own, those who are retired and driving to fill the days, and others who are driving as a second or third job.

I also conducted interviews in English with the producer of Radio al-Balad's critical media literacy program *Ain al E'lam* (Eye on the Media) and the station founder about the media landscape in Jordan. Also during the summer of 2012, I conducted (through a translator) an interview in Arabic with the producer of *Sawt Al-Aghwar* (Voice of the Valley) about the local media landscape in the Jordan Valley. These interviews provided analysis of the bias of media in Jordan towards national issues and urban areas, how national identity and various sources of power impact the media, and how state-run, private, and non-profit community media represent social problems and social movements in Jordan.

In addition to collecting data on Jordan's political and media history, during my last week in Amman in the summer of 2012 I toured seventeen of Amman's most popular radio stations. To determine which stations to visit, I consulted the radio results released in Ipsos Jordan's National Readership Survey (2011) that ranked FM broadcasters according to peak adult audience rate (Table 4). I also discussed popular stations on the FM dial with Radio al-Balad's marketing manager. Based on his experience in the Amman radio market, we included top

stations that did not appear in the Ipsos rankings. Some of the stations were owned and operated by the same organization. Thus a single site like the Jordan Radio and Television (JRTV) compound, for example, included a tour of all five of their stations.

Table 3: Primary data collected from taxicab drivers in Amman, Jordan, (n=15) and interview protocol.

Assigned Code
Taxi driver 1, Amman, May 23, 2013
Taxi driver 2, Amman, May 23, 2013
Taxi driver 3, Amman, May 23, 2013
Taxi driver 4, Amman, May 27, 2013
Taxi driver 5, Amman, May 27, 2013
Taxi driver 6, Amman, May 27, 2013
Taxi driver 7, Amman, May 30, 2013
Taxi driver 8, Amman, May 30, 2013
Taxi driver 9, Amman, May 30, 2013
Taxi driver 10, Amman, May 30, 2013
Taxi driver 11, Amman, June 3, 2013
Taxi driver 12, Amman, June 3, 2013
Taxi driver 13, Amman, June 3, 2013
Taxi driver 14, Amman, June 3, 2013
Taxi driver 15, Amman, June 3, 2013
Interview Protocol for Taxicab Drivers
1. Tell your story (age, from where, family, education, work, where do you live?). 2. Have you ever listened to Radio al-Balad? 3. What station(s) do you listen to and why? 4. Have you ever visited the station(s) you listen to? If no, why? 5. Have you participated in any of the programs on the station(s)? If no, why? 6. Have you ever produced content for the station(s)? If no, why? 7. Have you ever heard anything on the station(s) that informed your political actions? 8. Do you recall any programs you heard that had a direct impact (big or small) on your or someone or something in your community?

Table 4: Top five radio stations in Jordan.

Name	Frequency	Peak Adult Audience Rate
Rotana	99.9 FM	502,000
JRTV – Qur'an	93.1 FM	188,000
Amen	89.5 FM	174,000
JRTV – Amman	99.0 FM	129,000
Mazaj	95.3 FM	78,000

Source: Ipsos Jordan – NRS 2011

During my tour of eight broadcasting sites, I conducted interviews in English and Arabic (through a translator) with state and private broadcasters (Table 5). These interviews documented the station's history, ownership, advertising and branding practices, and audience engagement practices. The protocol for these interviews is also reported on in Table 5. My goal in conducting these interviews was to compare the non-profit, community radio practices I observed at Radio al-Balad with private and state-run radio stations. Chapter 4 presents my findings and discussion from the context dimension of that analyses the social, political, and economic forces shaping of the FM dial in Amman, Jordan.

Finally, I also toured and conducted interviews at the headquarters of Ipsos Jordan, the region's largest audience measurement company. During my fieldwork in the summer of 2013, Ipsos Jordan conducted a radiometry (RDM) survey of listenership in Amman. As part of this study, Ipsos Jordan's Media Client Servicing staff contacted Radio al-Balad with an invitation to monitor the radio study live and ask any questions about the methodology. This invitation was extended to me by Radio al-Balad's station manager and I accompanied her to Ipsos Jordan's headquarters to witness the radio study and conduct an interview about the company's audience research methodology. My objectives were to understand the company's approach to audience research and to document the views of senior researchers about Amman's FM dial and Jordan's media landscape. My questions drew on my knowledge of audience research methods and the feedback I had heard from broadcasters during the tours and interviews I conducted the previous summer. Several stations questioned the independence of Ipsos Jordan as well as the validity of Ipsos' radio station rankings. Learning more about Ipsos Jordan's approach to measuring audiences in Jordan informed my analysis of the FM dial reported on in Chapter 4, titled "The Social, Political, and Economic Contexts Shaping the FM Dial in Amman."

Table 5: State and private broadcaster interviews in Amman, Jordan, (n=8) and interview protocol.

Assigned Code	FM Frequency of Station(s) Toured
FM Broadcaster 1, Amman, August 6, 2012	104.7
FM Broadcaster 2, Amman, August 7, 2012	88.7
FM Broadcaster 3, Amman, August 8, 2012	88.0 / 90.0 / 93.1 / 96.3 / 99.0
FM Broadcaster 4, Amman, August 8, 2012	97.7 / 99.9 / 103.7
FM Broadcaster 5, Amman, August 9, 2012	91.1 / 102.1 / 104.2
FM Broadcaster 6, Amman, August 9, 2012	89.5
FM Broadcaster 7, Amman, August 9, 2012	99.6 / 105.1
FM Broadcaster 8, Amman, August 9, 2012	95.3
Interview Protocol for State and Private Broadcasters	
1. What is your station's history? 2. Who owns the station? Under what kind of licensing? 3. What kind of programming do you air? In what languages? 4. What is your most popular show? 5. Do you air news content? 6. Who is your target audience? 7. Who is listening? Do you collect audience data? 8. Do you sell advertising? What is your income from advertising? 9. What is the station's brand? How do you identify your station for audiences and advertisers? 10. Is radio dead in Jordan?	

Case Study Dimension of Research Framework

I also conducted both primary and secondary research for the case study dimension of my research design. What follows are brief summaries of how I researched Radio al-Balad's history and practices (governance, financial, and news programming), including the station's engagement of volunteers and audiences. Findings from my case study are presented in Chapter 5, "Case Study of Radio al-Balad: Governance, News Programming, and Listener Engagement."

To collect data on the institutional history of Radio al-Balad, I relied on secondary literature (Pintak, 2007; Zweiri, 2012), station artifacts, and interviews. The station's history is available in multiple publications produced by Radio al-Balad. The historical documents I collected, reported on in Table 6, include a short handout I was given in 2009 called "About

Radio al-Balad," a paper presented at the AMARC 9 Congress held in Amman titled "Community Radio for Development in Jordan" (Aqrabawi et al., 2006), and two booklets published in in Arabic and English marking the fifth and tenth anniversaries of Radio al-Balad. To enrich this data, I conducted interviews about the station's history with the former station manager as well as the general manager and founder of the station. In addition, given AmmanNet's initial launch as an online radio station before obtaining a licence to broadcast on the FM dial as Radio al-Balad, I asked to visit the station's broadcasting infrastructure during the summer of 2012 to document the technology Radio al-Balad relies on to broadcast on the FM dial.

To investigate the station's governance practices, I conducted interviews and collected several artifacts. I documented the station organizational structure and practices through six interviews facilitated over the summers of 2012 and 2013 with two station managers, the president of the Workers' Committee, the former coordinator of the Listeners' Club as well as the club's president, and the general manager and founder of the station. Because I worked from Radio al-Balad on a daily basis while I was in the field, I had easy access to additional station artifacts such as the bylaws for the Listeners' Club and the minutes from a station retreat held on April 2, 2011. I also received organizational maps concerning Radio al-Balad's staff relations and departmental structures. These documents and interviews advanced my understanding of the station's governance practices briefly described in the abovementioned anniversary booklets.

The station's financial practices as a non-profit community radio station were fully disclosed to me by station management. I was provided a copy of Radio al-Balad's annual budget and the general manager supplemented the numbers by answering my questions concerning the station's fiscal practices. In addition, during my fieldwork in the summer of 2012,

I volunteered in the Projects Department of Radio al-Balad, where I was asked to review forty-four funding applications made in English from 2006-2012 to compile a "previous projects" document for Radio al-Balad. The resulting funding history not only provided a data source that Radio al-Balad needed, but also compiled evidence of the financial support community radio in Jordan receives from external donors.

Table 6: Artifacts collected from Radio al-Balad for case study.

Radio al-Balad Artifacts	
History	Document: About Radio al-Balad Presentation: Community Radio for Development in Jordan 5th anniversary publication: AmmanNet Radio (Arabic/English) 10th anniversary publication: Refining Media Boundaries (Arabic/English)
Governance	5th anniversary publication: AmmanNet Radio (Arabic/English) 10th anniversary publication: Refining Media Boundaries (Arabic/English) Minutes: Station retreat Bylaws: Listeners' Club (Arabic) Organizational maps (Arabic)
Financial	Sales & marketing profile (Arabic) Annual budget Document: Previous funding projects 2006-2012
Programming	Program grids (in Arabic from 2009, 2012, 2013) Policy: Elections coverage (Arabic) 5th anniversary publication: AmmanNet Radio (Arabic/English) 10th anniversary publication: Refining Media Boundaries (Arabic/English) Document: About Radio al-Balad
Engagement	Presentation: Community Radio for Development in Jordan Website audience statistics Harris Interactive phone survey Minutes: Station retreat

To understand Radio al-Balad's programming practices I relied on several sources of data, including journalistic interviews, participant observations, a participatory workshop, various station artifacts, and interviews. In 2009, when I toured the station, I interviewed the station manager and four producers in English and Arabic about community radio practices in Jordan for a radio report I prepared for broadcast on CKUT 90.3 FM ("Community Radio in Jordan," 2009). I transcribed these interviews before returning to Amman to begin my fieldwork

in 2012. While working from the station during the summers of 2012 and 2013, I conducted participant observation in the News Department, where I attended the weekly news meetings and joined journalists on assignments covering local protest events. During the summer of 2012, I facilitated a participatory workshop (in English with Arabic translation) sharing skills on how community radio journalists cover protest events. This skill-share resulted in an exchange of experiences with Radio al-Balad journalists, allowing me to gain additional insights about the station's news gathering practices. These data complimented the interviews I conducted about the station's programming practices with Radio al-Balad, the President of the Listeners' Club, two station managers, the general manager and nine producers. These interviews are compiled in Table 7.

My case study of Radio al-Balad investigated the impact of community radio news programming in facilitating political learning environments. I selected five community radio news shows because of their focus on political education (Table 8). These community radio news programs offer content that seeks to impact the civic awareness and political education of listeners. In contrast, Radio al-Balad's popular morning program and afternoon call-in show host a different theme daily. Further, the public affairs programs aired by Radio al-Balad target specific groups like women, youth, or refugees and cover a variety of political, social, cultural, economic, and legal issues.

My choice of *Ain al E'lam* (Eye on the Media), *Sawt Al-Aghwar* (Voice of the Valley), *Nas Wa Nas* (People and People), and *Huwa Hizbee* (Factional Winds) was also informed by my review of scholarly literature concerning community radio and social movement media that characterized community radio programming as democratizing communication, facilitating community participation and empowerment, strengthening social movements and opportunities

for political change, and countering the status quo (Ferron, 2012; Rauch, 2015; Rodriguez, 2001). I applied these scholarly insights and the advice of Radio al-Balad members who suggested programs that facilitated political learning. I also learned from Radio al-Balad producers that *Ain al E'lam* (Eye on the Media) and *Al-Majles* (The Parliament) had the largest Internet audiences. In addition, the 2010 phone survey identified that *Nas Wa Nas* (People and People) had the most popular host (Harris Interactive). Choosing popular programs as well as programs identified as cultivating political learning environments helped to focus my fieldwork on my research questions.

Table 7: Interviews with Radio al-Balad station members (n=11).

Assigned Code	Program/Other Positions
Producer 1, Amman, (a) November 16, 2009; (b) August 4, 2012; (c) May 24, 2013	*Ain al E'lam** (Eye on the Media) & former station manager
Producer 2, Amman, (a) August 12, 2012; (b) May 15, 2013	*Sayarah FM* (Car FM) & President of the Listeners' Club
Producer 3, Amman, (a) November 16, 2009	Journalist in the News Department
Producer 4, Amman, (a) November 16, 2009	*Sawt Al-Aghwar* (Voice of the Valley)
Producer 4, Jordan Valley, (a) August 4, 2012; (b) June 12, 2013	*Sawt Al-Aghwar* (Voice of the Valley)
Producer 6, Jordan Valley, (a) August 1, 2012	*Sawt Al-Aghwar* (Voice of the Valley)
Producer 7, Amman, (a) November 16, 2009; (b) August 6, 2012; (c) June 12, 2013	*Nas Wa Nas* (People and People) & former coordinator of the Listeners' Club
Producer 8, Amman, (a) August 9, 2012	*Al-Majles* (The Parliament)
Producer 9, Amman, (a) June 14, 2013	*Huwa Hizbee* (Factional Winds) and former president of Workers' Committee
Manager 1, Amman, (a) July 29, 2012; (b) May 22, 2013; (c) June 6, 2013; (d) June 13, 2013	Current general manager
Manager 2, Amman, (a) May 20, 2013	Current station manager
* All transliterations of news program names are copied from Radio al-Balad publications (AmmanNet, 2010).	

For each program I selected for my case study, I facilitated interviews during the summer of 2012 and 2013 with the show producer(s) using the protocol included in Table 8. All interviews with Radio al-Balad producers were recorded in Amman, except for one interview

that was arranged with a citizen journalist from *Sawt Al-Aghwar* (Voice of the Valley) and conducted in the Jordan Valley. The participation of Radio al-Balad news producers helped to orient my research to the history of the programs, their approach to community radio news, and their views on audience engagement.

The final area of focus for my case study of Radio al-Balad's impact on civic awareness and political education documents the engagement experiences of selected members of the station's audiences. To inform my own approach to researching Radio al-Balad's audience, I obtained a copy of Radio al-Balad's first audience phone survey of five hundred listeners from Radio al-Balad's listener database (Harris Interactive, 2010). The compiled data included audience demographics and preferences as well as statistical analysis and excerpts of listener comments. The survey asked listeners to define Radio al-Balad's identity and a majority (or forty-three percent) of respondents agreed that Radio al-Balad represents a station that seeks to "raise issues of concerns to the country, citizen, and the citizen's voice" (Harris Interactive, 2010, p. 29). To expand on the outcomes of this phone survey, my methodology prioritized listener storytelling and enriched the qualitative data gathered through audience focus groups.

I recruited audience members for my fieldwork with the guidance of Radio al-Balad members. The station manager assisted me in producing a short radio announcement in Arabic about my research project. I also prepared a blog in Arabic (radioalbaladresearch.wordpress.com) about my fieldwork that was linked on the front page of the Radio al-Balad's website. Although the blog received over two hundred views, no one completed the online form to participate in the research project. A Radio al-Balad manager suggested that this was not unusual as it was uncommon for Jordanians to enter personal information in an online form. Another method I used to recruit audience participation was

seeking access to the Radio al-Balad's listener database. The phone survey completed in 2010 by Harris Interactive used listener contacts from Radio al-Balad's listener database, but when I arrived in the field in 2013 and requested access to the database none could be found. No digital copy of the listener database was never compiled and no paper copy could be located. While a listener database can help facilitate audience research, the resources to maintain such a contact list were beyond Radio al-Balad's means. The lack of a current listener database at Radio al-Balad is indicative of the aforementioned lack of capacity community radio station have to conduct audience research.

Table 8: Community news programs (n=5) included in the case study and interview protocol for news producers.

Show	Description of Program	On-Air
Ain al E'lam (Eye on the Media)	A weekly critical look at the media scene in the region.	2004-present
Sawt Al-Aghwar (Voice of the Valley)	A weekly program addressing various problems in Jordan's valleys.	2007-present
Nas Wa Nas (People and People)	This weekly show covers human rights issues within Jordan.	2008-present
Al-Majles (The Parliament)	Live broadcasts and commentary from the Parliament.	2009-present
Huwa Hizbee (Factional Winds)	A weekly program focusing on political parties and legislation through hosting representatives of Jordan's political parties.	2010-2014
Interview Protocol for Radio al-Balad News Producers		
1. How long have you worked on this program? 2. What is your personal history and radio or journalism experience? 3. What is the mandate of community radio? 4. How did you get involved at Radio al-Balad? 5. What is your program's history and goals/mandate? 6. What is your favorite program and why? 7. What has been the audience response? 8. Who is your audience? How do they engage the program? 9. What do audience members say they like or dislike about your program? 10. What has been the impact of your show on people with power and those without power?		

To overcome the lack of a listener database and the failure of audience recruitment through my research blog's online form, I asked the programmers from *Huwa Hizbee*, *Nas Wa Nas*, and *Ain al E'lam* to provide names and contacts of listeners who regularly tune-in and/or provide feedback. I focused on audiences of these three programs because during the summer of 2013, neither *Sawt Al-Aghwar* (Voice of the Valley) nor *Al-Majles* (The Parliament) were on the air. The former was off air because the funding for the program ended and the latter was off the air because Parliament was not in session. Each producer submitted the names and contacts for four audience members. In addition, the Listeners' Club President arranged for club members to participate in the recording of personal narratives about their experiences as Radio al-Balad listeners. Instructions for using the portable recording equipment and the protocol for guiding listener storytelling, available in English in Table 9, were prepared in Arabic to facilitate the self-recording of audience narratives. In total, thirteen audience members (Table 9) told stories in response to the questions about their engagement as a listener of Radio al-Balad and the impact of community radio governance and news programing practices.

The two focus groups mentioned earlier provided a second opportunity to gather data from that station's audiences, this time providing a space for listeners to analyze the research data gathered from the audience generated narratives. To prepare for the focus groups, my research assistant and I reviewed the data collected from thirteen listener stories and pulled short clips that we both agreed informed my research questions. My research assistant and I worked together, in part, to facilitate the research process collaboratively, but also because twelve of the thirteen stories collected from listeners were recorded in Arabic. Afterwards, we both co-hosted one focus group as a call-in talk show that was broadcasted live on-air during an evening timeslot and a second focus group held in-person on a weekend afternoon at a café near the

University of Jordan. I had initially proposed two on-air focus groups, but due to scheduling difficulties the airtime was not available. Through the support of my research assistant along with Radio al- Balad producers and volunteers, I collected over fifteen hours of audience-generated data through storytelling and focus groups within five weeks. Table 10 lists the codes used for the audience members who participated in the on-air focus group hosted on June 10, 2013, and Table 11 lists the audience members who joined the in-person focus group held on June 15, 2013.

For the on-air and in-person focus groups, I played clips from listener narratives and asked audience members to react to the story being shared. In both focus groups, this produced lively discussions, but the more critical discussion happened during the in-person session. After the on-air focus group, my research assistant and I realized listeners joining live by telephone were largely hesitant to address bad experiences or offer negative criticism of the station. This was also true of the audience-produced narratives, which did not include very many criticisms of the station. By contrast, listeners shared many frustrations about the station (and offered solutions) during the in-person focus group. While listeners did engage in storytelling during both the in-person and on-air focus groups, the generation of new narratives during these discussions was limited by time constraints and the evident dynamics of group participation that included interruptions and cross talking. An additional positive outcome of the on-air focus group was airing content never before heard on Radio al-Balad. My research methods had made evident the fact that Radio al-Balad rarely commits airtime to engage listeners about its community radio mandate, structure, practices, or impact. The on-air focus group was the first time listeners heard a participatory broadcast about Radio al-Balad's achievements and challenges.

Table 9: Audience storytelling data collected (n=13) and protocol for guiding storytelling.

Assigned Code
Listener Club 1, Amman, May 18, 2013
Listener Club 2, Amman, May 18, 2013
Listener Club 3, Amman, May 18, 2013
Listener Club 4, Amman, May 18, 2013
Listener Club 5, Amman, May 18, 2013
Listener Club 6, Amman, May 18, 2013
Listener Club 7, Amman, May 18, 2013
Listener Club 8, Amman, May 18, 2013
Listener 1, Amman, May 18, 2013
Listener 2, Amman, May 27, 2013
Listener 3, Amman, May 31, 2013
Listener 4, Amman, June 3, 2013
Listener 5, Amman, June 4, 2013
Interview Protocol for Audience Storytelling
Introduction 1. Tell your story (age, from, family, education, work, etc.). 2. Tell the story of how you found Radio al-Balad. 3. What is the first program you recall hearing? What did you think of it? Structure 1. Have you ever visited Radio al-Balad? If so can you tell the story of your first visit? If not, why? 2. Have you ever attended a Listeners' Club meeting? 3. If so can you tell the story of your first meeting? If not, why? Participation 1. Have you participated in any of the news programs on Radio al-Balad, how and what do you recall? If not, why? 2. Have you ever produced content for Radio al-Balad? If so can you tell the story of the production you are most proud of? If not, why? Engagement 1. Have you ever heard anything on Radio al-Balad that informed your political actions? 2. Do you recall any news programs that had a direct impact on you or someone or something in your community?

Table 10: On-air focus group data collected (n=13).

Assigned Code	
Focus Group 1	On-air focus group participant 1, Amman, June 10, 2013
	On-air focus group participant 2, Amman, June 10, 2013
	On-air focus group participant 3, Amman, June 10, 2013
	On-air focus group participant 4, Amman, June 10, 2013
	On-air focus group participant 5, Amman, June 10, 2013
	On-air focus group participant 6, Amman, June 10, 2013
	On-air focus group participant 7, Amman, June 10, 2013
	On-air focus group participant 8, Amman, June 10, 2013
	On-air focus group participant 9, Amman, June 10, 2013
	On-air focus group participant 10, Amman, June 10, 2013
	On-air focus group participant 11, Amman, June 10, 2013
	On-air focus group participant 12, Amman, June 10, 2013
	On-air focus group participant 13, Amman, June 10, 2013

Table 11: In-person focus group data collected (n=5).

Assigned Code	
Focus Group 2	In-person focus group participant 1, Amman, June 15, 2013
	In-person focus group participant 2, Amman, June 15, 2013
	In-person focus group participant 3, Amman, June 15, 2013
	In-person focus group participant 4, Amman, June 15, 2013
	In-person focus group participant 5, Amman, June 15, 2013

The audience data from Radio al-Balad listeners complemented the random data procured through the fifteen interviews conducted with radio listeners driving taxicabs. Of the random interviews facilitated in taxis reported on in Table 3, all of the interviews were with men. For the purpose of the focus groups, I was better able to achieve more gender diversity in organizing the in-person focus group as the demographics of the on-air focus group was also generated randomly based on the calling order of listeners. The gender of focus groups and storytelling participants is reported in Table 12.

Table 12: Gender representation in focus groups (on-air and in-person) and storytelling.

Research Method	Female Participants	Male Participants
On-air focus group	5	8
In-person focus group	4	1
Storytelling	5	8

Data Analysis and Validation

While in the field, the majority of the audience data I collected was translated by my research assistant. In Montreal, I secured a second translator to complete the translations and validate the work completed in the field by my research assistant. In this way, most of the translations were reviewed twice by certified Arabic to English translators before I transcribed the data into English. In order to immerse myself in the stories told by Radio al-Balad listeners and producers after returning from the field, I prepared all of the data transcriptions myself. I then used the above research questions to inform how I hand-coded the data. This technique also allowed me to code the data by drawing on explicit meanings rather than my own interpretations (Hill, Thompson, & Williams, 1997). I copied the coded sections of data into a table organized by colour-identified themes as represented in Table 13. These tables were useful for organizing my coding of nearly one hundred pages of transcribed data representing the personal narratives, focus groups, and interviews into clearly identifiable themes.

Table 13: Coding scheme used for data analysis.

Participant	Introduction	Structure	Participation	Engagement

I shared the preliminary results of my analysis of the data collected among station producers and audience members within a two-part research report prepared for Radio al-Balad. The recommendation sections of each installment of this report will be made available online at my research blog in Arabic, along with the full report available in English. This research report provided an opportunity to share the project results with the Radio al-Balad community and invite their comments on the presentation of the data gathered and the proposed recommendations. The critical feedback of project participants on how their station and experiences were represented in the research report is necessary to validate the outcomes of this

project. The process for validating the research reports took nearly eight months of correspondence after which I began drafting my dissertation. The decisions concerning the validation of the research outcomes reflect the community radio principles of collaboration and self-representation guiding my research design (Jallov, 2005; Meadows et al., 2007; Orozco, 2011; Sobers, 2010).

Conclusion

In this chapter I presented a theoretical framework and research design orienting my case study of Radio al-Balad to address the gaps that I identified in English language social movement media, community radio, and audience research. After reviewing several bodies of literature that informed my investigation of the impact of community radio on the political lives of community radio's audiences, including radical adult education theories, anti-oppression literature, and non-profit sector studies, I chose a storytelling approach to prioritize hearing the listeners in my case study of Radio al-Balad and as my attempt to address the larger crisis in representation debated among contemporary scholars of audience research. Self-recorded storytelling provided audience members with a platform for critically evaluating the participatory structures facilitated by community radio stations like Radio al-Balad and the processes of engagement that underpin the listening experiences of community radio audiences. In this way, the listeners assessed how effectively they were being served by their community radio stations

My fieldwork conducted over two periods in 2012 and 2013 included collecting stories told by selected members of Radio al-Balad audiences, conducting participant observations of station programming practices, recording interviews with key station producers, and facilitating two focus groups with listeners of Radio al-Balad—one hosted on-air in Arabic and another held in-person with the help of an Arabic translator. I prepared excerpts from the audience-generated

stories I collected to share with the two focus groups in an attempt to ensure Radio al-Balad listeners had the opportunity to articulate their own experiences by hearing and contributing to the stories of other audience members.

These focus groups in combination with storytelling sessions recorded by listeners allowed what I like to refer to as "the passing of the research microphone" to prioritize self-representation in community radio audience research, allowing many voices to produce and analyze audience research data. This approach to data collection drew on some of methods used by community radio audience researchers as well as new techniques that I discovered while doing this research in the field. Throughout my dissertation research, community radio principles influenced my choices of data collection and analysis methods, including collecting feedback on the research methodology, facilitating opportunities during and after my fieldwork for mutual learning (including interventional tools for Radio al-Balad based on the research outcomes), and gathering data through participatory production methods. In keeping with these principles, my collaborative research design encouraged the participation of Radio al-Balad managers, news producers, and volunteers in the validating of the analysis and the reporting of the data.

My research design builds on the approach of community radio researchers who focus on staff and volunteer views, station engagement practices, and community radio's impact. I enrich community radio scholarship by also investigating the communicative context of community radio audiences and stations through the lens of political economy. This multi-modal approach to community radio research is engaged. My methods seek to facilitate an equitable analysis between historical knowledge alongside of news producer and listener experiences in an effort to discern the impact of Radio al-Balad on its listening audiences, who are engaged as participating and producing actors. As a former community radio journalist and news program producer

myself, I believe that this collaborative approach facilitates a form of "engaged" community radio research that ensures knowledge is co-constructed as opposed to imposing conclusions or assumptions of myself as a researcher or expert. Such a commitment to collaborative knowledge production, however, necessarily extends the amount of time required for a given research project.

During my fieldwork, my methods allowed me to investigate how Radio al-Balad challenges hegemonic media and political power in Jordan described in Chapter 1. Having reviewed the evolution of community radio practices and research in Chapter 2 and the abovementioned academic literature concerning community radio, social movement media, and audiences, I have detailed in this chapter how and why my fieldwork was oriented to valuing community radio audiences as participating actors in knowledge that is produced by, for, and about them. This is critical to investigating the impact of community radio news programming in facilitating political learning.

As a scholar-practitioner with more than a decade of experience as a media activist in independent media movements and the community radio sectors of Canada and the United States, I am motivated to facilitate research that strengthens the participatory and democratic practices of community radio stations. A final approach being deployed in this research project upholds the unity of theory and practice—as advocated by Hadl and Dongwon. On there "to-do list for *our media* theory researchers" (emphasis in original), Hadl and Dongwon (2008) included the task of "deepening the connections between research and practice" (p. 104). Howley also elevated the importance of unity in theory and practice. His "Theory of Community Radio" describes a framework that has developed over time and considers both historical analysis, as well as the "day-to-day practice" of community media (Howley, 2010a, p. 63). His participation

in community media for over three decades has shaped his theoretical approach, a framework that I eagerly embrace. He believes that practice is necessary to understanding the dynamic and complex nature of community radio. Howley argues that research must be based in "critical scrutiny to fully comprehend the range of structures and practices, experiences and meanings, associated with community media" (Howley, 2010a, p. 2). Thus, my research design is has been informed by these values as well as by my own years of experience working in community media. In the chapters that follow, I share my analysis of my findings drawing on my consultations with local research advisors and participant-observations I conducted at Radio al-Balad during my dissertation fieldwork.

Additionally, facilitating the collaboration of Radio al-Balad news producers and listeners in this research design enriched my interdisciplinary theoretical framework and mixed methodological approach. My approach draws on radical adult education theory to illuminate the embedded learning that occurs in everyday practices, third sector studies to evaluate non-profit institutional practices concerning participation and accountability, and anti-oppression literature to focus on structures of power, privilege and exclusion. I argue for an approach to studying community radio that incorporates the experiences of community radio audience members by prioritizing their own storytelling, by engaging them in collaborative research, and through facilitating critical reflection on Radio al-Balad's governance, news programming, and audience engagement practices more generally.

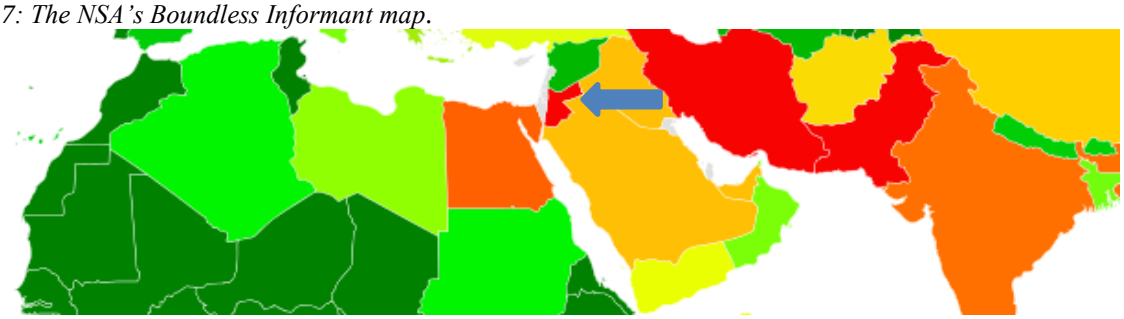
Engaged community media audience research prioritizes storytelling as a means for listeners to evaluate the impact of the community radio stations established to serve their community's needs. Over a decade of community media scholarship and the corresponding rise in the use of personal narrative and reflexivity in qualitative research (Jones et al., 2013, pp. 25–

26) inspires this framework for evaluating the effectiveness of community radio's mission to democratize local media and political landscapes. Although time consuming and intimidating for some listeners, storytelling procured within this framework can amplify the voices of community radio audiences and can provide rich data offering a means for evaluating the effectiveness of community radio stations more generally. The next chapter presents selected findings from my research of the social, political, economic forces shaping the FM dial in Amman, thereby placing my case study of Radio al-Balad, presented in Chapter 5, within an appropriate context.

CHAPTER 4: The Social, Political, and Economic Contexts Shaping the FM Dial in Amman, Jordan

Understanding the social, political, and economic forces influencing the broadcasting sector in Jordan reveals how relationships of power or other structural inequalities shape practices on the FM dial and the state's regulation of media (Wasko, 2005, p. 27). In Jordan, the regime's control and surveillance of the press, broadcast media and internet is overt. I share evidence of this as a result of fieldwork I conducted in Amman that corresponded with the release of data by Edward Snowden and *The Guardian* (Greenwald & MacAskill, 2013) that included the "Boundless Informant" map. Featured in Figure 7, the map illustrates the control maintained by the Jordanian authorities over communication infrastructure. This map details the amount of information collected from computer and telephone networks. Each nation is color coded according to how much data are collected by each state's local intelligence agency and shared with the National Security Agency (NSA) of the United States government. The color scheme ranges from green (populations least subjected to surveillance) through yellow and orange to red (most surveillance conducted). In the "Boundless Informant" map, Jordan (indicated by the blue arrow) appears in red and ranks among the top three countries for the amount of data collected. Given the amount of surveillance data collected by the Hashemite regime and shared with the NSA, this map illustrates one example of why it is important to investigate how political and economic power shapes communication in Jordan.

Figure 7: The NSA's Boundless Informant map.



Source: The Guardian

The chapters that I have presented thus far provide historical and theoretical context for my research design that investigates the political impact of community radio practices. In Chapter 2, I analyze a global history of community radio practices within four distinct periods to illustrate how community broadcasters struggled to access the spectrum and often used radio a tool for grassroots political communication. Chapter 3 reviews my qualitative and collaborative approach rooted in community radio research methods and theories from social movements, third sector, radical adult education, and anti-oppression literature. Recognizing community radio as a form of social movement media and community radio audiences as political actors, Chapter 3 also details my research design conducting engaging research through storytelling to document the impact of community radio in the political lives of listeners. In this chapter, I analyze the political and economic history of Jordan to understand the development of radio infrastructure and media policy in Jordan. After a general overview, I focus attention on how these contexts shape FM broadcasting practices and reception experiences.

Introduction

The political and economic forces that shape FM broadcasting worldwide have continued since the radio spectrum was allocated over one hundred years ago (Chapter 2). In *Dependency Road*, Smythe (1981) discusses the political, economic, and social history of the allocation of the radio spectrum (pp. 300-318). Smythe argues the usefulness of political economy analysis in highlighting the relationships between people and the environment because radio broadcasting relies on a spectrum, or what Smythe (1981) calls “a peculiar natural resource” that is “nondepletable and self-renewing” yet requires global cooperation “for the radio spectrum to be used by everyone” (p. 301). These characteristics of the radio spectrum for political economists like Smythe (1981) make radio spectrum allocation one of the best examples of the relationship

between politics and technology (p. 308). The radio history documented by Smythe helps to orient my approach to investigating the FM dial in Amman, where the radio dial is also a source of political and economic power.

Taking up the lens of political economy to view the FM dial in Amman, I will analyze how historical, political, economic, and cultural forces shape radio broadcasting practices in Jordan. This chapter builds on the history of radio as the first broadcast technology of the industrial period analyzed in Chapter 2 that reveals how imperial powers colonized the radio spectrum for political and economic profits. The political economy of communication affords an opportunity to provide a context for my case study of community radio in Jordan that is informed by "how communication in society occurs, who shapes it, under what specific conditions, and for what purpose" (Pendakur, 1993, p. 85). The lens of political economy, as I argued in Chapter 3, also helps investigate the contexts that shape the reception and engagement experiences of radio audiences, particularly community radio audiences.

In this chapter, I begin by reviewing the various contexts that impact media practices on the FM dial in Amman and the state's regulation of media in Jordan. My analysis of these developments is enriched by data collected in interviews with media and youth activists, random radio listeners, and FM broadcasters (Tables 2, 3, & 5). I use the lens of political economy to view the forces that shape radio broadcasting practices that engage social problems and social movements. This approach allows me to distinguish community radio practices at Radio al-Balad from the practices of private and state broadcasters. My research design (Chapter 3) allows me to view how local contexts shape broadcasting policies and practices on the FM dial in Amman that create a radio environment that amplifies state power, cultivates national identity, and maintains the status quo.

Overview of Jordan's Political and Economic History

To understand how the FM dial in Amman today is a source of political and economic power, I will first provide an overview of Jordan's political and economic history. The Emirate of Transjordan was granted independence in 1946 by the British colonial authorities and became the Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan (later to become Jordan). The Western-backed monarch King Abdullah I negotiated the deal. The logic of Jordan's independence, whereby direct colonial rule was replaced by pro-British rulers was tested by the British in 1922 in Egypt and in 1932 in Iraq (Hanieh, 2013). After the war that created the state of Israel in 1948, Jordan annexed the West Bank and East Jerusalem, granting all residents Jordanian citizenship on April 24, 1950, including the "three hundred thousand Palestinian refugees made landless following their expulsion to the West Bank in 1948" (Hanieh, 2013, p. 82). This resulted in the doubling of the population in Jordan overnight and today more than half the population of Jordan is of Palestinian origin (Goldberg, 2013). Demographics in Jordan today continue to shape access to political and economic power. Legal and cultural practices managed by the monarchy include privileging trans-Jordanian tribes and East Bank Jordanians in employment and government as well as incorporating the Palestinian elite into Jordan's wealthiest class (Hanieh, 2013; Massad, 2001).

After the assignation of King Abdullah I in Jerusalem in 1951, the throne was passed on to his son Talal who was soon after replaced by his own sixteen year old son Hussein in 1952. The United States moved to support the young King against rising anti-imperialist sentiments in the region. To achieve this, in 1957 the Eisenhower Doctrine was first tested in Jordan when the Americans sought economic and political gains through imperialism or political exploitation and economic domination (Hanieh, 2013, p. 14). After dismissing the popularly elected government

of Suleiman al-Nabulsi (who called for closer relations with China, the Soviet Union, and Egypt), King Hussein banned political parties and enforced martial law in Jordan. In exchange for King Hussein's support of the Eisenhower Doctrine, the United States followed with financial and political support, ultimately supplanting British interests to become Jordan's major Western ally (Hanieh, 2013, p. 20). These imperial and colonial forces worked with King Hussein to exploit Jordan's political and economic development.

The global economic crisis of the 1970s became further entrenched in the 1980s, resulting in increasing Jordan's indebtedness along with Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, and Tunisia who were paying thirty to sixty-five percent of their export earnings to service their debt while taking new loans (Hanieh, 2013, p. 27). These economic policies placed the region in a "cycle of debt" and "at the forefront of neoliberal reform" (Hanieh, 2013, p. 41). Institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank typically require structural reforms in exchange for loans. In Jordan, King Hussein obliged by normalizing economic relations with Israel, liberalizing trade, and privatizing state-owned companies and lands. The King also introduced bilateral trade agreements, signing the first with Israel and the United States in 1997. Such agreements are linked to the establishment of Qualified Industrial Zones (QIZs) in Jordan. Soon after, over a dozen QIZs allowed Israeli and American investors to exploit cheap labour and export goods labelled "Made in Jordan QIZ" ("Boycott Israel from Jordan to Quebec," 2013). Under the bilateral agreements, QIZ goods were granted duty-free access to US markets and by 2007 they made up seventy percent of Jordan's exports to the United States (Hanieh, 2013, p. 31). Such agreements that reproduce economic domination have not always been received well on the streets of Jordan. This was the case when protests erupted across Jordan in 1989 over hikes in food prices implemented under IMF sponsored adjustments and again in 1996 after the

King Hussein complied with IMF polices and demonstrators took to the streets in response (Ryan, 1998). On both occasions violence perpetrated by state security forces quelled poplar dissent.

Despite street demonstrations rejecting economic restructuring, King Hussein continued to implement neoliberal policies through privatization and cuts on social spending, but cushioned the impact with some political concessions such as reviving the parliamentary system and enacting the Political Parties Law (Najjar, 2001, p. 87). After the King's death in 1999, a second phase of neoliberalization was introduced in the 2000s by King Hussein's son and successor to the throne, King Abdullah II. The new King used the banner of democratization to accelerate privatization and deregulation of labour markets (Hanieh, 2013, p. 43). The result was increased job insecurity produced by new temporary contracts that could be renewed without limitation and changing conditions to make it easier to fire workers in the public sector (Hanieh, 2013, p. 46).

Today, Jordan remains a non-oil economy with an authoritarian monarchy ruling over a population of more than six million of which eighty percent live in urban areas (Hanieh, 2013; UNDP, 2013). Jordan's cities are also home to the majority of the country's poorest households, including the country's capital Amman, as well as Irbid and Zarqa illustrated in Figure 8. In addition, nearly fifteen percent of Jordan's households live below the poverty line and another 255,231 households are just above it (UNDP, 2013), making the latter precarious in the face of economic restructuring. For example, between 2007 to 2009 food prices rose by twenty percent in Jordan and as a result poor families, who typically spend a larger portion of the household income on food, were the worst hit (Hanieh, 2013, p. 117). With the country's exports largely limited to potash and phosphate, and little access to water and land for agricultural purposes,

Jordan today is broke and reliant on aid from the United States, Gulf countries, and the IMF (Goldberg, 2013). In addition to a never ending debt crisis, Jordan is facing high unemployment especially for people under thirty-five years old who make up seventy percent of the population. The official youth unemployment rate is stagnant at over thirty percent or among the highest in the world (Hanieh, 2013, p. 60). Offering few benefits for the majority of Jordanians, political and economic changes driven by neoliberalization have resulted in street protests calling for corruption charges against government officials and relatives of the royal family. In the next section of this chapter, I analyze how Jordan's political and economic history has shaped the development of Jordan's media policies and radio broadcasting practices with specific attention to the impact on social movement media like community radio.

Figure 8: Map of Jordan.

Source: Wikipedia

The Importance of Radio Broadcasting in Jordan and the WANA Region

I approach the WANA media landscape with a focus on broadcast radio because social movements and independent journalists in the region have difficulty accessing mass media (Chapter 3). In addition, radio receivers are both affordable and available in the region, including to most Jordanians (Aqrabawi et al., 2006). Indeed, today, according to Boyd (1999), "Arabic is now second to English as an international broadcasting language" (p. 5). Boyd attributes the proliferation of Arabic broadcasting to the coinciding transistor revolution and political movements of the 1950s and 60s. The young Arab states in the WANA region that disposed of monarchies and overthrew colonial powers immediately set up national broadcasting systems (Boyd, 1999, pp. 4–5). However, Amin (2001) notes that many of the newly independent states handed over their broadcast infrastructure to foreign companies to run – in Egypt, the British Marconi company and in Tunisia, the French broadcasting authority (p. 30). Radio broadcasting continued to be monopolized by states across the WANA region, until the 1980s when there was an increase in privately licenced, commercial format broadcasting by several governments opening the FM dial in some countries (Amin, 2001, p. 29) as well as the more recent development of community radio stations operating in the region (Aswatona, n.d.). In 2006, the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (known by its French acronym AMARC) held its annual global conference in Amman, Jordan, and maintains a growing membership database for the WANA region (Light, 2006).

All of the states in the WANA region have a colonial history (Amin, 2001, p. 24) and this context has ramifications for Jordan's broadcasting history. Boyd (1999) documents the early efforts of colonial administrators to establish radio broadcasting infrastructure in the WANA region. This was the case in Jordan where radio broadcasting began under the Palestine

Broadcasting Service with towers built by British colonial administrators in Ramallah in 1936 (Boyd, 1999, p. 92). After the British left Palestine in 1948, Arab forces took over the infrastructure in Ramallah continued to broadcast as the Hashemite Broadcasting Service. At this time from North Africa to Iraq, independence revolts and military coups often included taking over the national broadcasting systems set up by colonial regimes (Boyd, 1999, p. 5). These broadcasting systems served the newly independent states by engaging with public opinion across the region. For Cairo's Voice of the Arabs, the resulting impact on audiences, according to Boyd (1999), led King Hussein and his British allies to construct Amman's first radio studio and transmitter in 1956, featuring the King himself launching the first broadcast (p.93). Since this broadcast, Jordan's radio dial was linked to the agenda of the new state.

Massad (2001) reminds us that radio broadcasting was part of this imposition of national identity. He notes that with the introduction of the nation-state in Jordan, the regime took specific measures:

> Transjordan, a territory carved from the Ottoman Empire, was rearranged territorially and demographically by British colonialism and the Hashemite Amir Abdullah and ushered into a new age, the age of the nation-state. To render the new order permanent, a number of strategies were created that led to the imposition of a new identity, called national, on a population that adhered to a different set of identities […] The new identity and the new national culture were then deployed not as the new products, which they in fact were, but as eternal essences that had always existed (Massad, 2001, p. 276).

The media system was part of the Hashemite regime's strategy to propagate the new national identity. After Jordan gained independence in 1946, the new state relied on the broadcasting infrastructure inherited from the British to help forge this new Transjordanian national identity.

Massad (2001) points to radio stations that collected folk songs to jam the airwaves with Bedouin music and others that produced new music in urbanized (and understandable) Bedouin accents (p. 76). This imposition of national identity is also evident in the regulation of media throughout the WANA region. This next section will analyze the historical, cultural, social, economic, and political contexts that shape radio broadcasting in Amman. I will distinguish how media regulation and radio station practices in Jordan impact local social movements and social movement media, like community radio.

The Role of Media Policy in Jordan

Contemporary media policy and broadcasting practices in Jordan are similar to those found in the WANA region. Scholars of Arab media Kraidy and Khalil (2010) observe that media policy in the WANA region is dominated by "regime survival and monopoly over power" (p.126). Others scholars conclude that the current broadcasting system in the region has largely been built to "preserve national unity" and state power. This results in the broadcasting system being used as a tool for political or propaganda purposes. Ultimately, the media are kept out of opposition control or influence (Amin, 2001, p. 29). Kraidy and Khalil (2010) also recognize that Arab states have "diverging priorities" in their national media policies (p. 126) and common problems, including "ambiguously worded, catch-all legal provisions pertaining to 'national unity' and 'national security'" and "overlapping jurisdictions [that] make regulation and policy implementation inconsistent and open to manipulation and excessive abuse" (p. 139). Buckley et al. (2008) suggest such regulations produce a media landscape that is tightly controlled, not just through power of the state, but also due to the prevalence of censorship (either direct or self-censorship), and an absence of "serious political debate or analysis" (p. 66). Media regulations and practices like the above, I argue, also impacts the reception experiences of audiences.

The following historical analysis follows the development of contemporary media policies and radio broadcasting practices from the first laws concerning media, dating back to 1927 (Najjar, 2001, p. 79), to the 2002 Audiovisual Media Law, which opened-up private FM licensing and created the Audiovisual Commission. In the section that follows, I draw on this historical context to distinguish state-run and private radio broadcasting practices found on the FM dial in Amman from the community radio practices at Radio al-Balad. I also analyze the policies that shape non-profit, independent community radio practices at Radio al-Balad. By tracing Jordan's media policy history, I illustrate that regulations affecting FM broadcasting in Amman have not developed linearly from repressive to progressive, but rather, as described by Sakr (2001), through a "stop-go transition" (p. 107).

Knowing how Jordan's political and economic history has influenced the development of media regulations is necessary to understand the current Audiovisual Media Law that regulates radio broadcasting and the possibility for further reforms that can cultivate non-profit community radio broadcasting. This context necessarily includes the geopolitical history of Jordan because according to media scholar Sakr (2001), such "considerations have been, and will remain, highly influential in the evolution of Jordanian legislation affecting media" (p. 107). Reviewing Jordan's media policy development, Najjar (2001) also prioritizes the viewing of the "political theatre" of Jordan. Najjar (2001) summarizes the political events shaping Jordanian media regulations to include: 1) the large numbers of Palestinian refugees who changed the population demographic in the country fleeing the wars of 1948 and 1967; 2) Jordan's violent conflict with the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in the 1970s; 3) the 1987 Palestinian Intifada; 4) and the ongoing peace negotiations between Arabs and Israelis (pp. 78-79). These are among the political events that have shaped and continue to shape Jordan's media laws. This section will

summarize how the imposition of national identity, state power, and the status quo have shaped the development of media regulations in Jordan.

The introduction of the first media law, the "Instructions of the Publications Department and the Official Gazette," in Jordan dates to March 12, 1927 (Najjar, 2001, p. 79). Najjar (2001) observes that this law lacked precise wording and was signed by *rais al-nuthar* (the manager or director), not a minister where as several ministers signed the laws that followed (p. 79). This suggests "that authority over the press was still diffuse and did not rest with a specialized body like the Ministry of Information" (Najjar, 2001, p. 79). The loose framework of the law further alludes to a lack of political or social conflict concerning media and thus little motivation to state the details. By 1933, the administrative authority over media laws becomes more evident, however, at this time only the Prime Minister signed the Press Law (Najjar, 2001, p. 79).

The 1930s also saw a rise in geopolitical influences on media policy in Jordan. Najjar (2001) notes the fear of German and Ottoman influences and the government's reaction, basing the Press Laws of 1939 and 1945 on the 1935 Defense of East Jordan Law. "This law," according to Najjar (2001), "gave the government extra powers to waive constitutional guarantees, censor the press inside Jordan, control the entry of publications and mail from abroad" (Najjar, 2001, p. 79). After the war of 1948 that created the state of Israel, the population in Jordan doubled and the changed demographic realities which became evident in the Press Laws (Najjar, 2008, p. 221). The resulting Defense Regulation No. 5 for the year 1948 was signed by the Prime Minister and Minister of Defense and "contained more stringent restrictions on press content than previous laws" (Najjar, 2001, p. 79). The regional wars and conflicts at the time motivated the newly independent state of Jordan to link media regulation and national defense. Such laws also helped maintain the regime's monopoly over political power.

The Cold War was the largest influence on media policy in the 1950s (Najjar, 2001, p. 81). Two new laws regulating media in this era include the Law Fighting Communism (No. 91, 1953) and the Law of Publications (No. 79, 1953). The former targeted the Communist Party, making it illegal to possess communist literature and the latter placed "stricter conditions" on licenses for newspapers (Najjar, 2001, p. 81). In addition, the Defense Regulation came back into force on August 18, 1954, canceling licensing for newspapers, dissolving political parties, and prohibiting public assemblies. Further measures mandated that printing presses provide samples of their typefaces and their annual budgets to the government. The restrictions were not implemented without resistance. In late 1955, a strike was held to protest the closure of six newspapers. The government retaliated with a curfew that was not lifted for several months (Najjar, 2001, p. 82).

The rise of the PLO in Jordan during the 1960s challenged state power and in 1967 the government imposed martial law and further revised the Press Law (Najjar, 2001, p. 83). Partial ownership was forced on newspapers effectively allowing the Jordanian government a "hold on the press through partial direct ownership" (Najjar, 2001, p. 83). According to the government, this change sought to improve "journalism standards and to establish minimum educational requirements for writers and editors." In addition, the law required any prospective editor-in-chief to acquire a "certificate of good conduct" from the intelligence agency as a prerequisite for licensing. However, Brady has observed that the Press Law revisions of 1967 were "widely regarded as an effort to reduce the predominant journalist voice of Palestinians" (Brady, 1967; quoted in Najjar, 2001, p. 83). Taking further strides to silence the critical press, Jordan's government closed several newspapers, including the PLO's *Al-Fatah*, and began their own daily publication, *Al-Rai* (The Opinion) in June 1971 (Najjar, 2001, p. 84). Through these targeted

media regulations and by expanding the state's production of media, Jordan sought to maintain the status quo by minimizing Palestinian voices for liberation in the media landscape.

The 1970s saw Black September when state security forces killed thousands of mostly Palestinian-Jordanians and violently expelled the PLO (Massad, 2001, pp. 244–245). For Najjar (2001), this extermination and expulsion policy targeting internal resistance was reflected in the 1973 revisions of the Press Law (p. 84). Regulatory power was granted to the Ministry of Information and the Department of Press and Publications, although the ultimate authority rested with a Council of Ministers who had the power to revoke licenses and ban papers without a court review (Najjar, 2001, p. 84). Samples of typeface were still required to be on file with the government and prohibitions were put in place to protect friendly states from criticism, including requiring permission to print political statements from embassies or representatives of foreign countries (Najjar, 2001, p. 84). Such regulations were aimed at reinforcing state power and eliminating internal criticism of Jordan's geopolitical alignments.

Despite the continued rise in internal conflicts in the 1980s culminating in the abovementioned 1989 Bread Riot that lasted for two days and ended with an army occupation plus hundreds of arrested Jordanians (Andoni & Schwedler, 1996, p. 40), the government continued to implement neoliberal policies, including media reforms (Najjar, 2001, p. 85). At this time, the state maintained a monopoly over television and radio, but took steps, according to the Minister of Information, to reinstate the "natural flow of communications" (Najjar, 2001, p. 85). In November 1989, political reforms resulted in the first parliamentary elections being held after a twenty-two year ban (Najjar, 2001, p. 85). Such reforms continued into the 1990s, including the adoption of the National Charter (which sought to bring consensus among political groups and the regime), overturning most of the martial law regulations (which had been

promised in 1989), and passing a new Political Parties Law in September 1, 1992 (Najjar, 2001, pp. 86–87). The following year media reforms were put into place that gave civil courts the power to judge breaches in the law (Najjar, 2001, p. 87) and allowed political parties to publish (where as in the 1950s they were barred), exempting them from the financial deposits requirement of the commercial press (Najjar, 2001, p. 88). This period, observes Najjar (2001), represented an "era of new openness," demonstrating a relationship between media reform and the revival of political life (p. 87). However, such reforms would soon be revoked given the political and economic goals of the regime.

The authority over administering media law was expanded in 1995 to include the Prime Minister and the Ministers of Interior, Justice, and Education. According to Najjar (2001), this change reflected the government's decision to censor "wall publications--newspapers tacked on bulletin boards between classrooms" (p. 81). This type of reform resembles the political motivation underpinning the temporary Press Law pushed through in 1997 while Parliament was not in session and just before new parliamentary elections (Najjar, 2001, p. 89). These laws restricted the press through a variety of new measures including higher capital requirements (effectively putting thirteen publications out of business) and expanding Article 40 concerning "the publication of news that disparages the King or the royal family, the armed forces, the security forces, and heads of friendly states," to include forbidding "news, views, opinions, analysis, information, reports, caricatures, photos, or any sort of publication that disparages" any of them, threatens national unity, or endangers the national currency (Najjar, 2001, p. 90). The law also withdrew the publication rights given to political parties in 1993 (Najjar, 2001, p. 90). While the 1997 law replaced imprisonment for journalists with fines, the law also defined more "press offenses" and unilaterally raised fines (Najjar, 2001, p. 90). By 1998, the law was thrown

out by a court ruling that found no state of crisis during May 1997 when emergency measures were used once again to change the Press Law (Najjar, 2001, p. 91). Despite the court's findings, the practice of media regulation in Jordan continues to maintain state power, national identity, and the status quo.

During this time King Hussein, who had ruled Jordan for almost fifty years, became ill. By the following February 1999 his son assumed the throne and media reform was back on the agenda (Sakr, 2002, p. 108). In fact, by October 1999, King Abdullah II had introduced another version of the Press Law with several of most repressive articles from the previous law dropped (Sakr, 2002, p. 113). In addition to reducing government ownership in the press, Sakr (2002) notes the reforms also "lowered capital requirements for newspapers, reduced the scale of fines for journalists, and importantly, canceled fourteen contentious and vaguely worded restrictions on content" (p. 114). These changes, she observes "may eventually come to be seen in retrospect as marking a milestone in Jordan's democratization process" (Sakr, 2002, p. 114). However, restrictions still include criminal charges for "insulting the king or royal family, inciting sectarianism, or disparaging a foreign country" and sanctions for journalists "who fail to meet government determined standards of reasonableness and objectivity" (Sakr, 2002, p. 119). Sakr argues that regardless of the "cosmetic" amendments, free speech remains criminalized under Jordan's Penal Code (Sakr, 2002, p. 111). She concludes that "comprehensive legal change is a prerequisite" for media reform to have any impact in Jordan (Sakr, 2002, p. 128). Despite limited reforms implemented by King Abdullah II, scholars of Jordan's media policy history observe a link between media policy reform and democratization. According to Najjar (2001), "By 2000, it could be said that [Jordan] was enjoying the longest continuous period of political opening in its short and turbulent history" (p. 109). For Najjar (2001), the Political Parties Law of 1992

changed the media landscape and reinvigorated political debate for a time (p. 93). However, Sakr (2002) believes the media policy landscape has had “too many false starts” in Jordan's “protracted transition to democracy,” which she argues has left much of the Jordanian population skeptical (p. 109). Still, for some scholars of media policy in Jordan, the broader political reforms and the transition of power from father to son have contributed to press liberalization.

The development of media policy and radio infrastructure has been shaped by the political and economic history of Jordan, including colonialism, changing demographics, the struggle for Palestinian liberation, and capitalism. Throughout this time the regime has regulated media to maintain political power. More recently, neoliberal economic development in Jordan has influenced the opening of private FM licences, but the policies of regime survival and upholding the status quo continue to impact media legislation. The next section analyses how the above history of radio broadcasting and media policy development in Jordan has influenced the Audiovisual Media Law of 2002, a decree that regulates FM licensing among other audiovisual media.

Opening the FM Dial - Jordan’s 2002 Audiovisual Media Law

The contemporary development of media policy and the opening of FM dial in Jordan to non-state broadcasters is represented by the 2002 Audiovisual Media Law. When the Audiovisual Media Law was proposed by King Abdullah II, independent journalists and media activists were already working to break-up the government's monopoly on the radio dial. In 2000, AmmanNet began broadcasting over the internet from Jordan's capital, becoming the “Arab world’s first internet radio station” (AmmanNet, 2010, p. 4). When private FM licensing opened-up under the 2002 Audiovisual Media Law, AmmanNet applied for a license from the

Audiovisual Commission and by the summer of 2005 they opened Jordan's first non-profit, independent, community-run radio station or Radio al-Balad 92.4 FM.

In recent years, community broadcasting has come to be recognized as an "essential component of a pluralist media landscape" (Buckley et al., 2008, p. 208). Additionally, Jordan has endorsed multiple conventions upholding the right to information and free expression, which community media can cultivate. For example, at the regional level the Arab Charter of Human Rights was endorsed by King Abdullah II through royal decree in 2004. Article 32 of the Arab Charter declares: "[T]he right to information, freedom of opinion and freedom of expression, freedom to seek, receive and impart information by all means, regardless of frontiers" (League of Arab States, 2008). While supporting the inclusion of the freedom of expression in the Arab Charter, King Abdullah II's Audiovisual Media Law effectively limits the realization of such rights for radio broadcasters and audiences in Jordan.

Despite King Abdullah II's view that democratic media are "essential to [Jordan's] development" (Article 19, 2006, p. 3), no provision has been included in the Audiovisual Media Law for non-profit community FM licensing. The following assessment of Jordan's Audiovisual Media Law analyzes the licensing procedure, including the required fees and decision-making process, to understand the impact on non-profit community radio broadcasting. I will also discuss how the historical development of media regulations in Jordan shapes contemporary community radio broadcasting practices.

One of the major achievements of the 2002 Audiovisual Media Law is the creation of an independent commission mandated to supervise broadcasting in Jordan (Article 19, 2006, p. 9). Article 19 is a global non-governmental advocacy organization campaigning for free expression that champions this provision, stating: "The establishment of the Audiovisual Commission is an

important step for the development of free broadcasting, consistent with Jordan's ambition to be a regional leader in terms of civil liberties" (Article 19, 2006, p. 9). Still, other sections of the law challenge the independence of the Audiovisual Commission. Notably, several articles claim that the Audiovisual Commission "falls under the direct supervision of the Minister" and further that "the Minister of Information may create, merge or abolish Directorates within the Commission, upon the recommendation of the Director" (Article 19, 2006, p. 12). Article 19 (2006) advises that the "Commission should be responsible to Parliament, not to the Minister" (p. 14). As evident in the above historical analysis of media policy development in Jordan, the more power the regime has over the Audiovisual Commission, the more likely the progression of media reform will continue to open and close depending on political crisis and maneuvers of the day.

Article 19's (2006) concerns also extend to transparency problems in the licensing process stated in the Audiovisual Media Law (p. 16). Applications are vetted initially by the Audiovisual Commission, but the director sends his or her approval or rejection recommendations on to the Minister of Information who then makes a recommendation to the Council of Ministers, who makes the final decision and "may refuse to grant broadcasting licenses to any entity without stating the reasons for such rejection" (Government of Jordan, 2002, Article 18-b). In 2007, these provisions left AmmanNet with no explanation of the government's decision to reject their application for a private FM license to operate a second community-run radio station in Zarqa, the third biggest city in Jordan (Kuttab, 2007).

Even after circulating a press release that called on the government "to reverse the decision" or to at least provide a reason, AmmanNet never received an official response (Kuttab, 2007). However, an anonymous government source was quoted in the press explaining that the

"cabinet refused the application because this was the second license application by the same company (AmmanNet) and because a community radio license had been issued a few weeks earlier to another organization" (Kuttab, 2007). Radio al-Balad founder Kuttab (2007) suggests that both arguments—prohibitions on owning multiple licences and allowances for a community class of licensing—have no basis in the Audiovisual Media Law as there are no articles that establish limits on ownership or a community radio licence. Kuttab (2007) also points to evidence of several private broadcasters operating on the FM dial who currently hold more than one FM license.

The rejection AmmanNet's application for a second FM licence in Zarqa is notable as it was first known case of a licence being refused since the FM dial was opened to private licensing in Jordan. The handling of AmmanNet's application for a second licence at the Audiovisual Commission matches the concerns raised by Article 19 (2006) in their review of the 2002 Audiovisual Media Law, in which the advocacy group observes, "procedure for *deciding* on license applications is problematic because it is highly susceptible to politically motivated awarding of licenses" (emphasis in original, p. 16). For this reason, Article 19 (2006) concurs with AmmanNet that any refusal "should be accompanied by written reasons and should be subject to judicial review" (p. 17). For AmmanNet to successfully acquire an additional private FM licence or to effectively advocate for a non-profit community licensing category for Radio al-Balad under the Audiovisual Media Law, further legislative reform is required to ensure the independence and transparency of the Audiovisual Commission.

While the Audiovisual Media Law created private FM licensing and the Audiovisual Commission, there are also mandatory costs and restrictions written into the law. The high fees required to obtain a private radio licensing imposes a market ideology on radio broadcasting in

Jordan. For-profit broadcasting is built into the Audiovisual Media Law through the annual charge of $50,000 USD for broadcasters to have the right to a license. According to community radio practitioners, the licence fee structure is "business-oriented" and seeks to establish a "free market of media" by putting "no limits on ownership shares of the local media market" (Aqrabawi et al., 2006, p. 5). Non-profit community radio stations like Radio al-Balad are not exempt from paying annual fees. Due to the current fee structure, the Audiovisual Media Law encourages commercial format broadcasting that appeals to advertisers and the resulting advertising profits enable private broadcasters to afford the fees to operate a private FM licence.

Both Article 19 and Radio al-Balad draw the same conclusion regarding the Audiovisual Media Law provision that adds a "50% surcharge" for the "right to carry news and political programming" (Aqrabawi et al., 2006, p. 7). In September 2005, Radio al-Balad was the first station to pay the fee and receive a license to broadcast news and politics (AmmanNet, n.d.). Since then, only one other station has paid the additional fee when the surcharge was in effect (Zweiri, 2012, p. 143). Aqrabawi, a former producer at Radio al-Balad, writes that the costs associated with licensing "has been manipulated to reduce the number of stations that broadcast [news and political] programs, through forcing stations broadcasting those programs to pay high fees in comparison to stations specialized in art and social programs" (Aqrabawi et al., 2006, p. 6). Article 19 (2006) also laments that high fees "may deter potential license applicants" and stipulates that the law should "include measures to promote and encourage the production of news programming, given its importance in a democracy" (p. 18). Through the advocacy work of Article 19 and Radio al-Balad, the Audiovisual Commission ruled in September 2012 to revoke the extra fees on broadcasting news and political content, however, no change was made in the high annual costs associated with holding an FM licence.

Regardless of the surcharge on news and political content being eliminated, the authors of Jordan's "Mapping Digital Media" report (Sweis & Baslan, 2013) published by the Open Society Foundations argue that the regime has moved away from a mandatory fee towards censoring political content in the courts. For example in July 2012, the Audiovisual Commission initiated a lawsuit against Josat TV, a private satellite channel. The Audiovisual Commission targeted political content broadcast by the Josat TV of a guest interviewed about the Arab uprisings who suggested that Jordan will become a republic. This incident resulted in the Audiovisual Commission suspending Josat TV's license to broadcast and charging the channel with "incitement against the regime, undermining the king's dignity and the status of an official institution, and violating Article 22" of the Audiovisual Media Law (Sweis & Baslan, 2013, p. 29). The charges brought by the Audiovisual Commission under the Audiovisual Media Law take up the same censorship of political content borrowed from previous incarnations of Jordan's Press Law. "Public interest" and "national unity," Article 19 (2006) argues, are terms in the Audiovisual Media Law that "do not give broadcasters sufficient notice of what exactly is prohibited" (p. 21). The vagueness of the Audiovisual Media Law is evident in the charges against Josat TV. Even without the surcharge for the right to carry news and political content, the Audiovisual Media Law's ambiguously worded prohibitions around programming still restrict the broadcasting of political content and thereby reinforce state power, national unity, and the status quo.

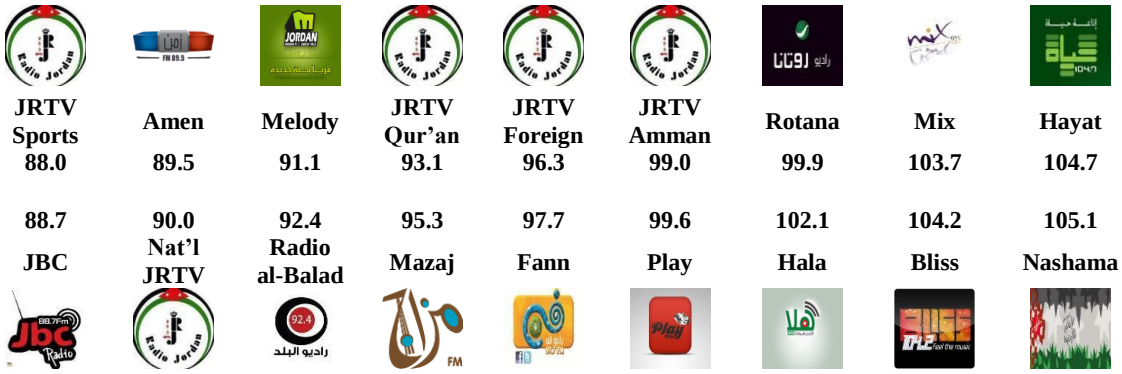
In the case of Jordan, the media landscape has historically been shaped by political and economic goals. Through understanding the development of Jordanian media policy, strategies can be evaluated for media reform in similar contexts where strong states monopolize broadcasting. Working around the law, as in the case of Radio al-Balad, may be one way to

democratize the FM dial. However, applying "best practices" in the law would be a major achievement in challenging the regime-centric logic that has dominated media reform in Jordan. Public debate over the current laws, including the 2002 Audiovisual Media Law, have been enriched by the most recent revival of political life in the WANA region, further suggesting that the struggle for democratizing media laws must be accompanied by broader political change. The above review of the development of Jordan's broadcasting system reveals how political and economic inequalities have shaped radio broadcasting and media regulations. The next section discusses the FM dial in Amman through the lens of political economy to examine how social, economic, and political forces shape radio broadcasting practices in Jordan. I will focus on how these contexts shape FM broadcasting practices and the reception experiences of listeners.

The Social, Political, and Economic Contexts Shaping the FM Dial in Amman, Jordan

Today, Radio al-Balad broadcasts on a FM dial where the majority of stations on the FM dial (thirty-one in total) are owned by the military, the police, the state, or business associates of the King. In order to discern how social, political, and economic contexts shape practices of radio broadcasting in Amman, I spoke with eight FM broadcasters, including station managers and marketing directors (Table 5), from Jordan's top radio stations as illustrated in Figure 9. To understand the reception experiences of FM listeners in Amman, I conducted random interviews with Amman's taxi drivers, some of whom reported listening to radio for over twelve hours a day. In this section, I provide an overview of these stations using the lens of political economy to understand their identity or station branding and FM broadcasting practices. I also analyze how this view of the FM dial can help distinguish the non-profit community radio practices found at Radio al-Balad.

Figure 9: FM broadcasters participating in this study (stations: n=18).



As already mentioned, the 2002 Audiovisual Media Law opened the FM dial for private broadcasting, issuing the first non-state owned licenses in 2005. After a long history of state-run radio broadcasting in the region, the introduction of private broadcasting revived the FM dial. Today, radio remains popular in Jordan according to the marketing manager at Play FM: "In Jordan, radio is doing very well. We are using social media in everything, in marketing, promotions so we are benefiting from Facebook and Twitter" (FM Broadcaster 7, 2012). The station manager at the police-run radio station had a similar experience at Amen FM: "The message of peace is very important. That is why our radio is very important" (FM Broadcaster 6, 2012). The general manager at Mazaj FM observed that radio's popularity today is also linked to Amman's notorious traffic problems:

> In Jordan we are blessed, unfortunately, with no proper public transportation… if you compare Amman to ten years ago, traffic has gotten so much worse, which is great news for radio stations. If the traffic problem is solved it might be a problem (FM Broadcaster 8, 2012).

According to station managers and marketing directors at Amman's top radio station, radio remains a popular medium.

The popularity of radio in Jordan is also recognized in the results of a national media survey published by Harris Interactive (2009) that found that among a sample of nearly three thousand households more respondents had listened to radio in the previous day than had read magazines or newspapers or watched television. Ipsos Jordan's more recent National Readership Survey (Ipsos Jordan, 2011) found that the top five FM radio stations (Table 4) attract an audience of over one million listeners during their most popular programs. The radio dial continues to be a popular place in Amman among media practitioners as well as those seeking political and economic gains. Despite the popularity of the FM dial, radio broadcasting in Jordan does not present listeners a diversity of choices. Using the lens of political economy to distinguish Amman's popular FM broadcasters, I will analyze the stations participating in this study according to their income, ownership, range, and format.

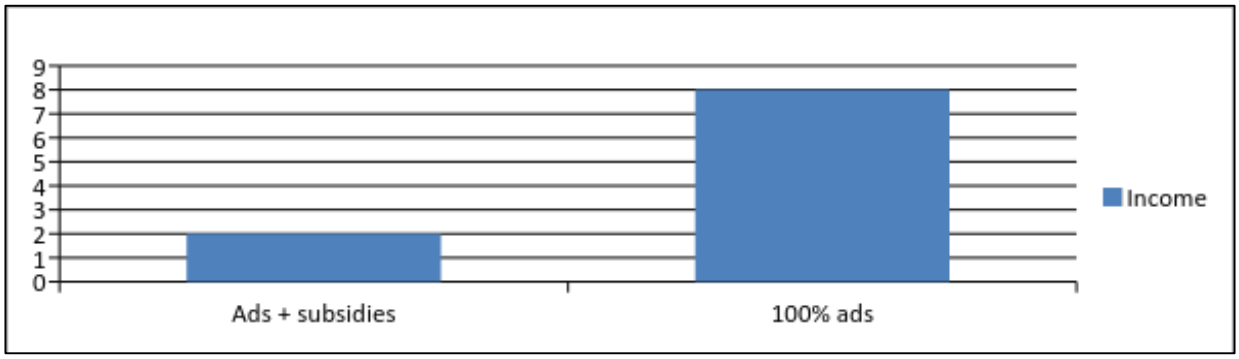
The right to operate an FM station in Jordan is determined by a fee and application process outlined in the Audiovisual Media Law. However, the state broadcaster JRTV is exempted from paying the required licensing fees and the station receives a part of a broadcast tax collected from every household in Jordan. Even with this subsidized status JRTV does not cover all of their expenses so they raise the rest in advertisements and sponsorships (Kuttab, 2009), making the sound of the station more similar to commercial formats. Thus, all of the broadcasters participating in this study, except Radio al-Balad and JRTV, derive one hundred percent of their income from advertising as illustrated in Figure 10. Radio al-Balad obtains about fifteen percent of its income from sponsorships and advertising. The rest comes from international donor sources. Raising funds among international funders, according to Kuttab, the general manager and founder of Radio-al Balad, consumes seventy percent of his time.

Regardless of the time commitment, Kuttab observes international funding also comes with benefits:

> It is a negative, but a necessary evil, because we look at the final product. Until we can produce enough genuine income from advertising to cover the cost, but I am heartened that every project we have does serve a public good…in some ways it is tiring, but in other ways it is liberating. I don't have to worry about ratings. I don't have to worry about pleasing certain communities to get advertising. I don't have to cheapen my programming and put all types of stupid things to get people to call in with games. In that sense it allows us to do good work (Manager 1d, 2013).

Being organized as a non-profit community radio station, Radio al-Balad does not depend on advertising dollars. However, relying on international funding sources has raised questions among Radio al-Balad listeners about the station's independence. Striving for transparency, the names of funders are published on the Radio al-Balad's website, in station press releases, and in their annual reports, which contrasts with the lack of accountability practiced by the other FM stations that receive governmental funding. Several sources alleged that money also passes directly from the intelligence services in Jordan to broadcasters or form other international sources like the Muslim Brotherhood (FM Broadcaster 8, 2012; Manager 1d, 2013; Producer 1b, 2012). To address this lack of transparency, Kuttab has been advocating for a state-sponsored accountable public funding system to support community media projects in Jordan (Manager 1d, 2013).

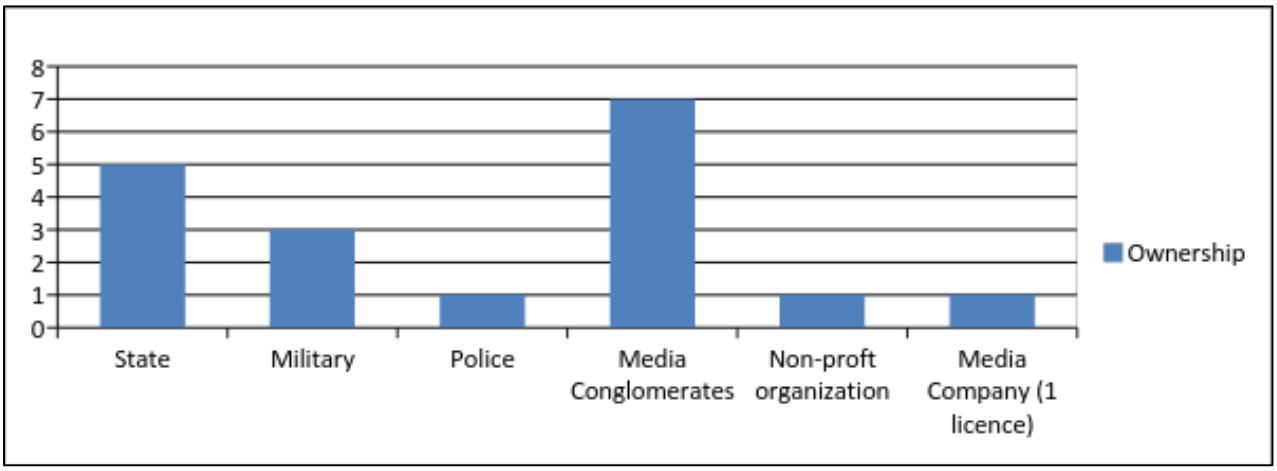
Figure 10: Income of FM broadcasters participating in this study (n=9).



In addition to private and state-run radio stations broadcasting in commercial format, chasing advertising dollars, and being influenced by the non-transparent funding system, programming practices on the FM dial in Amman are also shaped by ownership. Today, JRTV, the state broadcaster, has five stations. The military operates three stations from a security zone. The police have a station, Amen FM, broadcasting from Amman headquarters with exclusive rights to police helicopter reports about traffic. Most of the other stations are owned by media conglomerates with close connections to the ruling regime as illustrated in Figure 11. For example, Modern Media has two stations and a social media company. JBC FM is owned by the Al-Baghdadi Group that also owns real estate, a café, several news websites, the Tiki (the Arabic world's Emmy awards). A television station, a joint venture between the Arab Media Network & Seagulls Broadcasting, opened Mazaj FM. Seagulls is an advertising company that maintains exclusive rights to all outdoor billboards. It also owns several commercial websites and two English radio stations that did not participate in this study. The Al-Kawn group owns three stations and also publishes eight magazines. The presence of media conglomerates on the FM dial creates competition between stations, like Rotana and Fann or Sunny and Play, who have the same owner but the hosts on-air act as if the stations are competitors (FM Broadcaster 4, 2012; FM Broadcaster 7, 2012). In contrast, Radio al-Balad is owned by a non-profit organization with

a board of directors. Amman's only community radio station is operated by a mix of paid staff and volunteer programmers.

Figure 11: Ownership of FM stations participating in this study (n=18).



Indeed, the FM dial is a highly competitive, commercial venture for most broadcasters, even for the state, police, and military run stations. This is also evident in the large number of stations broadcasting in English. The English-speaking population is a niche market in Jordan (unlike Lebanon & the Gulf). In Jordan, English speakers make up about four percent of the population and are largely concentrated in Amman. Yet, there are eight English stations operating in the greater Amman area and competing for four percent of Jordan's English-speaking population. In addition, several station marketing directors described the purchasing power of the their audiences, classifying their preferred listeners into "A" and "B+" categories, shaping their stations programming and marketing choices. One marketing director working at the three military-owned stations explained:

> Ninety-five percent of the people who live in Jordan are mostly, their income it is totally different. When I say A and B+, we are talking about rich people who have money to spend, people who can go to private school, people who are well off and people who speak English (FM Broadcaster 5, 2012).

Such categorization by radio broadcasters that prioritizes the economic elite in Jordan reveals that low income FM audiences are under served by Amman's most popular radio stations. The general manager at Mazaj FM justified targeting wealthy audiences in Amman because their own station has no desire to reach listeners without purchasing power. He reasoned:

> We want someone who can afford the new I-phone that cost five thousand [Jordanian Dinars] we advertise. I would rather a half million people who can actually afford that item, rather than having five million listeners who don't even make this money per month (FM Broadcaster 8, 2012).

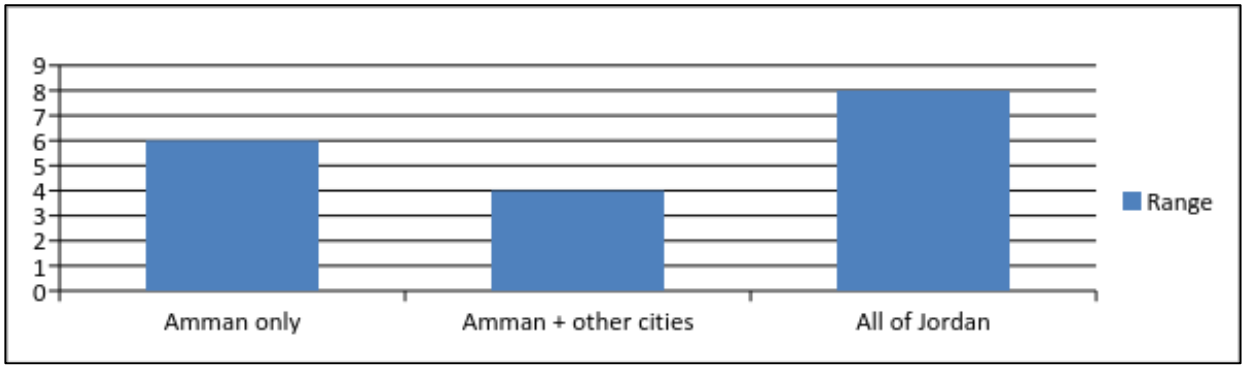
Radio al-Balad has different priorities. Broadcasting in Arabic and airing few commercial advertisements, Radio al-Balad is not targeting the economic elite of Amman.

The above economic practices of Amman's most popular FM broadcasters also determines the geographic range of the station's broadcast, illustrated in Figure 12. In fact, the majority of FM stations broadcast to Amman only, the centre of wealth in the country and recently designated as "the most expensive Arab capital to live in" (UNDP, 2013, p. 143). There are only three private FM broadcasters can be heard in Amman and a few other cities. The stations that do broadcast to the entire Kingdom, including JRTV, Rotana, Hala, Amen, are run by the state, military, and police. These stations offer country-wide broadcasting range, but only have studios in Amman. With no local stations, two million people outside of the country's capital region have no access to a radio studio based in the community and cannot listen to non-state produced content on the FM dial.

Radio al-Balad's FM listeners can be found mostly located in the more impoverished parts of Jordan, including the densely populated area of East Amman and in the tribal region of the Jordan Valley (Pintak, 2007). *Sawt Al-Aghwar* (Voice of the Valley), which began as a

community radio news program produced by Radio al-Balad, recently launched an internet-based community radio station and today is the only local media produced by and for the region of the Jordan Valley (Producer 5a, 2012). In 2013, Radio al-Balad began broadcasting a community radio news show produced by women from Zarqa, a densely populated city with a high poverty rate (UNDP, 2013, p. 36). The Jordan Valley and Zarqa are areas outside of Amman that are not within the geographical range of Radio al-Balad's broadcast at 92.4 FM. For other communities outside of Amman, listeners are largely underrepresented and underserved by the private and state-run media, despite being within the geographical range of these stations.

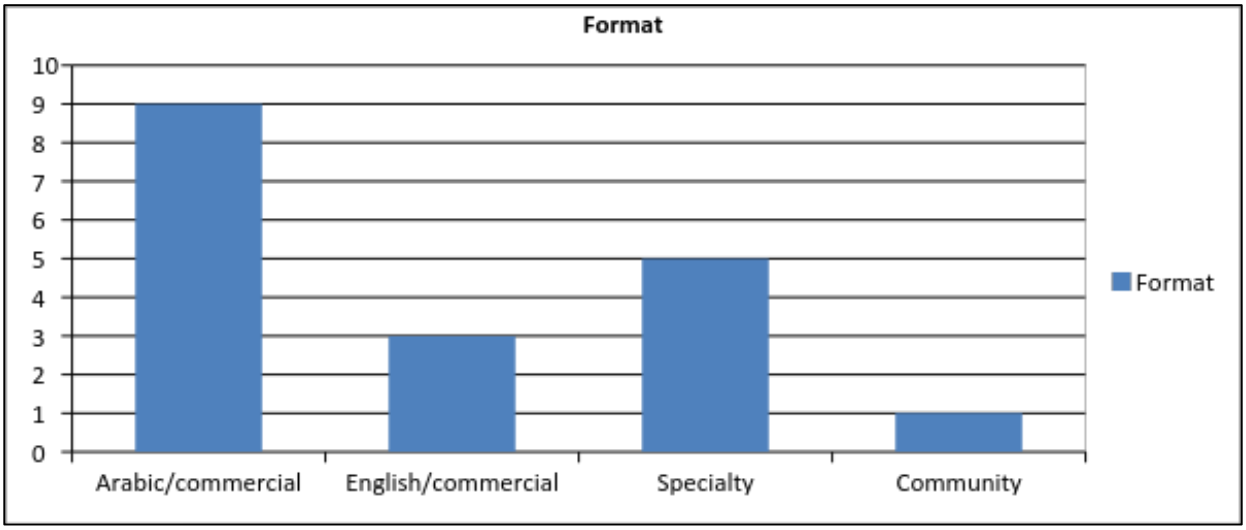
Figure 12: Range of FM stations participating in this study (n=18).



Both private and state-run radio stations on the FM dial in Amman broadcast commercial format programming, as illustrated in Figure 13, offer service radio (a popular call-in show format) and entertainment programming featuring games and music. Some stations offer specialty-format programming like the JRTV's Sports and Qur'an stations. Hayat FM offering religious programming. Mazaj FM airs alternative Arabic music. The random taxi drivers I interviewed during my fieldwork in the summer of 2013 reported listening to the radio twelve to fifteen hours a day, tuning-in for music, traffic news, religious programming, sports and Qur'an broadcasts, and service radio (Table 3). None of the taxi drivers participating in this study reported listening to Amman's eight English radio stations, even though Ipsos Jordan ranked the

English broadcaster Play the number one station in the country in 2013 (FM Broadcaster 7, 2012). After I toured these top FM stations in the summer of 2012, Sunny, an English Adult contemporary station rebranded itself as Nashama (a name Jordanians call themselves, meaning "the honorable") now plays one hundred percent Jordanian music. Of the FM radio stations offering alternative content (which now includes Nashama) to the commercial format found on most FM stations, only Radio al-Balad operates as a non-profit, participatory community radio station offering local news and social programs with a mandate to democratize the political and media landscapes of Jordan.

Figure 13: Format of FM stations participating in this study (n=18).



According to Ipsos Jordan rankings based on audience data, the most popular format of programming aired on the FM dial is service radio (Senior Researcher, 2013). The format of service radio is a live interaction between the host and a caller with a problem. For example, when a host receives a call about a water problem, the host will dial up the Minister responsible and secure a commitment to resolve the situation, sometimes after the show, as on Amen FM, and sometimes live on-air. Most stations have copied this model of programming often with extreme competition over the top hosts (such as Mohammad Al Wakeel who started on Amen

FM, moved to Rotana and then transferred to Hala in 2014), although stations like Mazaj FM prefer to focus on entertainment "rather than personal problems" (FM Broadcaster 8, 2012). I interviewed a lieutenant at Amen FM who heads the follow-up department that works with the service radio program. Their station is national and thus the popular service radio show that airs on Amen FM takes calls from all over Jordan about problems people are having. Most calls concern services like water and electricity (hence the format name 'service radio'). At the police-run radio station, broadcasters view this type of programming as "the connection between the people and the officials" (FM Broadcaster 6, 2012). The police working in the follow-up department at Amen FM are proud of their success rate in fixing callers' problems, which they attribute to being officially connected. Three of the fifteen taxi drivers I interviewed for this study stated they called a service radio program at least once. One drive reported he got on-air and shared his opinion about gas prices. Another drive recalled the line was busy and his call was never received. The third driver described how his call was answered and screened, but not selected to go on-air with the host (Taxi driver 3, 2013; Taxi driver 13, 2013; Taxi driver 15, 2013). These three taxi drivers tried to participate in a service radio program, but eighty percent of the random taxi drivers participating in this study reported never calling.

Service radio has been criticized for providing solutions for individual problems only, rather than seeking broader social or political changes (Zaideh, 2014). While in the field conducting random interviews with radio listeners driving Amman's taxicabs, I spoke with one driver who offered a critical assessment of service radio saying:

> Service radio is only for helping someone for a specific issue like needing money or food. They give us hope on these shows. Sometimes they deal with one person's specific problem. But to deal with these issues, they need to address the systemic issues, and not

> just case by case. There should be other mechanisms to deal with society's problem, not just by chance to get on-air (Taxi driver 15, 2013).

This radio listener acknowledged that service radio can help with personal problems, but resolutions of these problems experienced at the individual level require a bigger solution, one that addresses social problems. Service radio is an example of a popular format for radio programming in Jordan that helps maintain the status quo by ensuring individuals have an outlet to express their needs, but without a large discussion of broader social or economic problems and their possible political solutions. Radio al-Balad does not offer this format of service programming, but rather broadcasts interactive programs that seek to address community problems rather than focus on individual needs.

In Amman, the FM dial is highly competitive as stations seek to target wealthy audiences with purchasing power while excluding impoverished communities inside and outside Amman. Through my analysis of the income, ownership, range, and format of popular FM broadcasters in Amman, I illustrate the social, economic, and political forces that determine commercial format programming practices. These for-profit broadcasting practices are produced by regulations shaped by political and economic interests, creating a FM dial dominated by state-run or regime-friendly broadcasters. To inquire about the impact of these practices on social movements and political change in Jordan, I interviewed local youth and media activists about the role of the media in covering the recent Arab uprisings.

The Arab Uprisings in Jordan

During my fieldwork in the summer of 2012, weekly demonstrations had been convening in Amman for over a year to denounce political corruption and demand that the King address unemployment, poverty, and hikes in food costs, education tuition, and energy prices (Hanieh,

2013). In interviews with youth and media activists I conducted that summer, I learned of a revival in street protests that began with the 2010 general strike by teachers to form an independent union, which included a ninety kilometer march from Amman to Karak illustrated in Figure 8. The following year, teachers took to the streets again to fight for a wage increase, mobilizing thousands in cities across Jordan. Youth and media activists in Jordan reported that the rebellions that took to the streets across the WANA region in 2011 also inflamed dissent in Jordan. Scholars studying the origins of the recent uprising in WANA region note that the demonstrations were a reaction to social, political, and economic crises that have plagued the region for the decade preceding the protests that began in Tunisia in December 2010. In the *Lineages of Revolt* (2013), Hanieh writes:

> Questions of political economy were clearly paramount in the minds of the demonstrators themselves, as the widespread slogan *aish, hurriyah, 'adalah ijtima'iyah* ("bread, freedom, social justice") testifies. The popularity of this cry points to the numerous social crises that faced much of the region in the decade preceding the uprisings, a period marked by extremely high levels of unemployment, poverty, rising food prices, and the growing precariousness of daily existence. These intense social problems worsened in the wake of the 2008 global economic collapse, further contributing to the deep malaise and frustration experienced by those living under repressive regimes. As many observers have noted, these are the proximate roots of the uprisings, indisputably confirming that the political and economic spheres remain inseparable and intertwined (p. 5).

Similarly in Jordan, street demonstrations targeted various political and economic spheres in 2011. The protests built on the teachers' mobilization and other strikes by public sector workers, adding demands for political and economic reforms to address corruption by members of the

royal family, national and local politicians, and security officials. This included calling for the resignation of Jordan's Prime Minister for his neoliberal agenda and business deals with the Jordan Dubai Capital investment firm (Hanieh, 2013).

Today corruption in Jordan "is seen as a root cause of the country's economic problems" (Christophersen, 2013, p. 3). Rather than be over thrown like other regimes in the face of the 2011-2012 Arab uprisings, King Abdullah II has remained in power and exercised repression, including the use of security forces and plain clothes assailants (self-described as royalists) attacking protestors with impunity (Goldberg, 2013). To understand how Jordan's political and media landscape was impacted by the Arab uprisings, I spoke with youth and media activists during my fieldwork in the summer of 2012. These interviews also helped me inquire about the role of private and state-run media in hindering social movements and political change in Jordan.

Youth activists I interviewed as part of my fieldwork in 2012 reported that during the 2011-2012, protestors were arrested by the hundreds. Some were given jail time, and others faced charges in front of the State Security Court. Despite there being a revival in street protests lead by Islamic activists, leftists, and the creation of the *herak* (or "movement" in Arabic) organizations led by youth in Jordan's major cities (Christophersen, 2013, p. 8), there was no unity among the demands voiced in the streets (King, 2012b). In this gap, the King remained in power, in part because the monarchy in Jordan was supported by the loyalty of tribal groups, security forces, and economic elites (Hanieh, 2013) all of whom were and are represented on the FM dial. Youth activists in Jordan also noted the internal and external powers supporting the King. A twenty-five year old demonstrator who took part in the push for reforms in 2011 recalled:

> I think Jordanians, after looking at Egypt and Tunisia, they underestimated the resilience of the status quo and the regime and the institutions that defend it. Our demand as Jordanians was always to reform the regime, not over throw it. But even that, the reform itself within the framework of the monarchy has pretty much failed (King, 2012b).

Unlike the popular movements in Egypt and Tunisia, youth activists in Amman recognized that the monarchy, with the support of legal, security, and media institutions, survived street protests calling for reforms.

In addition, the youth activists I interviewed argued that the regime benefitted from the media coverage of the ongoing conflict Libya and Syria by using the uprisings to cultivate fear that similar events in Jordan could also lead to a civil war. The terror alerts issued by the Jordanian government throughout 2011-2012, noted one youth activist, have "a lot of people on the edge in Jordan" (King, 2012b). For media activists working in Jordan, the conflict over the border in Syria positions the King in the media as "the one who is saving security in Jordan," distracting Jordanians and media coverage away from the need for local political and economic reforms (Producer 1b, 2012).

Youth and media activists also point to the role of the media in suppressing political change in Jordan by cultivating fears about security and attacking demonstrators. One youth activist reported that the media, including FM broadcasters, actively campaigned against demonstrators:

> Where the media controlled by the state directly, like state-owned media or indirectly through commercial interests with big companies, they have played a negative role. They helped polarize the situation. They have incited against protestors, they have demonized protestors. They have called protestors all sorts of things like "traitors," or "agents for

> Iran," or "agents for the US"--the same protestors are agents for both. It is the same cycle of propaganda against these protests. But this is also a good thing, because it made people move from the usual media to alternative media and citizen journalism, people are writing more, sifting through media more (King, 2012b).

Similarly, a media activist I interviewed pointed to the role of FM broadcasters who act as if "their job is to destroy the image of demonstrators" by describing protestors as violent and breaking the law (Producer 1b, 2012). Youth activists perceived that private and state-run media worked to undermine social movements and street protestors, resulting in young Jordanians and activists turning to alternative news sources like Radio al-Balad. Thus, the bias in media coverage towards the regime evident in the media's coverage of protests produced greater attention towards media literacy among youth activists. Local activists I interviewed recognized that while Jordan did not experience an uprising that successfully challenged the status quo, the popular protests in Tunisia and Egypt that sparked street demonstrations across the region in 2011 have certainly had an impact locally.

I sat with two young activists in the Balad (a neighborhood at the center) of Amman. We discussed the impact of the Arab uprisings on political change in Jordan. One of the youth organizers declared, "The more you dig deeper in Jordanian politics, the more you become pessimistic of any change" (King, 2012b). The other youth described the regime's tactics as distractions for the demonstrators that cultivated pessimism. She argued, "In Jordan for the last two years, they have being moving us from one demand to another demand" (King, 2012b). The King has addressed some demands of the popular protests, but systemic, economic and political problems are left unresolved. Regardless of the regime's tactics, the youth activists explained to

me that there was a revolution happening in Jordan, but not with the same political impact as those in Tunisia and Egypt. One youth activist explained:

> If you concentrate more on Jordan, there is a revolution against the state, but it is not translated into political demands…If it is not translated quickly into political demands, it will just get worse. And social disintegration, while it might not be as romantic as Hosni Mubarak being removed is still bad and as significant as that (King, 2012b).

Today, Jordan is moving into a new era, according to youth and media activists, in which social violence is fermenting in the wake of the Arab uprisings and in the absence of real political and economic change.

To summarize this section on the impact of the Arab uprisings on local social movements and the role of the media in covering the protests in Jordan, the youth and media activists I interviewed in Amman agreed that Jordan was experiencing a different kind of revolt. They also acknowledge the role of the media and the regime in maintaining the status quo in Jordan. When asked if an uprising would come to Jordan, youth and media activists talked about the role of the media and political consciousness in facilitating political change. A media activist noted that an uprising is not necessarily dramatic where "It can start with changing the mentality of people. Like people getting rid of fear and keep them thinking of reforms" (Producer 1b, 2012). One of the youth activists concurred, stating:

> To get through this regime and to succeed to move and get into a real democracy, you have to organize people and people have to have the power to have political content in their mind to understand what is going on (King, 2012b).

Local activists affirm the media should play a greater role in focusing on reforms and provoking political, economic, and social change.

Conclusion

On the FM dial in Amman, ninety-nine percent of the top stations are for-profit broadcasters who air programming that maintains social peace, promotes Jordanian national identity, and does not challenge state power. In this chapter, I explored how media regulation and FM broadcasting in Jordan has evolved based on the political and economic objectives of colonial administrators and the Hashemite regime. After reviewing how these historical developments shaped contemporary practices on the FM dial, I examined how the media, including radio broadcasters, covered the uprising in Jordan based on the experiences of youth and media activists. This context offered a view of the FM dial in Amman and the media landscape in Jordan that demonstrated the relationship between communication technology and politics. Today, the FM dial in Amman remains a source of political and economic power. Here I will summarize this chapter's main points.

Point 1—The lens of political economy demonstrates that after a decade of private licensing in Jordan, the crowded FM dial remains a space monopolized by state power. The presence of the state on the FM dial is secured by the police, military and state broadcasters who operate thirty percent of the stations on the FM dial in Amman. These state-run stations broadcast in commercial formats alongside stations owned by media conglomerates close to the regime, resulting in no real difference between state-run programming and the rest.

Point 2—The media landscape in Jordan is a space for reinforcing national identity, as revealed in media regulations that protect the King, the royal family, and state institutions. Bound by law to not speak critically of the regime, most media workers practice self-censorship or face fines and jail time. The state's enforcement of these regulations is illustrated by the ongoing attacks against speech in Jordan that have targeted several newspaper journalists (HRW,

2014, 2015) and recently Radio al-Balad reporters (Kuttab, 2015; Rai al-Youm, 2015). In addition, the imposition of national identity through music broadcasts described by Massad (2001) is reinforced today on the FM dial by stations like Nashama, which is branded as airing one hundred percent Jordanian music. Figure 14 reproduces Nashama's logo that is based on Jordan's flag.

Figure 14: Nashama's logo, based on the Jordanian flag.

Point 3—Radio in Amman is also a place for maintaining the status quo. Political and economic inequalities are reinforced on the radio dial in Amman by state broadcasters and media conglomerates that hold multiple licenses and advertisers who saturate the airwaves. This commercialization inflates the English radio market, undermines social movements, misrepresents activists, and excludes poor households. In addition, the format of service radio is the best example of the kind of radio programming that reinforces social peace. The popular interactive programming format is aired by private and state-run radio stations. Rather than address systemic social, political, or economic problems, service radio only provides solutions for individuals.

Aside from the regulations governing broadcasters on the FM dial, Radio al-Balad is the only FM broadcaster choosing to operate as an independent, non-profit community radio station. The station has a mandate to serve the community (not stock holders, advertisers, or the state's agenda). In addition, Radio al-Balad is not driven by state or commercial interests. Indeed, Radio

al-Balad took to the FM dial to break the state's monopoly over the airwaves. To achieve this goal, Radio al-Balad provides community access and participation (in programming and governance). The station also does not work to maintain the status quo, but rather seeks to democratize media and political landscapes through programs that focus on social problems and political solutions, cultivating media literacy and political literacy. Radio al-Balad achieves these goals by airing programming that covers human rights in Jordan, aligning with activists and marginalized social groups (such as refugees or people living with disabilities), and follows local social movements and local politics through debates, call-in programs, and live broadcasts from Parliament.

The historical, cultural, social, economic, and political contexts analyzed in this chapter provide evidence of how structural inequalities shape practices on the FM dial that amplify state power, cultivate national identity, and maintain the status quo. This understanding also helps distinguish the practices of Amman's only independent, non-profit community radio broadcaster from the rest of the stations on the FM dial. The next chapter will investigate how these differences in programming practices shape the reception and engagement experiences of FM listeners in Amman. Audience perspectives are necessary to understand how community radio programming and governance practices cultivate political change. The next chapter draws on my extensive field study of community radio in Jordan informed by the experiences of Radio al-Balad station members and the station's FM audiences.

Chapter 5: Case Study of Radio Al-Balad: Governance, News Programming, and Listener Engagement

Building on the historical, political, economic, and cultural contexts that shape the FM dial in Amman analyzed in Chapter 4, this chapter investigates, within that FM context, the goal of Amman's first community radio station to be, as claimed in its vision statement: "the most influential radio in Jordan in order to create a democratic society" (AmmanNet, 2011). As previously described, Radio al-Balad is unique among FM broadcasters in Amman in its governance and news programming as a non-profit, participatory community radio station. In Chapter 3, I explained that community radio is a form of social movement media that engages audiences as political actors and also how, in Jordan, Radio al-Balad's governance and news programming practices inspire autonomous collective action, raise media and political literacy, create new political subjectivities, and cultivate social movements. We see examples of all of these characteristics when studying Radio al-Balad's program schedule, which provides independent local news, social programs, and very few music shows. In Chapter 1, I argued that community media institutions worldwide generally share a similar mission to serve the community (not stock holders, advertisers, or the state's agenda). This case study of Radio al-Balad finds that station governance and news programming principles can guide sustainable practices within the station. Such principles can also facilitate transparent and accountable engagement practices that benefit the community served. My findings suggest that such principles not only strengthen the reception and engagement experiences of listeners, but also aid the sustainability of community-owned radio.

In this chapter, I highlight findings from my case study of Radio al-Balad's governance, programming, and audience engagement practices, drawing on the interviews, personal narratives, focus groups, artifacts, and participant observation I described in Chapter 3 (Table 2).

My purpose is to place my findings in conversation with the many assumptions and expectations about community media, and in particular, community radio, found in the literature on these topics as well as in Radio al-Balad's own declarations about its purpose and community impact. My case study confirms that governance practices and news programming practices shape the reception and engagement experiences of Radio al-Balad listeners.

This case study documents the governance practices and news programming practices at Jordan's first community radio station, Radio al-Balad 92.4 FM, to investigate the impact of these practices among community radio news audience in Amman. I begin my case study of Radio al-Balad by providing an overview how news producers (Table 7) define the mandate of community radio. I then draw on these definitions in the next two sections to determine the principles that shape governance and news programming practices at Radio al-Balad. I apply these principles to analyze how Radio al-Balad's community radio governance and news programming practices shape the experiences of community radio news producers and listeners. The final section of the chapter investigates the impact of these governance practices and news programming practices on the engagement experiences of Radio al-Balad's audiences. The findings of my case study determine that the principles organizing Radio al-Balad's governance and news programming practices facilitate political learning environments and engage station members and audiences as political actors. These findings and my interpretation of them help to situate the radical pedagogy of community radio that I reflect on in Chapter 6.

In my case study of Radio al-Balad, my findings demonstrate how the station's governance practices (distribution of power, decision-making, etc.) and news programming practices (content, production, etc.) shape the station's ability to meet its mission. As discussed in Chapter 1, scholars, regulators, and practitioners have described community radio stations as

non-profit media institutions that provide access and services to local communities, fostering participation and promoting expression from diverse marginalized communities (AMARC, 2003; Aqrabawi et al., 2006; CRTC, 2000; Downing, 2000; Milan, 2008; Rodriguez, 2001). Community radio programming practices have been characterized as democratizing communication, facilitating community participation and empowerment, strengthening social movements, and countering the status quo (Ferron, 2012; Rauch, 2015; Rodriguez, 2001). My research documents how Radio al-Balad's governance practices and news programming practices influence the station's ability to achieve its vision as a community radio station.

Forde (2011) offers one of the most extensive surveys across media platforms of community news practices based on the experiences of community news journalists, including community radio news producers. Conducted over a fifteen-year period using focus groups, interviews, and surveys, her study provides a broad view of community radio news practices in the United States, Australia, and the United Kingdom. Forde (2011) identifies four "essential components" that the community news producers she spoke with use their various mediums to achieve:

1. Encourage community participation by "strong commitment to a political (democratic) purpose";
2. Focus on local news, blur audience producer boundaries, and strengthen ties within community;
3. Focus on untold stories;
4. Critique the dominant media (pp. 174-5).

Forde's work highlights normative attributes of community news journalism based on the experiences of producers working in Euro-American contexts. I acknowledge in Chapter 1 that

there is no single model for community radio governance and news programming practices. However, in Chapter 2, I present a global history of community broadcasting by analyzing the global evolution of community radio practices to demonstrate the common roots of contemporary community radio broadcasting. I further argue in this dissertation that community media scholars must account for local practices to understand how different definitions of community radio are shaped by specific contexts. To enrich scholarly insights about the impact of community broadcasting practices in the Middle East, this case study documents both the governance practices and news programming practices at Jordan's first community radio station, Radio al-Balad 92.4 FM, to investigate the reception and engagement of these practices among community radio news audiences in Amman.

In the sections that follow, I present the findings from my investigation of Radio al-Balad's governance, news programming, and audience engagement practices. The next section begins with an overview of Radio al-Balad's governance structure followed by a critical review of the station's governance practices comparing the principles outlined in Table 15 with the experiences of selected community radio news producers and listeners.

Community Radio Governance Practices at Radio al-Balad

In the field, I asked community radio news producers at Radio al-Balad to define community radio's mandate. Some of the definitions provided described the mandate of community radio as having specific governance practices, like to be "owned by everyone" (Producer 1b, 2012). The following themes summarize the definitions concerning governance practices shared by Radio al-Balad news producers. I also include other definitions concerning governance practices that arose during my data collection among listeners and in interviews with

the general manager and founder. These attributes help to understand the principles shaping community radio governance practices at Radio al-Balad.

Table 14: Attributes of Radio al-Balad governance practices as a community radio station.

Governance Practices
-Be non-profit and independent; -Not be beholden to advertisers; -Be owned by everyone; -Promote democratic governance; -Make structures accessible and accountable; -Engage the community in decision-making; -Recruit volunteers and staff inclusively; -Achieve gender parity and diverse representation.

The attributes of community radio described by news producers suggest that governance practices are key to achieving Radio al-Balad's vision as a community radio. For example, a community radio news producer and former station manager at Radio al-Balad suggested that community radio's mandate includes extending an opportunity to community members to participate in the station beyond contributing on-air, such as making decisions about programming or governance (Producer 1c, 2013). During an interview about the station's governance history, the general manager and station founder recalled that one way Radio al-Balad worked to empower listen-ownership of the station was through the establishment of the Listeners' Club: "To be honest I was the big pusher to give [listeners] their rights. I keep telling the staff this is not your or my station, it is for the listeners" (Manager 1b, 2013). The above attributes of governance practices illustrate how listeners' participation in station governance is key to defining community radio's mandate at Radio al-Balad.

Based on the above definitions of community radio provided by Radio al-Balad news producers (Table 14), I identify two main themes that constitute the principles guiding community radio governance practices at Radio al-Balad listed in Table 15. These principles

informally guide community radio practices at Radio al-Balad and are derived from the experience and knowledge of community radio news producers participating in this study. In this way, my approach to theorizing community radio practices at Radio al-Balad is "tailored to local situations rather than imported uncritically and misapplied" (Curran & Park, 2000, p. 15).

Table 15: Radio al-Balad governance principles.

Governance Principles	-Organize democratic governance structures that are non-profit, independent, and community-run in a manner that is accessible, accountable, and transparent; -Engage diverse community members and prioritize gender parity within governance practices in a way that is inclusive, empowering, and encourages capacity building.

At Radio al-Balad, the principles guiding governance practices continue to be developed at the station in formal and informal ways. For example, the principle of gender parity guiding station governance practices concerning hiring and appointments is inspired by the feminist politics of some station members including managers, producers, and members of the board of directors (Manager 1a, 2012; Manager 1c, 2013), that addresses the marginalization of women working in the Arab media sector (Melki & Mallat, 2014). By contrast, the principles identified in Radio al-Balad's mission statement (AmmanNet, n.d.) and the abovementioned vision statement were developed at a station retreat organized in 2011 with Radio al-Balad staff, board members, and listeners. However, much of Radio al-Balad's governance principles have developed in an unplanned way with the station's Listeners' Club members, news producers, managers, and board members learning from each other rather than referring to specific governance policies (Manager 1b, 2013). When asked about policies concerning Radio al-Balad's mission as a community radio station and any editorial policies guiding community news production, the general manager and station founder observed: "We need to articulate our mission better, people need to know what our goal is, on what basis we make decision, our

editorial policy, as it is in many peoples' head" (Manager 1c, 2013). Both the general manager and Radio al-Balad news producers expressed a need for formal policies to organize the values that shape community radio governance practices at Radio al-Balad.

Next, Radio al-Balad's governance practices will be analyzed using the principles identified in Table 15. My interpretation of the findings in this section is informed by perspectives about accountability and power from the third sector and anti-oppression research reviewed in Chapter 3. As described above, community radio news producers advocate for greater engagement of the community, including station workers, volunteers, and listeners, in the governance practices of Radio al-Balad. Indeed, the station should be community-run according to the principles guiding Radio al-Balad's governance practices (Table 15). In comparison to the data collected among listeners, community news producers demonstrated a greater critical awareness of the Radio al-Balad's governance practices, indicating lack of knowledge among audience members about the station's governance. The community radio news producers and managers who have direct experience with conflict at Radio al-Balad are critical of how inequality, harassment, and oppression influence governance practices and the possibility of democratic governance, included as a principle in Table 15. What follows is my evaluation of the governance practices of Radio al-Balad based on the above principles (Table 15), focusing on the distribution of power, participation, decision-making, and representation among Radio al-Balad's governance structure and actors.

Radio al-Balad's Governance Structure

Today Radio al-Balad's governance structure features a board of directors of six volunteer members founded in 2005, a Listeners' Club initiated in 2006 with a board of directors that has fifteen elected members, and a workers' committee for all employees formed in 2013.

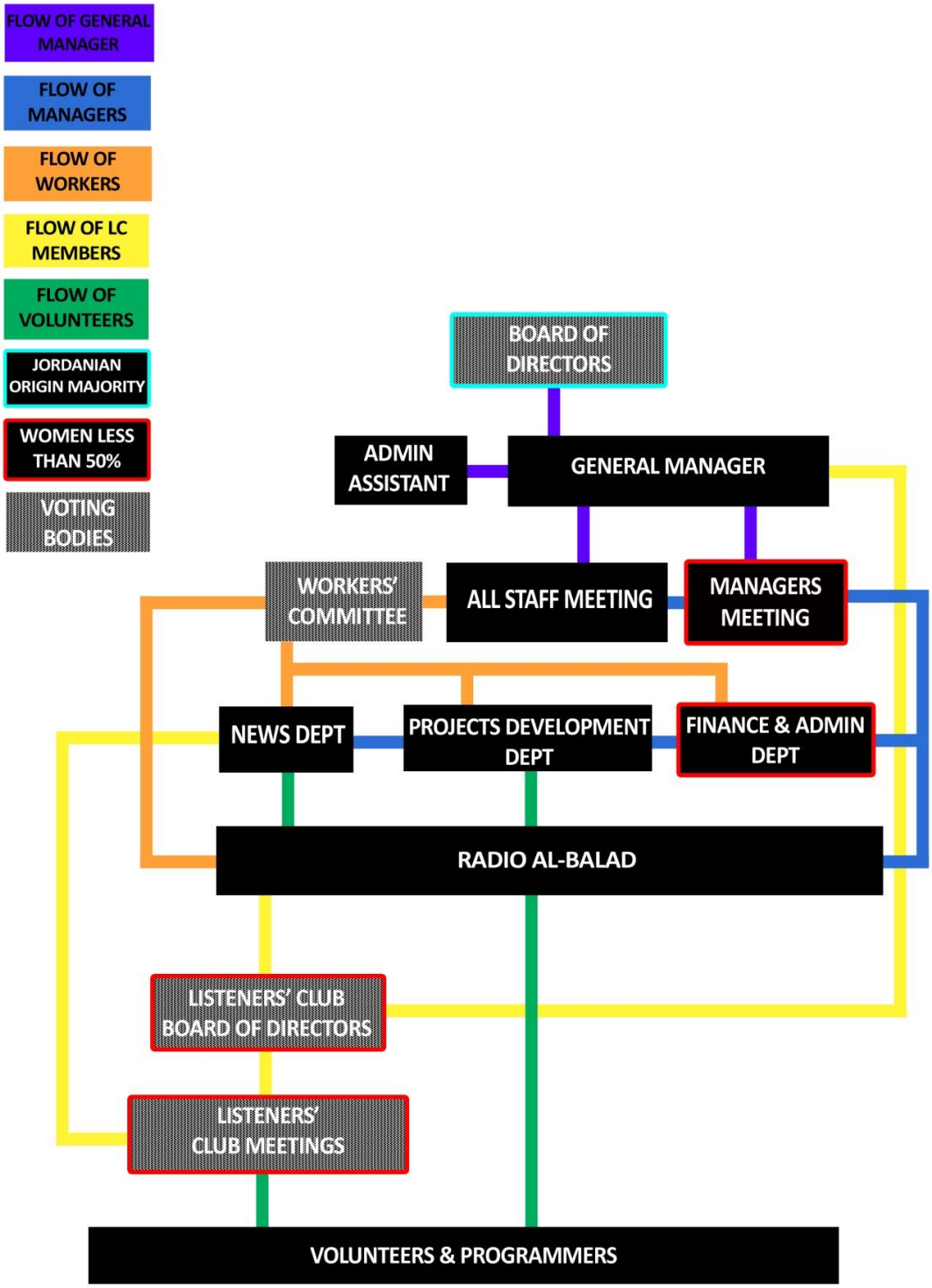
There are other meeting bodies that have developed over time like the All Staff Meeting and the Managers Meeting. The departmental breakdown of the station is as follows:

- Radio al-Balad includes a station manager and staff in the following-sub departments: studio, video, human rights, programming, marketing and sales;
- The news department includes an editor-in-chief (manager) and producers in the following-sub departments: investigative journalism, website, social media, and journalists;
- The projects development department includes a projects manager coordinator and in the summer of 2013 current projects included *Aswatona* (Our voices), rights of religious minorities, Syrians Among Us, *Eza'a Madrasyia* (School Radio), Political Participation of Youth, Empowering Zarqa Women, Energy and Water, and Parliament Monitor) and two fundraising and development coordinators;
- The financial & administrative department includes an administrative and finance manager and staff in the following-sub departments: services, accounting, and human resources.

Figure 15 illustrates the degree to which Radio al-Balad's mandate of cultivating transparent and accountable practices that encourage community participation within the station is reflected in its governance practices. Figure 15 is also informed by the measures from third sector studies regarding governance practices to evaluate the distribution of power, participation, decision-making, and representation within Radio al-Balad's governance structure. Radio al-Balad does maintain its own organizational map illustrating the structure of the station. Yet, these organizational maps were prepared by a member of the station's board to show the flow of command or hierarchy of the station between each department manager and the sub-departments.

In contrast, Figure 15 is also informed by anti-oppression literature and seeks to illustrate inclusion (women and origin) and power dynamics (decision-making or consultative).

Figure 15: Distribution of power, participation, decision-making, and representation in Radio al-Balad's governance structure.



To evaluate participation in the governance structure of Radio al-Balad based on the principle for equal representation of women, I depict the gendered makeup of each of Radio al-Balad's departments by indicating the parts of the governance structure that have less than gender parity or fifty percent representation by women. Also included in measuring the representation of diverse participants with Radio al-Balad's governance structure are the origins of actors, specifically whether station members are from trans-Jordanian tribes or East Bank Jordanians as opposed to being Jordanian-Palestinian members. This measure is defined by the political and economic history described in Chapter 2 and the experience of station members who reported that Radio al-Balad had been accused by government officials and nationalist Jordanians of being a "pro-Palestinian NGO" or a "Palestinian radio station" (Manager 1b, 2013; Producer 1c, 2013). As described in Chapter 4, the Palestinian population in Jordan is around fifty percent and in Amman it is higher. In addition, historically Palestinians have been marginalized in media regulations, political structures, and employment opportunities that privilege so-called "original Jordanians" (Chapter 4). These discriminatory practices in Jordan and the aforementioned principle valuing diversity and empowerment in Radio al-Balad's governance practices (Table 15) inform the need to map the origins of who is included and excluded within the governance structures of Radio al-Balad.

To represent the distribution of power and participation, I note which bodies can make decisions ("voting bodies") and where actors can participate. The latter is illuminated by the flow of actors, each represented by a different colour, from one level to another. In this way, Figure 15 maps the interactivity between the actors of Radio al-Balad's governance structures to evaluate how the station is run by the community (Table 15). The flow of Listeners' Club members appears as a yellow line. Other volunteers and programmers are tracked along the

green line, and the flow of managers and workers, including community radio news producers, are indicated by blue and orange respectively. The general manager is illustrated by purple. Figure 15 raises questions about power dynamics embedded in governance practices by illustrating the distribution of participation, transparency, and accountability between the different parts of Radio al-Balad's governance structure.

The next section will use Figure 15 to assess Radio al-Balad's governance practices based on the principles in Table 15 and the experiences of community radio news producers and listeners. Then this case study will draw on the internal debates I documented at Radio al-Balad. I will access concerns raised in the research data about the station's board of directors, the experiences of news producers, and listeners' participation in the station and in the Listeners' Club.

Figure 15 illustrates women's participation in the station's governance structure, indicating that there are fewer than fifty percent women among Radio al-Balad managers, in the finance and administration department, and in the Listeners' Club. When I arrived at Radio al-Balad in the summer of 2013, there were five manager positions and only one woman among them. Noting this lack of gender parity among mangers, the general manager suggested this is "not systemic" (Manager 1c, 2013). However, two female community radio news producers observed that women face greater difficulty maintaining a position of seniority or power at the station (Producer 1c, 2013; Producer 9, 2013). At the departmental level, the current make-up of the finance and administration department is all male. Yet, the opposite is true for most departments in Radio al-Balad; for example, the journalists in the news department are sixty percent women. In fact, the board, volunteers and programmers, news department, project development department, and most sub-departments under the Radio al-Balad station manager

(who is a woman), except the studio staff (made up of three men who engineer much of Radio al-Balad's programming), have all achieved or exceeded gender parity as indicated in Figure 15. The Listeners' Club and its board of directors have had difficulty maintaining equal representation of women. During the last elections the Listeners' Club Board has fifteen elected seats of which seven directors were women, however, three women have since resigned. During the summer of 2013, bylaw changes were being drafted for the Listeners' Club and the proposed revisions included ten seats with one-third of the seats reserved for women and one for disability representation (Manager 2, 2013). Because Radio al-Balad strives for gender parity (Manager 1a, 2012) as one of the principles organizing governance practices (Table 15), this type of gendered mapping is necessary to assess if the station has achieved this goal.

The Listeners' Club, as indicated in Figure 15, is seen to operate independently of Radio al-Balad governance practices and, as such, they do not participate in the station's board of directors. The club maintains their own bylaws and calls their own meetings, sharing the meeting minutes with Radio al-Balad's general manager (Manager 1a, 2012). Figure 15 also illustrates that Listeners' Club members interact with the news department, the programming of Radio al-Balad, and the general manager, but they have no official engagement in the decision-making bodies of Radio al-Balad. Also, not every listener is a member of the Listeners' Club, nor do they want to be (as mentioned above). There are also gaps in volunteer participation within the governance structure of the station beyond the Listeners' Club and station's programming departments. These gaps contradict the principle identified by Radio al-Balad news producers above that community radio should provide community access to the governance structures of the station in addition to participating in programming.

Finally, the All Staff Meeting and the Managers Meeting were both identified as consultative bodies, not empowered with the power to take decisions or set their own meeting schedules (Producer 1c, 2013). The general manager calls these meetings as well as those of the board. The Listeners' Club and the Listeners' Club board, the Workers' Committee, and the board of Radio al-Balad, as indicated, are the only bodies within the organization with decision-making power. It is also worth noting that these parts of Radio al-Balad's structure are not accountable to each other except through the general manager. Because most organizational communication flows through the general manager, Radio al-Balad's board of directors does not directly interact with the various departments, Workers' Committee, or the Listeners' Club. As illustrated in Figure 15, the general manager is also the only staff member that currently reports to the board of directors. Several community radio news producers observed that in addition to calling most of the meetings of Radio al-Balad's governing bodies, the general manager is also responsible for resolving all the conflicts between staff and/or listeners and raising the majority of the funding. While these observations recognize the accomplishments of the general manager (who is also the station founder), these concerns question the sustainability and fairness of one person having so much responsibility and power.

Internal Debates about Governance Practices

My research design also evaluated governance practices by documenting internal debates at Radio al-Balad and the experiences of listeners and community radio news producers. Figure 15 illustrates the gaps in governance practices using the principles in Table 15 informed by Radio al-Balad news producers' definitions of community radio. This next section investigates the concerns raised by community radio news producers and listeners regarding the practices of

Radio al-Balad's board of directors, the experience of community radio news producers and listeners' participation in the station's governance structure.

Radio al-Balad's board of directors is a source of concern among community radio news producers of the station. The general manager observed that the board operates as the legal board of Radio al-Balad, but they do not "micro-manage" the station (Manager 1b, 2013). The station's board has historically been made up of members who serve as volunteers supporting the non-profit, community radio mission of Radio al-Balad, but typically they are not engaged in station programming or activities beyond volunteering on the station's board (Manager 1a, 2012). Some Radio al-Balad news producers observed that the workers and the Listeners' Club currently do not report to the board, except through the general manager. In the past, station employees sent a representative to the board (Producer 1c, 2013; Producer 5b, 2013). Yet, this has never been the case for the Listeners' Club that has no direct representation on Radio al-Balad's board. According to community radio news producers, this contributes to a lack of transparency and accountability where there is already an absence of notice for the board meetings and the minutes of the meetings are not circulated within the station. After my fieldwork reported these concerns in two research reports (King, 2014), the general manager implemented a new policy to share the station's board minutes with all Radio al-Balad employees (Jaradat, 2014).

In addition, several news producers identified the need for a conflict of interest policy at Radio al-Balad (King, 2013; Producer 1c, 2013). Where there are familial ties on the board with station employees, there must be a clear statement on how decisions are made where a perceived conflict of interest exists (MacDonald, McDonald, & Norman, 2002). Such a policy could clarify whether board members would remove themselves from decisions that affect their kin on staff and in which cases they abstain or in which they have a vote. Several community radio news

producers also noted that these family connections can make workers at the station uncomfortable when and where a potential conflict can involve a family member. Other observations made by a long-time community radio news producer and former manager (Producer 1c, 2013) about the station's board included the lack of elections for members (currently new members are appointed by the board only), no term limits for members, and an observed lack of diversity. Beyond the current requirement for gender parity, there is a perceived lack of diversity in religious affiliation and too few members of Palestinian origin.

All the Radio al-Balad news producers interviewed for my case study of community radio practices in Amman (Table 7) recognize the abovementioned goal of Radio al-Balad to exercise democracy in Jordan ("Community Radio in Jordan," 2009). However, three news producers expressed the need for this democratic agenda to also apply to the governance practices concerning employees of the station (Producer 1c, 2013; Producer 5b, 2013; Producer 9, 2013). Community radio news producers expressed concerns about hours, salaries, lack of job evaluations, and general working conditions within the station. Given the perspectives shared by some community news producers, there is a desire for greater transparency regarding station policies that affect employees. Examples include the lack of a salary policy explaining how the pay scale works for wages and overtime.

Radio al-Balad news producers also pointed to the station's governance practices in conversations about the organization's governance history, including how the practice of gender parity impacts women's employment within the governance structures. One female community news producer and founder of the Workers' Committee reported: "[The general manager] supports women, but for some persons at the radio station it is harder to follow a woman in a position of power or seniority" (Producer 9, 2013). In addition to the above concern regarding

the treatment of women participating in station governance, three female community radio news producers identified the absence of satisfactory bathrooms conditions for women in the station (King, 2013; Producer 1c, 2013; Producer 9, 2013). For some Radio al-Balad news producers, the treatment of workers and volunteers within the station has a direct impact on the mandate of Radio al-Balad to be a community radio station, especially if the station acts in unjust ways. Cases of verbal harassment among staff, or between producers and volunteers, or among Listeners' Club members expose the need for a code of conduct to affirm workers, volunteers, and club members' rights and responsibilities within the station (Producer 1c, 2013). In addition, several community news producers observed a general lack of clarity surrounding decision-making power among the employees of the station, especially between managers, employees, and volunteers (Producer 1c, 2013; Producer 5b, 2013; Producer 9, 2013). The recent foundation of a Workers' Committee at Radio al-Balad in 2013 is one step towards addressing some of these concerns. However, in the last year the president of the Workers' Committee resigned saying she had run out of options in her search for changes to address concerns raised by the committee (King, 2015).

By contrast, the experiences of listeners reported in personal narratives and shared in focus group discussions raised few internal debates regarding the governance practices of the station. To evaluate listeners' experiences of Radio al-Balad governance practices, audience members participating in this study were asked to share the story of the first time they visited Radio al-Balad to meet the station's producers or to participate in station governance or programming. Seven listeners observed in their personal narratives (Table 9) a "family" or "cooperative" atmosphere within Radio al-Balad. These listener experiences contrast with the abovementioned oppressive experiences recalled by some community radio news producers in

the station. However, one listener reported visiting the station for the first time to resolve a perceived conflict. The listener arrived at the station as a result of a well-liked producer having an accident while reporting for Radio al-Balad. His story of this incident is indicative of the strong connection listeners maintain concerning Radio al-Balad news producers:

> I went to the radio directly. I did not know the general manager Daoud Kuttab. I yelled at his face, shouting at him that your broadcaster is in the hospital and you are not doing anything. That was the first time I met Daoud Kuttab and the first time I visited the radio (Listeners' Club Member 7, 2013).

Not long after this conflict, this listener helped to cofound the Listeners' Club in 2006 at Radio al-Balad and has since served two terms as the club's president. These stories suggest listeners benefit from the station's mandate to provide community access through an inclusive and welcoming environment for all, even in times of crisis.

The Listeners' Club was identified by community radio news producers and managers as one of the structural features that help to define Radio al-Balad as a community radio station (Manager 1b, 2013; Manager 2, 2013; Producer 1c, 2013; Producer 5b, 2013; Producer 4, 2009). For example, the Listeners' Club demanded the return of *Sayarah-FM* (Car FM) when the original producer left for Germany (Producer 7b, 2012). In response to the demands of the Listeners' Club, the show was brought back and two executive members of the club became the show's producers. For one community news producer, this example is "real community radio where listeners from the community are producing the show" (Producer 7b, 2012). For community radio stations like Radio al-Balad, listener participation within the station's governance is key to the station's participatory principles (Table 15). In fact, the formation of the Listeners' Club at Radio al-Balad in 2006 aimed to formalize listener participation in the

station's decision-making (Manager 1b, 2013; Producer 7a, 2009; Producer 7c, 2013). Today, however, some club members report that the station could provide better support for the club's activities, whether through financial assistance for their initiatives or even business cards to pass out (Focus Group 1, 2013).

One way Radio al-Balad supports the Listeners' Club is by hosting the board meetings of Listeners' Club at the station. As a result, the club's executive frequently visits the station. Four of the eight Listeners' Club board members who recorded personal narratives (Table 9) recalled visiting the station at least weekly beyond club meetings. Indeed, the president of the Listeners' Club reported frequenting the station nearly every day (Listeners' Club Member 7, 2013). Aside from the Listeners' Club, audience members did not mention any other governance structures like the station's board of directors or the daily news meetings. Radio al-Balad listeners and producers affirm that community radio should accessible to the community, one of the principles identified in Table 15. At this time, this principle of accessible participation in governance is not equally applied to the station's governance structures due to a lack of awareness and capacity-building opportunities for listeners.

The Listeners' Club was also identified by listeners as not accessible to all community members. While some listeners said they would like to participate in the Listeners' Club structure, they added that the meeting times were not convenient. One listener shared her reluctance to participate in the blub formally because such an action could result in a perceived bias in the eyes of other media. This listener stated, "I believe, if I went to a club meeting for a special radio [like Radio al-Balad] – the other media would treat me different" (Listener 2, 2013). This may be a common perception among listeners who regularly engage with the media in their professional lives, as is the case for this audience member.

Further, two news producers observed Radio al-Balad's engagement of listeners in station governance needs to be more inclusive of a diversity of listeners from all ages and backgrounds (Producer 1c, 2013; Producer 7c, 2013). This view also recognizes that the station should consider ways of involving listeners beyond the Listeners' Club. In this way, Radio al-Balad can encourage forms of participation within the station's governance that allows listeners to decide how they want to engage (Manager 2, 2013; Producer 1c, 2013; Producer 7c, 2013). Offering alternatives to engaging in Radio al-Balad governance structures beyond the Listeners' Club could help the station be more accessible to listeners who do not participate in club meetings.

Since the creation of the Listeners' Club in 2006, annual elections and gender parity among the club's executive have always been encouraged by Radio al-Balad. Yet, the Listeners' Club has not been successful in achieving both in recent years. When I arrived at the station in 2012, elections at the Listeners' Club were overdue. Some community radio news producers expressed concern that the last election was not representative of the listeners and that the current make-up of the club was "not the base" of Radio al-Balad's listeners (Manager 2, 2013; Producer 1c, 2013). A community radio news producer and former manager suggested the last club election was run like "typical government elections" in Jordan where many people turned up to vote, but it was unclear who had the right to cast a ballot (Producer 1c, 2013). In 2013 the station was working to revise the bylaws of the Listeners' Club to clarify concerns around elections and representation (Manager 2, 2013). In general, Radio al-Balad news producers felt the station had a role in helping strengthen the governance capacity of the Listeners' Club. As one producer observed, "Sometimes you have to do something to include the people who are not there" (Producer 1c, 2013). During an in-person focus group, one participant also shared this criticism of the Listeners' Club, suggesting, "It should be that the Listeners' Club is more representative

of all the age groups that listen to the station. Not just us older people" (Focus Group 2, 2013). Radio al-Balad listeners and news producers similarly questioned the practices of the Listeners' Club and identified a need for Radio al-Balad to facilitate governance practices that were more inclusive.

Finally, some community radio new producers expressed concerns over their interactions with Listeners' Club members. The general manager also reported occasions where Listeners' Club members have had requests that were outside of Radio al-Balad's mandate (Manager 1c, 2013), such as asking for commercial music or service radio (which represents programming aired on ninety-nine percent of the FM dial as described in Chapter 4). Still others news producers suggested that the Listeners' Club should take a more active role in the station's programming development because "the Listeners' Club has good ideas" and Radio al-Balad should "let them decide a bit about the radio" (Producer 1c, 2013). These views about the role of listeners within community radio stations are also reflected in the aforementioned principles guiding community radio practices at Radio al-Balad (Table 15). The principles shaping participatory governance and news programming practices require capacity building and skill-sharing, including knowing the station's mission as a community radio station.

In the course of my field research, my preliminary findings showed that listeners did not know about Radio al-Balad's structure beyond this Listeners' Club. None of the focus group participants or the listeners who contributed personal narratives reported engaging with any part of the governance structure except the club or individual staff members or news producers of the station. During the in-person focus group, when I posed questions about audience engagement of the station's governance structure, listeners' acknowledged that they were unaware of the governance structure. This led to a discussion about the lack of awareness in the community

about the Radio al-Balad. Listeners expressed frustration that the station was not fulfilling its mandate to be a community radio station because it was not accessible to the community. Based on this discussion, the in-person focus group facilitator stated, "It seems we have an advertising problem with Radio al-Balad." The in-person focus group responded:

> *Female Participant*: If you say Radio al-Balad most people say they do not know. I have to tell them the frequency.
>
> *Male Participant*: When you pass by Radio al-Balad you wouldn't even know there is a station there. There is no sign. Nothing (Focus Group 2, 2013).

In-person focus group participants made suggestions about how the station could better engage the community through improving promotions in the community, such as buying advertising for Radio al-Balad around the city or promoting the station's community radio mandate and programming over Radio al-Balad's airwaves. Listeners also recommended participatory programing initiatives like hosting live broadcasts in the community or providing live coverage of public events (Focus Group 2, 2013). In this way, the station could help cultivate awareness of the station's community radio mandate, the Listeners' Club, and other ways to participated in the station's governance, thereby making the station more accessible to a diversity of potential volunteers.

This first part of my case study has investigated the governance practices of Radio al-Balad using the principles identified in Table 15 and drawing on the experience of community radio news producers and listeners. I also documented several of the internal debates that I use to identify the challenges shaping the governance practices at Radio al-Balad. While conflict and internal debates can create negative experiences, they are also helpful in determining sustainable solutions, including creating a culture of awareness that engages conflict and internal debate

among station members, including managers, workers, volunteers, and listeners, in a way that is "healthy and growth promoting" (CoCo, 2013). The gaps identified in Figure 15 and the concerns raised above regarding the station's board of directors, news producers' experiences, and listeners' participation in governance structures have been presented with the intention of documenting the challenges shaping governance practices at Radio al-Balad in a beneficial manner. The next section of this case study will review the community radio definitions provided by Radio al-Balad's to identify principles guiding news programming practices. I will then draw on the experiences of community radio news producers and listeners to investigate community radio news practices at Radio al-Balad.

Community Radio News Practices at Radio al-Balad

During my field research, I asked news producers at Radio al-Balad define the mandate of community radio. Beyond shaping the aforementioned governance practices (Table 14), community radio news producers also described the mandate of community radio as influencing the station's news programming practices (Table 16). These definitions shared by news producers, alongside other definitions of community radio that arose in data collection, help to understand the principles underpinning community radio news programming practices at Radio al-Balad. The following table compiles the definitions offered by Radio al-Balad news producers that concern community news programming practices.

Table 16: Attributes of Radio al-Balad news programming practices as a community radio station.

News Programming Practices
-Focus on local issues; -Offer participatory programming; -Encourage capacity building as a team and skill-sharing; -Promote freedom over the airwaves; -Make people's voices heard; -Cover issues ignored by other media; -Focus on systemic problems; -Help people solve problems; -Empower people with less power; -Follow social movements.

Radio al-Balad news producers' definitions of community radio suggested that community radio news programming helps listeners in their daily lives by increasing their access to political power and solving problems (Producer 6, 2012). One community radio news producer insisted on defining the mandate of community radio by distinguishing Radio al-Balad's news programming practices from private and state-run FM broadcasters. She observed:

> Let's talk about it from the other point of view, the other radios that cover the whole country including the Jordan Valley area. Let's look at them, they don't care about the Jordan Valley issues, they only talk about general issues no one cares about the residents of the Jordan Valley and how they are living. But when you have a community radio in the Jordan valley, when you see a water pipe broken in the street, this is interesting for a community radio. When you see electricity is cut, whatever small details of how people are living, especially in the rural areas that are less empowered and don't have much services. Community radio here will make the people's voices heard and will make the politicians provide more services because they are highlighting the small details of the local community (Producer 5a, 2012).

This producer identifies that state-run and private media do not cover the news in the Jordan Valley or in other rural regions. For another Radio al-Balad news producer, he added that most radio broadcasters ignore the systemic social problems:

> In radio here in Jordan, we don't have radio that talk on real issues. Like Hayat FM and others, talk with problems in neighborhood, but no one talking about systemic problems. We need to deal with the political issues within the social issues of bread and electricity – I say this all the time (Producer 7c, 2013).

In order to address these systemic problems, community radio news producers broadcast news programming that proposes political solutions. Community radio, according to Radio al-Balad news producers, can also cultivate social movements and political change by "raising these issues publicly" and encouraging listeners to "practice [democracy] in their daily life" (Producer 7a, 2009). These definitions of community radio convey that Radio al-Balad's news programming principles are transformative as they seek to democratize media and political landscapes in Jordan by impacting the civic lives of audiences through offering local community news within the context of addressing larger social problems.

Based on the above definitions of community radio provided by news producers (Table 16), I identify two main themes that characterize Radio al-Balad's news programming practices. These news programming principles, like the abovementioned governance principles, are based on practice, not policy. The knowledge defining these principles is based on the experiences of community radio news producers participating in this study.

Table 17: Radio al-Balad news programming principles.

News Programming Principles	-Broadcast local news that is participatory, free from censorship, and amplifies community voices; -Produce news that covers systemic problems and promote solutions by raising civic awareness, following social movements, and exercising democracy.

Polices concerning community radio news practices at Radio al-Balad are underdeveloped. This is largely representative of community media journalism where participatory or alternative production practices can result in fostering decentralized news rooms that rely on skill-sharing in community radio stations (Forde, 2011, p. 68). This is also true at Radio al-Balad where over time programmers have developed their own policies to guide their community radio news practices. For example, during the 2013 parliamentary elections in Jordan, several Radio al-Balad news producers drafted a code for covering the elections (Manager 1b, 2013). The principles identified in Table 17 illustrate how community radio news producers meet Radio al-Balad's mandate in their community news programming practices. The next section of this chapter will examine how these news programming principles are illustrated in the approaches of the five community news programs focused on in this study: *Ain al E'lam* (Eye on the Media), *Sawt Al-Aghwar* (Voice of the Valley), *Nas Wa Nas* (People and People), *Al-Majles* (Parliament Program), and *Huwa Hizbee* (Factional Winds).

To understand the practices of community radio news at Radio al-Balad, I asked news programmers to describe their community news program's mandates. These mandates illustrate how Radio al-Balad news producers achieve the principles guiding community radio news programming practices I identify in Table 17. The first news program, *Ain al E'lam* (Eye on the Media), cultivates skills in critical media literacy whereas *Sawt Al-Aghwar* (Voice of the Valley) provides access to media and political power. *Nas Wa Nas* (People and People) provides a platform for local activists by covering social movements concerning human rights in Jordan. Both *Al-Majles* (Parliament Program) and *Huwa Hizbee* (Factional Winds) aim to increase the political awareness and opinions of listeners concerning political structures and actors in Jordan. In the sections that follow, I will describe each of these community radio news programs in

greater detail. My discussion is organized by the program's launch date and in relation to the principles shaping news programming practices at Radio al-Balad (Table 17). Following the program descriptions, I will present findings from my research on listeners' reception experiences of these community radio news programs.

Ain al E'lam (Eye on the Media)

One of the longest running programs airing on Radio al-Balad is *Ain al E'lam* (Eye on the Media). It is a weekly program that was founded in 2004. It offers a critical review of the media and broadcasts views from independent journalists. Focusing on the Jordanian media landscape, *Ain al E'lam* (Eye on the Media) is Radio al-Balad's premier critical media literacy program, educating audiences and journalists about the social, political, and economic forces influencing Jordan's newspapers, radio and TV stations, and even news websites. Since its debut, the program has been a popular show among community radio news audiences in Amman and over Radio al-Balad's internet audio stream (Harris Interactive, 2010).

The producer of *Ain al E'lam* (Eye on the Media), Sawsan Zaideh, was previously employed as Radio al-Balad's station manager and projects manager. She is also a former print journalist, who holds a bachelor's in English literature and master's in online journalism. Here Zaideh describes the impetus for her program:

> I thought that there are a lot of problems caused by journalist themselves. I felt that at the time there is no media watch dog. There is a strong concept that media are a fourth power but without being watched or being accountable to anyone. Journalists have a lot of power and they are misusing this power. The only way to hold journalists accountable is the government and the laws. That's like putting journalists in prison and all that kind of stuff. It is not for good reasons, it is not for the public good, rather it's for the

> government's good and for the politicians' good. That's why I felt there should be a kind of self-regulation … So my idea was to monitor and to mention the name and by date what is going on, then to compare and analyze (Producer 5a, 2012).

Ain al E'lam (Eye on the Media) is a community radio news program that seeks to empower listeners through building critical awareness by analysing how issues are ignored or misrepresented in the state-run and private media. Through comparing and analysing media coverage on-air, Zaideh's community radio news program seeks to raise the critical media literacy skills of listeners. Her program also poses a challenge to journalists by holding them accountable to Radio al-Balad listeners. By focusing on problems in Jordan's media landscape, Zaideh's program promotes democratic media practices. *Ain al E'lam* (Eye on the Media) illustrates how community radio news practices at Radio al-Balad are guided by the news programming principles to cultivate civic awareness, identify systemic problems, and promote solutions that help democratize media in Jordan (Table 17).

***Sawt Al-Aghwar* (Voice of the Valley)**

In 2007, Radio al-Balad began broadcasting *Sawt Al-Aghwar* (Voice of the Valley), a segment initially prepared by two producers that was later expanded to a weekly program through collaboration with a team of citizen journalists living and working in the Jordan Valley. For my case study, I facilitated interviews with one of the program's producers and founders, Muneria Shoti, a former house wife from the Jordan Valley who studied business finance at a community college. I also travelled to the Jordan Valley to interview a citizen journalist named Elah Al-Furat, who studied children's education in university. As described in Chapter 4, in addition to being one of the most impoverished regions in Jordan, the Jordan Valley has no local media and is afforded very little attention by state-run and private broadcasters except for Radio

al-Balad's *Sawt Al-Aghwar* (Voice of the Valley) program. Shoti described why they started this show on Radio al-Balad:

> We tried to cover the Valley and its issues, but that was like a news report that you put in the main news broadcast and we saw impact for these reports, but we felt it was lost because it is only going in the main news bulletin every day. At that time we had the idea to start a specific radio show only for the Jordan Valley's issues, a one-hour show where they only broadcast and discuss issues of the valley (Producer 5a, 2012).

Through *Sawt Al-Aghwar* (Voice of the Valley), Shoti describes how the show wanted to maximize the impact on local political and social problems in the Jordan Valley, a principle guiding community news practices at Radio al-Balad (Table 17), which for the show's founder and contributors includes access to water, transportation, education, and protecting the environment (Producer 5a, 2012; Producer 5b, 2013; Producer 4, 2009; Producer 6, 2012). Radio al-Balad's broadcast signal does not directly reach the Jordan Valley. However, *Sawt Al-Aghwar* (Voice of the Valley) is also available online through a newly established community web radio station (part of the *Aswatona* network online at http://aswatona.net) and re-broadcast on nearby Palestinian-based radio stations whose signals easily reach the Jordan Valley. *Sawt Al-Aghwar* (Voice of the Valley) is highly regarded in the community. Community members seek out *Sawt Al-Aghwar* (Voice of the Valley) journalists because the show has an impact locally, especially in the absence of any other community news coverage in the Jordan Valley (Producer 6, 2012). The objective of *Sawt Al-Aghwar* (Voice of the Valley) is to amplify community voices, provide a participatory platform for citizen journalists, and cover systemic problems and their solutions in the Jordan Valley. This demonstrates how Radio al-Balad programs are guided by community radio news principles (Table 17).

***Nas Wa Nas* (People and People)**

Nas Wa Nas (People and People) is a weekly radio magazine that began in 2008, offering in-depth coverage of human rights issues in Jordan. The show's producer, Mohammed Shamma, has worked at Radio al-Balad longer than any other producer (except the founder who is also the general manager) and he was recently identified as one of the most popular voices on Radio al-Balad (Harris Interactive, 2010). Prior to joining the team at Radio al-Balad, Shamma initially pursued a law degree in university before transferring to study media and mass communications. While in university, he also was the editor-in-chief of the student newspaper. Shamma explained the name of his show and the intention behind the phrase "*nas wa nas*":

> *Nas Wa Nas* means people and people. The name I thought about from the concept that there are people who have their rights usurped, some others don't; some people are rich and some are poor, so *Nas Wa Nas* means that there are some people and then there are other people … The name in Arabic implies differences (Producer 7b, 2012).

This community radio news program seeks to empower people with less power by amplifying the voices people suffering human rights violations in Jordan. To achieve this Shamma focuses on news of cases and movements seeking to address human rights locally. In some cases the reports aired on *Nas Wa Nas* (People and People) have inspired local advocacy campaigns, according to Shamma, such as the program concerning the sexual abuse and forced-hysterectomies waged against disabled women in state care. Shamma insisted that his program "would not exist on another station" (Producer 7b, 2012), demonstrating the unique perspectives Radio al-Balad covers that are censored by other broadcasters. Airing on the only community radio station in Amman, *Nas Wa Nas* (People and People) is guided by news programming

principles (Table 17) that engage social movements, is free from censorship, and covers human rights violations in Jordan.

Al-Majles (Parliament Program) and *Huwa Hizbee* (Factional Winds)

Radio al-Balad's programs *Al-Majles* (Parliament Program) and *Huwa Hizbee* (Factional Winds) cover the actors and institutions of Jordan's political system, seeking to raise the political awareness and engagement of Radio al-Balad listeners. When Parliament was in session, *Al-Majles* (Parliament Program) was one of the most popular shows aired on Radio al-Balad (Harris Interactive, 2010). Broadcasting moment-by-moment coverage and commentary live from Parliament is unique to Radio al-Balad. No other broadcaster in Jordan provides this kind of in depth coverage and analysis. The show began in 2009 and is produced by Hamza Al Soud, who graduated in English literature. I asked Al Soud to describe his program's mandate:

> We interviewed many times the [Members of Parliament] who are marginalized in the Parliament. Most media interact with only the well-known MPs. There are seven or eight MPs who have been MPs for a long time and they are well known. I give the chance to know other people, over one hundred others (Producer 8, 2012).

Through broadcasting *Al-Majles* (Parliament Program) live from Parliament, Al Soud provides listeners access to political actors in Parliament, interviewing MPs and covering issues neglected by other media. In addition, Al Soud has also hosted debates in the community to provide an interactive and face-to-face forum for audience members to engage the guests on *Al-Majles* (Parliament Program). The community radio news programing practices of *Al-Majles* (Parliament Program) make the Parliament's activities and actors more transparent and accountable for Radio al-Balad listeners.

Because *Al-Majles* (Parliament Program) was off air when I initiated the audience research component of this case study in May 2013, I also included *Huwa Hizbee* (Factional Winds) a program which began in 2010 and offers news and views from political parties in Jordan. The host and producer, Heba Obeidat, graduated with a Master's in Political Science and on *Huwa Hizbee* (Factional Winds) she regularly hosts debates and discussions with multiple guests from political parties to independent unions, focusing on social problems and political participation in Jordan. I asked Obeidat to explain the name of the program, which is a play on words in Arabic:

> *Huwa* means air or infatuation [since love is all encompassing like air]. *Hizbee* means factional or partisan, so the name means "factional winds" and "partisan love"... the listeners loved the name, one party official emailed me on my birthday to say hope every year your *Huwa* is *Hizbee*, i.e. your love and air are partisan (Producer 9, 2013).

Huwa Hizbee (Factional Winds) focuses on local issues by amplifying local politics over the airwaves, broadcasting political debates live from remote locations in the community, and presenting a diversity of opinions from a diversity of political actors. Obeidat initiated the program because she "realized political parties need help to get their message out" (Producer 9, 2013). When Parliament is not in session and *Al-Majles* (Parliament Program) is off air, Obeidat's community radio news program continues to promote political literacy by engaging audiences in the opinions and activities of political parties. The community radio news programming principles identified in Table 17 are evident in *Al-Majles* (Parliament Program) and *Huwa Hizbee* (Factional Winds) mandate to raise listeners' civic awareness of Jordan's political structures and debates.

The above producers from *Ain al E'lam* (Eye on the Media), *Sawt Al-Aghwar* (Voice of the Valley), *Nas Wa Nas* (People and People), *Al-Majles* (Parliament Program) and *Huwa Hizbee* (Factional Winds) acknowledged one of the primary news programming principles supporting the implementation of community radio news practices at Radio al-Balad is the "high ceiling of freedom" for community radio news programming, including on-air participation by callers (Producer 1c, 2013; Producer 5a, 2012; Producer 9, 2013). A technical example that ensures Radio al-Balad's news programming is free of censorship is the absence of a 5-second delay—a device that radio stations use to censor comments broadcast on-air. At Radio al-Balad, a 5-second delay is perceived as a form of censorship. On this issue, the general manager reported: "I don't want to be in the position to make a censorship decision. If you are live you cannot stop something that has already been said" (Manager 1b, 2013). It is important to note that in the context of Jordan's media regulations, journalists can be fined or jailed for disseminating disparaging comments about the monarchy (among other restrictions aforementioned in Chapter 4).

While Radio al-Balad offers a platform for free speech, the station's news practices are bound by the Press Law and all participants can face criminal charges under the Penal Code in Jordan (Chapter 4). Even so, Radio al-Balad has found ways to circumvent pressures from the authorities, including successfully defending themselves in court twice on charges brought by the government against the station (Manager 1b, 2013). Despite these wins, Radio al-Balad journalists are currently being threatened with charges in front of the State Security Court for their recent coverage concerning Syrian refugees in Jordan (Kuttab, 2015; Rai al-Youm, 2015). The community news producers participating in this study identified the high level of editorial freedom they experienced as a principle shaping news practices at Radio al-Balad (Table 17).

Another challenge facing Radio al-Balad news producers includes negative interactions with some Listeners' Club members who are perceived as causing stress for Radio al-Balad news producers by, for example, trying to influence them to cover a story in a certain way (Manager 1b, 2013; Producer 7c, 2013). One community radio news producer questioned whether Listeners' Club members are given too much power within the station (Manager 1b, 2013). Radio al-Balad new producers also reported times at which Listeners' Club members complained about other listeners or Radio al-Balad news producers on-air. When this has occurred, the behavior was identified as disrespectful and not allowed on Radio al-Balad's airwaves (Manager 1b, 2013; Producer 7c, 2013). A community radio news producer noted that at times the competition that occurs between listeners on-air also impacts their working environment at the station when listeners call producers after the show to air their grievances (Manager 1b, 2013). These observations by community radio news producers indicate there is no official system of complaints at Radio al-Balad. Most complaints are dealt with informally by the producer who receives the complaint or in most cases they are received by the general manager (Manager 1b, 2013).

This section has analyzed how community radio news producers define the mandate of their program and how the practice of community radio news at Radio al-Balad is guided by the principles identified in Table 17. My research design also documented the freedom experienced by Radio al-Balad news producers as well as the challenges impacting their community radio news practices. The next section of this case study will hear from the listeners about their experiences tuning-in to Radio al-Balad for the first time and engaging the station's news programming.

Listener Feedback on News Programming Practices

To investigate the first time reception experiences of community radio news programming practices, my research design asked listeners to tell the story of the first program they heard on Radio al-Balad. I included this question in my research design based on my practitioner knowledge. I had assumed most listeners would not forget the first time they tuned into the Radio al-Balad. This assumption was based on my years of interacting with community radio audiences in the United States and Canada. This was confirmed by the fact that, over and over again, I heard the stories of listeners recalling the first time they tuned into community radio programming.

At Radio al-Balad, I found this to also be true for the majority of the listeners who recorded personal narratives for this case study, some of whom even recalled the details about who or what content or issue was being presented. For example, eleven out of thirteen listeners sharing stories remembered finding Radio al-Balad through its alternative content, including community radio news programming heard on the FM dial for the first time that reported on local political and economic problems, human rights issues in Jordan, and covered "daily life for Jordanian citizens," including taxi driver problems (Listeners' Club Member 3, 2013). In fact, one member of the Listeners' Club board of directors recalled how Radio al-Balad's approach stood out the first time she tuned-in to *Nas Wa Nas* (People and People). She said,

> The first time I was introduced to the Radio al-Balad I noticed it's a radio that addresses issues that are not floating on the surface. They dig deep into issues that are not so explicit and things that are covered or disguised, things that affect our society but not talked about in our society (Listeners' Club Member 5, 2013).

While some audience members recalled the location of their first experience listening was at work or home, others remember finding the station while riding in a car or taxi. Other listeners heard of Radio al-Balad through a friend, a Radio al-Balad journalist, or a taxi driver who encouraged them to tune into the station. For instance, one listener who told a story of his first encounter being with a Radio al-Balad journalist at a neighborhood bus station recalled,

> I was in Raghadan Bus Station and Radio al-Balad was doing interviews with customers about the Members of Parliament and the hikes in gas prices. They interviewed me and I asked about the frequency that the station broadcasts on. They told me 92.4 FM so I listened to the station (Listeners' Club Member 1, 2013).

Another listener described learning about the station the first time when he picked up a Radio al-Balad journalist along his daily taxi route and then took extraordinary measures to replace his broken radio so he could tune-in to Radio al-Balad (Listeners' Club Member 6, 2013). I found a similar response in the on-air and in-person focus groups I also conducted as part of my case study where listeners also affirmed being drawn to the station by its different news content as well as other community radio content that offered local sports coverage and "principled" music. Translated from *multazim*, principled refers to non-commercial music that emphasizes either a conscious lyrical message and/or music that is high art. Several focus group participants mentioned tuning-in for the first time to hear the sports coverage and exclusive live broadcasts of World Cup soccer matches.

These first listening stories provide stations like Radio al-Balad an opportunity to understand how community radio programming differs from private and state broadcasters. All of the stories indicated how these listeners found the station and why they came back to hear more programming or to get involved. Listeners' stories of their first time tuning-in to Radio al-

Balad illustrate how the principles shaping community radio news programming practices can potentially attract audiences and influence them to keep listening. From this aspect of my research design, I found listeners shared stories that reveal the impression Radio al-Balad's programming registered within the context of the FM dial in Amman. Listener stories regarding their first experience hearing community radio news reflect the uniqueness of Radio al-Balad's news programming practices.

After these first listening experiences, twelve of thirteen audience members who recorded personal narratives became show participants, visited the station soon after, or became part of the Listeners' Club. Through stories shared about the variety of listener engagement experiences-- as a researcher, guest, producer, field correspondent, or caller-- with community radio news programs at Radio al-Balad, I learned that community radio news audiences are participating and political actors within the station and in their communities. This finding confirmed what my research design suggests is the case with audiences of social movement media, like community radio listeners (Chapter 3). For example, several listeners noted that they sometimes report the news or help Radio al-Balad news producers by providing contacts for news events. One audience member recalled phoning a producer and offering suggestions on how their show could be facilitated:

> I helped in developing content … the approach of the show was to pre-record things off air. I called Sami [the morning show producer] and said this has to be live on-air – in a meeting between the citizen and an official from the government who deals with the issue … this way the station doesn't get in trouble (Listener 5, 2013).

Listeners experience an ability to influence community radio news programming content aired on Radio al-Balad and, in the above story, the potential political impact of the news

programming. Other listeners also made suggestions to develop content or format of shows, some giving technical suggestions (Focus Group 2, 2013). Some listeners suggested they were interested in getting more involved in content production, but were too busy to have completed the necessary steps to get their program on-air. One listener commented in in their personal narrative: "I always think that I must produce a show, but definitely on Radio al-Balad not any other radio station" (Listener 1, 2013).

Listeners also described in their personal narratives or during the focus group discussions participating in on-air programming by phone to share their opinions. One participant in the on-air focus group recalled being unsure of how he would be treated calling Radio al-Balad's on-air studio given his experience calling other radio stations in Amman. He stated:

> When I first listened to Radio al-Balad, I thought it would be like the other channels I join on-air. I never used to share my full opinions in fear. When I used to call different shows on different channels they would tell me before I get on-air that I cannot refer to certain subjects, like politics and so on, on-air (Focus Group 1, 2013).

In addition to acknowledging the freedom guiding his participating at Radio al-Balad, unlike his experiences on other FM stations, the listener also went on to describe how he was invited to be interviewed on Radio al-Balad about the independent union he helped found for taxi drivers and eventually became a co-producer on *Sayarah FM* (Car FM). The experience of listeners engaging participatory programming practices at Radio al-Balad demonstrates the effectiveness of community radio news practices that cultivate critical media literacy skills among listeners who are potential programmers by immersing them in community radio news production. These practices are an example of the participatory programing principle identified in Table 17.

Listeners also reported seeking more accessible and inclusive participation in Radio al-Balad's news programming. During the in-person focus group there was a lively discussion about how it is difficult to participate live on-air because the phone lines are often busy. One listener during the in-person focus group said the Listeners' Club had made suggestions to resolve the problem, but it has not been fixed (Focus Group 2, 2013). One in-person focus group participant suggested that in Jordanian society "citizens do not participate" (Focus Group 2, 2013). This led some focus group participants to question why there are no more than ten calls per show and that some callers are repeating or on all the time. Other listeners said they never call-in to participate in on-air programming and prefer to only listen. A Listeners' Club member described in her personal narrative how she raises the ideas she hears on Radio al-Balad off-air and within the community:

> I haven't contributed to the shows, but I only listen. I like to listen more and accommodate the ideas in my head. I just don't like to participate. I might share this idea that I heard on the radio with other people, but I don't call in (Listeners' Club Member 5, 2013).

Emerging from this listener's story is the unintended acknowledgement that not participating on-air is a form of participation. Beyond calling-in, five listeners affirmed several other off-air ways that audience members engage with the programming aired on Radio al-Balad, including reading the comments on the website and sharing ideas heard in Radio al-Balad programming with friends or family (Focus Group 2, 2013; Listener 4, 2013). These listeners identified that engaging Radio al-Balad content through the website or by word of mouth are also a form of participation in community radio news programming. Engaging in community radio news

programming over Radio al-Balad's airwaves or face-to-face in the community facilitates new political learning environments.

Listeners experience also identity the challenges that make on-air participation difficulty and these experiences point to a need for greater attention to equity through implementing inclusive practices that encourage a diversity of callers because participating over the airwaves is sharing a limited resource. Further, audience members participating in the in-person focus group observed gaps in Radio al-Balad's programming that also revealed a lack of diversity, a programming principle identified in Table 17. On this topic, participants in the in-person focus group raised concerns that Radio al-Balad was not including programming representative of all of the listeners' diverse interests, identifying that the station neglects music, arts, fashion, religion, and cultural issues.

During the in-person focus group discussion, listeners observed other gaps in Radio al-Balad's programming. One listener commented to the in-person focus group participants that the programming he heard was largely focused on Jordan. He stated: "There is a very good concentration about what is happening in Palestine, but there is not much else in the Arabic world. There was coverage of the Arab Spring, but it was mostly about Jordan" (Focus Group 2, 2013). This listener's comment reveals that listeners are unaware of Radio al-Balad's mandate to be a "local community radio station," which defines the news programming principle to broadcast local news (Table 17), and the lack of station funds for producing regional or international news content (Manager 1b, 2013). When asked about the lack of news from the region or rest of the world, the general manager suggested that one possibility to meet the need for more regional and international programming expressed by listeners during the in-person focus group would be to facilitate reporting from outside of Jordan by Radio al-Balad news

producers travelling abroad (Manager 1b, 2013). Thus, the lack of regional and international news programming is less about the station's mandate as a community radio station and more about organizing and building the capacity of Radio al-Balad to take news reports from community radio news producers abroad.

This second part of my case study documents the news programming practices guiding the production of community radio news at Radio al-Balad. Prior to my research design inviting listeners to tell stories about their positive and negative experiences participating in community radio news practices at Radio al-Balad, the most common feedback about programming registered by listeners with the general manager concerned the station's weak broadcast signal and the music selections aired on the station (Manager 1d, 2013). The on-air focus group conducted for this study also documented these concerns, but also other negative as well as positive experiences emerged in the audience data collected in the focus groups and through personal narratives. Listener storytelling illustrates the on-air and off-air experiences for audience members of Radio al-Balad's participatory programming principles that raise civic awareness through cultivating media and political literacy. The experiences described in this section by Radio al-Balad listeners also identified gaps in the station's news programming practices that included a lack of diversity in programming content and among callers participating on-air. Viewing listeners' positive and negative experiences concerning Radio al-Balad's news programming practices demonstrates the challenges in implementing the community radio news programming principles identified in Table 17. The next section investigates the impact of Radio al-Balad's news programming practices and principles on listener engagement.

Community Radio Listener Engagement at Radio al-Balad

During interviews conducted in 2009 and throughout my fieldwork in 2012, Radio al-Balad news producers described the political impact of community radio news practices. Community radio news producers cited several examples of this influence, including programming aired on Radio al-Balad that directly raises the listeners' potential for political participation by informing them of the activities of the Parliament and of the positions taken by political parties (Producer 8, 2012; Producer 9, 2013). The news producer from *Al-Majles* (Parliament Program) observed that their program extends a means for individuals to gain political influence by facilitating new ways for the community to engage in local politics (Producer 8, 2012). Al-Furat from *Sawt Al-Aghwar* (Voice of the Valley) offered her experience:

> For the people who feel desperate and have no way to solve their problems, those people have their stories recorded and broadcasted on-air, they feel when they do that they will have an answer from the official. If you go to the official or any department in the government and complain he will do nothing. But if you come to me and talk with Voice of the Valley, Muneria will call the official on-air and he will feel more pressure and will have more impact than trying to go to the office and talk with him face to face (Producer 6, 2012).

As a citizen journalist working for *Sawt Al-Aghwar* (Voice of the Valley), Al-Furat recognizes her community radio news program has impacted the political power afforded to residents in the Jordan Valley. For example, in one case, after broadcasting a report prepared by *Sawt Al-Aghwar* (Voice of the Valley) on transportation problems caused by a lack of infrastructure in some villages, the municipal committee responsible for local transportation decided to organize a bus route in the area (Producer 5a, 2012). Of these kinds of impacts in the community, another

producer commented: “Working at AmmanNet, I feel like I am achieving something with my work. We are helping the society and affect the society more than the other stations that talk down to people from a high horse” (Producer 7b, 2012). Producers at Radio al-Balad offered examples like the above to illustrate how community radio news programming influences social change, whether it is through raising political awareness of listeners or influencing the actions of political powers.

According to one former station manager and current community radio news producer, Radio al-Balad’s news programs, like the five featured above, challenge oppression and forms of power not addressed elsewhere in the media (Producer 1b, 2012). These programs fill a gap on the FM dial, where few stations independently cover social and political problems in Jordan. To enrich these views and fill the aforementioned gaps in community radio research (Chapter 2), the views of listeners are vital to ascertain how effective Radio al-Balad is as a community radio station and form of social movement media in contributing to politicization and social change in Jordan. This section of my case study investigates the reception and engagement experiences of audiences documented in storytelling through personal narratives and shared in focus group discussions. I will begin by assessing the impact of audience engagement in the Listeners’ Club, then discuss listeners’ reception experiences of Radio al-Balad’s news programming.

Members of the Listeners’ Club report being afforded greater opportunities for engagement in the station and in political activities based in the community. However, not all audience members choose to participate in the Listeners’ Club, as mentioned above for professional reasons or time constraints. For those audience members who do participate in the Listeners’ Club, they observe an impact. One listener commented, “[Members of the Listeners’ Club] have had an impact on the decision-making of the station” (Listeners’ Club Member 7,

2013). Further, several audience members observed in their personal narratives that their participation in Radio al-Balad programming or interaction with journalists increased after joining the Listeners' Club. A Listeners' Club board member observed, "Through the Listeners' Club I was able to engage more and communicate with the journalist who report for the radio. There was a nice response from these journalists that received me very well" (Listeners' Club Member 5, 2013). Listeners who engage in club activities at the station have greater access to influencing community radio news programming. Similarly, the President of the Listeners' Club described the results of the club's activities in the community, saying: "The success story of the Listeners' Club is that we have tons of cases of charities and services … visiting high profile government officials and connecting them to the people, starting to solve some problems" (Listeners' Club Member 7, 2013). For the president, the impact of the club's activities are felt beyond the station's programming but have also addressed problems in the community. Through stories like the above, listeners' Club members report experiencing increased access to the station and see the benefits of their collective action in the community.

In addition, members of the Listeners' Club reported experiencing greater opportunities "to know each other as listeners" (Listeners' Club Member 3, 2013). One Listeners' Club member shared a story in her personal narrative that her participation at Radio al-Balad led to "meeting new people, making good friends" which resulted in raising her awareness (Listeners' Club Member 4, 2013). This listener's story reflects how Radio al-Balad also contributes to political awareness by offering new social experiences as well as opportunities for political literacy or engagement through its community news programs. Where increased political participation and civic awareness is one of the abovementioned principles guiding Radio al-Balad's news programming practices identified in Table 17, these listener stories of their

experiences in the Listeners' Club reveal the variety of ways in which new political learning environments are fostered by community radio programming practices.

Listeners also reported in their personal narratives and affirmed in the focus group discussions that Radio al-Balad's news programming helps listeners learn through experiencing other people's problems and promoting self-criticism of social problems to raise the civic awareness in the community of political solutions. Three listeners in their personal narratives and one during the on-air focus group reported that Radio al-Balad's shows do not affect them or their opinions. The majority of audience members stated in the focus groups and in their personal narratives that they experienced increases in their political awareness cultivated by their experiences listening to and participating in Radio al-Balad's news programming.

Where some listeners mentioned an individual impact, stating the programming aired on the station "gives us hope" or "affected my personality" (Listener 1, 2013; Listeners' Club Member 2, 2013), others observed Radio al-Balad influences the community as a whole through contributing to the "popular education of people" and generally raising the awareness of social and political problems (Listeners' Club Member 4, 2013). Recognizing the contribution Radio al-Balad makes towards facilitating opportunities for educating listeners was echoed by an audience member who declared in his personal narrative, "Radio al-Balad is at the forefront of political and social education in Amman" (Listeners' Club Member 7, 2013). Another interaction between listeners during the in-person focus group reveals how Radio al-Balad's news programming impacts their political lives:

Female Participant: Somehow I feel coverage does affect political life.

Female Participant: For example, you'll be listening and hear something about Palestine and what the Israeli Keenest did and you suddenly feel like you want to get up….

> *Male Participant:* Remember we had our movement for taxi drivers when we had a lot of problems. We knocked on a lot of doors, like the mayor, the ministers…If you remember there was a decision at the Parliament about this issue. We went to the parliament and found out it was a lie. So we had to go down to the street and the programming helped. They made us go from one official to another looking for who is responsible…It was Radio al-Balad programming that took up this issue (Focus Group 2, 2013).

Cultivating social movements by representing activist perspectives in local news coverage, Radio al-Balad has a direct effect on society. These observations illustrate the impact of the principle (Table 17) guiding Radio al-Balad's news programming that follows social movements is participatory and accessible to the community and engages listeners by creating new political subjectivities and opportunities for collective action.

Radio al-Balad's news programming also impacts listeners' media environment by focusing on issues ignored by many outlets, such as covering social movements in Jordan. A caller who joined the on-air focus group observed that Radio al-Balad is making a different contribution on the FM dial. He stated:

> At this time in the Arabic world there are pressures from all over promoting sectarian thought. A lot of stations and radio shows are spewing the poison of sectarianism, calling people infidels, and Radio al-Balad is presenting a different idea with its programs (Focus Group 1, 2013).

In this listener's story we hear that Radio al-Balad is making a difference on the FM dial. Radio al-Balad's news programming seeks to address social problems rather than inflame conflict or marginalization in the community. Another listener shared the following story about how Radio al-Balad achieves this impact:

> I believe Radio al-Balad crossed many red lines and that was good. For the first time you talk about the State Security Court loud and clear that this court cannot have fair trails for civilians and that this court should be stopped. For the first time, you can talk about smoking marijuana without making it like a school or lecturing people; you let people talk and you don't lecture, you make some dialogue with them. That was very interesting and I did participate with this issue. For the first time I can talk about virginity test [a pseudo-medical exam for women-only allegedly used to determine virginity status] and it was a problem for them to find someone. For the first time, I can talk about the raping of children. Or having rights for gays or lesbians and without cutting my words or without the host telling me, "Let me tell you something - there are some red lines we will not cross" (Listener 2, 2013).

Based on her experience as a Radio al-Balad listener and having engaged other media, this listeners' story explains how Radio al-Balad's approach to programming impacts her reception experience and the media landscape in Jordan.

Listeners in their stories and in the focus groups point to other examples of how Radio al-Balad expands the boundaries of public debate by covering issues ignored or misrepresented by other media. Listeners identify the impact of community radio news programming as breaking a "wall of silence and fears" by providing a free space for expression (Listeners' Club Member 7, 2013), where "you can speak openly" (Listeners' Club Member 1, 2013). Other listeners in the focus groups and personal narratives observe Radio al-Balad programs are not bound by self-censorship, and as such, have lifted a ceiling of limitations on issues concerning the political, economic, and living situation in Jordan. Eight listeners observed in their personal narratives and during the focus group discussions that Radio al-Balad is the only station talking about political

freedom and human rights. For one audience member, the station is the only one in Jordan offering activists and youth a "free media" in Radio al-Balad (Listener 3, 2013).

Among the abovementioned four listeners who did not observe that community radio news impacts their political opinions or activities, the listener who commented in her personal narrative that Radio al-Balad's news programs "did not have an effect on my opinions" added that the participatory practices of producers "opened my eyes to many things" (Listener 4, 2013), including raising her awareness of the power of independent, community media within Jordan's media landscape. While telling the story of her engagement at Radio al-Balad, she shared the impact of her first experience producing programming:

> Practically, I am a human rights journalist who works in the written medium. But after [producing a program for Radio al-Balad] I saw the effect of the audio and video reports. This made me realize that the eye and ear respond differently to written content versus audio and video (Listener 4, 2013).

Acknowledging the station's news programming did not affect her political opinions, this listener also reveals how Radio al-Balad's news production practices impacted her views concerning different mediums. The listener went on to acknowledge in her personal narrative the impact of producing media from the perspective of rights was, for her, an "awe inspiring experience" experience (Listener 4, 2013). Listeners in both focus groups and in the personal narratives explained this impact is due in part to the aforementioned principles organizing the programming aired on Radio al-Balad (Table 17). The above listener was told when producing programming at Radio al-Balad that she could set "the ceiling as high as I am comfortable setting it" (Listener 4, 2013). Another listener joining the on-air focus group recalled that Radio al-Balad is covering news, like the Jordanian prisoners on hunger strike in Israeli jails, that is purposely erased by

other broadcasters (Focus Group 1, 2013). For the above listeners Radio al-Balad stands out among the other radio stations that do not broadcast programs about human rights or do not distinguish between entertainment content and news programs.

My research design also asked listeners about any negative impacts they experienced in their lives or in the community due to Radio al-Balad's news programming practices. During the in-person focus group, listeners cited racism in Jordanian society as an example of an issue that Radio al-Balad news producers covered that listeners perceived had negative effects. After airing a news report about racism in Jordan, one listener suggested, "Radio al-Balad was attacked for being sectarian" (Focus Group 2, 2013). On this point, another participant suggested that this might be why Radio al-Balad never confronts racism but only approaches the story once in a while. The concerns raised by in-person focus group participants about the negative impacts of Radio al-Balad's news programming that challenges the status quo reveal the pros and cons of being Amman's first community radio station and airing programming not heard elsewhere on the FM dial.

In personal narratives and during the on-air discussion, listeners shared few negative impacts of news programming aired on Radio al-Balad. However, in his personal narrative, one listener shared a story about a change in Radio al-Balad's programming towards airing commercial music. These programming changes, he observed, "bothered and annoyed me" (Listener 1, 2013). In his personal narrative, this listener disclosed, for the first time that he was behind the creation of a Facebook campaign calling for the return of "principled music" on Radio al-Balad (Listener 1, 2013). The autonomous collective action he organized produced results and the removal of commercial music on Radio al-Balad. Listeners not only feel empowered through participating in, producing, or listening to Radio al-Balad's programming,

but they also report through storytelling an ability to influence the station's practices and improve their listening experience. Such experiences indicate how Radio al-Balad programming practices are shaped by participatory principles (Table 17) that allow the community to influence the content aired on the station.

The third part of my case study analyzed the reception and engagement experiences of audiences to document the political impact of Radio al-Balad's news programming. The primary research question guiding this case study asks: *To what extent does Radio al-Balad's news programming impact the political lives of listeners?* The community radio news programming produced by Radio al-Balad presents opportunities for listeners to learn in action by producing community radio news, engaging live on the air, or participating in the Listeners' Club. Radio al-Balad not only creates community access to the FM dial where listeners to express themselves freely, but the station also affords space for listeners to take autonomous collective action as exemplified by the activities of Listeners' Club or where individual listeners or programmers call audience members to take action within the station or in their community. Through storytelling, listeners describe how Radio al-Balad's community radio governance, news programming, and audience engagement practices facilitate political learning environments.

Based on the data collected among listeners, Radio al-Balad has an impact on the political lives of audience members. While the majority of listeners who created personal narratives agree that Radio al-Balad has influenced their political education, a couple of listeners (or around six percent of thirty-one audience participants) stated that Radio al-Balad does not affect their political opinions. From the audience data gathered, most listeners indicated that community radio news programs focused on for this case study, including *Ain al E'lam* (Eye on the Media), *Nas Wa Nas* (People and People), *Sawt Al-Aghwar* (Voice of the Valley), *Huwa*

Hizbee (Factional Winds), and *Al-Majles* (Parliament Program), cultivated political learning environments. Through storytelling, listeners' shared how community radio content informs their political opinions and can have an impact on society by raising awareness of social and individual problems. Listener-generated data revealed that programs engage Radio al-Balad listeners as political actors through offering participatory radio making, media and political literacy, and new ways of thinking analytically and strategically (Rodriguez, 2001). Community radio news, from the perspective of Radio al-Balad listeners, offers a transformative experience that raises their political awareness, resulting in increases of their access to collective action and political power as well as opportunities for social change.

Conclusion

Based on the above findings, we can see that meeting the mandate that community radio stations like Radio al-Balad set out for themselves generates a number of challenges that can only partially be met through programming alone. My case study findings based on audience data also reveal that beyond their interactions with the Listeners' Club and community news producers, Radio al-Balad listeners are unfamiliar with the structure of the station thus there are limits to audience engagement *within* the radio station. In addition, the experience of community radio news producers within station governance can also impact the production of Radio al-Balad's news programming and the relations between news producers and listeners. Thus, this case study documents how Radio al-Balad's governance practices shape the engagement experiences of community radio listeners in the station and within the community.

Through the perspectives of community radio news producers and listeners, this case study documents how community radio news impacts the political lives of listeners by facilitating political learning environments. Radio al-Balad audiences are participating and

political actors within the station and in their communities. The governance and news programing practices evaluated here influence the sustainability of Radio al-Balad's vision as a community radio station. Throughout my investigation of community radio news at Radio al-Balad, producers and listeners offered feedback on how the station is achieving or could better meet its mandate to democratize the political and media landscapes in Jordan. Radio al-Balad offers an independent and non-profit mass media platform owned by the community. Critical reflection through storytelling is also necessary to document the station's successes and overcome internal challenges and inconsistencies in practices. This case study highlights the need to consider the sustainability of the station's governance, news programming, and audience engagement practices. Building on this case study and the analysis offered in Chapters 2 and 3 concerning the historical, social, political, and economic factors shaping community radio broadcasting, the radical pedagogy of community radio reflects on cultivating governance principles and news programming principles that can help sustain the production of community radio news, strengthen the engagement of community radio listeners as political actors, and contribute to political change. The next chapter (Chapter 6) presents concluding reflections that develop the radical pedagogy of community radio.

Conclusion: The Radical Pedagogy of Community Radio

Radio al-Balad contributes to political change in Jordan by broadcasting local independent community radio news programming that publically addresses social and political problems. Transportation solutions implemented in the Jordan Valley, the advocacy campaign organized to stop abuses against disabled women in state care, and the movement by taxicab drivers to form an independent union are examples of political change facilitated by Radio al-Balad's news programming. Following social movements, broadcasting about political freedoms and human rights, focusing on social and political problems in the community, uncovering forms of oppression ignored by state and private media, promoting media and political literacy, Radio al-Balad cultivates new political learning environments that expand public debate on the FM dial and promote collective action through listener engagement in the station's news programming and governance practices, including the Listeners' Club and in the community.

The trajectory of my argument starting in Chapter 1 and continuing through Chapter 5 offers my reflections on the role and impact of independent, non-profit community media institutions in strengthening social movements and facilitating political change. My dissertation research amplifies the voices and experiences of community media audiences and news producers in a non-Western context to document the impact of community radio news on the political lives of listeners. My study of Radio al-Balad is motivated by a gap I document in English language scholarship within media and communication studies that is narrowly focused on the relationship between corporate-controlled social media and recent political changes in the WANA region. This dissertation contributes to scholarship on community radio audiences, community broadcasting in the WANA region, and social movement media in several ways that can be categorized as theoretical, methodological, empirical, and policy implications.

The theoretical implications of my dissertation research contradict the approaches of audience research that largely focuses on commercial media and views audiences as consumers or receivers (McQuail, 1997; Napoli, 2010). In contrast to commercial media audiences, community radio audiences are not simply consuming media. They potentially participate as political actors who run the institution, produce its programming, and join in collective action within and outside of the station. The theoretical framework I propose to investigate the reception and engagement experiences of Radio al-Balad listeners borrows from third sector studies, radical adult education theory, and anti-oppression literature to address theoretical gaps found in community radio and social movement media studies concerning audiences. These theories helped me consider how the distribution of power, participation, decision-making, and representation within community radio governance and news programming practices impact audience engagement and facilitate political learning environments. I use the lens of political economy to contextualize my case study by analyzing the social, political, and economic forces that shape media regulations, FM broadcast practices, and the reception experiences of FM audiences in Amman. These theoretical innovations help me consider the impact of community radio on political change in Jordan.

My research design engaged the participation of thirty-one Radio al-Balad listeners in the production and/or analysis of qualitative audience research data. Mobilizing storytelling in self-recorded personal narratives and sharing listener stories in focus groups defines my approach to non-commercial audience research and helped me produce knowledge concerning the reception and engagement experience of Radio al-Balad listeners that was co-constructed. My research design positions community radio audiences as actors who produce research knowledge that is by, for, and about them. An engaged and collaborative approach to qualitative community media

audience research is required to strengthen the participatory and democratic practices of community radio stations by reflecting on the experiences of listeners. Indeed, listening to the listeners is key to my reflections concerning the radical pedagogy of community radio.

My dissertation study contributes several methodological innovations to the study of community radio by investigating one community radio station using three levels of analysis rather than comparing one level of analysis across several stations. Due to the specific experiences of community radio audiences, studying the reception experiences of listeners will not work alone. The contemporary study of communication and media generally focuses on three domains of analysis addressing problems related to production, product, and/or reception; also described as sender-message-receiver, industry-text-audiences, or generation/creation-form/content-users/uses (Sinha & Newcomb, 2000, pp. 17–18). The three levels mobilized in my research design focus on the *institution*, *programming*, and *audiences* to inform my case study of Radio al-Balad. Where most community radio research focuses on comparing one aspect (like programming) between two or more stations, I triangulate my case study to view Radio al-Balad's governance, news programming, and audience engagement practices as co-constitutive.

Empirically, I rooted this case study of community radio in the WANA region within the global history of community broadcasting because despite a diversity of practices documented among contemporary community radio stations, these historical observations demonstrate the sector has common, radical roots in the struggle by social movement and non-state/corporate actors to access the radio spectrum as a form of social change communications for groups marginalized by state-run and commercial media. I also address how scholars and scholar-activists can research the impact of community media practices by documenting the experiences of news producers and listeners. For example, I demonstrate the value of hearing listeners

describe the first time they tuned-in to community radio. These first listening stories document direct experiences and offer evidence of how community radio broadcasting differs from programming aired by private and state-run radio stations.

As a form of social movement media, this case study finds that the democratic agenda of Radio al-Balad, according to news listeners and producers, needs to apply within the station as well. Radio al-Balad's governance practices impact the working environments of community news producers and potentially negatively influence the relations between listeners and producers. I documented several internal debates experienced by listeners and news producers, concerning the extent to which Radio al-Balad actually fulfills its governance principles with the understanding that "conflict is not inherently negative" within non-profit organizations like community radio station where internal debates can also "be extremely powerful, as a way to grow and challenge" the organization (CoCo, 2013). I demonstrate how conflict and internal debates observed among listeners and producers can help strengthen station practices by producing mutual learning opportunities and interventional tools. These outcomes led me to consider how the radical pedagogy of community radio can guide sustainable station practices by facilitating transparent and accountable practices, rooted in skill-sharing and capacity building. Such practices can empower listeners as participating and political actors within the station and in their communities.

Participant observation, interviews, focus groups, and storytelling produced data that showed me how Radio al-Balad produces inconsistencies in governance and programming practices that, depict a paradox, represents a democratic deficit at Radio al-Balad. I believe stations can sustain internal challenges and debates concerning station programming and governance practices by considering the radical pedagogy of community radio. Negative

experiences of inequality, harassment, and oppression within Radio al-Balad led me to consider how stations could be more inclusive of listeners and workers in governance and news programming practices. Listening to the listeners and station members enables the community to influence decision-making and strategic planning, which can help sustain community radio stations. The radical pedagogy of community radio horizontally organizes knowledge production, capacity building, and skill sharing that strengthen governance, news programming practices, and audience engagement practices.

My analysis of the social, political, and economic forces shaping the FM dial in Amman found that radio broadcasting in Jordan is monopolized by state power, shaped by media regulations and commercial-format broadcasting practices that reinforce national identity and maintain the status quo. Community broadcasting in Jordan contributes to the "quiet encroachment" of the FM dial (Bayat, 2013) by producing political learning environments that can subvert the state's "governmentality" or its ability to govern by "establishing new lifestyles and new modes of thinking, being and doing things" that advance the needs of ordinary people (Bayat, 2013, p. 249). Through storytelling, Radio al-Balad listeners reveal that community radio governance, news programming, and audience engagement practices facilitate new political learning environments that offer a transformative experience by providing a participatory platform for media and political education, raising civic awareness, and facilitating a space for autonomous collective action through which audience members can increase their access to political power as well as opportunities for social change. Community radio broadcasting on an FM dial dominated by state and private broadcasters is evidence of how social movement media, like Radio al-Balad, facilitate the quiet encroachment of the radio spectrum in Amman.

Based on these insights, I theorize a radical pedagogy of community radio as a way to organize the principles underpinning community radio practices. I bring together ideas by critical consciousness educators like Freire (1970, 1972, 1985) and hooks (2003), radical adult education scholarship (Foley, 1999; Kapoor & Choudry, 2010; Newman, 2006; Shragge, 2013), and Downing's volumes on radical media (2000) and social movement media (2010) to recognize the transformative political learning environments cultivated in governance, news programming, and audience engagement practices within community radio stations. A radical pedagogy of community radio that recognizes transformative environments created through station practices can help stations be more accessible to and inclusive of the communities being served by valuing station members equitably, including the listeners.

A radical pedagogy of community radio identifies the educational practices engaged by community radio stations produce political learning environments. Through participatory governance practices and news programming practices, community radio stations seek to politicize and mobilize station members and audiences in democratizing media and political landscapes. A pedagogy grounded in the empowering practices of community radio is also informed by anti-oppression practices that produce knowledge, reflections, and strategic planning based on the experiences of communities excluded or underrepresented in the station's programming or governance. A radical pedagogy of community radio can produce a more inclusive community-owned media institution by valuing the experiences of listeners horizontally alongside those of volunteers, staff, board members, and funders at each level of decision-making including governance, programming, and audience engagement.

The radical pedagogy of community radio and this case study of Radio al-Balad have several policy implications. Concerning the sustainability of community media practices,

storytelling is an accessible means to collect data documenting the experiences of listeners and station members. These data can help orient new volunteers, inform strategic planning, and provide insights for policy-makers on the impact of community radio. Listening to listeners, stations can promote community ownership and ensure future community engagement in programming and governance. Similarly, internal policies of community radio stations and external policies governing regulatory environments should be built on the needs of listeners to cultivate rather than inhibit more effective governance, news programming, and audience engagement practices.

My dissertation study and the above implications have inspired me to consider expanding my project to conduct comparative research, documenting news, governance and audience engagement practices at several community radio stations broadcasting in the WANA region. My doctoral thesis demonstrates that additional regional research of grassroots political communication mobilizing community broadcasting and autonomous communication technology is needed. Storytelling is a methodological tool for documenting the experiences of community media activists and audiences. I am also motivated to produce future research that investigates how storytelling can be part of a station's governance, news programming, and audience engagement practices, informing external policymaking and academic scholarship. In addition, my research demonstrates that within community radio stations conflict and internal debates are inevitable given that stations engage with democratic and inclusive practices as they strive for broader social and political change (Fairchild, 2001). Future comparative research is needed to document how community media institutions, community radio broadcasting, and social movement media practices have been impacted by conflict and internal debates. Finally, my research concerning the FM dial in Amman reveals how social and political inequalities shape

community broadcasting regulations and practices. Additional comparative research could further illustrate how political and economic forces impact contemporary FM broadcasting practices in the WANA region and beyond. This research agenda could also document the local and regional strategies implemented by community media activists given the link between technology and politics.

Occupying the media landscape through community broadcasting practices that follow social movements, facilitate political learning environments, and serve groups underrepresented and marginalized by state and commercial media is key to transforming the political sphere in Jordan. Where governments are weak or politics are in transition, community media activism can challenge hegemonic media and political power. The governance, news programming, and audience engagement practices at Radio al-Balad position community radio as a form of social movement media that produces audiences who are participating and political actors within the station and in their communities. These transformative experiences determine the radical nature of the pedagogy that organizes community radio practices, politicizing listeners and stimulating social movement engagement. Considering the radical pedagogy of community radio can help organize mechanisms of accountability and sustainability that foster democratic practices within stations and enable them to fulfill their mandate to serve the community. This pedagogical view of community radio illuminates the links between sustainable and accountable community media practices, radical adult education, and political change.

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