

The on-line community media database RadioSwap as a translocal tool to broaden the communicative rhizome

Nico Carpentier, Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB - Free University of Brussels), Centre for Studies on Media and Culture (CeMeSO) & Katholieke Universiteit Brussel (KUB - Catholic University of Brussels),
Centre for Communication for Social Change (CSC), Belgium

Abstract

The concept of 'community media' (CM) has proved to be, in its long theoretical and empirical tradition, highly elusive. This theoretical problem necessitates the use of different approaches to the definition of CM, which will allow for a complementary emphasis on different aspects of the identity of CM. This article uses a combination of four theoretical approaches as starting point: CM as serving the community, CM as an alternative to the mainstream, CM as part of civil society and CM as rhizome.

This article then focuses on the fourth approach to analyze a project that aims to broaden the communicative rhizome by creating an on-line database, which allow for the exchange of locally produced content beyond the confinements of locality. RadioSwap enables program-makers all over the world to upload their content and/or download, listen to and re-broadcast content produced by others. Although still limited in its capacities, this database does allow produced media discourses to circulate, and offer an embryonic form of translocalism and socio-communicative change.

1. Introduction

The concept of 'community media' (CM) has proven to be, in its long theoretical and empirical tradition¹, highly elusive. The multiplicity of media organizations that carry this name has caused most mono-theoretical approaches to focus on certain characteristics, while ignoring other aspects of the identity of CM. This theoretical problem necessitates the use of different approaches towards the definition of CM, which will allow for a complementary emphasis on different aspects of the identity of CM. This article firstly aims to combine four theoretical approaches in order to capture both the diversity and specificity of these CM and to show their importance.

At the same time it aims to put the fourth (rhizomatic) approach to the forefront, as this approach not only allows theorizing the CM's fluid and elusive identity, but also (together with a reconfiguration of the traditional meaning of community) provides the theoretical support for an expansion of CM from the local into the translocal. This approach will facilitate the analysis of the complex interrelationship of the local and

¹ See for instance Janowitz work on the community press, which was first published in 1952 (Janowitz, 1967). Later key works on community media were (among others) produced by Berrigan (1977; 1979), O'Sullivan-Ryan & Kaplun (1979), Reyes Matta (1986), Jankowski, Prehn & Stappers (1992), Girard (1992), Lewis (1993), Nostbakken & Morrow (1993), Sjöberg (1994), Husband (1994), Fraser & Restrepo (2000), Downing (2000), Rodriguez (2001), Gumucio (2001), Atton (2002), Couldry & Curran (2003), and Howley (2005).

the global, as it is found in a specific community media project called RadioSwap (<http://www.radioswap.net/>) that is aimed at stimulating the exchange of radio content between 30 community radio stations and affiliated organizations.

Despite its importance, the fourth approach needs to remain firmly encapsulated within a multi-theoretical combination of approaches in order to capture the specificity and diversity of CM. For this reason, this article starts with a brief discussion of all four approaches.

2. Defining the identity of Community Media²

Traditional CM theory is built on media-centered models as it tries to describe the functioning of community media (approach 1) and alternative media (approach 2). The first approach uses a more essentialist theoretical framework, stressing the importance of the community the medium is serving, the alternative media models focus on the relationship between alternative and mainstream media, putting more emphasis on the discursive relation of interdependency between two antagonistic sets of identities.

These traditional models for theorizing the identity of CM are complemented here with two more society-centered approaches³. The third approach defines CM as part of civil society. Despite the basic assumption that these civil organizations differ fundamentally from market and state organizations, ample emphasis is put on the interdependency of these identities. In this approach the autonomy of the identity of civil society organizations remains nevertheless an important theoretical assumption. In order to incorporate the more relationist aspects of civil society theory - articulated by for instance Walzer (1998) – they are combined with Downing's (2001) and Rodriguez' (2001) critiques on alternative media, and radicalized and unified in the fourth approach, which builds on the Deleuzian metaphor of CM as rhizome. This approach allows (even more) incorporating aspects of contingency, fluidity and elusiveness in the analysis of CM.

These four approaches can be summarized in Table 1:

² For a more extensive version of this discussion, see Carpentier, et al. (2003).

³ The object of this article – community media - of course complicates an unequivocal society-centered approach. In stead this type of approach should be interpreted as the societal contextualization of (community) media.

Table 1: Positioning the four theoretical approaches

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

3. Multi-theoretical approaches

A promising starting point for the analysis is given by the ‘working definition’ of community radio adopted by AMARC-Europe, the European branch of the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters⁴; an organization that encompasses a wide range of radio practices in the different continents. In Latin America, the AMARC constituents are termed popular radio, educational radio, miners’ radio, or peasants’ radio. In Africa, they refer to local rural radio, while in Europe it is often called associative radio, free radio, neighborhood radio, or community radio. Asians speak of radio for development, and of community radio, in Oceania of aboriginal radio, public radio and of community radio (Servaes, 1999: 259). Attempting to avoid a prescriptive definition, AMARC-Europe (1994: 4) labels a community radio station as

‘a ‘non-profit’ station, currently broadcasting, which offers a service to the community in which it is located, or to which it broadcasts, while promoting the participation of this community in the radio.’

3.1 Media-centered and civil society approaches to the CM’s identity

In the first approach the CM’s role towards the community is emphasized, as can be illustrated by AMARC-Europe’s working definition. CM serve a specific – often geographically defined⁵ – community, and thus validate and strengthen that community. Secondly, access by the community and participation of the community (and its constituent subgroups) are to be considered key-defining factors. ‘Ordinary people’⁶ are given the opportunity to have their voices heard. Topics that are considered relevant for the community can be discussed by members of that community, thus empowering those people by signifying that their statements are considered important enough to be broadcast.

⁴ The World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters is usually referred to by its French acronym AMARC, or the ‘Association Mondiale des Radio diffuseurs Communautaires’. The AMARC website can be found at: <http://www.amarc.org>.

⁵ In Amarc-Europe’s definition the geographical aspect is explicitly highlighted (‘in which it is located’), although other types of relationships between medium and community are mentioned (‘to which it broadcasts’).

⁶ In other words: people who are not part of a societal elite (including politicians, academics, captains of industry, and media professionals) and those not considered to be celebrities.

The second approach to defining CM is based on the concept of alternative media, where it is emphasized that being '*third voice*' (Servaes, 1999: 260) or the '*third type*' (Girard, 1992: 2) is still a viable option for media organizations. This concept is built on a distinction between mainstream (public and commercial) media on the one hand and alternative media on the other, where alternative media are defined in a negative relationship towards mainstream media. This approach allows stressing that CM have alternative ways of organizing (often using a more horizontal structure), carry alternative discourse and representations, and make use of alternative formats and genres. Participation also plays a crucial role, as through the mechanism of self-representation this multiplicity of alternative voices is accomplished.

In the third (society-centered) approach CM organizations are seen as part of civil society, a societal segment considered crucial for the viability of democracy. CM can firstly be seen as an 'ordinary' part of civil society, as one of the many types of organizations active in the field of civil society. The democratization *of* media, as Wasko and Mosco (1992: 7) call this, allows citizens to be active in one of many (micro-)spheres relevant to daily life and to exert their rights to communicate. CM also contribute to what Wasko and Mosco (1992: 13) call the democratization *through* media, as they can offer different societal groups and communities the opportunity for extensive participation in public debate and for self-representation in the (or a) public sphere, thus entering the realm of enabling and facilitating macro-participation.

3.2 Approach four: Community media as rhizome

When discussing the notion of alternative media Downing (2001: ix) critiques its '*oxymoronic*' nature: '*everything, at some point, is alternative to something else*', thus legitimizing his decision to focus on 'radical alternative media', and thereby excluding niche trade magazines and corporate industry bulletins. At the same time he still emphasizes the diversity that characterizes these radical alternative media that are to be found in a '*colossal variety of formats*' (Downing, 2001: xi). They nevertheless serve two main purposes: to express opposition vertically and to build networking laterally. A similar argument is developed by Rodriguez (2001: 20) who suggests abandoning the notion of alternative media – in favor of citizens' media

'because 'alternative media' rests on the assumption that these media are alternative to something, this definition will easily entrap us in binary thinking: mainstream media and their alternative, that is, alternative media. Also, the label 'alternative media' predetermines the outcome the type of oppositional thinking that limits the potential of these media to their ability to resist the alienating power of mainstream media.'

In the discussion on civil society theory a number of authors have highlighted the interrelationship between civil society on the one hand and state and market on the other hand. Though considered reductionist, the

19th century Hegelian dichotomous model, conflating market and civil society is *'still used by some Marxists and particularly by neoliberals, neoconservatives, and present-day heirs of utopian socialism.'* (Cohen & Arato, 1992: 423) A more nuanced relationist approach can be found in Walzer's (1998: 138) paradoxical civil society argument:

'... the state is unlike all the other associations. It both frames civil society and occupies space within it. It fixes the boundary conditions and the basic rules of all associational activity (including political activity).'

These relationist aspects of the civil society approach and the (critiques on the) alternative media approach are radicalized and unified in a fourth approach building on Deleuze and Guattari's rhizome⁷ (1987). The metaphor of the rhizome is based on the juxtaposition of rhizomatic and arborescent thinking. The arborescent is linear, hierarchic and sedentary, and could be represented as *'the tree-like structure of genealogy, branches that continue to subdivide into smaller and lesser categories'* (Wray, 1998: 3). It is, according to Deleuze and Guattari, the philosophy of the State. On the other hand, the rhizomatic is non-linear, anarchic and nomadic. *'Unlike trees or their roots, the rhizome connects any point to any other point ...'* (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987: 19)

Not only will this metaphor further highlight the role of CM as the crossroads of organizations and movements linked with civil society, it will also allow incorporating the high level of contingency that characterizes CM. Both their embeddedness in a fluid civil society (as part of a larger network) and their antagonistic relationship towards the state and the market (as alternative to mainstream public and commercial media) make the identity of CM highly elusive. In this approach it is argued that this elusiveness and contingency, as is the case for a rhizome, forms its main defining element.

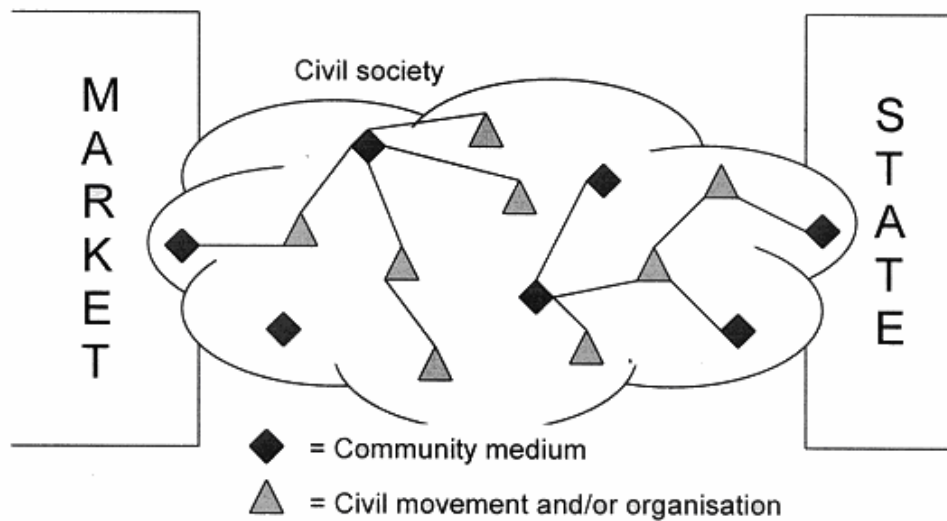
As rhizomes, CM tend to cut across borders and build linkages between pre-existing gaps: *'a rhizome ceaselessly establishes connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences and social struggles.'* (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987: 7). These articulations, however fluid they may be, also structure the rhizome and create a semi-coherent totality. Following Laclau and Mouffe's (1985: 105) use of the concept of articulation, which encompasses the always-present possibility of re-articulation, rhizomes and rhizomatic CM oscillate between fixity and non-fixity and can always transcend the frontiers that at the same time construct its identity. This also implies that rhizomes do not articulate every possible element at a given time, but that certain elements will be disarticulated and become excluded.

In the case of CM, these connections or articulations apply not only to the pivotal role CM (can) play in civil society, but also to the linkages CM (and other civil organizations) can establish with (segments of) the

⁷ Deleuze and Guattari have developed their thought well embedded in the field of epistemology. Here I focus more on organizational structures and practices that are seen as the sedimentation of the arborescent and/or rhizomatic ways of thinking. This also implies that individualized practices receive less attention.

state and the market, without losing their proper identity and becoming incorporated and/or assimilated. In this sense, CM do not operate completely outside the market and/or the state, thus softening the antagonistic relationship (as being an alternative to the mainstream) towards the market and the state. CM establish different types of relationships with the market and/or the state, often for reasons of survival, and in this fashion they can still be seen as potentially destabilizing or deterritorializing - as it is called in Deleuze and Guattari's work - the rigidities and certainties of public and commercial media organizations. The visualization of both the elusiveness of the rhizomatic network, and its deterritorializing potential towards the more rigid media organizations in the public and private domain can be found in Table 2. It should of course be noted that even the vertically structured market and state organizations can show a high degree of fluidity, but these organizations still remain in most cases considerably more rigid in comparison to civil society organizations. The deterritorializing effects of CM can (at least partially) overcome this rigidity and allow the more fluid aspects of market and state organizations to surface.

Table 2: Civil society and community media as rhizome



This fourth approach builds on and extends the importance that is attributed to civil society and (in relation to) democracy. In contrast to the third approach, the main emphasis for describing the importance of CM is not their role as part of the public sphere, but the catalyzing role they can play by functioning as the crossroads where people from different types of movements and struggles meet and collaborate, such as people from different women's, peasants', students', and/or anti-racist movements. In this fashion CM not

only function as an instrument giving voice to a group of people related to a specific issue, but also can function as a catalyst, re-articulating impartiality and neutrality; grouping people and organizations already active in different types of struggle for equality (or other issues).

Especially in the field of radical democratic theory, ample emphasis is attributed to the necessity for linking diverse democratic struggles in order to allow the '*common articulation of, for example, antiracism, antisexism and anticapitalism*', as one of the proponents puts it (Mouffe, 1997: 18). She continues by stressing the need to establish an equivalence between these different struggles, as it is not considered sufficient to establish '*a mere alliance*' (Mouffe, 1997: 19) but deemed necessary to modify

'the very identity of these struggles ... in order that the defense of workers' interests is not pursued at the cost of the rights of women, immigrants or consumers.' (Mouffe, 1997: 19)

This argument runs parallel with the reformulations of '*the ways in which power is enacted and citizenship is expressed*' (Rodriguez, 2001: 19), as in radical democratic theory the political subject can experience and express the subject position of citizen in a multiplicity of forms, including political action in the quotidian, based on economic, gender or ethnic relations (McClure, 1992: 123).

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

4. Being reduced to the local

So far, the above narration has been optimistically focusing on the importance and possibilities of CM, but these four models also allow elaborating the threats CM have to face. Serving and empowering the community within the context of dominant discourses and technologies that are oriented towards one-way communication is far from easy. When focusing on the internal functioning of CM, it should be emphasized that '*making democracy work*' (1993), to quote the title of one of Putnam's main publications, is a very difficult task that needs constant attention. Organizations that are horizontally structured and oriented towards community participation have to deal with a certain degree of inefficiency, sometimes making their functioning and the realization of their objectives impossible or perverting these objectives. When CM organizations choose an isolationist position, propagate one overpowering type of social struggle, or even become what Downing (2001: 88) calls repressive radical media, their potential role at the crossroads of

different social movements is simply not realized. Moreover, this role can also endanger these organizations when the objectives of (one of) these movements conflict with the objectives of the broadcaster itself, and when the independence vis-à-vis these movements and/or civil organizations becomes threatened.

When CM are situated in an antagonistic relationship towards mainstream media, CM may find themselves in a less advantageous position. Commercial (and public) media tend to see CM as '*contenders in a Darwinistic struggle among commercially oriented media.*' (Prehn, 1992: 266) Being small-scale, independent, and horizontally structured organizations that carry non-dominant discourses and representations, hardly guarantees financial and organizational stability. Moreover, the complex (rhizomatic) relationship with state and market organizations creates the risk of incorporation of the CM by these state and market organizations and/or the loss of their independence. Their very elusiveness – in combination with strategies of marginalization - also prevents the existence of a 'common ground' on which policy may act and which forms the basis for the existence of the organizations representing CM (such as, for instance, AMARC). This lack has complicated the emergence of a well-defined CM-movement, as is witnessed by the demise of AMARC-Europe, although a series of national (radio) organizations such as CNRL (Confédération nationale des radios libres) and CNRA (Conseil National des Radios Associatives) in France, CRAOL (Community Radio Forum of Ireland), CMA (Community Media Association) in the UK, OLON (Organisatie van Lokale Omroepen in Nederland) in the Netherlands, VFRÖ (Verband Freier Radios Österreich) in Austria, and AMARC as an organization with a global reach have managed to (at least partially) overcome these difficulties.

One of the major restrictions CM have to deal with is the confinement to the local, trapping CM on one side of the local – global dichotomy. This dominant mode of locality can be explained by the emphasis it receives in the interconnecting traditional media-centered approaches. The alternative media approach uses large-scale mainstream media as a reference point, almost automatically positioning alternative media on the other side of the binary. The CM approach draws on the dominant conceptualizations of community, which – as Leunissen (1986) argues - refer predominantly to geography and ethnicity as structuring notions of the collective identity or the group relations. Although Howley's (2005: 267) point that '*community media rather forcefully undermined the binary opposition of the categories 'local' and 'global' in two discrete, but interrelated ways*', is well taken when he refers to the '*historicizing and particularizing [of] the penetration of global forces into local contexts*' and to the '*endless stream of variation and diversity of cultural forms and practices around the world*' generated by CM. Nevertheless the dominant mode of locality keeps CM at the same time firmly locked within its 'essence' of being part of the local community. Although a reconfiguration is necessary, care also needs to be taken to avoid totally disconnecting CM from their respective communities.

This reduction structurally weakens CM in comparison to large-scale - and sometimes global - mainstream media. And it also renders the CM's potentially enlarged societal role virtually unthinkable. It is for instance difficult to image how CM could feature in John Keane's (1991:150) futuristic redefinition of public service model, based on the *'development of a plurality of non-state media of communication which both function as permanent thorns in the side of political power [...] and serve as the primary means of communication for citizens living, working, loving, quarrelling and tolerating others within a genuinely pluralist society.'*

Theoretical support for this reconfiguration can firstly be found in theories on the identity of community. A first set of theoretical reconfigurations can be found in the attempts to supplement the geographical with the non-geographical. One example is the introduction of the concept of the community of interest, which emphasizes the importance of other factors in structuring a community. Although one cannot explicitly assume that a group of people has common interests (Clark 1973: 411 a. f.), the communality of interest can form the conditions of possibility for the emergence or existence of a community.

Not surprisingly it is especially the impact analysis of information and communication technologies (ICT) on everyday life that allowed (re)emphasizing that communities are not only formed in geographically defined spaces, but also in cyberspace. Jones (1995) has shown that virtual or on-line communities have similar characteristics as the geography-based communities. These 'new' communities have further altered the rather fixed ideas about space and place (Casey, 1997), clearly showing that geographical proximity is not in all cases a necessary condition for, or quality of, community. As Lewis (1993:13) remarks, a community of interest can extend *'across conurbations, nations and continents'*. At the same time the increased emphasis on (global) space, threatening (local) place with discursive erasure, has prompted authors to come to the defense of place, without romanticizing it (see also Escobar (2000)). Hollander (2000: 372) for instance argues that place-based communities also use ICT. Cyberspace is in other words to be complemented by cyberplace, without creating a new binary.

A second type of re-conceptualization is based upon the emphasis of the subjective construction of community, where Anderson's (1983) concept of imagined community, Lindlof's (1988) interpretative community and Cohen's (1989) community of meaning are relevant. Although Lindlof's re-conceptualization is specifically aimed at redefining the audience as a community, both re-conceptualizations approach the concept of community from within. Cohen pleads for, in line with the above,

'a shift away from the structure of community towards a symbolic construction of community and in order to do so, takes culture, rather than structure as point of departure.' (Cohen, 1989: 70).

From this perspective, a community is actively constructed by its members and those members derive an identity from this construction. Both sets of re-conceptualizations are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3: Defining community

<i>Community as close and concrete human ties, as 'communion', as a collective identity, with identifying group relations.</i>		
Traditional:	Re-conceptualization 1: Supplementing the geographical with the non-geographical	Re-conceptualization 2: Supplementing the structural/ material with the cultural
- Geography - Ethnicity	- community of interest - virtual or on-line community	- interpretative community - community of meaning - imagined community

Again, the rhizomatic approach offers further theoretical support for the glocalization of CM structures and organizations. Simply enlarging the scale of operations to overcome the confinements of locality would be a self-defeating strategy towards the elusive and diversified identity of CM. To use Deleuze and Guattari's phrasing: creating an arbolic structure would simply imply the creation of a copy of mainstream and large-scaled media, and would not generate a map (see principles 5 and 6 of the rhizome: cartography & decalcomania). In contrast to the copy, the map is

'open and connectable in all of its dimensions; it is detachable, reversible, susceptible to constant modification. It can be torn, reversed, adapted to any kind of mounting, reworked by an individual, group, or social formation. It can be drawn on a wall, conceived of as a work of art, constructed as a political action or as a meditation. Perhaps one of the most important characteristics of the rhizome is that it always has multiple entryways.' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987: 12)

The other characteristics of the rhizome that Deleuze and Guattari enumerate in *A thousand plateaus* – the principles of connection, heterogeneity, multiplicity and asignifying rupture⁸ – allow theorizing the development of rhizomatic networks that take into account the complexities of CM in the construction of CM networks. Rhizomatic connections allow thinking about organizational structures where CM organizations can remain grounded in local communities and become simultaneously engaged in translocal networks characterized by the fluid articulation of a diversity of CM organizations. The rhizomatic approach thus becomes instrumental in avoiding the dichotomized positioning of CM in relationship to the local and the global, as it opens ways to theorize how the local and global touch and strengthen each other within CM.

As is the case in the reconfiguration of community, ICTs can play an important - but non-deterministic - role in the creation of these rhizomatic connections. ICTs, and more specifically networked computer communication, have been thoroughly researched through the metaphor of the rhizome. For instance Neil

⁸ *'A rhizome may be broken, shattered at a given spot, but it will start up again on one of its old lines, or on new lines.'* (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987: 9)

Spiller writes the following in the introduction of the fragment of *A thousand plateaus* that was included in the *Cyber_reader*:

'A thousand plateaus: capitalism and schizophrenia is the philosophical bible of the cyber-evangelist. This book is possibly one of the most quoted philosophical texts in connection with the technological 'spacescape' that computers have created and augmented.' (Spiller, 2002: 96)

More relevant to the topic of this article is that different types of civil society organizations have transcended the geographical / national frontiers and have initiated the use of ICTs to support this construction of rhizomatic networks. Various names (and perspectives) have been used to describe the phenomenon: Keck and Sekkink (1998) referred to transnational advocacy networks, Keane (2003) to global civil society whilst Smith, Chatfield and Pagnucco (1997) used the notion of transnational social movements. Whatever name is attributed, ICTs are seen to play an important role within those networks of individuals and civil society organizations (Scott & Street, 2000; Cammaerts, 2005). Within the media sphere especially the rise of independent media centers (IMCs) can be seen as a fascinating example. Focusing on Indymedia, Mamadouh (2004: 488-489) describes the interconnected functioning of these IMCs and the dialectics between the local and the global as follows:

'The Indymedia websites provide platforms to mobilize activists at different scales at once, with global sites addressing a global audience and local sites addressing local ones, but both scales are entwined, constantly connected through newswires and links.'

Earlier in her article, Mamadouh (2004: 487) also stresses the importance of ICTs as decision-making tools for the IMCs:

'The Internet is a local resource for IMCs as they often run their decision-making through electronic lists, on top of regular meetings (often weekly). This resource is even more crucial to sustain the global network. The coordination activities of the global network occur through computer-mediated communication: via mailing lists and IRC chats.'

These examples from within the realm of civil society, and even from within the sphere of alternative (new) media, raise important questions about the potentiality of CM to establish similar rhizomatic networks beyond the local, to overcome the reduction to locality and to link up with translocal (Appadurai, 1993) and (even) transnational social struggles. In the following part of this article, a case study of RadioSwap, a very modest attempt to move beyond these confinements and to contribute to the generation of a more translocal rhizome, is analyzed.

5. Glocal Community Media?

RadioSwap is based on a project proposal launched by six Belgium community radio stations - Radio Campus, Urgent, Radio Panik, Radio Centraal, FMBrussel and Radio Universitaire Namuroise – which started on January 1, 2001, financed by the Belgian federal government. In the first phase of the project these six radio stations were supported by four academic research centres: 'Groupe de réflexion sur les processus organisationnels' (GREPO), the 'Recherche et Diffusion de l'Information Scientifique' (RDIS), 'Centre de Recherches Informatique et Droit' (CRID) and the 'Centrum voor Intellectuele Rechten' (CIR). In the second project phase the CRID continued to provide its support, together with the 'Centre for Communication for Social Change' (CSC)⁹ and two companies Nerom N.V. and Info-Graphic SA.

5.1 RadioSwap objectives

Quite similar to other European projects like Stream on the Fly, Radia, One World Radio, the A-Infos radio project, and the Programme Exchange Initiative, the main objective of this project is focused on the exchange of radio content. Specifically for this project the main objective is articulated on the first Radioswap website:

'The Radioswap.net project aims to develop a technical as well as organizational system that will allow staff working for non-commercial and community radio stations – inside and outside Belgium – to exchange radio programs via the Internet.' (RadioSwap, 2001)

On a second website the project objectives are regrouped under five headings: Seeking multilingualism; Directed at volunteers; Giving a greater place to forms of self-management; Dreaming of co-productions, partnership and news exchanges; and Willing to experiment (RadioSwap, 2002). The first item refers to the participatory nature of the community radio stations, as their staff is not remunerated but produces radio programs on a voluntary basis.¹⁰ The RadioSwap database itself is also built on a more participatory model, as described in the self-management item:

'The point of all of this is not to build a 'normalized network' such as some of the networks we can find in the commercial radio world. It is rather to develop a common tool whose management would be shared and that the radio stations and their collaborators could use according to their needs in order to reinforce their singularity and specificities.' (RadioSwap, 2002)

⁹ As an evaluation partner of RadioSwap, the CSC conducted a series of interviews with the six radio station coordinators (the so-called administrators) and 19 'ordinary' RadioSwap users. Moreover three (selected from this group of 19) 'ordinary' RadioSwap users filled out diaries for four months, describing the use they made of RadioSwap. Finally, sending an earlier draft of this text to the RadioSwap coordinators also enabled a feedback analysis, of which the results are included in this text. For an overview, see appendix 1.

This article is based on a qualitative analysis of all these interviews and diaries. I wish to thank the RadioSwap users and the student-researchers Andries Fluit, Nathalie Gonzalez, Nathalie Colsoel, Laura Schuerwegen and Jozefien Vanhaverbeke that worked on this project.

¹⁰ During the project, the position of FMBrussel, one of the radio stations, changed when the North Belgian government decided to subsidize them. Consequently, the number of voluntary staff was drastically reduced.

The project not only aims to 'give the radio collaborators an opportunity to spread their programs beyond their original radio' (RadioSwap, 2002) but also wants to construct and enhance networks between different individuals and organizations.

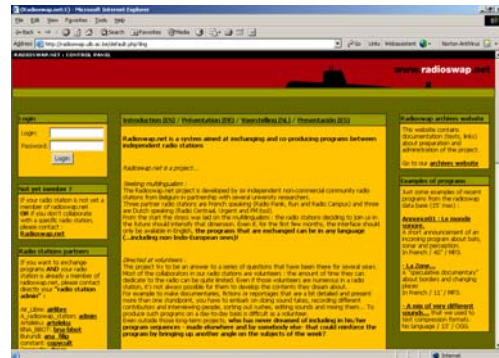
'Another objective of the project is to make it possible to use the system to set up co-productions between radio stations, or with outside partners. The system should allow collaborators to work together from afar on the same contents and the same programs, each one using her/his own way of working, with his/her own culture.' (RadioSwap, 2002)

Moreover, RadioSwap is no longer restricted to the six original 'founding' radio stations. In April 2007 RadioSwap included 81 radio stations or affiliated organizations and 209 registered users based in Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, France, Hungary, Macedonia, the Netherlands, Portugal, Slovenia, the UK and the Czech Republic. They have uploaded 982 radio programs, which accounts for 47GB of audio.

Table 4: The RadioSwap websites



Website 1: 2002-2003



Website 2: 2004-2005

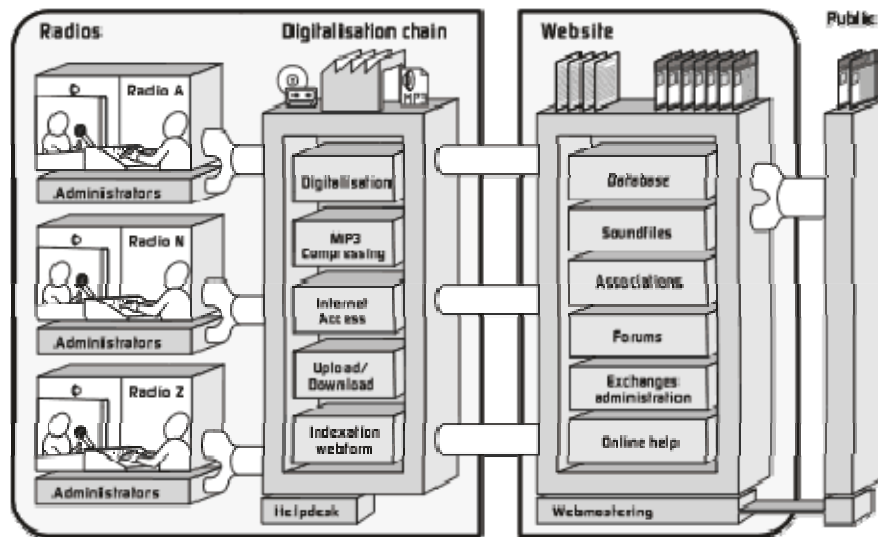


Website 3: 2006- ...

5.2 Rhizomatic technologies?

The RadioSwap technology and procedures build on the idea of self-(data)management¹¹. The password-protected interface is meant to facilitate radio producers to record, digitize, compress (using MP3 or OGG Vorbis) and upload the material they have themselves produced. During the upload, the users also provide the necessary metadata, allowing the later use of search engines. These sound files (and their metadata) are stored on the RadioSwap server for retrieval by other radio producers. In future, the material that is not copyright-protected will be made available to all website visitors (and not only to RadioSwap members).

Table 5: RadioSwap production model



RadioSwap (2001)

These technologies do facilitate the potentially global distribution of the uploaded material, although this is of course dependant on the goodwill of the partner radio stations to rebroadcast the material. The exchange of content allows the alternative discourses and representations to circulate far beyond the local. Especially the Antwerp radio producers, whose radio station is experiencing severe restrictions in their broadcast range, point to the irony of being listened to in other cities, whilst facing problems 'at home', being confined within a three kilometer broadcasting zone.

'Now you have the opportunity to have your program broadcast in London, or Prague or Berlin, or wherever, even in Rotterdam. If this happens, this is really funny. Because here we are dealing

¹¹ Although administrators were involved in the actual database construction, their participation remained limited, despite of the efforts of the RadioSwap coordinators.

with our frequency and the too low power of the transmitter. People living three kilometers from the station are having problems getting high-quality reception, whilst people living hundreds of kilometers abroad get a perfect reception.' (DR, Radio Centraal)

At the same time the interface does generate a considerable number of limitations. Most 'ordinary' users describe the interface as difficult, non-user oriented and time-consuming.¹² They also complain about others' lack of systematic and regular uploading, and about the lack of uniformity in the provided metadata. Despite these problems, most users do see and validate the capacity to exchange audio and to broaden their networks, creating connections with other radio producers.

'The strong points. First the material aspects, meaning the possibility to easily exchange content. The second aspect is getting different actors in touch with each other. These contacts might only concern talking to each other, or exchanging programs. We did send representatives to international meetings, etc, and we did decide to install structures for European lobbying which did not exist before.' (BD, Radio Campus)

Apart from the opportunities to exchange audio material, users also point to the possibility of collaboration and co-creation. These interactional aspects of the project are in most cases defined as important, but simultaneously articulated as future developments, as illustrated by these two interview quotes.

'A way of diffusion, of multiplication and of communication. So it is a ordinary tool, and tomorrow it might become a tool for creation.' (JP, Radio Campus)

'It might be the starting point for co-productions, collaborations and for the creation of joint events [...]' (MG, Panik)

These forms of collaboration are not only hampered by language problems – *'I think the most important problem is still language'* (AvH, Urgent) – but especially by the lack of human, non-computer-mediated interaction. One of the Brussels producers emphasizes the importance of supplementing the interface with interpersonal communication.

'So finally the site is nice, but the human contacts before and after still remain very important. Suppose that I'm re-broadcasting a weakly program produced by Panik. The best thing to do is to have an oral agreement with Panik about the use of jingles and things like that. To make sure that the program is on-line every week, on the site, the new version, that is there on time, things like that. Because he might just put it on-line this time, but not next week.' (KV, FMBrussel)

One of the RadioSwap project coordinators confirms this need:

¹² The users consider especially the uploading procedure with its compression and the required adding of metadata as time-consuming.

'We definitely need more functions that allow them to express their point of view on a broadcast that they've listened to, or to get in touch with the producer, or to get in touch with the person that has listened to it.' (PdJ, RadioSwap)

These (self-)critiques touch at the heart of the problems the RadioSwap project has to face. Although initiated by members of the community radio stations, RadioSwap is (at least partially) defined as being outside of the radio stations. One of the producers formulates this rather directly:

'It is a problem when a project comes from the outside, when it is not a project where the radio station could participate in the formulation of the objectives, when it is a project that one has to accept as it is.' (KB, RUN)

This balancing between being on the inside and the outside can be explained by the requirements of government funding and the resulting lack of continuity and uncertainty, the high involvement of people linked to academia (as illustrated in the first quote below), the used technology which is still perceived as strange to the core business of audio broadcasting, the lack of immediate and considerable benefits in relation to their core business and the differences in needs between individual radio producers and people in charge of the radio station's programming. Individual radio producers usually only have one-hour slots, and are not very inclined or motivated to broadcast 'other' material than their 'own'.

'I think that the website needs to be completely changed. The way it has been built makes sense from the perspective of people that work in a university, but it doesn't make sense from the perspective of the people that have to use it.' (WG, Radio Centraal)

'Principally, I think that I just have one broadcast, that I produce on a regular basis. There is no need to just fill it and it was not made to be open to another broadcast(er).' (BD2, Radio Campus)

The limited involvement of the partner radio stations is considered problematic by the project management, as they prefer to meet with interested individuals that represent evenly interested partner radio organizations, but in contrast have to face changing and only modestly interested individuals that cannot represent the radio station. Although the project management points to the fact that the organizations have disintegrated (hence the quotation marks around the word organizations), it is more likely that actually the interest for RadioSwap has disintegrated.

'We discovered little by little that we weren't facing "organizations" (CM or not) with whom we could construct a project starting from their expertise [...], but some individuals that had accepted – sometimes unwillingly – to come once in a while to a meeting where they could only speak on their own behalf.' (DD, RadioSwap)

At the same time the RadioSwap project is still seen as part of the world of community and alternative media. The project's identity reiterates the core values of the participating community radio stations and

thus serves as a tool for the construction of CM identity. This process is exemplified (and symbolized) by the remark of one of the radio producers about the RadioSwap logo.

'Even the look of RadioSwap I do like. It has a submarine, with a periscope. It is a clear reference to the underground. I think that we are going to stay underground, even if we are going to affirm ourselves more publicly.' (JP, Radio Campus)

Table 6: RadioSwap logo



The project's alternative identity is also based on the reproduction of the antagonistic positioning of the radio stations towards so-called 'commercial media'. These media are not to be granted membership, as radio producers feel very strongly about the idea that these 'commercial media' might benefit from their work.

'Disregarding our financial situation of now, or last year, or whenever, I do think it is important that people don't make money from broadcasting our fragments. If an emission is rebroadcast, and they put in commercials before and after, well then, we're actually entitled to the money from those commercials, because we covered the production costs, however minimal they actually were.' (KV, FMBrussel)

Apart from these technological, interactional, organizational and identificatory characteristics of the RadioSwap project, some users also point to more political aspects. The planned opening-up of the database to the 'general public' has created a series of legal problems concerning copyright, which are addressed by reverting to the promotion of copyleft material. One of the radio producers points to the importance of discourses that (at least attempt to) nuance the hegemony of commercial music production.

'I do like the initiative, because it is instrumental in the distribution of non-registered music, and of the copyleft idea. Also the distribution of reportages is very interesting.' (DR, Radio Centraal)

Secondly, the RadioSwap network is indeed seen as a step towards the strengthening of the community radio movement.

'If we can find, thanks to Swap, the cement, the means to link 10 to 15 radio stations, to form a strong association of alternative radio stations, to create a counter-force against the commercial networks. We could also have the power to go to the French Community [one of the regional governments] and tell them; we're 10; we're 15; we have RadioSwap; we need more frequencies.'

If Swap could play this role, become a political tool, then it would become alter-radiophonic. (JP, Radio Campus)

5.3 A translocal community of interest

With its focus on community radio producers, the RadioSwap database attempts to construct a new community, besides the communities these radio stations are serving whilst broadcasting to their publics. In its architecture, this new community is a translocal community of interest, based on the exchange of self-produced radio content. Access to this community is negotiated through the membership of the partner radio stations, which are open-access organizations (albeit to different degrees). Once access is granted, the radio producers can (again on a voluntary basis) upload and download content, thus facilitating the circulation of CM content and adding nodes to the rhizome. Although this form of gatekeeping creates access restrictions, it also shapes and structures the sub-rhizome RadioSwap (as part of the larger rhizome of CM) and thus allows for the generation of new nodes¹³.

When analyzing the resulting user practices, four patterns of usage can be distinguished. In a limited number of cases entire broadcasts are regularly re-broadcast by other radio stations. This is for instance the case for *Rock Minute Soup*, produced by Radio Campus Brussels and re-broadcast by RUN, and *Micro Ouvert*, produced by Radio Campus Brussels and re-broadcast by Radio Campus Lille. A second 'structural' use is related to the idea of creating a RadioSwap slot in the programming schedule of the different radio stations. Although for instance Radio Centraal has considered the option, it is not implemented (yet). A third 'structural' use is related to specific thematic needs that arise when the 'normal' programming is suspended for radiophonic or journalistic projects or festivals. In that case the RadioSwap database provides an opportunity to locate thematically relevant content. The fourth pattern of usage is more linked to individual radio producers' practices, and consists of using fragments of downloaded material within their 'own' time slots.

Despite RadioSwap's ambition to create a community of interest that is transgressing locality, and its contribution to the generation of rhizomatic CM, the question needs to be raised whether there is a sense of belonging, fluidly articulating the elements of the network, which is -even in its re-conceptualized versions- crucial to the definition of community (Morris & Morton, 1998). Does RadioSwap in other words shows a certain degree of cross-cutting articulations that move beyond the arbolic star-shaped network offering nothing but a service to radio producers?

A number of constraints provide us with a rather pessimistic answer to these questions. The first restriction is the size of the network. Although the numbers (of members, both individual and collective, and of hours

¹³ This argument shows the dialectics of generative / productive and restrictive power practices, as theorized by Foucault (1978).

of uploaded content) are impressive at first sight, the core group of regular users is limited. Moreover, as the Radia network is also linked to RadioSwap, a sub-community of radio artists has been formed, which remains relatively disconnected from the other radio producers. Secondly, the project suffers from the fallacy of a technology-centered approach to human interaction. The interface is seen as sufficient stimulation for community building, which can only be considered to be illusionary. This constraint is further strengthened by the (unavoidable) top-down approach used for (applying for) the project, reducing the possibility for the radio producers to appropriate the database, and adapt it to their specific needs. This approach also makes the project a target for the deterritorializing strategies from (the more radical of) the radio stations, which usually target the state and the market. The interviewed radio producers sometimes appear to be a disinterested and detached 'community' of self-interest, but their remarks are only translations of the structural constraints that they have to face; and not necessarily signs of a total lack of interest.

The interest of the radio producers in RadioSwap is shown by their suggestions for improvements; given the lack of human interaction it is no coincidence that the 'ordinary' users ask for different additions such as face-to-face meetings or chats, newsletters, or even a who's who providing the different RadioSwap members with a face. Below a quote of a RUN radio producer, asking for more newsletters.

'A newsletter, from time to time, as Pierre [one of the two RadioSwap coordinators] has made a couple of times, with some recent events, not from RadioSwap, but from one of the radio stations, on what they could upload. That would be good.' (SC, RUN)

Finally, RadioSwap cannot escape from the constraints that have been haunting CM since their origins. Especially the lack of financial security and stability creates severe restrictions; most interviewed radio producers are left asking the 'classic' question about what will happen to the project once the financial support dries up.

At the same time the evaluation of the project should not be too harsh, as it is still being developed and re-developed.

'Everybody agrees that the interface we used for the first version was really horrible! Let's hope that the next version will be better, we're working on it, anyhow.' (DD, RadioSwap)

Although the fluidity of the project also creates problems for the users - *'That's a bit the difficulty with RadioSwap, it is a project that has evolved and that was developed, at the same time when it was discovered [by the users].'* (MG, Panik) – it also generates room for permanent improvement (at least for the duration of the 'formal' project, which ended in February 2006). Secondly, RadioSwap also beholds the phantasm of the rhizome, and can be seen as an important materialization of the discourse of participatory media production, and of the rhizomatic CM structures.

6. Conclusion

CM play a vital role at the level of local communities, offering their members access to the (alternative) media system and providing them (as publics) with wide sets of alternative discourses and representations that remain often absent from the mainstream media. As members of the local civil society they – and many of the other civil society organizations - are key societal actors, vital to the further democratization of the social and political. As localized media they often form catalysts for a wide series of social struggles, taking an important position within the local rhizomes.

At the same time they continue to face a variety of threats, which forces them into a constant struggle for survival, and reduces their potential strength and societal impact. Being small-scale media renders them relatively harmless, and incapable of being the '*thorns in the side of political power*', as Keane (1991:150) put it. Although their mindsets are often transnational and there are links to national and transnational community media organizations, their organizational structures remain equally often confined to the locality of a (geographically defined) community. This article contains a plea for a translocalism that keeps CM embedded within the local communities, but simultaneously allows them to transcend localism and isolationism. Apart from the theoretical reconfigurations of community (that also incorporate this possibility) theoretical support is found in the metaphor of the rhizome. Rhizomatic thought focuses on the heterogeneous and ever-changing interconnections, which are explicitly articulated against the arbolic structures of state and market. From this perspective, there is no necessary reason why the rhizome should stop at the edge of the local community.

The RadioSwap project is a very modest contribution to this ever-expanding network of CM and other civil society organizations. It is nevertheless important because it has explicitly incorporated this unattainable – at least on the short run – horizon. RadioSwap not only shows the difficulties that CM have to face when striving for a translocal identity, but it is mainly a materialization of the need and the dream to move beyond the local rhizome, to follow the trajectory of global civil society, transnational social movements and globalized independent media centers, and to offer a viable alternative for the global (media) market of the future.

References

AMARC-Europe (1994). *One Europe - Many Voices. Democracy and access to communication*. Conference report AMARC-Europe Pan-European conference of community radio broadcasters, Ljubljana, Slovenia, 15-18 September 1994. Sheffield: AMARC.

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London/New York: Verso.

Ang, I. (1991). *Desperately seeking the audience*. London/New York: Routledge.

Appadurai, A. (1993). Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy, in B. Robbins (ed.) *The Phantom Public Sphere*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 269-95.

Atton, C. (2002). *Alternative Media*. London: Sage.

Berrigan, F. J. (1977). *Access: some Western models of community media*. Paris: Unesco.

Berrigan, F. J. (1979). *Community communications. The role of community media in development*. Paris: Unesco.

Cammaerts, B. (2005). ICT-Usage among Transnational Social Movements in the Networked Society - to organise, to mobilise and to debate, in Silverstone, R. (ed.) *Media, Technology and Everyday Life in Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 53-72.

Carpentier, et al. (2003). Community media - muting the democratic media discourse?, *Continuum*, 17(1), 51-68.

Casey, E. (1997). *The fate of place*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Clark, D. B. (1973). The Concept of Community: A Reexamination, *Sociological Review*, (21), 397-417.

Cohen, A. P. (1989, 1985). *The symbolic construction of community*. London: Routledge.

Cohen, J. & Arato, A. (1992). *Civil society and political theory*. London: MITpress.

Couldry, N. & Curran, J. (eds.)(2003). *Contesting media power: alternative media in a networked world*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Deleuze, G. & Guattari, F. (1987). *A thousand plateaus. Capitalism and schizophrenia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Downing, J. with Ford, T. V., Gil, G., Stein, L. (2001). *Radical Media. Rebellious communication and social movements*. London: Sage.

Escobar, A. (2000). Place, power, and networks in globalisation and postdevelopment, in K. G. Wilkins (ed.) *Redeveloping communication for social change. Theory, practice and power*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 163-173.

Foucault, M. (1978). *The History of Sexuality, Vol. I: An Introduction*, translated by Robert Hurley. Pantheon: New York.

Fraser, C. & Restrepo, E. S. (2000). *Community radio handbook*. Paris: Unesco.

Girard, B. (ed.)(1992). *A passion for radio*. Montréal: Black rose books.

Gumucio, D. A. (2001). *Making Waves*. New York: Rockefeller Foundation.

Hollander, E. (2000). Online communities as community media. A theoretical and analytical framework for the study of digital community networks, *Communications: the European journal of communication research*, 25 (4), 371-386.

Howley, Kevin (2005). *Community media. People, places, and communication technologies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Husband, C. (1994). *A richer vision. The development of ethnic minority media in Western democracies*. Paris: Unesco.

Janowitz, M. (1967). *The community press in an urban setting. The social elements of urbanism*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Jankowski, N., Prehn, Ole, Stappers, Jan (eds.) (1992). *The people's voice. Local radio and television in Europe*. London, Paris, Rome: John Libbey.

Jones, S. G. (1995). Understanding Community in the Information Age, in Jones, S. G. (ed.), *CyberSociety; Computer-mediated Communication and Community*. London: Sage, 10-35.

Keane, John (1991). *The media and democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Keane, John (2003). *Global Civil Society?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Keck, Margaret E. & Sikkink, Kathryn (1998). *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Laclau, E., Mouffe, C. (1985). *Hegemony and socialist strategy: towards a radical democratic politics*. London: Verso.

Leunissen, J. (1986). 'Community' en 'Community Development' bij de Australische Aborigines', in: Van Bakel, M., Borsboom, A., Dagmar, H. (eds.), *Traditie in Verandering; Nederlandse Bijdragen aan Antropologisch onderzoek in Oceanië*. Leiden: DSWO Press, 57-82.

Lewis, P. (1993). Alternative media in a contemporary social and theoretical context, in P. Lewis (ed.) *Alternative media: linking global and local*. Paris: Unesco, 15-25.

Lindlof, T. R. (1988). Media audiences as interpretative communities, *Communication yearbook*, (11), 81-107.

Mamadouh, Virginie (2004). Internet, scale and the global grassroots: geographies of the Indymedia network of independent media centres, *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 95(5), 482-497.

McClure, K. (1992). On the subject of rights: pluralism, plurality and political identity, in C. Mouffe (ed.) *Dimensions of radical democracy: pluralism, citizenship, community*. London: Verso, 108-125.

Morris, A., Morton, G. (1998). *Locality, community and nation*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Mouffe, C. (1997). *The return of the political*. London: Verso.

Mouffe, C. (1999a). Deliberative democracy or agonistic pluralism?, *Social Research*, 66 (3), 745-758.

Mouffe, C. (1999b). Carl Schmitt and the paradox of liberal democracy, in C. Mouffe (ed.). *The challenge of Carl Schmitt*. London: Verso, 38-53.

Nostbakken, D. & Morrow, C. (eds) (1993). *Cultural expression in the global village*. Penang: Southbound.

O'Sullivan-Ryan & J. & Kaplun, M. (1979). *Communication methods to promote grass-roots participation*. Paris: Unesco.

Prehn, O. (1992). From small scale utopism to large scale pragmatism, in N. Jankowski, Prehn, Ole, Stappers, Jan (eds) *The people's voice. Local radio and television in Europe*. London, Paris, Rome: John Libbey, 247-268.

Putnam, R. D. (1993). *Making Democracy Work*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

RadioSwap (2001). *Radioswap.net: presentation*. Downloaded on August 1, 2005 from <http://www.radioswap.net/index.php>.

RadioSwap (2002). *Introduction*. Downloaded on August 1, 2005 from <http://radioswap.ulb.ac.be/default.php?iling> [Link is no longer active].

Reyes Matta, F. (1986). Alternative Communication: Solidarity and development in the face of transnational expansion, in Atwood, R. McAnany E. (eds) *Communication and Latin American Society. Trends in critical research 1960-1985*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 190-214.

Rodriguez, C. (2001). *Fissures in the mediascape. An international study of citizens' media*. Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press.

Savio, R. (ed.) (1990). Communication, Participation and democracy, Development, *Journal of the Society for International Development*, (2), 7-123.

Schmitt, C. (1980). *Legalität und Legitimität* (3rd edition). Berlin: Duncker & Humblot.

Scott, Alan & Street, John (2000). From media politics to e-protest. The use of popular culture and the new media in parties and social movements, *Information, Communication and Society*, 3(2), 215-240.

Servaes, J. (1999). *Communication for development. One world, multiple cultures*. Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press.

Sjöberg, M. (ed.) (1994). *Community radio in Western Europe*. Sheffield: AMARC-Europe.

Smith, Jackie; Chatfield, Charles & Pagnucco, Ron (eds.) (1997). *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Spiller, Neil (ed.) (2002). *Cyber_reader. Critical writings for the digital era*. London: Phaidon.

Stavrakakis, Y. (1999). *Lacan and the political*. London and New York: Routledge.

Sundaraj, V. (2000). *New age, new challenges. Unda and its mission in radio, television and audiovisuals*, in Servaes, J. (ed.) *Walking on the other side of the information highway. Communication, culture and development in the 21st century*. Penang: Southbound, 86-100.

Tönnies, F. (1963). *Community and society*. London: Harper and Row.

Walzer, M. (1998). The idea of civil society. A path to social reconstruction, in E. J. Doinne Jr. (ed.), *Community works: the revival of civil society in America*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 124-143.

Wasko, J. & Mosco, V. (eds) (1992). *Democratic communications in the information age*. Toronto & Norwood, NJ: Garamond Press & Ablex.

Williams, R. (1976). *Communications*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Wray, S. (1998). *Rhizomes, Nomads, and Resistant Internet Use*. Downloaded on August 1, 2005 from: <http://www.thing.net/~rdom/ecd/RhizNom.html>.

Appendix 1

Name	Date	Duration
<i>Interviews with administrators</i>		
Koen Verbert	08-2004	1:48:00
Pierre De Jaeger	10-2004	2:38:00
Wim Geeraerts	10-2004	1:54:00
Michel Goedart	10-2004	3:12:00
Karl Noben	10-2004	2:39:00
Anthony van Hoe	10-2004	1:30:00
<i>Interviews with users combined with diaries</i>		
Anne Van Wichelen (+ diary)	29-03-2005	0:44:04
Simon Collet (+ diary)	04-04-2005	0:32:21
Daniel Renders (+ diary)	14-04-2005	0:32:45
<i>Interviews with users</i>		
Graziella Van Loo	14-07-2005	0:44:34
Wendy Van Wynsberghe	18-07-2005	0:36:02
Bernard Dubuisson	18-07-2005	1:41:08
Ricardo Reis	19-07-2005	0:34:41
Peter Gonda	24-07-2005	0:23:25
Diana McCarty	27-07-2005	0:39:43
Benoit Deuxant	28-07-2005	0:42:41
Rokia Bamba	28-07-2005	1:36:46
Chris Weaver	28-07-2005	0:20:02
Jean-Christophe Poncelet	01-08-2005	1:12:42
Frédéric Mignon	02-08-2005	1:08:18
Bart Cammaerts	30-08-2005	0:27:35
Elisabeth Zimmerman	31-08-2005	0:24:36
Philippe Cunat	01-09-2005	1:18:09
Konstantin Petrov	01-09-2005	0:18:17
Gregory Beck	16-09-2005	0:19:00
<i>Feedback from coordinators</i>		
Didier Demorcy	22-09-2005	Email