

**Cultural Identity, Hybridity and Minority Media:  
Community Access Radio and Migrants in New Zealand**

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## **Dedication**

To my beautiful wife Sangeeta  
a source of inspiration and encouragement

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This work would not have been completed without the generous support that I received from many people and organisations. If I mention all the names here the list would be so long.

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## **Abstract**

This thesis analyses three Christchurch-based migrant communities – Filipino, Nepalese and Iranian – and their radio programmes on Access Radio station Plains FM. It argues that these radio programmes are participatory media platforms. These communities have easy access to structures of feedback and participation which provide opportunities to become involved in the content production and decision-making processes of the radio programmes. The participatory practices place these programmes close to an ideal of alternative media where boundaries between producers and audiences are blurred and audiences emerge as co-creators or prosumers of the content. The research investigates how migrant communities value their local radio programmes in this digital era where media platforms are increasingly becoming transnational, and technology has facilitated diasporic populations to receive media content from their countries of origin in any host society. Migrants prefer radio programmes in their native language as a source of news, information and entertainment. Although those audience segments can easily receive information from mainstream media, they find their own radio programmes more authentic and intimate. The thesis finds that the radio programmes connect and provide orientation between migrants, their countries of origin and New Zealand society. The radio programmes are the platform where migrants can practice their cultures and languages and transfer those cultural practices and languages to future generations. The programmes also support migrant populations' integration in the host society, by providing local information useful for their everyday life. The research traces the memories of migrants by employing in-depth interviews and focus-group discussions to understand these radio programmes' role in building a sense of community during disasters in their countries of origin. The community radio programmes work as influential platforms for the migrant communities to practice their community public spheres and to negotiate their cultural identities in an increasingly multicultural New Zealand.

## **List of acronyms and abbreviations**

<b>ACAB</b>	Association of Community Access Broadcaster
<b>ACMA</b>	Australian Communications and Media Authority
<b>ACORAB</b>	Association of Community Radio Broadcasters Nepal
<b>AGM</b>	Annual General Meeting
<b>AIR</b>	Access Internet Radio
<b>AIR</b>	All India Radio
<b>AM</b>	Amplitude Modulation
<b>AMARC</b>	World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters
<b>AMDI</b>	African Media Development Initiatives
<b>BBC</b>	British Broadcasting Corporation
<b>CIMA</b>	Centre for International Media Assistance
<b>CINCH</b>	Community Information Christchurch
<b>CIS</b>	Cities-in-Schools
<b>CMFR</b>	Centre for Media Freedom and Responsibility
<b>CNR</b>	China National Radio
<b>CR</b>	Community Radio
<b>CRSC</b>	Community Radio Support Centre
<b>CRI</b>	China Radio International
<b>CRTC</b>	Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission
<b>DANIDA</b>	Danish International Development Agency
<b>DAB</b>	Digital Audio Broadcasting
<b>dB</b>	Decibel
<b>DPNet</b>	Disaster Preparedness Network–Nepal
<b>DRM</b>	Digital Radio Mondiale
<b>IBOC</b>	In-Band-On-Channel

<b>IRTC</b>	Independent Radio and Television Commission
<b>IOM</b>	International Organization for Migration
<b>IRIB</b>	Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting
<b>FAO</b>	Food and Agricultural Organization
<b>FCC</b>	Federal Communication Commission
<b>FM</b>	Frequency Modulation
<b>FSC</b>	Filipino Sports and Culture
<b>GUL</b>	General User License
<b>GURL</b>	General User Radio License
<b>LPFM</b>	Low Power Frequency Modulation
<b>EIRP</b>	Equivalent Isotropic Radiated Power
<b>MBIE</b>	Ministry of Business Innovation and Employment, New Zealand
<b>MCIT</b>	Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, Nepal
<b>MED</b>	Ministry of Economic Development
<b>MELAA</b>	Middle Eastern/Latin American/African
<b>MoHA</b>	Ministry of Home Affairs, Nepal
<b>NEFEJ</b>	Nepal Forum of Environmental Journalists
<b>NIRT</b>	National Iranian Radio and Television
<b>NNZFSC</b>	Nepal New Zealand Friendship Society of Canterbury Inc
<b>NPRT</b>	National Pacific Radio Trust
<b>NZME</b>	New Zealand Media and Entertainment
<b>NZOA</b>	New Zealand On Air
<b>OECD</b>	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
<b>PCS</b>	Philippines Culture and Sports
<b>PMN</b>	Pacific Media Network
<b>RSF</b>	Reporters Without Borders (Reporters Sans Frontieres)
<b>SCR</b>	Samoan Capital Radio

<b>SNS</b>	Social Network Site
<b>PMC</b>	Population Media Centre
<b>SLBC</b>	Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation
<b>TCRP</b>	Tambuli Community Radio Project
<b>UCIS</b>	University of Canterbury Iranian Society
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Programme
<b>UNESCO</b>	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
<b>UNHCR</b>	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
<b>USAID</b>	United States Agency for International Development
<b>VIRI</b>	Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran
<b>WAR</b>	Wellington Access Radio

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# **CHAPTER ONE: Introduction**

## **1.1. Positioning my research**

This thesis analyses the use of Community Access Radio platforms by three Christchurch-based migrant communities: Filipino, Nepalese and Iranian. These three communities produce and broadcast weekly radio programmes on Canterbury's only Access Radio station, Plains FM, 96.9MHz. The radio programmes are among eighteen different language programmes produced and broadcast on Plains FM, and among fifty-one broadcast on the twelve Access Radio stations throughout New Zealand in 2018.

Radio is the medium in which I started my media career as a broadcast journalist. Before moving to television, I spent seven years in radio in Nepal and I was always impressed with the mode of communication that radio as a medium can offer. I have always found community radio interesting, especially its ability to motivate and mobilise the community. During my media career I have travelled to rural areas and attended several radio conferences, which provided opportunities for me to witness the social impact of community radio in Nepal. While studying for my Master of Arts in Media and Communication, I had the opportunity to understand community radio as a broadcasting model all around the world. I was interested to understand the impact of community radio stations, especially in developing countries, and this encouraged me to undertake further study. After finishing my Master's, with a specialisation in Alternative Media, in two semesters, I started lecturing at Master's Level on broadcast alternative media. During my four years' lecturing, I had opportunities to explore the new ways that community radio can contribute as one of the broadcasting models in media and communication. In Nepal, community radio is empowering marginalised

communities and working as a supplementary model of development communication in rural areas. Community radio stations are useful for spreading health and educational information to illiterate populations in marginalised communities of Nepal. This exposure to the social impact of community radio in Nepal and in other developing countries was the foundation of my PhD research on community radio.

Another incident that encouraged me to focus my research on minority and community radio potentially can offer linkage. In my initial months in Christchurch, I had several opportunities to visit and interact with Nepalese people and some other Nepalese-speaking Bhutanese. One such visit, I can relate here, can explain the role of diversity in communication policy and particularly how radio broadcasting can meet the criteria of an effective medium for minorities. In a Nepalese-speaking Bhutanese household, I had an opportunity to chat with a lady in her seventies. We talked a lot about her previous life in Bhutan and in Nepal as a refugee. At the same time, we talked about her seven years in New Zealand. She said she spent most of her time within the house and working around her vegetable garden. In seven years of living in New Zealand, she has barely left the house. I asked her why she does not spend time at the park near her house. The answer I received was quite simple, but communicated the seriousness of the issue. She never goes to the park or nearby shops as she is afraid of forgetting the way back home, because she cannot ask others the way back home. She cannot read and write even in her native language, which means she does not have even a limited command of English. Normally in Nepal, or in other countries where English is not the primary language, people learn English in school or at universities. So, many people who never attended school in their country of origin, such as the Bhutanese lady I met, have limited or no command of the English language. Migrants from various countries, including

Nepalese-speaking Bhutanese families, are resettled here in New Zealand as per the refugee resettlement programmes.

The conversation with the old Bhutanese lady raised so many questions to my mind: How can people from language minorities, such as that lady, receive any disaster preparedness or even life-saving information during and after a disaster? How can populations with limited or no command over the English language get support for integration and everyday information in New Zealand society? How can communication policies address and assure the right to communication for these minority language groups? Can we simply ignore these vulnerable populations as they are small in number? I believe that radio broadcasting and minority-language radio programmes have the potential to answer these simple yet serious questions.

The Nepalese community in Christchurch initiated Namaste Nepal, in 2007, on the Access Radio station, Plains FM. The Filipino community has also run radio programmes with different names, most recently Mabuhay Radio Filipino. The Iranian community started their Persian language radio programme, Toranj, in 2016. The thesis analyses the production of radio programmes, and how the communities respond to them. It also analyses the motivational factors that encouraged small communities to initiate their separate radio programmes. For instance, the Nepalese and Iranian populations consist of less than a thousand people within Plains FM's coverage area. However, the Nepalese community radio programme celebrated its tenth anniversary in 2017, and Iranian students from the University of Canterbury started Toranj in 2016. The thesis argues that migrant populations use their community radio programmes as an alternative media platform to receive mainstream information. Particularly, they use their language radio programmes to receive local and relevant information, and they feel that the information received on those radio programmes



is more authentic as they can relate to the producers and language used in the programmes. Migrant communities are also using these community radio programmes as sharing platforms to make sense of community and negotiate identity in multi-cultural New Zealand. The presence of diverse languages and ethnic groups on Access Radio stations demonstrates the diversity of New Zealand society and how unofficial multi-culturalism exists in community radio broadcasting. These migrant communities consider their radio programmes to be a symbol of their cultural identities and they feel that these identities are 'valued', 'accepted' and 'recognised' in New Zealand.

The radio programmes become an influential tool for uniting their community members during disasters. These radio programmes are not only for preserving their cultures and identities related to their countries of origin but also work to facilitate their everyday life in wider New Zealand society. This thesis also argues that community radio programmes produced by migrant communities are participatory and accessible to the majority of the community members.

## 1.2. Immigration policies and migrants

The migrant communities included in this research represent recent waves of migrants to New Zealand, but the country has a longer history of immigration which created the society in which these communities have formed. Historically, immigration to New Zealand has come from Europe, specifically, the United Kingdom, with limited opportunities for immigration from Asia. For a long period of time New Zealand depended on Europe, mainly the UK, and Australia, as migrant source countries. The early settlers are the main source of community formation and immigration policies in New Zealand. Until the 1960s, immigration from Asia was limited and consisted mainly of Chinese. After the 1980s' immigration policy reviews, people flowed in from various parts of the world, on a number of visa schemes, to fulfil New Zealand's labour demands. The wave of these three migrant communities, (Filipino, Nepalese and Iranian) and their settlement is also largely associated with recent immigration policies.

New Zealand is a colonial settler society. After hundreds of years of Māori settlement, Europeans migrated to New Zealand in large numbers from the mid-nineteenth century. When Europeans first arrived in Aotearoa/New Zealand in the eighteenth century, *Te Tangata Whenua* ('we who stand here' or 'people of the land') were well established (Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis, 1995). The land was actively occupied, with territorial demarcation between *iwi* and *hapu* (tribes and sub-tribes) and individual identity was also linked to the physical territories. After the first arrival of Captain James Cook in 1769, some of the European whalers and traders, who initially arrived for trade, became settlers, although the numbers of arrivals were very small even after decades (Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis, 1995, Phillips and Hearn, 2013). Most of the European early immigrants to New Zealand were from Britain. However, in the early period of the nineteenth century, most Europeans considered

New Zealand to be a strange and lonely land, in a dangerous sea and with bloodthirsty inhabitants (Phillips, 2006). Other types of early settlers were missionaries, and a few free settlers from Australia, especially, migrated during the late 1830s when shore-based whaling started (Phillips and Hearn, 2013). Missionaries sent by the churches initiated the first settlement in 1814 in the Bay of Islands, and by 1839 the population of missionaries and their family members was recorded as 206 (Phillips and Hearn, 2013). In the late 1830s, some free settlers came to New Zealand to find a better life, and with the expectation of British annexation. By the end of 1839, the European population in New Zealand was estimated at about 2000. In 1840, after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, the first major wave of settlement to New Zealand began. During the Crown Colony period (between 1840 and 1852) about 27,500 European people arrived in New Zealand, with two-thirds of those early arrivals being from the United Kingdom. Between 1853 and 1870, the European population increased from 30,000 to 250,000. During that period, the provincial government tried to attract immigrants through an assisted migration scheme. They usually hired agents in Britain and Ireland to recruit immigrants by offering cheap or free passage to New Zealand (Phillips and Hearn, 2013). Between 1871 and 1894, and from 1904 until the start of the Second World War (1939), the New Zealand Government continued to assist migrants (Phillips and Hearn, 2013).

The growth of migrants continued until 1880. However, the 1880s saw a long economic depression in New Zealand (Phillips, 2006). In 1888, a total of 10,000 more people left New Zealand than migrated to the country. The economic conditions, the imposition of a poll tax on Chinese migrants, and restrictions on languages other than English, also worked as factors to restrict immigrants. The twentieth century changed New Zealand's fortunes by opening up the overseas market for its meat and butter, which resulted in the expansion of dairy farming

and other secondary industries. New Zealand's growing prosperity attracted migrants from Australia and the UK (Phillips, 2006). The growth of migration halted during the First World War (1914-1918). However, several thousand immigrants were able to come as assisted migrants. After the war, several policies were introduced to manage the migrations. The British Government also introduced settlement schemes for ex-servicemen. However, in order to migrate, people needed to have their passport verified by the British Ambassador and a special permit to enter New Zealand (Borrie, 1991). There were several schemes implemented to assist migrants from the UK and Australia, however, New Zealanders were not so open to other migrants. Borrie (1991), notes that the concept of 'White New Zealand' grew during this period. He notes that in the 1936 census there were 2,579 Chinese in New Zealand. At the same time, there were 900 Indians and nearly a thousand Syrians (p.169). For a long period of time, New Zealand depended on the UK and Australia as migrant source countries. However, after World War II, between 1946 and 1952, New Zealand received several thousand refugees from continental Europe as part of the resettlement programme of the International Refugee Organisation. Although the post-war Labour government opposed an assisted migration scheme, because of pressure from stakeholders, the demands of population and a declining birth rate, in July 1947 the New Zealand government started an assistance scheme which attracted 100,000 people to New Zealand in the next thirty years (Phillips, 2006).

The migrants I have studied are in New Zealand on several different kinds of visas. Visas such as skilled migrant and family streams, temporary work, and student visas, are the most common visa categories for Filipinos, Nepalese and Iranians in New Zealand. However, Filipinos are also eligible for the Philippines Working Holiday Visa, and Philippines Special Work Visa categories, with a specific quota for farm managers, nurses and engineering

professionals (Immigration New Zealand, 2018). In 2014, a working-holiday visa scheme began between New Zealand and the Philippines, which allows one hundred young Filipinos to come to New Zealand every year (New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2018). Since 2007, New Zealand has prioritised Filipino workers by including the Philippines on its ‘comparable labour market’ list (Friesen, 2017). This accessibility means that the Filipino community in New Zealand is relatively large compared to the Nepalese and Iranian communities. However, the migrant population from these three communities, and Asian migrants overall, increased significantly between 2006 and 2013 in New Zealand, in comparison with migrant populations from elsewhere in Oceania, the Middle East, Latin America, and Africa.

A review of immigration policies in 1986 was the first step in making New Zealand an attractive destination for migrants from countries other than the UK and Australia. The review opened the door for many immigrants with a variety of skills, professions and capabilities. That was the end of New Zealand’s long-held immigration policy based on ethnicity and countries of origin. As per the Immigration Act 1987, migrants could gain entry under three categories: skills and business, family, and humanitarian. The 1991 Immigration Act Amendment introduced a points system, replacing the occupational priority list (Beaglehole, 2006). The points system was used with the flexibility to control or attract immigrants as per the country’s requirements. The diversity of new migrants under this scheme has changed New Zealand’s social attitudes as a multicultural society (Phillips, 2006). As a result of the immigration policy change and market demand, New Zealand’s population passed four million in 2006, with a significantly increased Asian and Pacific population.

With this increasing Asian population, China and India have emerged as major source countries of migrants. The population of Asian people has doubled, increasing from 173,502 in 1996 to 354,552 in 2006. Similarly, the population of Pacific people rose to 265,974 in 2006 (Statistics New Zealand., 2006). In 2013, Indian migrants were among the fastest-growing migrant communities in New Zealand. As per the 2013 census, the growth rate of Indian migrants was almost fifty per cent since 2006 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). In 2013, nearly one-quarter of New Zealand's total population of 4,353,198 was born overseas: 1,001,787 people. The number of migrants has continued to increase in recent years. According to the Ministry of Business Innovation and Employment's (MBIE) data, in 2015-2016 New Zealand's net migrant gain was 69,100 people. This is the highest gain yet and represents a nineteen per cent increase from the years 2014-2015 (MBIE New Zealand., 2016). The MBIE data demonstrates that the number of international students also increased by eight per cent in 2015-2016. As per the data, in the year 2015-16, 91,261 international students were approved to study in New Zealand. 'Student' is the most commonly used immigration stream in New Zealand. New Zealand started its student assistance scheme in the 1950s. The scheme, particularly the Colombo Plan, had successfully attracted several thousand Asian students to New Zealand by 1971 (Phillips, 2006).

### 1.2.1. The Filipino community in New Zealand

One per cent of the total New Zealand population identified as being of Filipino ethnicity in the census of 5 March 2013, with a total of 40,347 Filipinos living in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). Auckland is home to more than half the Filipinos in New Zealand, 50.8 per cent of the total population, followed by the Wellington Region with 12.7 per cent and the Canterbury Region with 12.1 per cent. Immigration patterns of Filipinos in New Zealand increased in the 1980s and peaked after the beginning of the new century. In the 2006 census the Filipino population was 16,938 and in 2013 the population had increased by 138.2 per cent (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). As per the census report of 2013, 14.1 per cent of the Filipino ethnic population were born in New Zealand and 85.9 per cent were born overseas. A total of 94.8 per cent of people who identified as Filipino had a formal qualification. The most common industries the Filipino population worked in were: healthcare and social assistance, manufacturing, and the retail trade. The median income of Filipinos in New Zealand was \$30,600 in 2013, up from \$24,200 in 2006. New Zealand-born Filipinos had a median income of only \$9,800, compared with \$31,500 for overseas-born.

In 1936, New Zealand's census recorded six people born in the Philippines (Walrond, 2018a), and the numbers remained small until the 1960s. In 1971 there were only 101 Philippine-born people in New Zealand. Alayon (2009) describes three waves of Filipino migration in New Zealand. The first arrived as students under the Colombo Plan scholarship scheme. The scholarship programme was initiated in Colombo, Sri Lanka, in 1950 to enrich mutual cooperation between South- and South-East Asian countries. New Zealand is one of the founding and active supporters of the plan, providing scholarships to students from member countries for post-graduate study (Alayon, 2009). By 2015, more than a thousand Filipino students come to New Zealand every year for study. The New Zealand government provides

small numbers of scholarships for postgraduate students, especially for studies on agricultural development, renewable energy, disaster risk management, public-sector management, private-sector development, and English language teaching (Walrond, 2018a).

The second wave consisted of the so-called ‘Mail Order Brides’ in the 1980s. According to Alayon (2009), many Filipinas married older New Zealand men after correspondence through ‘pen pal’ relationships. During that period many New Zealanders posted advertisements in Philippine newspapers, seeking pen pals or wives. Some Kiwi pen pals travelled to the Philippines to meet and evaluate the women as future partners or wives. If a New Zealand man was satisfied with his pen pal, he married her and brought her to New Zealand. Some New Zealand men preferred to meet their pen pal in New Zealand and so arranged a visit. According to Alayon (2009), ‘it was also during this era that abuses on Filipinas married to other nationalities were more pronounced. The foreign press and local media reported this on a regular basis. This led to the enactment of the Anti Mail-Order Bride Law in 1990 by the Philippine Congress, which prohibits the business of fixing marriages between Filipinas and foreign men’ (p.53).

The third wave of Filipino migration in New Zealand consisted of skilled migrants. During the late 1980s and early 1990s, many skilled Filipinos fulfilled the professional demands of the Information Technology (IT) sector, especially in Wellington. Similarly, in the late 1990s, more Filipino medical practitioners migrated to New Zealand as doctors, nurses, phlebotomists, and caregivers (Alayon, 2009).



### 1.2.2. The Nepalese community in New Zealand

Nepalese people consist of less than one per cent of New Zealand's total population. The census of 2013 recorded only 1,590 Nepalese living in New Zealand. However, the tendency to population growth of people with Nepalese identity was increasing. Between 2006 and 2013 the population of Nepalese ethnicity increased by 143.1 per cent (Statistics New Zealand, 2013c). Most of the people with Nepalese identity live in the North Island, particularly in Auckland and in other main urban areas. The most common region for Nepalese residency was the Auckland Region (33.6 per cent), followed by Canterbury (18.9 per cent). The census recorded that 1,365 people identifying as Nepalese were born overseas (Statistics New Zealand, 2013c). The total number of Nepalese with formal qualifications dropped from 95.5 per cent in 2006 to 88 per cent in 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013c). Labourers and professionals were the most common occupations for Nepalese. Technicians, trades workers, and community and personal service workers were other occupation categories for Nepalese in New Zealand. The median income was \$19,900 for Nepalese living in New Zealand, down from \$21,000 in 2006. Those born in New Zealand had a lower median income of \$17,500, compared to those born overseas. The median income of the Nepalese ethnic population is lower than the overall Asian and New Zealand population. The higher number of students may be the reason for the low median income amongst the Nepalese. As of 2013, a total of 34.8 per cent of Nepalese were participating in either full-time or part-time study, compared to 24.7 per cent for the total Asian population and 14.9 per cent for the total New Zealand population.

### 1.2.3. The Iranian community in New Zealand

The Iranian or Persian community is recorded in New Zealand's ethnic group profile under the Middle Eastern/Latin American/African (MELAA) category. The Iranian or Persian ethnic group comprised less than one per cent of New Zealand's population. The census of 2013 recorded 3,195 people living in New Zealand with a Persian ethnic identity (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). The growth of the Persian ethnic population is comparatively slow compared with the all other migrant groups in New Zealand. Between 2006 and 2013, the population increased by only 10.4 per cent. Most Persians people live in urban areas and in the North Island. The most common region for Persian people was the Auckland Region (75.6 per cent), followed by the Canterbury Region (7.0 per cent), and the Wellington Region (6.9 per cent). According to the census data, the median income of Iranians living in New Zealand was \$18,200, up from \$14,500 in 2006. New Zealand-born Iranians had a lower median income of \$5,000, compared with \$18,800 for those born overseas.

The median income for Iranians was significantly lower than the average for the New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). It was also lower than the average ethnic category MELAA. A total of 8.3 per cent of Iranians living in New Zealand have no formal qualifications.

This section provided demographic information on the migrant communities included in this study. Migrants from these three communities are increasing in New Zealand, however, with different increase rates. With their increasing population, the Filipinos are amongst the third-largest group of Asian background. The Filipino community is comparatively bigger than the Nepalese and Iranians, and also has a longer history of migration to New Zealand. As of 2013, nearly five thousand Filipinos were living in the Canterbury region. At the same time, only three hundred Nepalese and 250 Iranians were living around Canterbury, with the

majority living in urban areas. However, this census data does not include the temporary migrants who are living in New Zealand as students, and their dependent workers. The median income amongst these communities was significantly low – especially for the Nepalese and Iranian communities when compared to the Filipino community. Professionals, labourers and trade workers were the categories where the majority of the migrant populations work. Regardless of their size, the demographic information on these communities shows that they are part of the New Zealand society, with their cultural identity. The thesis also analyses how radio programmes support migrant communities' everyday lives in a multicultural (unofficial) New Zealand society. However, in policy, these small communities are overlooked, as the media funding policy is focused on population size. For instance, in NZ On Air's funding strategy (effective since July 2017) the 'Diverse Content' goal identifies a specific population size to be eligible to receive funding for ethnic communities other than Pacific communities: "We will support valued content serving other ethnic populations in New Zealand that exceed 100,000. At this time these are Indian and Chinese New Zealanders" (NZ On Air, 2017, p.14). With funding only available to communities of more than a hundred thousand people, Access Radio stations are the only option for smaller communities.

### **1.3. Deregulated media market and access radio**

Independent commercial radio stations began broadcasting in New Zealand in the early 1970s, in a highly controlled and regulated environment. From 1988 onwards the New Zealand government made several changes to legislation, regulation and institutional structures, which deregulated broadcasting. In 1989 New Zealand deregulated radio spectrum management by allocating radio frequencies by auction (Jackson, 2011), instead of by application to a broadcasting tribunal. This was intended to promote competition and enable the entry of foreign investment and ownership in New Zealand's broadcast sector (Ministry of Economic Development New Zealand, 2005). Some scholars such as Cocker (1996) argue that "the tide of deregulatory policy in the late 1980s swept the unfulfilled ideal aspect of public service broadcasting aside" (Cocker, 1996, p.114). Although the government established New Zealand on Air as a contestable funding agency to ensure the New Zealand public can access local and public service media content, particularly regarding non-commercial use of the radio spectrum, the deregulation created a highly market-driven broadcasting environment. Different governments since the late 1980s have restructured aspects of the radio environment in New Zealand by changing the name and structures of state broadcasting, licencing policy, and control over content (Joyce, 2010). However, this restructuring does not change the macroeconomic commitment to a market-oriented framework of public service broadcasting (Thompson, 2011). Thompson further argues that the highly commercialised media environment has reduced local and minority content in broadcast media.

As a result of deregulation, since the beginning of the 2000s international companies and big networks have dominated radio broadcasting in New Zealand. Virtually centralised radio networks target different audiences as consumers with a range of programme formats (Joyce,

2010). The recent commercial radio broadcasting environment in New Zealand can be defined as a ‘virtual duopoly’ as two networks: Media Works Radio and New Zealand Media and Entertainment (NZME) share the majority of radio listeners and revenue (Myllylahti, 2018). Presently, Media Works operates nine brands and NZME operates eight brands covering major centres and regions in New Zealand. In the 2018 audience rating surveys, five of each of these two networks’ brands dominated the top ten list (Myllylahti, 2018, pp.44-45). In this highly deregulated media environment, non-commercial broadcasting, including Access Radio stations, carry out the major function of public service broadcasting, through locally-produced diverse content, to the communities. The presence of public service media in this broadcast environment can be positively influential in a media ecology by providing content not sufficiently supplied by the market (Ellis and Thompson, 2016).

New Zealand has different types of community or non-commercial radio stations, including public service, religious, Māori language, Access, other ethnic, ‘guard band’ low power FM, and student broadcasting services. According to the Ministry of Culture and Heritage website, there are twenty-three registered non-commercial radio stations. Some of these stations broadcast on several AM and FM frequencies. For example, Radio Rhema operates thirty-nine radio frequencies (twelve of them AM) throughout New Zealand, as of November 2016 (The Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2016). Access Radio is “New Zealand’s unique form of community radio broadcasting” as a non-commercial broadcast (Norris and Pauling, 2011). The twelve Access Radio stations provide programmes in fifty-one different languages throughout New Zealand. New Zealand On Air (NZOA), the funding body for Access Radio stations, divided these Access stations into four tiers according to the size of their audience:

#### **Tier 1 – Large metro**

Planet FM Auckland

**Tier 2 – Large urban**

Free FM Hamilton

Wellington Access

Plains FM, Christchurch

**Tier 3 – Provincial city**

Access Radio, Taranaki

Access Manawatu

Radio Kidnappers, Hawkes Bay

Fresh FM, Nelson

Radio Southland

Otago Access Radio, Dunedin

**Tier 4 – Small regional**

Arrow FM, Masterton

Coast Access, Kapiti

These stations provide resources and training for community groups to make their own programmes. They receive regular funding from NZOA, which varies according to the size of the community each station serves, defined by the ‘tiers’ listed above. NZOA uses these to decide their annual funding. For example, Planet FM, in the large metro tier, received \$250,000 in 2018-19. In comparison, Arrow FM, from tier 4, received \$138,000, and Plains FM, in the second tier, received \$235,000 in the same year, 2018-19 (NZ On-Air, 2018b).

The Association of Community Access Broadcaster (ACAB) New Zealand describes community-access radio as “participatory broadcasting democracy”. Access Radio stations

work as a platform to link the communities with radio airwaves. According to the ACAB, “Community access radio stations do not make programmes – they provide the facilities, training and infrastructure that allow citizens to make their own radio. In so doing, Access Radio stations are both broadcasters and community facilitators” (ACAB, 2017). Access Radio has been regulated and supported as a community radio broadcasting service since its early experimental phases. The Access Radio stations are a platform for migrant communities to produce programmes in their native languages. According to NZOA, in 2018, twelve Access Radio stations produced radio programmes in fifty-one languages (NZ On-Air, 2018a).

Access Radio started in 1982 when Radio New Zealand responded to pressure from ethnic groups, based in Wellington, demanding separate radio programming on minority issues and in minority languages. It broadcast the first Access programme in 1982 during an off hour on the high-powered AM frequency used for parliamentary broadcasts (Pauling and Ayton, 2009). A second Access station was established in Christchurch – Plains FM – at the New Zealand Broadcasting School in 1986. In 1988 a small commercial station of Radio New Zealand in the Wairarapa started providing three hours on every Sunday night for local community access programming (Norris and Pauling, 2011). The 1989 Broadcasting Act established NZ On Air (NZOA), a funding agency. Section 36c of the Act made it mandatory “to ensure that a range of broadcasts is available to provide for the interests of (i) Women; (ii) Youth; (iii) Children; (iv) Persons with disabilities; (v) Minorities in the community including ethnic minorities; (ca) To encourage a range of broadcasts that reflects the diverse religious and ethical beliefs of New Zealanders” (Pauling and Ayton, 2009). In 1991, Access Radio stations were started in Dunedin and Auckland, and then in Nelson, Southland and Hamilton in the following two years. Radio Kidnappers in the Hawkes Bay joined the Access

Radio group in 1995. Kapiti Coast and Manawatu Access Radio started broadcasting in 1996 and 1997 respectively. Taranaki Access Radio was the twelfth station funded by NZ On Air, in 2010 (Norris and Pauling, 2011).

### 1.3.1. Other ethnic radio broadcasting in New Zealand

New Zealand has a range of non-commercial radio broadcasters which serve specific ethnic and language groups. Some of these radio broadcasters operate within one of the supplementary models of community radio broadcasting such as Low Power FM, and Pacific Island Community Radio. Pacific Island Radio is an influential example of ethnic community broadcasting in New Zealand. Initially, Pacific Broadcasting was initiated in 1992 as a programme on the community access radio station in Wellington. In 1993, Pacific Island broadcasting expanded with the establishment of Radio531pi in Auckland (Wilson, 1994). Seven Pacific Island communities started broadcasting in their specific language programmes through Radio 531pi (Alo, 2005). As of 2017, Radio 531pi broadcast programs in nine different Island Communities' languages, every day after 6 pm (Radio 531PI., 2017a).

In 2001, the New Zealand government reserved frequencies on the FM band for a pan-Pacific radio network project that became Niu FM. The government agreed to invest \$7.7 million, over four years, in the network (Alo, 2005, p.100). In 2002 the National Pacific Radio Trust (NPRT) was established as a Crown-owned state sector charitable trust, incorporated to provide a national radio service (Ministry for Culture and Heritage., 2016). With the establishment of the trust, Niu FM started its broadcasting as a nationwide Pacific radio network through the reserved frequencies. In 2007 Niu FM merged with Auckland station 531pi. The trust currently operates the Pacific Media Network (PMN) and operates Pacific Radio News, Radio 531pi and Niu FM, broadcasting in thirteen centres throughout New



Zealand, and providing access to ninety per cent of the Pacific population (Radio 531PI., 2017b).

There are several other language-specific radio stations in New Zealand, all of them based in Auckland. Although they serve particular language-group ethnic communities, they are commercial ethnic radio stations. For instance, APNA Radio and Radio Tarana broadcast in Hindi. They serve the Indian communities in New Zealand, particularly in Auckland.

However, they are commercial radio stations. Radio Tarana started broadcasting in 1996. The station claims that “Radio Tarana 1386 AM is New Zealand's only fully-fledged Asia Pacific Commercial Radio Station catering for the Indian communities” (Radio Tarana., 2017). New Zealand Chinese Radio was started as Radio Chinese in 1998. Now it broadcasts on 90.6 FM in Auckland. The Central Media Group took over the brand and named it New Zealand Chinese Radio. Now a New Zealand and Australian joint venture, Global CAMG New Zealand, operate the radio station (New Zealand Chinese Radio, 2017). Similarly, the Chinese Radio Broadcasts operate two FM stations and one AM station broadcasting in Cantonese and Mandarin. These three Chinese Radio stations are based in Auckland and use sources from China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, including China Radio International (CRI), China National Radio (CNR); Commercial Radio, Metro Radio, RTHK from Hong Kong; and UFO from Taiwan (Chinese Voice., 2017).

This section presented a brief overview of ethnic community radio broadcasting in New Zealand. These radio stations serve language-specific ethnic groups of New Zealand. These stations serve mainly language groups that are comparatively large in numbers, including the Chinese and Indian communities. Pacific peoples are the fourth largest ethnic group, forming seven per cent of the total New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). However,

many communities within these ethnic groups are small in size and do not have separate language radio stations; for example, Nepalese and Iranians amongst Asian and Middle Eastern communities. For these small communities, Access Radio stations are the only available platform to broadcast their culture and language through the radio frequencies.

### 1.3.2. Plains FM

Access Radio station Plains FM broadcasts from Christchurch. It launched in February 1988 and now broadcasts continuously on 96.9 FM from Christchurch city (Plains FM, 2018a). A live stream and podcasts are available from the websites [www.plainsfm.org.nz](http://www.plainsfm.org.nz) and <http://www.accessradio.org>. Plains FM serves as Canterbury's only access radio station that provides a platform to various communities for their communal benefit. As an access radio station partly funded by NZ On-Air, Plains provides "broadcasting facilities for individuals or groups who would not otherwise have the opportunity to make and present their own programmes" (Plains FM, 2018a).

As an access radio station, Plains FM provides its production facilities and air time to the communities for a minimum cost, which encourages small communities including migrants to broadcast their language radio programmes. According to Nicki Reece, station manager of Plains FM, as of 20 August 2018, Plains FM broadcasts eighteen different languages' radio programmes (personal communication, 2018, August 20). The Canterbury Communications Trust (CCT), a charitable entity, governs the station's frequency 96.9 MHz. Under the rules of the Canterbury Communication Trust, the trust board consists of four to nine members and the trust employs the station manager to manage and operate Plains FM (Charity Services, 2019). According to the rules, trustees must be permanent residents of New Zealand and are nominated by the trust and three other entities: two trustees nominated from the Christchurch

Polytechnic Institute of Technology (CPIT) currently known as Ara; two trustees from the Community Broadcasters' Society (Canterbury) Inc. and two from the board of Radio New Zealand. The trust nominates three trustees from non-public entities to create balance between the public and non-public entities in the board. These three appointees are nominated on the basis of the skills and knowledge they can offer the trusts' serving area (Charity Services, 2019).

Besides funding from NZ On-Air, Plains FM also generates income through airtime contributions from community groups, grants, sponsorship/advertising and donations. Any migrant communities or other communities of interest can produce and broadcast using Plains FM's production facilities and airwaves. However, they have to pay a small airtime fee to produce their radio programmes. The current rate for a 25-minute radio programme airtime fee is \$16 plus GST, which makes it \$18.40. This cheaper rate is especially for youth, women, children and minority groups including ethnic minorities, and for religious or spiritual programmes. However, if someone wants to produce musical or book-reading programmes then they have to pay a slightly higher rate of \$21 plus GST. Before going on-air with the radio programme, intending community broadcasters need to go through initial training, which costs \$30 per person (Nicki Reece, 2018, personal communication, August 20).

#### *1.3.2.1. Radio programmes in detail*

This section provides information on three migrant radio programmes, including their length and broadcast times. At Plains FM community broadcasters are trained to produce their radio programmes using technical and other facilities. Some of the broadcasters use a live broadcasting studio, avoiding pre-recording and editing time. However, some broadcasters

use the pre-recording studio and do their editing before airing the radio programmes. For the pre-recording, some experienced broadcasters do the recording and editing by themselves and less-experienced broadcasters receive technical support from Plains FM's technical staff.

#### 1.3.2.1.1. Mabuhay Radio Filipino

Mabuhay Radio Filipino is broadcast in Tagalog and includes a range of guest interviews and music to entertain and inform the Filipino community on a variety of topics that help them to make a smooth transition to the New Zealand way of life (Plains FM, 2018b). The radio programme broadcasts every Tuesday at 7 pm for one hour. Currently, Carlos Canpinpin leads the production and host team for Mabuhay Radio Filipino.

#### 1.3.2.1.2. Namaste Nepal

Namaste Nepal broadcasts in the Nepali language, with a mixture of pre-recorded and live-to-air programmes. The radio programme started in 2007 with support from the local, not-for-profit organization, the Nepal New Zealand Friendship Society of Canterbury Inc. The programme contains Nepali-genre music, news, information and events of interest to the Nepalese community living, studying and working in Canterbury (Plains FM, 2018c). Mr Binod Parajuli is the producer and host of the programme and Yu Kumari also joined him as producer and presenter until 2018. The programme broadcasts every Monday at 8 pm for twenty-five minutes.

#### 1.3.2.1.3. Toranj

Toranj is a Persian radio programme. It covers Persian literature, traditions and special occasions on the Persian calendar, as well as music from Iran, Afghanistan and Tajikistan.

The programme aims to provide information and important news to Farsi speakers and new immigrants. It also aims to provide information about Persian culture to English speakers. Toranj is coordinated by a group of Iranian students from the University of Canterbury Iranian Students Association. It receives financial support from the Ethnic Communities Development Fund (Plains FM, 2018d). The programme broadcasts every Wednesday at 7 pm for twenty-five minutes, mostly as a pre-recorded radio programme.

#### **1.4. Aims and research questions**

This thesis analyses the access to and participation by migrant communities in their community radio. The focus of the thesis is on radio programmes produced by migrant communities rather than community access radio itself. The research considered radio programmes broadcast on Plains FM, produced by three migrant communities, as units of analysis and analysed the access and participation model these communities are practising. In a broader sense, it answers four interrelated research questions about migrants or diasporic populations and their community radio practices. The thesis also examines the need for local community radio in the digital era, when migrants can receive media content from their country of origin and from diaspora around the world. At the same time, it analyses the participation of community members in their community radio programmes. By analysing audience participation, it examines radio as a platform on which to negotiate minority community identity in a bicultural and increasingly multicultural New Zealand society. It also discusses how migrant communities use their community radio programmes during disasters in a way that fosters a sense of community. More precisely, this thesis answers four research questions:

1. Why do migrant populations need local community radio programmes?
2. How do migrant community members participate in their community radio programmes?
3. What role do radio programmes play in uniting migrant communities during disasters?
4. How do radio programmes work as a platform for identity negotiation?

This research was carried out using qualitative research methodology. It used a case study method to examine how audiences access and participate in their community radio programmes. The case study method enabled in-depth research into the radio programmes, and particular communities' access to and participation in those programmes. The study used both naturally occurring and generated data. Observation field notes, policy documents and other relevant documentary material are naturally occurring data. The study also generated data through interviews and focus groups. Six focus groups were conducted with audience members of the Nepalese, Filipino and Iranian migrant communities. The focus groups' sessions were recorded and later transcribed. A total of twenty-six audience members from the three communities were included as participants. This study also includes interviews with thirteen community members, radio programme producers and the station manager of Plains FM. I observed the radio production processes for more than three months on each radio programme as a participant observer.

## 1.5. Outline of the thesis chapters

*Chapter One* establishes my research context, including brief descriptions of immigration policies and the backgrounds of migrant communities included in this research. It outlines access radio broadcasting and gives an overview of the station Plains FM. It also provides a brief overview of the methodological orientation of the research and the research questions. *Chapter Two* reviews the literature on community access and participation in community radio. The chapter analyses the major challenges and opportunities that community radio faces as a participatory platform. *Chapter Three* discusses theoretical approaches to community media and community radio. This study is framed according to these theoretical approaches. The chapter discusses theoretical literature on community and ethnic media as an alternative to mainstream media. It also discusses the ‘critical prosumer’ concept in community radio. *Chapter Four* provides methodological details, outlining the qualitative and multi-method research used in the study. It also provides details on research design and analysis. The following chapters address the research findings. *Chapter Five* analyses the need for local migrant media in this digital era where migrants or diasporic populations can access most of the media content from their country of origin and other diasporic media productions. It answers research question one: why do migrant populations need local community radio programmes? This chapter argues that community radio programmes serve migrants as a separate community public sphere and these community public spheres represent the wider New Zealand public sphere. *Chapter Six* and *Chapter Seven* discuss the access and participation of community members in migrant community radio programmes. These two chapters answer research question two: how do migrant community members participate in their community radio programmes? These chapters analyse the participation of community members in content production and decision-making levels, and the critical

prosumer concept of community radio programmes. These chapters argue that radio programmes are practising several formal and informal structures to include community members, from content-related participation to decision-making levels. These practices of participation position community members as ‘critical prosumers’ who can become co-creators and consumers of the content. *Chapter Eight* analyses community radio as a sharing platform for cultural identities and their sense of community. It also analyses the community radios’ role during disasters. It answers research questions three and four: what role do radio programmes play in uniting the community during disasters? And how do radio programmes work as a platform for identity negotiation? This chapter traces memories of disasters in New Zealand and the migrants’ countries of origin to analyse how community radio can unite individuals and build a sense of community. *Chapter Nine* summarises the overall research findings and arguments and provides suggestions for future research.

This chapter introduces the thesis, including the background of the research context, methodologies and research questions. It also establishes the research context by providing demographic information on migrant communities and community radio practices in New Zealand. It introduces non-commercial radio broadcasting practices and how Access Radio stations work as a platform for migrant minorities in New Zealand society. It provides a historical context and recent migration patterns in brief to demonstrate how New Zealand has become culturally diverse and how these three migrant communities are also part of those cultural and demographic setups. In Chapter Two, the literature review, cultural diversity and ethnic minority media use is discussed in more detail.



## **CHAPTER TWO: Community and alternative media and frameworks of analysis**

### **2.1. Introduction**

This chapter discusses the literature of alternative and community media and provides analytical frameworks for this thesis. This study critically borrows the theoretical approaches to alternative media proposed by Bailey et al. (2008): serving a community; and alternative media as an alternative to mainstream media. These approaches, with interconnected frameworks proposed by Berrigan (1979) and Carpentier (2012), provide the basis for this research to explore two different forms: content-related participation, and structural participation in migrant community radio programmes.

The chapter looks more broadly at understandings of alternative media and the relationship between producers and audiences. For a better understanding of the producer-consumer relationship in community media, it uses the concept of ‘ideal alternative media’ proposed by Sandoval and Fuchs (2010), and its core idea of the audience as ‘critical prosumer’. Similarly, this chapter also discusses the role of community radio programmes in facilitating the public sphere and counterpublics in migrant communities. The discussion and concept of community public spheres and fragmented public sphericules provide guidelines for analysing the influence of radio programmes on the cultural identity negotiation process of migrants within the cultural diversity of New Zealand society. It also discusses the ‘spiral of silence’ concept and borrows this framework of analysis to examine minority attitudes within the community members in terms of participation in their radio programmes.

## **2.2. Alternative media as an alternative to mainstream media**

Alternative media operates on a different model than the public service or state media (Kidd, 1999). However, 'alternative media' does not have a single meaning, even for the purpose of definition. Waltz (2005) claims that "defining an alternative media is one area of controversy and contention for media theorists". He defined alternative media as "media that are alternative to or in opposition to, something else: mass-media products that are widely available and widely consumed" (p. 2). According to Waltz's definition, 'alternative' is situational. Downing (2001) has also argued that "everything, at some point, is an alternative to something else" (p. ix). In terms of the overall media environment, these definitions place alternative media in circumstantial positions of media and its use depending on the options available. However, Coyer et al. (2007) argue that alternative forms of media and their definition are mostly determined by political movements and resources. For Dagron (2004) participation is the major spirit of alternative communication: "...alternative spirit remains as long as the participatory component is not minimized and excluded" (p. 48). Sandoval and Fuchs (2010) emphasise that the participation of non-professionals in the production process and in media organisations dominates the field of alternative media studies.

Alternative media has often originated from the dissatisfaction of audiences with mainstream media, largely associated with underrepresentation and negative portrayal. For instance, Atton (2002) has emphasised mass media representation, cultural and political power, and access to mass media to define alternative media. According to Atton (2002), media create social elites and marginalised groups in society. Social elites routinely have access to mass media, whereas "by contrast; other groups are marginalised and disempowered by their treatment in the mass media, treatment against which they generally have no redress" (Atton, 2002: 10). People on the social margins, subcultures, ethnic and other minorities who get

little space in mainstream cultures seek alternatives and may create their own if suitable media spaces do not already exist (Waltz, 2005). Waltz refers to the Native American Media Consumers' Survey of 1998 to argue that the "more marginalised a population is, the more likely its members are to be dissatisfied with the mass media" (p. 7). The survey found that sixty per cent of the audiences were not satisfied with television programmes for adult audiences, and over half were unsatisfied with children's programmes. One of the main reasons cited in the survey was "negative and/or inaccurate portrayals of Native Americans". The survey concluded that many viewers said they turn off the television and seek news and entertainment from alternative tribal sources (as cited in Waltz, 2005).

Alternative media provides an alternative version in terms of organisational level and content production (Bailey et al., 2008). Bailey et al. further argue that at the organisational level, alternative media is an example of independent media free from state and market pressures. They argue that on the content level, alternative media can offer different forms of ideology and representation with a higher level of community participation. Bailey et al. argue that alternative media tend to experiment with content and format as they reject the professional production values from mainstream media and create room for innovation and experiment (p.20). However, some scholars, for instance, Downing (2003), argue that avoiding mainstream media and using alternative media is a process of "dynamic mental co-habitation" by the user between two sources. The process also takes into account the credibility of the alternative news source. In Downing's (2003) words, "for some, there is always the nagging doubt that these ragtag and bob-tail media can possibly have gotten it right. For others, there is a rigid rejection of all mainstream media as polluted sources" (Downing, 2003, p.637). He further claims both responses to alternative media are in opposition to the "hegemony of mainstream media". Downing (2011) cites Rodríguez's

argument that “alternative media implies a reactive relationship with dominant media and a corresponding acceptance of a lesser status” (p. 100). Bailey et al. (2008) argue that alternative media cannot sustain themselves from an antagonistic relationship with mainstream media.

Access to media is closely related to social groups and the intensity of power they hold. Mainstream media marginalises minorities, which forces these margins to seek their own media space (Fenton, 2007). Bailey et al. (2008) propose two ways of understanding alternative media for marginalised minorities: as a political response by minority groups to their marginalization and exclusion from equal participation in society and mainstream media industries; and as a space for identity negotiation (p 86). These levels are related to the ‘politics of representation’ of ethnic – and religious – groups (Hall, 1992, cited in Bailey et al., 2008, p. 86). They further argue that minority media provide platforms in alternative ways where identities can be negotiated, acknowledging cultural differences.

This study analysed immigrant communities and their use of community radio programmes as alternative media platforms to negotiate their cultural identities.

### **2.3. Defining community radio**

Community media is a well-known form of alternative media. Scholars and practitioners often use the term ‘community media’ to define alternative media (Kenix, 2011). In this regard, this research considers community media, particularly community radio, to be a form of alternative media.

Defining ‘community radio’ by a single term is complex, as different societies use different names for it: Local Radio, Participatory Radio, Free Radio, Alternative Radio, Radical Radio, Third Sector Radio, and Access Radio are other names by which community radio is known. In Latin America, it is popularly known as Educational Radio; in Africa, it is known as Rural Radio. Some European countries know it as Free or Association Radio (AMARC, 2015). The term ‘community radio’ was first used by Powell in 1965 in a leaflet titled ‘Possibilities for Local Radio’ (Partridge, 1982 cited in Cammaerts, 2009). Most scholars in community media considered that localism is one of the defining characteristics of community radio (Cammaerts, 2009). In every terminology, there are some features that overlap between community, commercial and public radio. For example, Lewis (2008) says service to ethnic and language minorities is an important element of community media, which he calls ‘third sector media’, but these features can also be found in public and commercial media. Girard (1992) argues that community radio is an alternative to commercial and state-run radio. He argues that the most distinguished characteristic of community radio is “community participation at all levels”. However, some scholars argue that these common features and terminologies may not be able to define community radio in an absolute manner. For instance, Chignell (2009) has argued that commercial and public service radio can have a small scale, alternative and socially beneficial characteristics, and they may meet the specific needs of a particular community. Mitchell and Baxter (2006) have used the metaphor

‘organic’ to describe community radio as a home-grown product. They argue that community radio is a product produced in the process of interaction between the radio station and the cultural environment of the society. In contrast, they describe commercial radio as profit-oriented and use the metaphor ‘fast food’ (Mitchell and Baxter, 2006).

Whatever the definition, community radio is a worldwide broadcasting phenomenon. According to Coyer et al. (2007), regardless of whether countries have a different broadcasting system, community radio has been charted in virtually “every country”. Some countries, such as South Africa and Ireland, have established community radio broadcasting sectors, but other countries have yet to recognise the community radio sector and some have only recently created the formal community broadcasting sector. According to Hollander (1992), the introduction of the FM band widened the possibilities for decentralised programming in several countries, and the popularity of community radio in Western Europe led the use of FM frequencies for low power radio transmission in the 1970s. Communities have sought in community radio a means to express their issues, concerns, cultures and languages (AMARC, 2007). Community radio stations are described as ‘radio by the people for the people’ where the voices heard are usually ignored in mainstream media (Lewis, 2006). Similarly, structure and funding are other characteristics of community radio that differentiate it from commercial and public radio. Communities own community radio stations, and the stations rely on the community they serve. Similarly, the not-for-profit nature of community radio separates it from other types of radio stations.

In New Zealand, Community Access Broadcasting serves the characteristics and features of community radio. Community Access Broadcasting is a family of twelve radio stations which serve diverse communities, particularly minorities who otherwise do not have the ability or

capacity to create or broadcast content “by, for and about” themselves (Mollgaard, 2018) .

The community access radio broadcasters claim themselves to be both, ‘broadcasters’ and ‘community facilitators’ (ACAB, 2017). Community access radio stations do not make their programmes but they provide the platform for communities to make their radio programmes. These stations, rather, provide the facilities, training and infrastructure to the communities. Many minority communities, including migrants, are making their own radio programmes in New Zealand’s twelve access radio stations. The ACAB claims that “Community access radio is participatory broadcasting democracy” (ACAB, 2017).

## **2.4. Community radio as a platform for participation**

Community radio is known for being participatory, not-for-profit, and accessible to specific communities. Some scholars define community radio as more than just radio; it is a means of social organisation and engagement. Zane Ibrahim of Bush Radio, South Africa, argues that “community radio is 90 per cent community and 10 per cent radio” (as cited in Coyer, 2007, p.113). According to Girard (1992), community radio is often referred to as an alternative to commercial and state radio because of community participation. In Girard's (1992) words, “listeners of commercial radio can participate in the programming in limited ways – via open line telephone shows or by requesting a favourite song, for example – community radio listeners are the producers, managers, directors, evaluators and even the owners of the stations” (p. 2). Community radio is the platform where community members can share their own stories. Community radio mainly intends to provide a platform for community members by encouraging their participation. For instance AMARC (2007) stressed that community radio “should not be run for profit but social gain and community benefit; it should be owned by and accountable to the community that it seeks to serve, and it should provide opportunity and participation of community members in programme-making and management” (p. 63).

In most community radio broadcasting practices, the community has ownership of broadcasting stations and management, and the members of that community participate in every step or process, from content production to decision making. However, in some communities, ownership and control is out of their reach. For instance, these types of problems were indicated by the Rockefeller Foundation's study on community radio as well:

Some experiences had community ownership as a final objective even if at the time of the research the degree of the community's involvement in the



development was still at an early stage. Other cases proved to be important in terms of social change and participation without including community ownership of media (Dagron, 2001, p.6).

Active participation by the audience in production processes is one of the distinctive features of community radio as defined by (Scifo, 2015a). He acknowledges audience participation marks its “distinction in comparison to mainstream public and commercial radio practices” (p. 212). Barlow (2002) has conducted a cross-case analysis of three Australian community radio stations to assess the access and participatory practices, and summarised his analysis as:

...indigenous Australian and people from English and non-English speaking backgrounds of all age and spanning a wide range of interests and political affiliation, all previously denied access to the electronic media, have been able to participate in the ownership, management, and operation of a radio station (p. 158).

Although participation by the audience can occur in commercial or public radio, participation in community radio is more visible and inevitable

To some extent commercial and public radio stations also tend to adopt participatory approaches. Some commercially funded stations and their programmes are also intensely focused on a specific community, but their primary intention is to make a profit (Lewis, 2006). According to Lewis, commercial broadcasting labels the audience as a target group of potential consumers. However, on community radio, even the most vibrant radio stations do not aim to make a profit (Lewis, 2006). Public radio ideally should be focused on peoples’

needs, however, some scholars have challenged whether this ideal is realised in practice in public broadcasting (Splichal, 1992). For instance, Splichal (1992) has questioned whether an ideal concept of public communication is feasible. He challenges the existence of historical evidence of such public communication practices. In contrast, Berrigan (1979) argues that community media is an expression of the community rather than being simply for and about the community, and members of the community can access information, education and entertainment on community radio according to their desires (Berrigan, 1979). Community radio uniquely responds to an agenda of local interest. According to O'Brien and Gaynor (2012), community media sets an alternative bar by emphasising participation and representation. Although community radio has changed due to the increasing internet platform, it still holds a core 'participatory' relationship with the specific community it serves (Girard, 1992). Squier (2003b) describes the earliest mandate of community radio as preserving the place of diversity and serving specific interests driven by the community.

Some research has suggested that community radio is a more effective medium in developing countries. It provides platforms for discussing developmental and agricultural issues, for example. In most developing communities, community radio is considered a tool of development, but it can also be a means of education and transformation. Chignell defines community radio as a means of education and development for indigenous people who may be illiterate but possess a strong oral tradition in their own language (Chignell, 2009). In 2001 the Rockefeller Foundation published a report including the findings of research on community radio and community participation. The study covered fifty different communities and community radio from different countries and different continents. The report found that "the beauty of participatory communication is that it can adopt different

forms according to need and that no blueprint model can impose itself over the richness of views and cultural interactions” (Dagron, 2001, p.6).

To theorise community media Bailey et al. (2008) propose four approaches: (1) Community / alternative media as a form of serving a community; (2) Alternative media as an alternative to mainstream media; (3) Linking alternative media to civil society; and (4) Alternative media as a rhizome. In this research context, the way media works to serve a community provides a basis for analysis.

#### 2.4.1. Serving a community

Alternative media are community oriented, whether that is defined geographically and spatially or otherwise (Bailey et al., 2008). Serving a community is a process of enabling and facilitating access and participation by community members. Bailey et al. (2008) emphasise that through alternative media “ordinary people are given the opportunity for their voices to be heard and take responsibility for distributing their own ideologies and representations” (p. 14). Berrigan (1979) argues that participation refers to having unrestricted opportunities for the public (individuals or groups) to produce programmes and participate in deciding policy for those media. For Berrigan, the audience can have access to any media on two levels: the level of choice, and the level of feedback. Level of choice is the availability of desired media content, and level of feedback is the existence of mechanisms where audience members can criticise and comment and communicate with producers (Berrigan, 1979).

AMARC (2015) and other scholars (Jayaprakash and Shoesmith (2007), (Berrigan, 1979)) describe community radio as a participatory two-way communication medium that encourages participation and development of meaningful feedback. Bailey et al. (2008) have

borrowed Wasko and Mosco's (1992) idea of democratic participation uses "in" and "through" to describe the participation of the audience in community media. Carpentier (2011) also used the terms, "in" and "through" media to define media participation. Participation in the media, as noted by Bailey et al. (2008), is the participation of non-professionals in media production (content-related participation) and in decision making (structural participation). They argue that participation in media allows citizens to be active in one of the many (micro-) spheres of daily life and allows people to learn and adopt a democratic and/or civic attitude. Participation through media is defined as "opportunities for extensive participation in public debate and self-representation in public spaces" (Bailey et al., 2008, p.11). Figure 1 provides details about audiences and their role in access and participation.

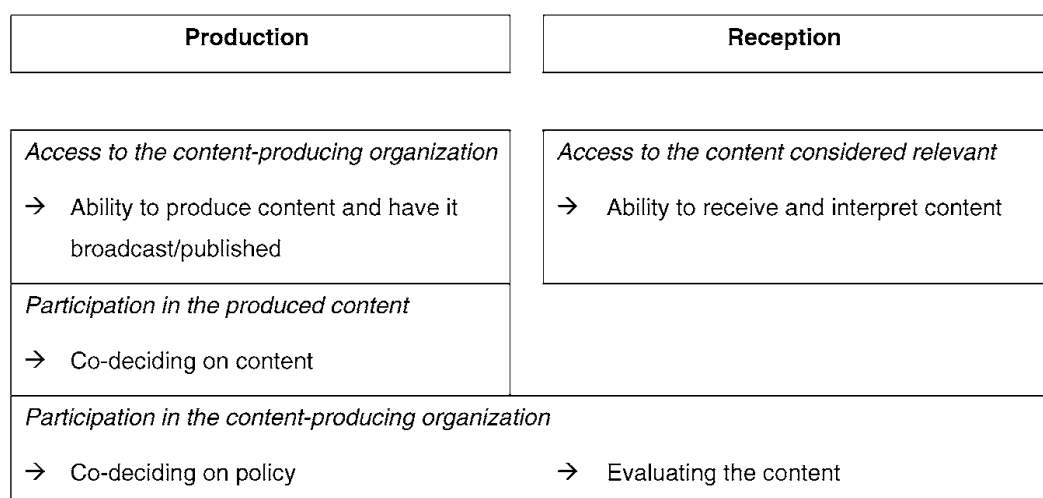


Figure 1: Access and participation of the community, proposed by Bailey et al. (2008)

'Participation' in this research context means community members' ability to be involved in radio programme production and decision making for the community organisations themselves. Specifically, this means how these migrant community organisations support community members to be involved in the radio programme production process facilitated by

Plains FM. Access and participation are also analysed in terms of the availability of radio programmes for the community members; and how easily community members can receive and interact with the content and with the producers, which sets the criteria of participatory media. To analyse access and participation, this research borrows the frameworks proposed by Berrigan (1979) and Carpentier (2012).

Carpentier proposed the Access, Interaction and Participation (AIP) model to analyse the access and participation of the audience in content production and decision making. He analysed access and interaction as conditions of the possibility of participation – however, in the production and reception spheres, participation is the involvement of the audience as co-deciding actors in media content and policy. Carpentier argues that the power relation is the key defining element of participation. Having easy access to receive content and interact with producers facilitates participation (Carpentier, 2012). Berrigan’s framework on participation also emphasises the involvement of the audience in deciding media content and communication policy. However, Berrigan argues that the availability of opportunities and a horizontal organisational structure are more important than the everyday involvement of community members in content production and decision making. Both frameworks and conditions of participation are discussed in Chapter Six.

## **2.5. Community radio and media ‘prosumer’**

The term ‘prosumer’ was coined in 1980 by Alvin Toffler, to refer to someone who blurs the distinction between a ‘consumer’ and a ‘producer’ (as cited in William, 2008). The term has since come to define various situations. Currently, it is more common in new media studies, as Berrocal (2014) defines: “Social networks are clearly a prosumption medium in which prosumers are the loudspeakers that broadcast conversations with, and for, a consumer public. In this conversation, the listener not only consumes this content but responds to and reproduces these messages, and creates others almost simultaneously” (Berrocal, 2014, p.66). Media scholars use ‘prosumer’ or ‘prosumption’ particularly in internet platform social media studies. For example, Ritzer and Jurgenson (2010) have argued, “prosumption can define recent changes in audience activity especially associated with the internet and Web 2.0” (p. 14). According to them prosumption is a process of both production and consumption. However, the process also can be identified in traditional forms of community or alternative media, particularly in community radio. The participation of community members from content production to consumption of the media content is important in this concept. So, the concept of the prosumer is appropriate for analysing the community radio programmes and their audience participation.

A model proposed by Sandoval and Fuchs (2010) is appropriate to better understand community radio as an alternative or critical medium with a dialectical relationship between media actors and structures, as detailed in Figure 2. In the ‘media actors’ sphere they place media producers and receivers, and in the ‘media structure’ sphere they place media produced on economic form, media content, media technologies, and media institutions. In this dialectical relationship, media structures enable and push media actors, and they “again through their actions shape the media structures” (Sandoval and Fuchs, 2010, p. 145). This

dialectical understanding of media systems contrasts capitalist mass media with ideal alternative media. In this model, participation of the audience is a major factor that differentiates alternative or community media from commercial media. Figure 2 provides a comparison of alternative and commercial media:

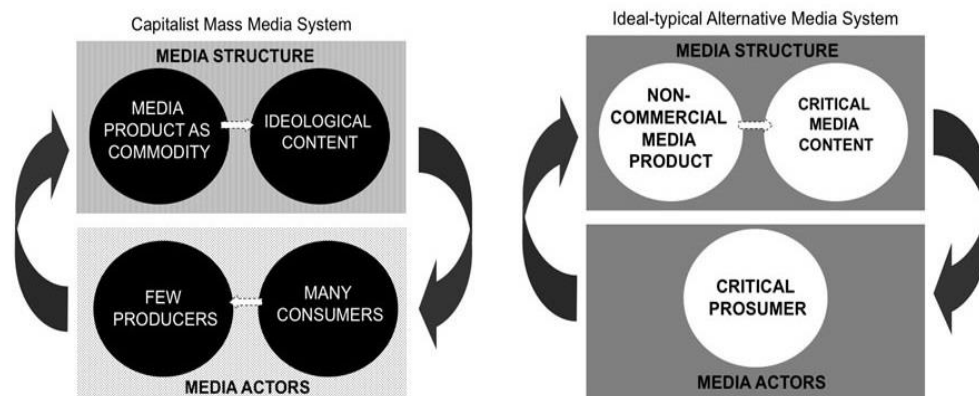


Figure 2: A model of capitalist mass media vs. an ideal model of alternative media proposed by Sandoval and Fuchs (2010)

According to Sandoval and Fuchs (2010), alternative media can be better understood from a perspective of critical media. They emphasise the complex form of media products at a media structure level and the merging of critical producers and critical consumers into critical ‘prosumers’. Bonini and Monclús (2015) have used the terms ‘interactive publics’ and ‘productive publics’ to define the participation process mediated by radio, and argue that the boundaries between these two segments are blurred.

In this comparative model, Sandoval and Fuchs (2010) argue that, in ideal alternative media, critical media content is available in a complex form and, at the actor level, media producers produce critical content (p. 146). Similarly, other scholars also noted that the content of alternative or community media does not meet professional requirements because of its non-professional producers. For instance, Jankowski (2003) argues that the content of community

media is local and the production of that content involves non-professionals and volunteers. Harcup (2013) uses the term ‘journalism in the public interest’ to define much of alternative media’s work, as the majority of content is produced by people without formal journalistic training or qualifications. Although the programmes are in a non-standardised format, community media provide a platform for community members to speak and to be heard. Atton (2002) argues that alternative media “must be available to ordinary people without the necessity of professional training, without excessive capital outlay and they must take place in settings other than media institutions or similar systems” (p. 25). McQuail (1987) argues for what he defines as “democratic participant media theory”, which is “locally originated media that use horizontal structures of production: communication should not be left only in the hands of professionals” (as cited in Bonini and Monclús, 2015, pp. 214-215).

In this digital era, the traditional model of access and participation has been disrupted by internet platforms. The internet has reduced barriers to participation and enabled more people to be involved in information and cultural production and distribution (Rennie, 2007). Rennie has noted, based on observation of Melbourne, Australia, based community media organisation SYN and its technical convergence toward an open source internet platform, that “convergence can occur through the normal processes of community media – through social interaction and a shared culture – rather than through some forced attempt to keep up with industry” (Rennie, 2007, p. 31). Community media always holds the feature of ‘prosumer’; as it enables audience members to become producers of the content, Rennie argues that internet platforms support prosumer function more appropriately in recent times (Rennie, 2007).

This research uses the ideal alternative model proposed by Sandoval and Fuchs (2010) to analyse the participatory practices used by migrant communities in their radio programmes. It



analyses the participation, from content production to the decision-making level, and examines the audiences' role as critical prosumer in these three radio programmes.

## **2.6. Public sphere**

'Public sphere' is an idea which became more popular in various research areas, including social science research, in recent times. The German philosopher Jürgen Habermas first defined the public sphere in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962), (English translation, 1989). Habermas (1989) has defined the public sphere as the sphere of private people who join together to form a 'public'. According to Dahlgren (1991), in a general sense, the concept of the public sphere can be used to describe a process of public opinion formation. Hauser (1998) defines a public sphere as "a discursive space in which individuals and groups congregate to discuss matters of mutual interest and, where possible, to reach a common judgment" (p. 86). Scholars have clearly defined the distinction between liberal and radical approaches to the public sphere. For instance, Curran (1991) has defined a classical liberal public sphere as the "space between state and society where private individuals exercise formal and informal control over the state, and media are the centre of these controlling processes" (p. 29). He argues that the radical-democratic public sphere approach is more focused on media. Dahlgren (1991) argues mass media was the dominant public sphere institution from the beginning of the mass-based democracy. In a democratic media system, as defined by Curran (1991), the major role of the media should be "assisting the equitable negotiation of arbitration of competing interests through the democratic process" (p. 30). Mass media is typically thought to be a homogenising agent and its assimilation process results in the loss of identity in many ethnic or minority groups (Naficy, 1993).

Alternative media can facilitate a counter-public sphere. Sandoval and Fuchs (2010) argue that one can initiate alternative media, which supports the counter-public sphere, by reporting about topics neglected by capitalist mass media and by criticising structures of domination and oppression. They emphasise that alternative media is able to attract public attention to raise awareness and mobilise social struggles (Sandoval and Fuchs, 2010). Forde et al. (2009) have used the term ‘community public spheres’ to argue for community media’s role in the production and reproduction of culture. For them ‘community public spheres’ mean the “spaces of unique context and the product of contestation or alliance with the broader public sphere” (p. 130). Blurring boundaries between the audience and the producer allows communities to produce and articulate their own cultures through community media outlets (Ford et al. 2009). The community public spheres are similar to what Fraser (1990) has termed ‘counterpublics’ and Siapera (2010) and Gitlin (1998) termed ‘public sphericules’ in multicultural societies where counterpublics form different spheres to practice their cultural identities. Moreover, these fragmented public sphericules or counterpublics facilitate dual functions: they function as “spaces of withdrawal and regrouping; and they also function as bases and training grounds for agitational activities directed toward wider publics” (Fraser, 1990, p. 68).

In this regard, community radio stations work as separate public sphericules or counterpublics that provide platforms for minorities who are under-represented in mainstream media. Mitchell (1998) argues community radio provides accessible space for alternative publics, where they get media space produced by people who have similar interests. Rigoni argues participatory democracy is a situation where the actor, the citizen, or the group can effectively act in the public sphere, and it is possible when these actors can use material and symbolic support (Rigoni, 2005). She argues minority media meet these needs. Jeffrey (2004)

cites Hope-Hume (n.d.), arguing that although the boundaries exist that separate marginalised groups as ‘outsider’ and ‘privileged’ groups, ‘insider’ community media can work as a ‘gateway’ to the public sphere for marginalised outsiders to become insiders (as cited in Jeffrey, 2004, p. 30). Jankowski and Prehn (2003), argue that in community radio, audiences as active participants can become actual broadcasters or producers as well (as cited in Gaynor and O'Brien, 2011).

Community radio as a counter-public sphere can encourage communities’ active participation and sense of belonging to the wider shared-community spheres. Gaynor and O'Brien (2017) term this process as “democratisation of public spheres”. According to them, the democratisation process is visible in community radio through up-skilling training for community broadcasters and volunteers. Gaynor and O'Brien (2017) observed the process in four community radio stations in Ireland and concluded that the community radio stations provide technical and creative skills, through training to produce their programmes, that encourage community members’ access to airwaves, which they describe as a democratisation of public spheres (Gaynor and O'Brien, 2017, pp.38-39). In this regard, democratisation of the public sphere is a process which is more related to the skills and confidence of community members, and community radio can up-skill such confidence through training non-professional community members to produce and broadcast their own radio programmes. Although community radio ideally creates equal opportunities for community members, in practice it also reflects forms of marginalisation evident in mainstream radio stations (Mitchell, 1998). For instance, Lewis (1994) concluded that gender stereotyping in European community radio stations was evident in staff and volunteer roles. Of the full-time paid staff, women represented only twenty-two per cent (Lewis, 1994 as cited in Mitchell, 1998).

This research analyses the community radio programmes' role in a public sphere within the communities, which is more akin to counterpublics or community public spheres. This research asks how effectively radio programmes are facilitating these counterpublics and public sphericules by providing an alternative platform for participation and cultural-identity negotiation, with democratisation of the public sphere within our diverse New Zealand society. In this research context, the democratisation platform can be considered to be Plains FM and community organisations themselves. The research analyses how producers and community organisations encourage accessibility and the capacity of audience members to produce or contribute to the production of radio programmes.

## **2.7. Spiral of silence**

The 'spiral of silence' is a minority attitude in public opinion formation. It explains why some groups remain silent while others raise their voice in public domains. According to Noelle-Neumann (1974), it is a dynamic process in mass media which provides more space for majorities and less space for minorities in society. She has defined the process of the spiral of silence with an example: If the people fear isolation, they keep their attitudes silent because of a fear of isolation and doubts about their own capacity for judgment (Noelle-Neumann, 1974, p.43). Hayes et al. (2005) have used the term 'self-censorship' to define the process of public-opinion formation and the spiral of silence. They have defined self-censorship as the "withholding of one's true opinion from an audience perceived to disagree with that opinion" (p. 299). Hayes et al. (2005) argue that a person makes his or her conscious choice not to express an opinion when there is an opportunity to do so. They further argue that people's expressions of views depend heavily on their perceptions of majority and ground-gaining viewpoints. According to Scheufele (2008), with the silence of

minority viewpoints, the majority opinions gain ground. He further argues this process “creates a mutually reinforcing spiral where the reluctance of the minority group to speak out leads to perceptual biases in favour of the majority group, which, in turn, further discourages the minority group from speaking out” (Scheufele, 2008, p.176).

In this research, the spiral of silence approach is used to analyse the situations where community members keep themselves silent in terms of participation in their radio programmes’ production. This approach also offers an analytical framework to enquire about censorship or self-censorship practices within these three migrant community radio programmes.

This chapter has set out analytical frameworks for the community and alternative media in this research context. The chapter set out two approaches to analysing the participatory practices of migrant radio programmes: serving a community; and, alternative media as an alternative to mainstream media. The ‘serving a community’ approach, using the interconnected frameworks of Carpentier and Berrigan, offers an analytical framework for analysing audience participation in three migrant community radio programmes. It provides a basis on which to examine audience involvement in the three radio programmes as co-deciders of programme content and organisational policies. Similarly, the ‘alternative media’ perspective provides a basis for analysing how these migrant communities use their radio programmes as an alternative source of information and self-representation. The community radio and media prosumer approach offers the opportunity to explore prosumption in a community radio context. The ideal alternative model, proposed in this approach, understands audience members in community radio programmes as prosumers who blur the boundaries between producer and consumer. The approach also offers criteria for analysing community

radio programme-production processes involving non-professional community members. The public sphere as a theoretical approach provides grounds for analysing how these three radio programmes facilitate counterpublics or separate public sphericules and a democratisation process in multicultural New Zealand society. The spiral of silence approach is used in this research to analyse the barriers to participation within the communities. This also requires reflection on self-censorship or other activities, in these three migrant community radio programmes, that may force community members into the spiral of silence.

## **CHAPTER THREE: Community media and ethnic minorities**

### **3.1. Introduction**

This chapter provides a brief overview of ethnic minorities and media, with an emphasis on community radio as a participatory platform for migrant minorities. The chapter briefly reviews the multicultural aspects of New Zealand and ethnic media consumption patterns, which provide a basis on which to establish migrants' local media needs. The chapter also provides a contextual understanding of diasporic media and its role in forming hybrid identities, by tracing the radio practices of Filipino, Nepalese and Iranian communities both in New Zealand and in their home countries. Analysing the media and community radio backgrounds in the Philippines, Nepal and Iran helps to establish the media backgrounds of these migrant communities, as diasporic populations can access multiple sources of media content from their countries of origin. The majority of the population from the Philippines, Nepal and Iran, in New Zealand, were born and grew up in those countries, which means that they have a stronger connection with media from there. Although this study focuses on the community radio practices of these migrant communities in New Zealand, this brief background helps to enhance the understanding of their media practices and needs.

### **3.2. Ethnic minorities and media**

Ethnic media are also known as 'minority media', 'immigrant media', 'diasporic media' and 'community media', and many scholars use the term 'minority' to describe ethnic media (Matsaganis et al., 2011). American scholars tend to use the term 'ethnic' media, while European scholars use 'minority' to describe the same media (Deuze, 2006). From a general perspective, ethnic media are known as those which are produced by a particular ethnic community for the same community. However, not all ethnic media are produced by the same

community they serve (Matsaganis et al., 2011). Some scholars, such as Pietikäinen (2008), argue that, particularly relating to media, the notion of minorities for indigenous, ethnic and linguistic groups are different and overlap in complex ways. According to Matsaganis et al. (2011), ethnic media can take different forms such as newspapers, magazines, television channels, radio stations and other web-based platforms. They further argue that producers of these ethnic media may be members of a particular ethnic community in a particular geographical area of the country, but also can be part of big global media companies. Similarly, the audience of ethnic media can be the ‘co-ethnic’ community living in a particular city, but also may be from the same ethnic background living in various countries (Matsaganis et al., 2011). They define ethnic media as media produced by and for (a) immigrants, (b) racial, ethnic and linguistic minorities, as well as (c) indigenous populations living across different countries (Matsaganis et.al., p. 6). They have also characterised ethnic media examples according to size, funders, organisational location, content and distributive channels

In this regard, ethnic or diasporic media are closely associated with the movements of people and the cultural practices associated with them. The term ‘diasporic media’, is more common in European ethnic media research, however, the term does not fit all immigrant and ethnic communities (Matsaganis et al., 2011). Alonso and Oiarzabal (2010) have defined the term diaspora as “...the dispersal of any population from its original land and its settlement in one or various territories” (p. 2). They have argued that the new definitions of the diaspora concept accommodate almost all forms of dispersed minority populations including migrants, exiles, and refugees. Sheffer (1986) defines modern diasporas as “ethnic minority groups of migrant origins, residing and acting in host countries, but maintaining strong sentimental and material connections with their countries of origin” (as cited in Alonso and Oiarzabal, 2010).



Garstecki and Holyst (2015) argue that the concept of diaspora has been used to understand the major population movements of the nineteenth and twentieth century. Appadurai (1990) first used the term 'ethnoscape' to describe the movement of people and cultural flow. He defined this as "the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups and persons constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect the politics of and between nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree" (p. 297). He has co-related the ethnoscape with 'mediascape', 'ideoscape', 'technoscape' and 'finanscape' to define cultural flow in the world (Appadurai, 1990).

Much of the contemporary research on minorities and media is focused on issues of representation by mainstream media. Mainstream media are mis- or under-representing minorities in three dimensions: under-representation of marginalisation, labelling and stereotyping, and negative framing (Trebbe and Schoenhagen, 2011). Garstecki and Holyst (2015) write: "Not surprisingly the conclusions reached in the numerous studies of this kind tend to be that Western mass media operate as prime filters of a hegemonic discourse 'othering' minority cultures and identities" (p. 15). The issue of representation is a main source of motivation for ethnic minorities to initiate their own media, which can alter the traditional media flow. Traditionally, a media flow pattern is observed from the centre to the periphery, as observed by scholars like Appadurai (1990) and Sinclair and Cunningham (2001); however, Alia (2003) cites the Canadian experience where ethnic media was initiated as contra-flow. She observes that indigenous media originate in remote arctic areas and move gradually toward the urban centres. She further notes: "The poverty and distortion of mainstream coverage have made it imperative for indigenous people to develop their own news outlets" (Alia, 2003, p.37). Girard argues that community radio works as an alternative

to the mainstream for those social groups often neglected by mainstream radio stations. This alternative form of radio is important for those minorities who seek political and cultural changes (Girard, 1992).

### **3.3. Ethnic minority and community radio**

The term ethnic minority is a way to define a group of people who are “culturally, racially and/or ethnically distinct” (Matsaganis et al., 2011). Riggins (1992b) has classified ethnic minorities into four social categories: indigenous people committed to traditional values; indigenous people with modern values as a subcultural variation of dominant values; voluntary minorities, immigrants with modern values; and the immigrant group with traditional values (p. 5). According to Riggins the ethnic minorities in the first category have a political advantage in society. As indigenous peoples, their cultural and language-related demands are more valued than the migrants’. Minorities in the second category are more concerned with maintaining their native language. Riggins’ third category related to the movement of people, for economic and political reasons, who belong to large linguistic communities. Riggins (1992b) argues that the fourth category represents refugees and migrant workers. Community radio can serve these minorities from all categories, enabling them to practice their cultural values and languages. Girard (1992) argues that, in various parts of the world, indigenous people, ethnic and linguistic minorities and national liberation movements are using alternative and community radio stations to fulfil their needs.

According to Girard (1992) “they are transforming radio into a medium that serves their needs – a medium that allows them to speak as well as hear” (p. 2). Howley (2010) correlates community radio with an ‘articulation’ theoretical perspective. He defines community radio through the lens of ‘articulation’ theory as a “set of institutional, technical, political and

economic arrangements of socio-cultural practices and community building and maintenance process” (Howley, 2010, p.64).

Minority-ethnic communities want their community broadcasting to maintain their cultures and languages and provide local news and information not found in mainstream media (Downing, 2011). Downing argues that small-scale media can play a significant role in fulfilling the mass-media needs of the communities. Cheval (1992) has claimed, in reference to Radio Libre’s role in France, that micro-media can achieve “what the mass media could not do or did not want to do because of lack of space, time, or political will” (p. 171). According to Harcup (2013), ethnic minority press offers an alternative perspective even when it is commercially-driven and not particularly radical in content or form. Downing (2011) carried out a qualitative study on the audience in Australia that included forty-eight focus groups including ethnic-minority and indigenous communities. The audience accessed community media for four major reasons: (1) They wanted to access local news and information not provided by commercial and/or public broadcasts; (2) they wanted to hear diverse and specialist music formats; (3) community media outlets provided an important ‘community connection’ they could not find anywhere else; and (4) the programming was socially and culturally diverse (Downing, 2011, p. 110).

Cohen (2008) notes that, in Australia, community funded not-for-profit radio stations have served as ‘ethnic media’ since their emergence in the 1970s, and fill the gap not covered by the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS). Indigenous audiences like to hear themselves on radio and feel that indigenous radio stations are helping them to break the stereotyped portrayal of their communities, as well as maintaining social networks (Downing, 2011, p.110). Community members are more intensely engaged with community media than with

commercial or public broadcasters. Downing (2011) points out that in Australia in 2002, regular volunteers for the community radio sector contributed more than \$145 million in unpaid work. He further notes: “Additionally, community media volunteers appeared particularly dedicated, working at least two-and-a-half times longer than volunteers in the general community” (Downing, 2011, p.109). This Australian example shows that people feel more ownership of community radio. For those minorities, profit-oriented commercial or networked public stations are not accessible, and they are discovering the potential of community radio as a means of political and cultural intervention and development. Dagron acknowledged radio’s widespread global impact as an alternative medium in the last five decades of the twentieth century (Dagron, 2004). In the New Zealand context, community access radio stations are considered to be established migrant-specific media platforms. These stations are providing community radio platforms for the dozens of ethnic communities in New Zealand.

### **3.4. Localised access and new media platforms**

Initially, due to the lack of a distinct policy, localised radio or communications were considered to be community radio. However, nowadays, in many countries local radio and community radio are clearly distinguished at communication policy level. The adaptation of community radio policy was a 1970s’ phenomenon in the global context. Lewis (2002) argues that in the 1970s North American and European countries adopted the localised features of community radio in their radio policy and programming. In the 1970s the Canadian Radio and Television Commission (CRTC) influentially began to recognise community participation in its cable policy. The CRTC distinguished between community programming made by non-professional community members and programmes about the

community made by paid professional cable staff (Lewis, 2002). In 1974, the CRTC recognised communities of interest as being similar to geographic communities (CRTC, 1974 as cited in Lewis, 2002). Lewis (2002) argues that the Canadian initiatives inspired the United States of America to form the National Federation of Community Broadcasters (NFCB). The NFCB introduced membership conditions assuring non-profit organisations and guaranteeing the access of the specific community it serves. In the 1970s community radio gained recognition in Europe in a similar spirit (Lewis, 2002, p.52). Northern Canada's largest Community Radio Network, Wawatay started its first community radio station in 1973. After the successful transmission and practice of a trial radio system, Wawatay established its first station in Big Trout Lake, the largest community of Northern Canada, in 1973, and other villages also desired their own radio stations. Soon after the establishment of Wawatay, community radio broadcasting became popular among the North Canadian communities (Mohr, 1992).

Community radio is a source of local content and it serves specific communities that are both geographic and communities of interest. Here, the term 'local' is used as a symbol of the sender-receiver relationship. In community media, senders and receivers are members of the same community. Community media or communication is not simply a transmission from source to source, but an exchange of views and news (Berrigan, 1979). Berrigan has noted that "Community media are adaptations of media for use by the community, for whatever purposes the community decides" (p. 8). Ford, Meadows and Foxwell (2002) concluded their three-year research on the Australian community radio sector by acknowledging that community radio serves as a source of local content. In many regional towns of Australia, community radio is the only source of local news and information (Forde et al., 2002b). Community radio is the source of information and medium of everyday life. Mohr (1992)

writes, referring to Wawatay Radio network's local community radio stations of Northern Canada: "Nothing important happens in communities without being channelled through their radio" (p. 18). Squier (2003a) has described community radio as locally focused, programmed and owned, in opposition to profit-driven corporate radio and federally-funded and centrally-programmed non-profit public radio.

Since the last decade of the twentieth century, there has been significant growth of local community radio stations worldwide. This quantitative growth has enhanced public access to broadcasting infrastructures, particularly in developing countries. Development in information technology has widened the reach of community media, however, it has also made it technically more difficult for marginalised people to access that content (Lewis (2006). The internet has created strong platforms for virtual communities. It provides a means of communicating with diasporas and communities of interests throughout the globe. Diasporic or migrant communities can access media from their countries of origin or from any other diasporic sphere. However, more traditional forms of localised communication still have a valid practice for some strong reasons, such as local information. Stiegler (2009) argues that media produced and circulated within geographic communities is still an important form of localised communication. However, some scholars see community radio online as a potential and innovative tool to link different parts of the community radio movements (Mitchell and Jones, 2006). These migrant community radio programmes are also considered to be a local form of communication and they justify the value of local media in this digital era. Although radio-wave-based localised broadcasting is the central point of analysis of this research, it also analyses the internet platforms as distributive and participatory platforms.

The content of community radio is less standardised than that of mainstream commercial radio. This is a result of the voluntary mobilisation of community members as producers, who are less skilled than the producers in commercial broadcasting. Sandoval and Fuchs (2010) have proposed a comparative analysis between capitalist (commercial) and ideal alternative (community) media to explain the differences, as detailed in Chapter Two. Mitchell and Baxter (2006) also argue that the audience of community radio may not expect the professional-standard content that is expected in mainstream programming.

### **3.5. Migrant communities and radio**

This section provides a background of media practices, particularly in community radio broadcasting, in Nepal, the Philippines and Iran. It also establishes the radio broadcasting practices of these three migrant communities in New Zealand. Although the research is not intended to establish any specific connection between broadcasting practices in migrants' countries of origin and New Zealand, the background provided in this section widens the understanding of these migrants and their media use.

#### **3.5.1. Community radio and the Filipinos**

The Philippines was considered one of the pioneer countries of Asia in the early-development phase of community radio, beginning in 1986. With logistical support from UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) the Philippines had several community radio stations broadcasting on different rural islands during the 1980s and 1990s as part of the Tambuli Community Radio Project (TCRP). The Tambuli Project was considered an outcome of the success of Mahaweli Community Radio (MCR) in Sri Lanka (Colin and Restrepo-Estrada, 1998). Tambuli Community Radio was initiated to serve the

poor rural populations of the Philippines who were isolated from the Philippines' mainstream media platforms, without radio and television signals. The project covered the five different parts of the Philippines: Banga, Ibajay, Laurel, Batanes and Olutanga, and Zamboanga. These areas are economically depressed and situated in warzones with heavily militarised and active armed rebel groups (Arnaldo and Wember, 1994). In the 1990s, the Tambuli Community Radio network served rural areas, with twenty-four radio stations. However, most of those radio stations were dependent on direct financial support from the donors and were shut down after donors pulled out their support (Infoasaid, 2014). According to Infoasaid (2014), there were only five Tambuli-affiliated community radio stations on air in 2012.

In the present time, radio broadcasting is overwhelmingly commercial in the Philippines. Brooten (2012) argues that the highly commercialised media environment has created a hybrid modality of community radio broadcasting in the Philippines. Broadcast media is considered the dominant media model in the Philippines and profit-oriented privately-owned broadcast media offers entertainment-driven content (CMFR, 2016). The Philippines does not have a public broadcasting service. Instead, the country has a state broadcasting system controlled by the government (Guioguo, 2015). The Philippines' government body, Office of the Press Secretary, operates and owns the thirty-one radio stations nationwide, as well as the national broadcasting television network, Channel 4. The government-controlled broadcast media is considered "the propaganda arm of the state and suffers in terms of viewership, having the lowest audience share in the market" (Guioguo, 2015, p.2 ). According to CMFR (2016), since the 1990s state-run media outlets have adopted a commercial nature and have coexisted with their private commercial counterparts, as the state does not provide any funding to support state media. Some government financial support for state-run media was



introduced in 2013, however forty per cent of their revenue depends on advertisements and airtime sales (CMFR, 2016).

Policy-makers in the Philippines treat radio broadcasting as a profit-making commercial enterprise rather than a social need (Brooten, 2012). According to data, there were nearly one thousand FM and Medium Wave radio stations in the Philippines in 2014. The largest few networks own or supply the programmes for local radio stations. Manila Broadcasting Company's Radyo Natin, alone operates a hundred FM radio stations in the Philippines (Infoasaid, 2014). Direct competition with the big commercial radio networks for financial sustainability, plus the lack of policy support and a complicated licencing process are considered major challenges for community radio in the Philippines (Infoasaid, 2014). Similarly, Brooten (2012) argues that the political economy of the Philippines' media affected the development of the Philippine community-media sector. Conflict in the regions and violence targeted at journalists and provincial broadcasters further discourages community media in the Philippines (Brooten (2012). Because of the lack of economic capacity of communities to support the stations, community radio stations in the Philippines have adopted the hybrid format in production and broadcasting, which placed them close to commercial media and challenged the notion of community radio (Brooten (2012). For instance, Brooten (2012) notes that social justice groups often produce their programmes through the mainstream commercial media as 'block timing'. These kinds of associations not only affect the production but also raise the risk of being the target of violent attacks from powerful people (p. 71). In most towns and cities in the Philippines, television is considered more popular than radio during the daytime and evening, however, people prefer radio news for early morning and radio is the most popular medium for breaking news (Infoasaid, 2014).

In New Zealand, Filipino migrants have initiated radio programmes through the Community Access Radio stations. The first Filipino radio programme began in Auckland as Tinig Pinoy in the early 2000s. Tinig Pinoy featured community event information and original Filipino music known as OPM. In the 2010s several radio programmes started broadcasting in New Zealand (Walrond, 2018b). In the years 2013-14, the Tagalog Radio programme Tinig Pinoy started broadcasting on the Low Power FM (LPFM) station, Generation FM 106.7 MHZ in Oamaru and 999 AM Access Manawatu Palmerston North (Embassy of the Philippines, 2014). According to Access Internet Radio (2018b), there are now two Tagalog Radio programmes, Kabayan Radio and Mabuhay Radio Filipino, broadcasting in Christchurch through the Access Radio station, Plains FM. There was only Mabuhay Radio Filipino when this research began, which is why this research included only one Filipino radio programme. In Auckland, Planet FM broadcasts three Filipino community radio programmes: Tinig Pinoy, Samut Sari and Philipinas Mabuhay (Planet FM, 2018b). There were other Filipino diasporic media developments in Wellington and Auckland in the 1980s and 2000s. According to Walrond (2018b), a newsletter, *Filipiniana*, was published in Wellington in the early 1980s for a short period. *Diario Filipino* began printing in 1999 as Auckland's first Filipino newspaper. The circulation of *Diario Filipino* was initially around two hundred copies, however, it started an online portal in 2000. After 2000 other websites, *Filipino Migrant News* and *The New Zealand Filipino* also appeared on internet platforms (Walrond, 2018b).

### 3.5.2. Community radio in Nepal

Community radio broadcasting in Asia is closely related to political changes in the countries (Buckley, 2008). Community radio has grown, or played a significant role in the development and social changes that occur with the democratisation process. In other words, the

democratic political system has created the appropriate legal and social atmosphere for community radio to develop as a participatory communication platform for the marginalised populations in developing countries (Buckley, 2008). For instance, Nepal, the pioneer of community radio broadcasting in South-Asia, opened up the airwaves after the restoration of parliamentary democracy and with the promulgation of a new constitution in 1990. Nepal became the first country in South-Asia to grant licences for community radio in 1997. Radio Sagarmatha began broadcasting as the first community radio station of Nepal in 1997 after years of struggles (Banjade, 2007). However, a very limited number of radio stations received a broadcasting licence before 2006. Some more stations received a broadcasting licence in the year 1997 and the years that followed, however, those licences were mainly based on ministerial discretion rather than on stable policy and procedure (CRSC and NEFEJ, 2011). The people's movement in 2006, which ended two hundred and thirty years of monarchy and established Nepal as a republic, has contributed to the mushrooming growth of community radio stations in Nepal. According to the government's database (last updated in August 2017), there were seven hundred and forty licenced FM radio stations in Nepal (Ministry of Communication and Information Technology Nepal, 2017). Almost half of the licenced FM stations were community radio stations. Policy-wise, no one can identify the community radio stations among the licenced FM stations in Nepal. The radio stations in Nepal tend to declare themselves 'community' or 'commercial', with the same act and policies regulating all non-governmental radio. However, according to ACORAB Nepal (Association of Community Radio Broadcasters), it has three hundred and fifteen FM radio stations as members across the country. The ACORAB was established in 2002 as an autonomous and politically non-partisan organisation that represents the community radio broadcasters of Nepal (ACORAB, 2018).

Community radio stations have initiated significant changes in Nepalese social life, including health, education, development, agriculture, environment and women's empowerment. The role of community radio stations has been considered most influential for public awareness and positive concern on major social issues including human rights, social security, ethnic and cultural harmony, good governance, peace building and conflict resolution at local, national, regional and global levels (ACORAB, 2012). Baniya (2014) divides community radio broadcasting in Nepal, through its operation and ownership patterns, into three categories:

1. Co-operative model

In this category, radio stations are owned, managed and financed by co-operatives. The majority of community radio stations in Nepal fall into this category. For instance, Radio Lumbini, which was established by a hundred shareholders. Initially, the shareholders contributed about Rs.20,000 (approximately \$300 NZ) to set up the station. Another six hundred contributors pay a small amount regularly. In addition, the radio station annually receives funds from the seventy-one village development committees in the area (Baniya, 2014).

2. Local administration model

In this model, instead of providing financial support to the community radio, local government administrations such as the VDC (Village Development Committee) own the radio stations. Nepal's first rural community radio station, Radio Madanpokhara, was a pioneering example of this model (Banjade, 2007). The Community radio station, Madanpokhara, is owned and operated by the Madanpokhara Village Development Committee. However, Banjade argues that the public feels the station belongs to them.

Although the local government's administration body holds the operational licence, people argue that it does not interfere with the operation of the station. Technically, the local government owns the station, but the station works as a community station (Banjade, 2007).

### 3. NGO model

Radio stations under this category are owned and operated by local non-governmental organisations (Baniya, 2014). The best example of this category would be Radio Sagarmatha, the first non-governmental FM radio of Nepal, managed by NEFEJ (Nepal Forum of Environmental Journalists). Community radio stations in this category mainly depend on donor agencies for financial stability, however, they sell the air-time to advertisers or other NGOs to generate revenue. Radio Sagarmatha receives most of its revenue through advertisements, sponsored programmes, donations, and sale of airtime to NGOs wishing to produce and air their own programmes (Nafiz, 2012).

In New Zealand, the Nepalese communities produce radio programmes on several Access Radio stations. In Canterbury, Namaste Nepal is produced and broadcast from Plains FM. The radio programme celebrated its tenth anniversary in 2017. On the webpage of Access Internet Radio (2018b), four Nepali language radio programmes in New Zealand are identified, including Namaste Nepal. The others are: Nepali Radio by the Hamilton Nepalese Society, broadcast on access radio station Free FM; Hamro Awaz on Otago Access Radio in Dunedin; and Radio Lothsampa on Access Radio station Fresh FM, Nelson. Among the four radio programmes, Hamro Awaz and Radio Lothsampa were initiated by Nepali-speaking Bhutanese refugees who had resettled in New Zealand. Another Nepalese-radio weekly programme, Hamro Chautari, is produced and aired on Auckland's Access Radio, Planet FM.

Hamro Chautari offers news from the local community and Nepal. It also features interviews and updates on community events in Auckland (Planet FM, 2018a).

### 3.5.3. Radio in Iran

Iran is a religious country with diverse ethnic groups, with an Islamic socio-political system. Iranian media are controlled and used as a propaganda tool of the power structure. Before the Islamic revolution of 1979, newspaper, radio and television served the monarchy and dictators (BBC Media Monitor, 2007). The Shah directly controlled and censored the media establishment and use of media by the public. After the revolution it was controlled by the religious Islamic Republic, which reflects the views of the Supreme Leader and the conservative clerical establishment (BBC Media Monitor, 2007). Similar to other developing countries, in Iran press freedom and media practices are directly associated with the political structure and have witnessed many fluctuations. After the election of Hojatoleslam Mohammad Khatami as President in May 1997, Iranians experienced relatively more freedom regarding media use (Semati, 2008). However, when Mahmoud Ahmadinejad was elected as President in 2005, Semati (2008) argued that the government imposed more control on media than the previous government.

Radio broadcasting was also a state-controlled phenomenon from the beginning, with various censorship and control mechanisms (Sreberny and Mohammadi, 1994). Before the Islamic revolution in 1979, National Iranian Radio and Television (NIRT) controlled radio and television broadcasting in Iran. After the revolution, NIRT was re-named IRIB or the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting, which directly controls the broadcasting in Iran (Talebian, 2017). Talebian (2017) cites the seventh article of the statute of IRIB, (Voice and Vision of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Persian) which allows the organisation to operate as the only

legal television and radio broadcaster in Iran. The Constitution of Iran (article 175) permits only print media as private sector media, meaning that television and radio cannot broadcast as part of the private media sector (Talebian, 2017). The office of the Supreme Leader directly monitors the IRIB by appointing its director (Mahtafar et al., 2009).

In a broader sense, Iranian radio programmes are broadcast at three levels: local, national, and international, with their own features and limitations (Sepehri, 2010). Local radio stations in different parts of Iran broadcast or produce programmes for ethnic, lingual and culturally diverse groups, supplementary to the national radio (Sepehri, 2010). According to the BBC's media monitoring research, in 2007: "IRIB operated eight nationwide domestic radio networks, some provincial stations and an external service that broadcasts in thirty languages. They are known as the Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran (VIRI)" (BBC Media Monitor, 2007). There are several radio stations, television and online media, broadcast or operated from the USA, Europe and Dubai, and despite the government's ban Iranians widely watch foreign television. It is believed that the authorities also largely tolerate these foreign broadcastings (BBC, 2017).

However, the literature on Iranian media, particularly radio broadcasting, is very limited. In international-media and freedom-monitors' reports, Iran is portrayed as a country without a free press. The May 2017 Reporters without Borders (Reporters Sans Frontières, RSF) report claimed that Iran is "one of the world's five biggest prisons for journalists and citizen journalists", and "one of the world's biggest prisons for women journalists" (RSF, 2017). Similarly, Freedom House summaries its report on Iran's press-freedom status in 2017 as "not free" and highly repressive (Freedom House, 2017).

In New Zealand, Toranj is only Persian-language radio programme on an Access Radio station. Iranian students from the University of Canterbury initiated the radio programme in Christchurch through Plains FM in 2016.

### **3.6. Multiculturalism, migrants and community radio**

New Zealand's settlement comprises the arrival of people over at least seven hundred years. However, the origins of migrants were very limited until the 1980s (as detailed in Chapter One). In the last three decades, significantly increased numbers of migrants from Asia and Pacific countries have changed the social and ethnic diversity structures of New Zealand. According to the data, the Asian population has increased to 471,708 comprising 11.8 per cent of New Zealand's total population (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). This increase in the Asian population is thirty-three per cent more than the previous census of 2006. Similarly, the population of the Middle Eastern/Latin American/African ethnic groups has also grown by thirty-five per cent, and the increase has made this group 1.2 per cent of the total New Zealand population. Nearly three-quarters of New Zealand's population identified with one or more European ethnicities in 2013. Similarly, Māori and Pacific ethnicities comprised 14.9 per cent and 7.4 per cent of the total population respectively (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). However, these ethnic groups are combinations of diverse ethnic and cultural subgroups. In other words, it can be said that New Zealand is home to people from more than a hundred countries from around the globe.

New Zealand is officially a bicultural country, based on the Treaty of Waitangi and its attendant myth of the co-founding origins of New Zealand (Pearson, 2000). Pearson argues that the bicultural and multicultural consciousness in New Zealand was also influenced by



local, national and international dissatisfaction in the 1970s over government policy around ethnic assimilation and exclusion. New Zealand was not receiving a large volume of immigrants, unlike Australia and Canada at that time. However, increasing movements of indigenous Māori from rural to urban areas, and migrants from neighbouring Pacific Islands, pushed New Zealand to implement ethnic conflict management plans (Pearson, 2000).

According to Pearson (2000), the initial idea of multiculturalism in New Zealand was “moved swiftly to a bicultural model given the power of Māori and Pakeha ethnopolitics” (p. 104).

However, Pearson argues that major immigration policy reviews of the 1980s were somehow seen as the beginning of multiculturalism. The reviews set the rational entry requirement for new migrants based on skills, capital and market requirements, and ethnic differences were considered (Pearson, 2000). At a civic level, New Zealanders are respectful toward migrants and the multicultural attitude of the society (Ward and Masgoret, 2008). A survey by Ward and Masgoret of 2,020 random adult New Zealanders, in 2008, found that New Zealanders strongly endorse a multicultural ideology. According to the study, New Zealanders’ endorsement of a multicultural ideology was significantly higher than in Australia and European countries (Ward and Masgoret). New Zealand’s multi-ethnic and multicultural society supports radio platforms through various community and public broadcasting models.

Media consumption trends in New Zealand’s largest region show that migrant minorities prefer their own language media over the mainstream English-language media. Under- and stereotypical representation in mainstream media can be one of the main reasons migrant communities are more attracted toward ethnic media. In mainstream media in New Zealand, migrant minorities suffer from under-representation, stereotypical representations and ignorance (Noronha and Papoutsaki, 2014, Robie, 2009, Voci, 2008, Williamson and DeSouza, 2006, Spoonley, 2004). Community broadcasting and other ethnic-language media

serve large portions of ethnic minorities as an alternative to mainstream media. According to Creative NZ's Auckland Ethnic Media Factsheet, ethnic communities prefer their own communities' media and other non-English media reach these segments of ethnic communities (CreativeNZ, n.d.). The fact sheet claims that:

- Of New Zealand's Pasifika communities, fifty-six per cent consume more than half their media in a Pacific language
- Of the New Zealand Chinese community, seventy-eight per cent consume half or more of their total media in Chinese languages
- Of the New Zealand Indian community, fifty-eight per cent consume more than half of their total media in Hindi or other Indian languages
- Of the New Zealand Korean community, seventy-eight per cent consume half or more of their total media in Korean.

The Auckland region is home to 33.4 per cent of New Zealand's total population (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). To look at the mentioned ethnic minorities' residential patterns, Auckland is home to 194,958 Pasifika people among the nationally identified 295,941 in 2013. Similarly, sixty-nine per cent of the total counted in 2013, that is, 171,411, Chinese people live in the Auckland region, whereas 68.5 per cent of Indian and 72.8 per cent of the total Korean ethnic groups identified in 2013 live in the Auckland region (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). The ethnic media consumption pattern of Auckland can be seen as a reflection of migrants and their attraction toward minority media.

Some scholars such as Siapera (2010) argue that migrant or community media content, produced to serve a specific minority community, challenges the normative role of the media

in democratic societies, where public sphere is considered a singular comprehensive entity. Siapera (2010) argues that if minority or diasporic media is focused on preserving a specific culture then it challenges the normative role of media in a united public sphere as a singular entity, where media provides open access to all. She raises several questions based on an argument that places community media in an oppositional role to the normative public sphere theory, such as, “if certain groups in society spend their time using different kinds of media, and in different languages, then how can a united public sphere function?” (Siapera, 2010, p.97). However, Siapera (2010) argues that diasporic media upholds the right to communicate, and contributes to the creation of diasporic public sphericules. Public sphericules are considered a fragmentation of the public sphere into small and isolated public spheres (Gitlin, 1998). The concept is similar to Fraser’s (1990) counterpublics that provide parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups can formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs (p. 67). Siapera (2010) further argues that the right to communicate supports the creation and operation of independent media by communities themselves. The general assumption about cultural integration is that segregation has a negative impact on the integration of ethnic minorities in the wider society, and scholars have agreed on this assumption (Peleman, 2002). Riggins argues that ethnic media can contribute to ethnic cohesion and cultural maintenance, but at the same time can encourage the integration of their audience into mainstream values (Riggins, 1992a).

### **3.7. Diaspora, identity and media**

Nowadays, the term diaspora is being used to define various migrant sections of populations in the society. These could be expatriates, expellees, political refugees, alien residents,

immigrants, and ethnic and racial minorities (Safran 1991). The last two decades of the twentieth century witnessed a rapid growth in the movement of people, creating diasporic communities in many countries, including New Zealand. People travel around different territories for various reasons and increased migration has changed possible power relations and cultural hierarchies (Leeuw and Rydin, 2007). According to Anthias (1998) the spreading of the population from the original homeland, and identifying that population with that particular origin, is the main element of a 'diaspora'. According to Karim (2003), diasporas re-create their cultural home in a place they migrated to:

Diasporas (re-)create a home by instilling such resonance into the spaces they occupy: they do it with their languages, customs, art forms, the arrangement of objects and ideas. Their electronic media re-territorialise the diaspora through the resonance of electromagnetic frequencies. However, the milieux that diasporas seek to create are not bounded by the borders of nation-states – their rhythms resonate transnationally to mark out non-terrestrial spaces that stretch out intercontinentally (Karim, 2003, p.10).

The dispersion of population has created cultural groups in transnational spaces with homeland connections. These diasporic sections of the population are known as ethnic groups or minorities in their host country, for instance, Asian or South Asian. However, the social category – such as Asian or South Asian – includes diverse cultural and geographical areas. Within those ethnic categories, people identify themselves with their country of origin. For instance, people may identify themselves as an Indian within Asian, or Nepalese within South Asian, categories.

In these diasporic spaces, migrants are assuming dual cultural identities. They are maintaining their minority identities in host countries connected to their country of origin, and at the same time, they are in the process of integration into the host countries' cultural mainstream. This integration process is creating 'hybridity' among cultures and subcultures. Hall and Du Gay (1996) argue that identities are an understanding of the process of becoming rather than being. They further describe identities as constantly in the process of change and transformation. Construction of identity is based on people's continued correspondence with their historical past (Hall and Du Gay, 1996, p. 4). Hall (1990) argues that cultural identity belongs to the future and past similarly. He claims cultural identity is about 'becoming' and 'being' (p. 225). In Hall's (1990) framing, the diasporic identity can be defined by "the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of identity which lives with and through, not despite, difference; and by hybridity" (p. 235). As a result of movement and diaspora, people are increasingly negotiating their cultural identities in host countries "between continuity and change, between similarity and difference" (Leeuw and Rydin, 2007, p.175). According to Leeuw and Rydin, people construct their sense of belongingness and homeliness in a new place with respect to both the new place and the old place they left behind. This process can create hybridity in the migrants' cultural practices. According to one of the influential scholars of cultural hybridity, Homi Bhabha, hybridity does not seek cultural supremacy or sovereignty. The cultural hybridisation process for a migrant minority is creating cultural visions of community by adapting partial culture from the mainstream host society and versions of historic memories (Bhabha, 1996).

The media are considered to be significantly influential in the settlement process of migrants in any host country. Since the migrants and host community may have a different understanding of particular cultural or political matters, media are the major sources of

information for migrants to understand the host country's cultural and social values.

Similarly, for the host community, media are the only sources of information about the socio-cultural background of migrants. Media work as facilitators between the host community and migrants. These old and new communities of any particular country mainly depend on mutual communication through mass media. Spoonley (2004) argues, "the relationship between the immigrant community and the host society in all its manifestations is mediated by the mass media, especially when there is limited or little contact between immigrant and host communities" (p. 6). Media play a crucial role in the public representation of social relations and cultural power-play, and in and through the media people construct their identity in society (Cottle, 2000). According to Cottle:

Members of the media audience are variously invited to construct a sense of who 'we' are in relation to who 'we' are not, whether as 'us' and 'them', 'insider', and 'outsider', 'coloniser' and 'colonised', 'citizen' and 'foreigner', 'normal' and 'deviant', 'friend' and 'foe', the 'west' and the 'rest' (p. 2).

For migrants, media are instrumental in shaping their identity in the host society. The media-constructed community-identity depends heavily on mainstream mass media of the society. These mass media dominate and portray images of migrants and messages about them which ultimately help to form a community identity (King and Wood, 2001). Leeuw and Rydin (2007) argue that, in the case of the diasporic population, people identify the cultural differences between the host and country of origin as 'here' and 'there'. In a new country, people try to build, 'new loyalties' and media create an 'imagined identity' (p.178). They further argue that in describing 'their' loyalty, the old country, and 'people's 'imagined identity', based upon a common narrative that is being reproduced in transnational media, it

“may become blurred with the images of media images in the host country” (Leeuw and Rydin, 2007, p.179).

The major issues in migrant minorities and media studies up to the present are considered to be the representation and participation of minorities in mainstream media. Over recent decades, a considerable body of research, conducted in both the UK and the US, has examined media representations of ethnic minorities (Cottle, 2000). He argues that the collective findings of this research effort generally make for depressing reading. Under-representation and stereotypical characterisation within entertainment genres, negative problem-oriented portrayals within factual and news forms, and a tendency to ignore structural inequalities, as well as lived racism experienced by ethnic minorities, are recurring research findings (Cottle, 2000, pp.7-8). For migrants in any country, the host countries’ media portrayals greatly influence their inclusion and exclusion in society. According to King and Wood (2001), “Often acting as the mouthpiece of political parties or other powerful groups, media discourses have been shown to be immensely influential in constructing migrants as ‘others’, and often too as ‘criminals’ or ‘undesirables’” (p. 2). They further argue that an intensive focus on migrant criminality creates unrealistic stereotypes about the migrants (King and Wood, 2001). The media in New Zealand are similar in migrants’ representation and portrayal. Most of New Zealand’s commercial media operate as a part of global media conglomerates and are focusing more on sustaining revenue (Williamson and DeSouza, 2006). According to them, this shift in focus results in ignorance of ethnic and other minorities and supports dramatised tabloid headlines that portray migrants as invaders. Williamson and DeSouza (2006) illustrate representations through a news article about New Zealand’s biggest Lotto millionaires, which cited the identity of the dairy owner who sold the winning ticket as Indian. They argued that this kind of news never mentions that the Lotto

millionaires were Pakeha (p. 21). Unnecessary and often negative portrayals and under-representations are the main reasons why migrants seek their own media.

Migrants are able to access a range of alternative media platforms, including media content from the country of origin or media platforms created and operated by migrants in another host society. The internet in particular has greatly influenced media accessibility. It has also created virtual platforms for the small diasporic populations to practice their own media in any host society to serve communities with dual identity or hybridity. King and Wood (2001) argue that media and global distribution technologies from the countries of origin, such as films, video and satellite television, and the internet, are playing a dynamic role in the cultural identity and politics of diasporic communities. It is because of the media-created linkage that members of transnational communities can function in two or more worlds within their comfort level (King and Wood, 2001). In this regard, local media initiated by migrant communities can better serve the people in a particular diaspora. However, Cohen (2008) has raised several questions which might lead the debate on the current practice of community radio in a different direction, especially in multicultural society. Cohen's questions are: (1) Why bother with a local community radio programme when you can access online radio programmes and other media sites directly from 'home'?; (2) Will the role of the ethnic broadcasters be reduced to merely relaying media content from the country of origin for audiences who do not have the skill or resources to access the same material by themselves?; (3) Will their role be to add something to the reports by editorialising or selecting the material in a way that reflects the experiences and needs of their local communities?; (4) Why worry about somebody else's representations when you can, in fact, live your original cultural identity on the web? And (5) for the broadcasters themselves, why set yourself up within a local ethnic radio programme when you can produce your own blog



or local podcast? (Cohen, 2008, p. 1016). The major concern expressed here is whether these media from migrants' countries of origin are able to fulfil their need or not in regard to duality or hybridity. This thesis particularly analyses how these local radio programmes work in this digital era where migrants can easily access media content from their countries of origin.

This chapter has provided an overview of community radio and its participatory approach. The first section provides some terminological diversity and characteristics to define community radio. The later sections reviewed how community radio can provide participatory communication platforms especially for minority groups. Community radio can work as a means of self-expression for minorities, particularly when minorities suffer from under-representation or negative portrayals. The chapter also provided an overview of community radio practices by three migrant communities in New Zealand, along with background from their countries of origin. This background helps to establish the media context in the memories of communities whose identities are with the Philippines, Nepal and Iran. This chapter outlined New Zealand's bicultural and multicultural characteristics and the patterns of ethnic language media consumption in Auckland. These patterns inform understanding of the media preferences amongst migrants in the Christchurch community as well. Discussion of the role of media in identity and hybridity is particularly applicable for analysing the three migrant communities and their radio programmes included in this research. Overall, the literature reviewed in this chapter provides grounds for understanding the research in context, and provides the main basis of the research design, contextual analysis and the arguments developed from the findings.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: Research design and methodology**

### **4.1. Introduction**

The research incorporated different qualitative approaches to examine three Christchurch-based migrant communities – Nepalese, Filipino, and Iranian – and their use of the Access Radio platform. Access and participation were analysed, in particular radio programmes broadcast on Plains FM in their own languages: Namaste Nepal from the Nepalese community, Mabuhay Radio Filipino from the Filipino community, and Toranj from the Iranian community. The data analysed in this research were gathered between the last week of July 2016 and September 2018 using observation, focus groups, and interviews methods. The study was carried out using a qualitative methodology because that is more appropriate for researching community radio. The study does not intend to generalise the results as it has its own situational uniqueness. Although the actual data speak about the specific context of the research, as Gillham argues it still may be usable or generalizable to understand how other units in similar contexts work (Gillham, 2000). According to Meadows et al. (2007), qualitative research provides a better opportunity to understand listening patterns and audiences likes and dislikes (Meadows et al., 2007). It also provides an opportunity for the audience to share their community broadcasting experiences. Community radio's differences from commercial or public service broadcasting (PSB) also means that the quantitative methods widely used in commercial radio research are not appropriate for audience research in community radio (Hallet, 2011). Hallet argues that qualitative data, concerning the benefit for community members of particular broadcast outputs, are important. However, it is wise to modify techniques developed for the commercial sector (Hallett, 2011). Downing (2003) argues that questions about alternative media use should be more complex than the commercial surveys. For instance, he argues, it is possible that such qualitative research can

reveal illuminating results. He further writes, that “simply asking people which are their favourite programmes or what kind of sports news they prefer does not engage with most media users at any profound level, whereas many alternative media, in ways too numerous to list, and not only in explicitly political ways, do” (Downing, 2003,p.638). Maykut and Morehouse (1994) have defined qualitative research as an open method to discover meaning. They argue that “qualitative study has a focus, but that focus is initially broad and open-ended, allowing for important meanings to be discovered” (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994, p.39). To them, qualitative research design reveals the learning phenomenon of interest, in which people can participate.

Qualitative researchers are interested in how humans inhabit their surroundings through their social symbols, rituals, structures, and roles (Berg, 2001). Ritchie (2003) has explained the functions of qualitative social investigation in various categories, classified as:

- Contextual – describing the form or nature of what exists
- Explanatory – examining the reasons for, or associations between, what exists
- Evaluative – appraising the effectiveness of what exists
- Generative – aiding the development of theories, strategies or actions (Ritchie, 2003, pp.26-31).

Early research on community media was based on quantitative data, using audience surveys that were normally preferred by policymakers (Jankowski, 1991). However, scholars have acknowledged that the focus of media research is changing. This research used qualitative research methodology to develop theoretical and practical knowledge about community radio, providing a new social analysis of diasporic community radio and its audience. It

contextualises community access radio broadcasting and migrant communities' use of such platforms in Christchurch, New Zealand.

#### **4.2. Case study and implications**

This study used a case study method as a primary means of investigation. The case study method enables in-depth research into a particular radio programme, and particular communities' access to and participation in that radio programme. The case study method can include other systematic methods of social enquiry. For instance, Wimmer and Dominick (2011) argue that “documents, historical artefacts, systematic interviews, direct observations, and even traditional surveys can all be incorporated into a case study” (Wimmer and Dominick, 2011, p.141). Yin (2003) has defined case study as an “empirical inquiry that uses multiple sources of evidence to investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, in which the boundaries between the phenomenon and its context are not clearly evident” (as cited in Wimmer and Dominick, 2011, p. 141). Lewis (2003) argues that the case study sometimes appears as a synonym of qualitative research. He has combined the particular features of the case study methods, citing various scholars as follows: Usually only one case is selected, although it is also accepted that several may be (Bryman, 2001; Stake, 2000); the study is detailed and intensive (Bryman, 2001; Piatt, 1988); the phenomenon is studied in context (Cresswell, 1998; Holloway and Wheeler, 1996; Robson, 2002; Yin, 1993,1994), and multiple data collection methods may be used (Creswell, 1998; Hakim, 2000; Holloway and Wheeler, 1996; Robson, 2002; Yin, 1993,1994) (Lewis, 2003, p.52).

I have used the case study method to examine how audiences access and participate in three migrant community radio programmes. The research focus is not on a comparison between

the communities, rather it aims to study each in relative depth. I have chosen multiple units of analysis to assess the participatory status of the community members in radio programmes, by selecting communities with different demographics and cultural backgrounds as migrants in New Zealand. Yin (2003) categorises case study designs as holistic and embedded. This research uses an embedded case study design. According to Yin, the embedded method allows the researcher to develop a more complex design that can incorporate subunits of analysis. He further writes, “The subunits can often add significant opportunities for extensive analysis, enhancing the insights into the single case” (Yin, 2003, p.46). In this regard, I believe that including multiple units can broaden the possibility of understanding of the case and context.

There are several significant cultural and circumstantial differences between these communities. For instance, the Filipino community is bigger than the Nepalese and Iranian communities. These communities have different practices and experiences of making radio programmes. The Nepalese community recently celebrated their tenth anniversary of radio programme broadcasting on Plains FM. In comparison, the Iranian community initiated Toranj in 2016 as the first community radio programme in the Persian language in New Zealand. Each of these migrant communities has different socio-economic and political systems in their country of origin and those backgrounds may result in different practices in the host society as well. This research examined the use of broadcast radio as a public sphere and identity negotiation platform by migrant minorities. The study focused only on these communities’ radio programmes broadcast through Plains FM. This study particularly examined the participation of community members in their radio programmes, from content production to decision-making processes.

### **4.3. Mixing methods and data collection**

This research combined various methods of data collection within the qualitative methodology. A ‘mixed method’ approach refers generally to a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. However, the same principles can be implemented by combining different qualitative methods; each will offer something specific to the study (Ritchie, 2003). The case study approach used in this research combines several data collection methods: in-depth interviews, focus groups, and observation.

Ritchie (2003) has proposed two approaches to qualitative data collection: (1) naturally occurring data and (2) generated data. According to Ritchie, naturally occurring data can be collected through observation, documentary analysis, and discourse analysis. Narrative accounts, interviews, and focus groups are methods of data generation (p. 45). This study combines both methods of data collection. Naturally occurring data were gathered using an observation method. The contextual and circumstantial status of the community radio programme production, including producer-receiver interaction, feedback mechanisms and processes, community interactions, access and use of technologies, were observed. Over a period of three months, every programme was observed as it was created in the studio. This observation used field notes, policy documents and other relevant documentary material as naturally occurring data. The study also generated data through interviews and focus groups. The interviews and focus group sessions were recorded, transcribed and analysed as per the objective of the study.

#### 4.3.1. Observation

I observed the production processes of these community radio programmes using what Wimmer and Dominick term ‘overt observation’ (2011). In overt observation, the groups being studied are aware of the observation and the researcher’s role, which they describe as “only to observe, refraining from participation in the process under observation” (Wimmer and Dominick, 2011, p.124). Observation offers the opportunity to record and analyse behaviour and interactions as they occur, although not as a member of the study population. Observation allows events, actions and experiences and so on, to be ‘seen’ through the eyes of the researcher, often without any construction on the part of those involved. It is a particularly useful approach when a study is concerned with investigating a ‘process’ involving several players, where an understanding of non-verbal communication is likely to be important or where the behavioural consequences of events form a focal point of the study (Ritchie, 2003, p. 35). Field observations are used to identify important variables and preliminary information, and the great advantage of the observation is that it is not dependent on “subjects’ ability or willingness to report their behaviour” (Wimmer and Dominick, 2011, p.125).

Simons (2009) supports observation for five main reasons: First, observation provides a ‘comprehensive picture’ of the site, a ‘sense of the setting’ which is not possible through interviews. Secondly, observational notes can provide detailed descriptions which can be used as the basis for further analysis and interpretation. Thirdly, observing artefacts, and people’s communication within a group or with an external world, can help the researcher to understand associated norms and values of cultures and subcultures from participating organisations or institutions. Fourthly, observation provides opportunities to capture less

articulated experiences than the interview does. Finally, observations provide an opportunity to cross-check or verify interview data (Simons, 2009, p.55).

I gathered observational data as field notes. Field notes are considered one of the most important tools of data gathering in qualitative research methods. Spradley (1980) defines field notes as an ethnographic record which “builds a bridge between observation and analysis” (Spradley, 1980, p.41). Using the observation method in the early stage of the data collection helped me to formulate the data gathering strategies for focus groups and interviews, including building a questionnaire. Darlington and Scott (2002) describe early-stage observation as useful for understanding the context and helping to prepare the important questions to be asked.

I observed the programme production processes of Namaste Nepal, Mabuhay Radio Filipino and Toranj for three months, covering eight to twelve episodes of each programme, at different times. The production process of Namaste Nepal was observed from the last week of July to November 2016, in the studio and in the field. In this context, field observation often consists of programme producers attending community gatherings and events to collect information and vox pops. As most of the programmes broadcast during that period were pre-recorded, I watched the producers both in the recording studio and while doing field recording. The radio programme Mabuhay Radio Filipino was observed from November 2016 to April 2017. All of the episodes of Mabuhay Radio Filipino during the observational time-frame were aired live, so I sat in the studio with all the presenters and watched their activities. For Toranj, I observed the production processes from June to October 2017. As the producers and presenters were new to the field of radio, they broadcast Toranj as a pre-recorded programme during my observation period. Plains FM provided them with technical assistance, so there were technical persons available in the recording studio at all times, and I



observed the presenters and producers from the technical studio through a clear glass window. I was able to see the non-verbal moves of the presenters and heard their external communication through the talkback system as they communicated with the technician about the recording. Similarly, I observed the meetings before and after recordings, and noted the activities and subject of discussions when their conversational language was English. In some cases, I asked them about the context of the discussion and preparation work for the Toranj.

During the observations, I took note of activities and non-verbal communication in the studio or the field. Because of the language barrier with the Filipino and Iranian communities, I recorded the activities and any subject matters discussed in English. In this regard, observing the Nepalese community radio was different as I could understand the verbal communications between the producers. Observation without language barriers provided an opportunity to understand how programme producers verbally encouraged audience members to participate. Also, it was easy to understand how the producers prioritised the information to the audience members as I could understand the language and community context as well. (The limitations of the language barrier are also discussed in Chapter Nine.) During the observations, I sometimes asked the producers to explain a particular context but in a non-intrusive way. I was fully aware of the possible impact on the participants' behaviour when they knew that they were being observed. Similarly, I was aware of the risk of misinterpretation and the self-assumptions I might impose on the observational data, consciously or unconsciously. To avoid the risk I tried to familiarise myself with the context before and during the observation period, which Darlington and Scott (2002) describe as one of the important approaches to avoid misinterpretation in an observational context (Darlington and Scott, 2002).

#### 4.3.2. Focus groups

The research included six focus groups of audience members from three migrant communities. Focus group discussion is a qualitative method of data collection that studies interpersonal interactions between speakers. Krueger and Casey (2009) define a focus group as a “special type of group”. They further argue that “focus group study is a carefully planned series of discussions designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment” (Krueger and Casey, 2009, p.2). According to Ritchie (2003), focus groups are a more naturalistic research setting than in-depth interviews. However, the settings have been engineered for the study purpose so that the degree of naturalism should not be exaggerated (Ritchie, 2003, p.36). Berg (2001) argues that focus group interviews allow the researcher to observe the interactions between people. It provides “access to both actual and existentially meaningful or relevant interactional experiences” (Berg, 2001, p.115). Morgan (2001) describes a focus group as a very flexible data-gathering technique to obtain qualitative data (Morgan, 2001).

To make focus groups non-threatening and flexible, I tried to familiarise myself with the communities included in my study. However, getting volunteers to participate in my research was not easy, especially in the communities to which I do not belong. To identify the potential participants, I worked closely with the producers, presenters of the radio programmes and community leaders. After receiving a verbal or informal agreement, I provided them with formal information sheets and consent forms prior to the focus groups.

All of the participants were well informed about the scope of the discussion and signed a consent form that included information about the use of their opinions, recording and transcript storage, and confidentiality. Every participant was informed about the confidentiality of their own and other participants’ opinions expressed in the focus groups.

All of the participants agreed on clauses included in the consent form and signed the form. There were ground rules for the focus groups, and I read and explained the eleven points of the ground rules for every focus group. The ground rules included information about the total time and refreshments, halting the discussion in case of distress, the comfort and anonymity of the participants, audio recording, note taking, encouragement to speak and the principle that there were no right or wrong answers. The focus groups were set for 1.5 hours at the most, including refreshments, and all the focus groups concluded within the time frame.

Participants were provided with code names for communication purposes during the focus group and every participant was given a separate code or pseudonym. Mostly their initials, but also surnames or first names were used as code names during the group discussion. I used initials as the participants' code in transcriptions to maintain some anonymity. The focus groups followed a specific question format and adopted neutral and non-directive methods to encourage participants' responses. I prepared three sets of questions as engagement, exploration, and exit questions. The focus group sessions were recorded and later transcribed. All the focus groups were conducted at the University of Canterbury, in study rooms in the central library, or postgraduate study rooms.

#### *4.3.2.1. Size*

In market research, eight to twelve participants is considered an optimal number. However, some scholars argue that this number is too large for many sociological studies. In some cases, they even validate a group as small as three participants (Kitzinger and Barbour, 1999). Some researchers, including Kitzinger and Barbour (1999), support a small number of participants and they have conducted focus groups with fewer participants than optimal

numbers in market research (Maxwell and Boyle, 1995, Quine and Cameron, 1995, Basch, 1987, Thomas, 1999). Krueger and Casey (2009) argue that five to ten participants in each focus group is ideal (Krueger and Casey, 2009). However, some scholars such as Ritchie (2003) argue for between four and ten respondents as a group. In practice, the size of the focus groups depends on various factors, such as the sensitivity of the subject and sometimes contextual or circumstantial factors.

For this study, I set the optimal number to five or six participants. However, I was not able to keep the optimal number in all the focus groups. In total, I conducted six focus groups from the three communities. Three groups had five participants, two had four participants and one focus group had only three participants. Contextual or circumstantial factors forced me to continue the focus group interviews with smaller numbers, particularly when several participants cancelled shortly before organised groups. I faced the same situation while doing a focus group with the Iranian community as (Thomas, 1999) documents for his focus groups, and so continued with only three participants (p. 82). Initially, five participants from the Iranian community agreed to the particular time and location decided a week earlier. However, one participant withdrew their participation six hours before the agreed time and another participant was absent at the agreed time and venue without information. So I just carried on with three participants as I had faced many difficulties in calling the same person when I cancelled the agreed focus groups because of the small number. In some cases, it took months to organise one focus group because of last minute cancellations. Comparatively, it was straightforward to organise focus groups and interviews with the Nepalese community as I belong to the same community. As I have a strong connection with the Nepalese community, I was able to find the participants according to the criteria of my research. However, being an outsider to the Filipino and Iranian community, I had to rely on

programme producers and presenters and several community leaders. Echoing Granovetter (1973) on the “strength of an interpersonal tie” (Granovetter, 1973, p.1361), my connection with the Nepalese community can be related to such strong ties as I have spent more time with them and we share the same cultural background. Granovetter (1973) argues that the strength of a tie is a (probably linear) combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, and the intimacy invested in connection. As a member of the same community, I am more intimate with and have spent more time with the Nepalese community, and this strengthens my community ties, enabling a wider friendship circle, as argued by Granovetter (1973). In comparison, my ties with the Filipino community can be defined as weak or absent, which ultimately means having the least, or intermediate, friendship circles (Granovetter, 1973, p. 1362). Through this research I have been involved in more interaction with the Filipino and Iranian producers and community leaders; however, other participants or community members are not familiar with me. In this regard, my friendship circle is limited to a few producers and community leaders. Rademacher and Wang (2014) argue that strong ties are formed among individuals who share similar cultural, demographic, or attitudinal characteristics.

Strong ties exist among individuals connected within densely knit, homogeneous networks such as those involving kin and close friends. Weak ties exist among individuals connected within sparse, heterogeneous networks such as those involving acquaintances (Rademacher and Wang, 2014, p.1213).

Rademacher and Wang (2014) also argue that strong ties strengthen interpersonal relationships, which increase trust. In this context, to most of the Filipino and Iranian

community members, my relationship is as a stranger or acquaintance. Because of the weak or absent ties, it was difficult to gather optimal numbers of participants in a focus group.

Organising focus groups with members of the Filipino and Iranian community was challenging because of my weak ties in those communities. I was in regular contact with the programme producers/presenters and community leaders. I attended several community gatherings and encouraged potential individuals to participate in my research, and described to them the criteria, scope and purpose of my research. Similarly, I used social media, especially Facebook, to reach potential participants. In some cases, I contacted individuals who ‘liked’ the Facebook pages of radio programmes. After a series of conversations, only a few participants agreed to participate in the research. In that sense, the social network site also helped me to find appropriate participants. Despite all these efforts, I was still unable to meet the ideal number of participants.

#### *4.3.2.2. Number of focus groups*

In this research, I conducted a total of six focus group discussions with audience members, which comprised two focus groups from each of the migrant communities. In two focus groups from the Nepalese community, a total of ten participants were included; five in each group. From the Filipino community, a total of nine audiences participated in two focus groups, five in one and four in the other. From the Iranian community, a total of seven audience members participated in two focus groups; four and three respectively. In total, twenty-six audience members from the Nepalese, Filipino and Iranian communities were included as participants.

#### *4.3.2.3. Selection criteria and group composition*

The participants were selected purposively as the participation was voluntary. However, there were several criteria proposed to make the sample more competent and to serve the research objectives more appropriately. A major selection criterion was the location or residential status of the participants. Members of Nepalese, Filipino and Iranian communities who migrated to Canterbury (Christchurch in particular) as students, with skilled or unskilled working visa status, permanent residents, and overseas-born New Zealand citizens were selected purposively. The students were selected as they represent large numbers in the Nepalese community, and Iranian students are the first organised community in Christchurch and owners of the radio programme Toranj. Students also met the criteria of selection that are: participants' involvement and familiarity with the radio programmes. Involvement includes activities and contributions such as listening, providing feedback, volunteering, financial or any other forms of contribution.

However, in one of the focus groups, I included two Filipino community members who did not listen regularly to Tagalog radio programmes. I included these non-listener community-members to avoid the undersized composition of the focus group. Similarly, I was curious to explore the other side of community radio – the obstacles or challenges for the community reach of small-scale local community radio. People with a short-term visiting purpose or on visiting visas were excluded from the research. I was aware that the composition of the focus groups could directly affect the outcome, so I tried to balance the group composition away from being too homogeneous or heterogeneous. Many scholars including Bloor et al. (2001) have raised concerns about the composition of groups, as overly heterogeneous groups can lead the discussion far from its focus. They argue that diverse participants mean a range of

views, meaning and experience that may be so disparate that no aspect of the topic can be explored in depth (p. 20).

In this research, some of the focus group participants were familiar with each other. Some of them were close friends. However, in some focus groups participants were not known to each other or were just acquaintances. I conducted two focus groups, one Nepalese and one Iranian, with students from the University of Canterbury. In these groups, participants shared a context and the groups were more homogeneous in composition. However, the students were from different departments and studying for different degrees. The Iranian radio programme was initiated by students from the University of Canterbury, which automatically increased the likely student participants in my research, as audiences, producers or community leaders. However, non-student Iranian community members also participated in focus groups. In the Filipino focus groups, most of the participants were full-time workers in different professions. According to the programme producers and community leaders, most of the Filipino workers work six days a week. This made it difficult to gather well-balanced participants at the same place and same time for the focus groups. Although I tried to compose the groups in a balanced way, the attention and concerns remained subjective as the focus groups and interviews were dependent on participants' convenience. As Bloor et al. argue, the researcher's consideration is likely to reduce the problems in focus groups.

Attention to composition is crucial and there are steps that researchers can take to ensure that the likelihood of problems within the group is reduced. However focus groups are a socially dynamic situation and thus to some extent will be unpredictable (Bloor et al., 2001, p. 21).



I consulted with producers and community leaders about the participants' backgrounds to improve the quality of the group compositions.

For in-depth interviews, similar selection criteria were employed. However, all three radio programmes have more than one producer/presenter. After consultation with producers/presenters, I selected one from each radio programme. The selection was based on recommendations from the other producers and with consent from the interviewed producer/presenter. The community leaders were selected based on the hierarchy of the community organisations.

#### 4.3.3. Interviews

This research includes interviews from Nepalese, Filipino and Iranian community members. Interviews are a form of conversation, and various scholars have defined interviewing as a conversation with an information-gathering purpose (Denzin, 1978; Spradley, 1979; Patton, 1980; De Santis, 1980; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Salkind, 1991; Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996; Babbie, 1992; 1998; Leedy, 1993; and Marshall and Rossman, 1999 as cited in Berg, 2001). Crouch and McKenzie (2006) argue that qualitative methods denote the conversation-based techniques of data collection, and one-to-one interviews can be used in various settings and styles (Crouch and McKenzie, 2006). Ritchie (2003) claims individual interviews are “probably the most widely used method in qualitative research”. In Ritchie’s words, “Interviews provide an opportunity for detailed investigation of people's personal perspectives, for an in-depth understanding of the personal context within which the research phenomena are located, and for very detailed subject coverage” (p. 36). The interview method is most appropriate for research that requires an understanding of delicate phenomena (Ritchie, 2003).

Berg (2001) argues that “standardised interviews are designed to elicit information using a set of predetermined questions that are expected to elicit the subjects' thoughts, opinions, and attitudes about study-related issues” (Berg, 2001, p.69). Legard et al. (2003) have identified key features of the in-depth interview: It is intended to combine structure with flexibility; is interactive in nature; uses a range of probes and other techniques to achieve the depth of answer in terms of penetration, exploration and explanation; and it is generative in the sense that new knowledge or thoughts are likely, at some stage, to be created (Legard et al., 2003, pp.141-142). Holstein and Gubrium (1997) argue that in the interview method the researcher is not the only vehicle of knowledge transmission, but the interviewee's and researcher's collaboration can construct knowledge in an interview (as cited in Legard et al., 2003). An in-depth interview tries to focus on respondents' perceptions and feelings rather than social conditions and surroundings and interview data, and its analysis does not try to establish 'objective facts' (Crouch and McKenzie, 2006). An in-depth interview is primarily focused on “generating data which gives an authentic insight into people's experiences” (Silverman, 1993, as cited in Crouch and McKenzie, 2006, p. 485).

Participants for in-depth interviews were selected in consultation with producers, presenters, and community leaders. Participants who agreed were provided options to choose focus groups or in-depth interviews according to their comfort and convenience. As I conducted most of the interviews after the focus groups, some participants in interviews were those who were not available for the focus group due to time and other constraints. All the participants were well informed about the scope of the discussion and signed a consent form that included information about the use of their opinions, storage and confidentiality. Most of the interviews were conducted in public places, particularly restaurants, however, some

interviews were conducted in University of Canterbury Library rooms. I particularly chose restaurants as public locations, sitting at a distance from other patrons to avoid disturbance, while allowing the participants to feel freer and more comfortable in the social setting.

I explained to all the participants about the format of the interview, including an audio recording. The interviewees were well informed about the structure of the interview, time frame and flexibility to withdraw at any time in case of distress or discomfort. In some cases, I stopped the interviews to allow a comfortable time for the participant. As in the focus groups, I provided information and contact details before the interview. In some cases, I provided the information sheet on the same day. However, the participants were provided sufficient time to read and review the information and sign the consent forms. The standard time was set at a maximum of one hour for the interviews, and all the interviews were concluded in less than one hour.

#### *4.3.3.2. Number and nature of interviews and participants*

In total, thirteen in-depth interviews were conducted with Nepalese, Filipino and Iranian migrant communities and Plains FM. I interviewed four community members from each of the Nepalese, Filipino and Iranian communities and also the station manager of Plains FM. All of the interviews were in-depth and used a semi-structured set of guiding questions to keep the interview on track but ensure flexibility to get insight into issues of concern to each participant. In-depth interviews are particularly helpful for understanding the perspective of someone else's mind, which Simons (2009) argues is one of the main purposes of in-depth interviews. Simons also emphasises active engagement, which promotes the learning of both sides in identifying and analysing issues. He further argues that in-depth interviews have a flexibility that allows the interviewer to change the direction of the conversation. Simons

emphasises, as the fourth benefit of in-depth interviews, that they have the potential to uncover feelings and events that cannot be physically observed (Simons, 2009, p. 43).

I used interviews and focus groups as a substitute method of enquiry for each other. The main reason for doing this was to analyse the context in a group discussion format and an individualised context as well, which allowed participants to choose the setting of the participation. In some cases, this technique is more effective as some people express their opinions and ideas more easily in a personalised context than in a group setting such as focus groups (Michel, 1999). In this research, participants for focus groups and one-on-one interviews were different. Employing different people may not explain the group or individualised context in comparison with participants' responses in the way that Michel (1999) argues. However, conducting interviews in groups and one-on-one settings definitely offers opportunities to understand the issue and context from a more insightful view.

In these in-depth interviews, participants were audience members, producers and community leaders. From the Nepalese community, I interviewed two audience members, as well as a producer and presenter from Namaste Nepal, and the president of the Nepal New Zealand Friendship Society of Canterbury Inc. (NNZFSC). NNZFSC is a Nepalese community organisation established in 2002 which has run Namaste Nepal since 2007. I interviewed the president of NNZFSC as an audience member, as well as a leader in the community, to get an understanding of community participation and feedback. From the Filipino community, I interviewed two audience members, one producer/presenter, and the president of Philippines Culture and Sports (PCS). PCS is an organisation of migrant Filipinos in Canterbury who initiated the radio programme Mabuhay Radio Filipino. The president of PCS was interviewed to analyse the organisational context of participation and feedback mechanisms

between community members and their radio programme. The audience members were recent university graduates and also full-time workers who were familiar with the radio programme. The producer/presenter was selected after consultation with all producers and presenters. From the Iranian community, four interviews were also conducted, two with audience members, one producer who is also a presenter of the programme, and the president of the University of Canterbury Iranian Society (UCIS). The student club, UCIS, was the initiator and facilitator of the radio programme Toranj. The president of UCIS was also interviewed to analyse its organisational policy of making the radio programme more participatory. Both interviewed audience members were postgraduate students at the University of Canterbury.

I tried to keep the interview informal in structure and encouraged participants to open up and share their feelings. I tried to spend the initial ten to fifteen minutes just in casual conversation to establish the topic of the conversation. I believe when recording starts, people, knowingly or unknowingly, became more self-conscious about the conversation. I used mostly open-ended questions. According to Seidman (2006), open-ended questions in in-depth interviews create space for participants to reconstruct their experience within the research topic (Seidman, 2006). The interviews broadly covered the following areas:

- Type of content in radio programmes
- How easily audiences can access and participate in content
- Audiences' involvement in production processes and decision making
- Moods and structures of feedback
- Importance of native language radio programmes
- Mainstream media, media from the country of origin and local radio programmes

- Cultural identity in a multicultural society
- Community radio as a platform for sharing
- Disaster times and radio
- Financial and other challenges and overcoming strategies.

For the community leaders, some questions about the financial aspects of the radio programmes and community liaison were added to their interviews. When discussing identity and the importance of radio programmes the producers were also considered community members.

#### 4.3.4. Document analysis

Documents relevant to community media, radio and immigration were analysed as a source of data for understanding the context of the radio programmes. Document analysis offers opportunities to understand the cases in more detail and it is also a supportive method to other data collection methods. According to Simons (2009), “document analysis is often a helpful precursor to observing and interviewing, to suggest issues it may be useful to explore in the case and to provide a context for interpretation of interview and observational data. It is also a major method that can be employed” (Simons, 2009, p.64). The output of the documentary analysis was referenced in this thesis with a proper citation. In most cases, the documented data were referred from a secondary source, such as a published book or journal article, to make the data more contextual. In some cases, I have analysed the documentary evidence to widen my understanding of the field. For example, this thesis cites the community radio policy in New Zealand from other published academic literature; however, I have also analysed the policy paper to enhance my understanding of the field.

#### **4.4. Data analysis**

All of the research data were analysed in a ‘general inductive’ way, the approach termed by Thomas (2006). According to Thomas, a general inductive analysis approach to qualitative data is used by the researcher and evaluators most often without providing an explicit analysis strategy (Thomas, 2006). In inductive analysis, a researcher first goes through the intensive reading of data, then develops concepts, themes or model through interpretation of raw data (Thomas, 2006). In this research, data from the interviews and focus groups were collected as audio records which were later transcribed into text. I read those transcriptions multiple times, coding each section with a topic sentence that related to a particular research question’s themes. Moreover, during the transcribing process, I had the chance to more closely understand the data. Involvement in transcribing the data and multiple readings helped me to frame the thematic areas of analysis. In qualitative research, it is not possible to include all of the data research processes described in a research report (Denscombe, 2010). In this regard, categorising data into the thematic areas to answer research questions helps researchers to analyse a large volume of raw data.

To analyse a large amount of transcribed data, ten major thematic categories were developed which helped me place the research in context and answer the research questions. To assist these ten thematic categories, another forty subcategories were developed. To categorise the data into major thematic areas, I used the field notes I developed during the interviews. Initially I tried to take field notes in focus groups as well, however, I felt that was not appropriate especially when conducting small groups, as the participants expect that the researcher is attentive to their responses. To avoid overlapping of ideas, and while keeping the conversation on track, it is barely possible to maintain a full form of field note during the

focus groups. In interviews the researcher also needs to be attentive toward participants to encourage more in-depth views on topics. After two initial attempts, I dropped the idea of maintaining field notes during interviews or focus groups. However, after every interview and focus group, I used recorded audio to develop thematic categories and to identify the topic areas from the conversations. The categorisation of data into themes was helpful in selecting the data according to the core area that this research aims to cover.

In the first stage, I observed the radio programmes' production processes prior to starting the interviews and focus groups. Initial observations were particularly helpful to develop the set of topic questions and range of the subject area to be discussed in focus groups and one-on-one interviews. I maintained the field notes during the observation, recording all non-verbal communications and the procedures followed by the programme producers during the pre-recording or broadcasting of the radio programmes. Because of the language barriers, I was not able to record verbal communications through the observations. However, linearly produced field notes helped me not only to frame the interviews and focus groups but also to develop thematic categories to analyse the data.

After developing the thematic categories and subcategories, I used qualitative analysis software NVivo to analyse data categories. The use of NVivo allowed me to categorise the transcribed files and pull parts of text from the main file to particular codes, which I have used as quotes in the results' chapters (Chapters Five to Eight). These quotes are direct responses from the research participants. Most of the participants of this research use English as their second language. The language differences mean the quotes are grammatically incorrect in some cases; however, I have left the quotes in their own words and have avoided



paraphrasing to let the respondents speak for themselves in context. In some places, pieces of focus group conversations are used to help illustrate the context and maintain the flow.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: Migrants and the need for local radio programmes**

### **5.1. Introduction**

This chapter addresses research question one: why do migrant populations need local community radio programmes? In a contemporary digital era, the question seems more appropriate because technological innovations enable any migrant or diasporic community to get media content, not only from their country of origin, but from all around the globe. In this digital era, where the media has become being increasingly transnational in nature, an argument can be made on this basis that migrant or diasporic communities in any particular society do not necessarily need separate media outlets. Transnational commercial media, however, is seen as problematic in terms of ‘space’ and ‘empowerment’ in diasporic communities. Fazal (2007) argues, after analysing Zee TV and the South Asian diaspora in the UK, that transnational media has led to communities ‘tuning out’ from the issues of their everyday lives. She argues that the ‘tuning out’ effect of transnational diasporic media promotes digital segregation where there is a very little commonality between diaspora and ‘host’ communities (Fazal, 2007, p.47). In this context, where transnational diasporic media cannot address issues of migrants or diasporas in everyday life, analysing local media initiated by migrants can be seen as a form of counter-argument. This chapter analyses the use of local migrant radio programmes as media platforms in migrants’ everyday lives and settling processes in New Zealand. It analyses how these radio programmes are performing the connective function of diasporic media to connect diasporas and their country of origin. The chapter also analyses these radio programmes’ roles in preserving migrants’ native culture and maintaining native languages for newer generations in New Zealand.

## **5.2. Why does a diasporic population need local ethnic radio?**

In Myria Georgiou's words, a "diaspora refers to people who cross boundaries and who settle in locations different to those of their origins. Diaspora is also a category that implies multiple connections across space and flows of ideas and information beyond a singular nation" (Georgiou, 2010, p.21). Anderson (2006) argues that while diasporas are most often described as 'imagined communities', all communities larger than primitive villages are imagined. He further argues that "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson, 2006, p.6). The term diaspora is used to describe diasporic connections facilitated by media, and simultaneous consumption of the same media content by members of a transnational group (Karim, 2003). In this digital era, diasporic populations can maintain real-time interactions with other diasporic cultural subgroups from the same country of origin. Moreover, social networking sites allow them to create and maintain mediated interpersonal relationships across the globe. In cyberspace, they can electronically reconstitute the relationship that existed before their migration or dispersion (Verhulst, 1999). Moreover, internet and social media platforms have created a virtual network which comfortably connects the diasporic populations to their country of origin or other sub-population of the same cultural diaspora (Georgiou, 2006).

Migrant minorities or diasporas, as under-represented communities, can initiate their own media that provides a platform on which to practice their language and culture in host societies. Most contemporary diaspora and media research is focused on representations of migrants or diaspora in mainstream media, finding that minorities are under-represented and

stereotypically characterised (Cottle, 2000). In some countries, a multi-cultural media policy has been adopted to make media equally representative and accessible. For instance, in Canada, media policy favours the official multicultural policy of the country; however, it has been suggested that the multicultural values of the law are regularly disregarded in the Canadian press, radio, and television (Mahtani, 2001). Some research also focuses on media consumption in diasporic societies from their country of origin or from diasporic communities from another part of the world. Mainly it is argued that the under- and misrepresentation of ethnic minorities in mainstream media encourages minorities to seek their own media. For example, in Australia, ethnic communities seek “access to airwaves to ensure programming in languages other than English and to undertake their own culturally relevant programming” (Forde et al., 2009, p.64). Siapera has made a similar note on the idea behind the establishment of minority media, as “some cultural and ethnic groups may find that their information and entertainment needs are not met by mainstream, majority media, and decide to set up their own media, reflecting their own concerns, and offering them a space free from the cultural hegemony of mainstream media” (Siapera, 2010, p.94). Much of previous research focuses on long-form media, so this thesis applies the core principles of these approaches to the weekly one-hour and half-an-hour radio programmes initiated by the three migrant minority communities.

Within the operational scope, diasporic or migrants’ media practices can be divided into two categories. According to Georgiou (2005), one form is the transnational expansion of diasporic media which connect transnational populations and their country-of-origins’ cultural spaces. In contrast, some diasporic media operate and serve specific locations in host societies as local minority media (Georgiou, 2005). Georgiou (2005) describes characteristics of diasporic media and diasporic communities as audiences of diasporic media are based

within localities and nation-states; minorities in nation-states, but they all have either imagined or real connections; and groups that share a sense of belonging with a larger community beyond national boundaries (Georgiou, 2005, pp.482-483). Diasporic media may be different in size and level and they might have different political or cultural goals. They all have, however, the common characteristic of addressing particular ethnic, linguistic and religious groups who live within a broader or diverse multi-cultural society (Georgiou, 2005). Siapera (2010) argues that the term 'diasporic media' is centred more on the continuous development of being in-between the places, and on similarities of experiences, rather than the nostalgia for one's homeland (Siapera, 2010). She argues that "people are not African-American or British-Chinese because they share a similar core or essential identity, but because they have had similar experiences" (p. 96). Media from the country of origin can play a central role in constructing a diasporic identity, as Ray (2003) has argued with respect to the Indian diaspora in Fiji. There Bhakti songs (Hindu religious songs), the Ramayana and, lately, Bollywood cinema played an influential role in replacing cultural memories and constructing diasporic identities.

In this cinema, the Fiji Indians found the most lively expression of their yearning for roots and bid to reconstruct an imagined homeland culture in an alien surrounding – at once simplified, quotidian and concrete, but with a long tradition. And since in Hindi films the nation is imagined in familial terms, the physical distance between mainland India and Fiji did not interrupt this 'work of imagination'. Evidently, the folk traditions borrowed from the villages of India did not come in the way of Hindi cinema's popularity; on the contrary, by simplifying these traditions in a remote island with very little scope for other kinds of cultural traffic, the folk culture actually prepared the way for the

unprecedented popularity of this quasi-globalising mass culture. (Ray, 2003, p.26)

Verhulst (1999) argues that “diasporic communications enable the existence of re-imagined communities” (p. 31). He further claims that Anderson’s (1991) idea about the notion of constituted national identity (partly influenced by print media) can be analytically extended to other media as well, and argues with reference to Dayan (1998) that diasporic communication is not limited to the construction of new identities, but also prevents the death of existing identities (Verhulst, 1999).

In this regard, the majority of participants in my focus groups and interviews thought that these radio programmes provided information about the community in their locality and from their country of origin. The community members believe that these radio programmes are important to keep their culture and language alive:

Yes, it is important to keep the language alive and to keep the culture alive for those who do not understand English and for those who do not want to speak English; it is the time to talk and understand. But we have different language dialogues (DR, Filipino interview participant).

I think it [Toranj] is so important to keep our culture alive. One of the good ways to keep our language and culture alive (ZP, Iranian focus group participant).

It provides a lot of information about what is happening around in the community, in the community organisations as well as. The Nepali music that gives the [Nepalese] migrants the feel that they are looking because [they can realise] there are people like them in this place who have the same background, who enjoy the similar sort of things that they do. So, it helps [to eliminate a] sense of loneliness (RD, Nepalese interview participant).

The migrant community members believe that the radio programmes can work as a platform to promote their native cultures. Playing music from their country of origin also gives them a feeling of cultural co-existence in the host society. These responses are evidently arguing that migrants' local radio programmes are preserving migrants' native culture in wider New Zealand society.

There are several arguments in support of, and against, the terms 'diasporic', 'ethnic', or 'minority', especially when defining the media practices of ethnic minorities in any host society, as presented in the literature review in Chapter Two. I have used the term 'ethnic local radio' with reference to the diaspora to analyse the radio programmes of migrant communities. Oh (2016) used the term 'ethnic media' to acknowledge a local site of production and construction of meaning, regardless of whether the media content is domestic or transnational in nature (Oh, 2016). Spoonley (2004) identifies the possible tension in immigrant media as intergroup activity and its role in integration, asking whether the immigrant media constitute an important factor in maintaining the cultural well-being of the community in question, or do these media act as an impediment to successful settlement? Or do immigrant media contribute equally to well-being and the facilitation of settlement? (Spoonley, 2004). He concludes, referring to Mahtani (2001) and the role of ethnic media for

migrants, that “the function of migrant media in migrants’ arrival and post-arrival and cultural and language maintenance, must be balanced by broader questions of societal integration and understanding” (Spoonley, 2004, p.14). In a similar way Matsaganis et al. (2011), argue that ethnic media normally perform both connective and orientating functions for diasporic society. A connective function connects “the immigrant to news and events in the home country”, in contrast to “orienting newcomers to their new community and new country” (Matsaganis et al., 2011, p.58). In this regard, I can argue that Christchurch-based community radio programmes perform both the connective and orientation functions for migrant Nepalese, Filipino and Iranian societies. The radio programmes cover their cultural roots and rituals as well as information which supports community members in their everyday life in New Zealand society:

We try to ask the people who have any experience here. It is very simple: if someone has experience about printing they can share with us, or with broadcasts [through radio programmes] everyone will get information about easy and cheap ways to do that. [Another example is] Iranian supermarkets – lots of people do not know that we have an Iranian supermarket here. We can talk about that one and people, they can go and find what they want, or we have a specific like Iranian food, so for those Iranian food, maybe we need something like *dolmeh* [Iranian food, wrapped with the grape leaves] or anything that is especially difficult we cannot find here. We can share this knowledge and pass that on; OK, this is the way. This is what we are [trying to do] (HM, Iranian producer).



The everyday media practices of migrants help them to develop a sense of inclusion and exclusion, 'belonging' and 'bridging', and to articulate a hybrid identity:

Regarding media and diasporas in cross-cultural landscapes, the assumption is similar in that the daily, ordinary cultural and media practices of migrants and diasporic communities might help to forge feelings of 'belonging' and 'bridging', creating mediated, symbolic spaces for political expression, senses of inclusion or/and exclusion, and hybrid identity articulations which transcend the binary of 'homeland' and 'new land'. (Bailey et al., 2007, p.6)

These radio programmes offer a bridging mechanism for migrants to settle into New Zealand society. At the same time radio programmes are connecting migrants to their cultural roots.

However, the major question of this chapter is: What role does ethnic radio play for diasporic populations? This question must be answered, especially in the recent trans-nationalised media environment. The question is directly connected to the research question three and this chapter answers the question in relation to three specific areas: localness; language preference and authenticating information; and future generations.

#### 5.2.1. Localness

The term 'local' or 'localness' has a close association with community media, as the way it is organised is different from place to place, to be more local. Although localness is one of the key characteristics of community radio, not every local radio station is necessarily community radio. In its broad concepts, the community served by community radio can be geographical, ethnic, cultural, social, or a community of interest. In this thesis localness and

locality is defined mainly by the geographical community. Localness of content is one of the major features of community radio, particularly when it serves a specific geographical community. Local content refers to “material that is produced in, hosted in or relates to a local area, as well as material that is associated with or affects people, organisations, events or issues in a local area” (ACMA, 2017, p.2). Most of the participants of my research responded that they found their community radio programme broadcast local information and community activities that they seldom found in any other diasporic media or media from their country of origin.

We can listen and watch all the programmes in Persian around the world, but the problem is that they are not locally living in New Zealand. So, the people working in Toranj are living in New Zealand, having the same feeling – maybe ninety per cent have the same feeling I have with the same culture I have. What they say is so close for me. For example; if the weather has been dull for a week, so everybody here, all Iranians miss the weather we have back home, for example. If it is winter here but back home is summer or maybe *Nowruz* [Persian New Year], we feel the same. So, the people in Toranj can understand how we feel so it would be better to listen to them, not people in the broadcasting from Tehran or wherever in the world (JG, Iranian focus group participant).

The specifics of a local socio-economic background and available resources, opportunities and challenges in any local area can shape the media needs of people (Matsaganis et al., 2011). For migrant communities, their local area of settlement is the major factor for different migration outcomes. Different information needs mean locally produced media should be

different. For instance, people living in developed cities where internet is easily accessible may prefer more information through internet platforms. In this example, to fulfil the information needs of the people local media should more available on internet platforms. Geography-based differences are visible not only in different cities but in different communities of the same city, and local media is supposed to serve those communities (Matsaganis et al., 2011).

In this context, not only the local content, but the whole communication process can be analysed as local. In community radio the sender-receiver relationship is considered different than in commercial radio. In community media, communication is not simply a transmission from source to source, but is an exchange of views and news (Berrigan, 1979). Audience members build a sense of belonging through community radio. The majority of participants in this research believe that producers and presenters are one of them, as members of migrant communities, and share the same socio-cultural identity. Radio programmes by the three migrant communities discussed in this thesis are among several community activities. In that sense, the radio is part of their communal or social everyday life in New Zealand. As argued by Lewis (2008), quoting Zane Ibrahim, pioneering founder of Bush Radio in South Africa, this is a process of “the community moving into broadcasting rather than broadcasting moving into the community” (p. 13). Zane Ibrahim’s much-quoted phrase is, “community radio is “10% radio, 90% community” (Lewis, 2008). Locally produced content can enable audiences to have access to producers who can “better reflect local distinctiveness and cultural diversity, promote audience involvement in local discourse and stimulate participation and democracy” (Starkey, 2011, p.168).

I prefer to listen to this programme because they are the same people as I know here [in New Zealand]. All right, now online you can you know catch news or radio all around the world, [but] this specific radio is just for this people, producers asking people most of them they have same similar likes as me. So, we have lots of common things together, yes, the same like each other, maybe some points how we can have progressed in the new community. So, this is something interesting for me (AT, Iranian interview participant).

The feeling of community among audiences and producers encourages participation in radio programmes. At the same time, audiences can easily relate to the context and information they receive from these radio programmes.

Unlike centralised public radio and market-driven commercial radio, community radio keeps listeners informed about local events and issues. Squier (2003a) describes community radio as locally focused and programmed, and owned in opposition to profit-driven corporate radio and federally-funded and centrally-programmed public radio. Community radio is a source of local information and a medium of everyday life. For example, Mohr (1992), in reference to Wawatay Radio Network's local community radio stations of Northern Canada, observes that "nothing important happens in communities without being channelled through their radio" (Mohr, 1992, p.18). During my participant observations, I found that migrants' radio programmes, especially Mabuhay Radio Filipino, facilitated local events such as cultural festivals, fundraising for the community, immigration and health-and-safety related seminars and workshops, updated information on fishing and licencing policies, and other community activities. These are the examples of how migrant communities are utilising their radio programmes to communicate with and help communities to integrate at the local level. This

localness or local information was the content mostly preferred by the community members in focus groups, and this is one of the main reasons diasporic or migrant communities prefer their separate local radio programmes.

As an Iranian who has lived three or four years out of Iran, I can say we have media in Iran, media content, but the way that we feel things is completely different from what Iranians in Iran or the media content producers in Iran feel those things. Even if we said we like listening to music. If you listen to Toranj radio, you see that the choice of music is completely different. It is not limited to inside Iran, it's not limited to outside Iran or something, it is limited to our feeling and what we like because this is the way that we see the world and it is very different from what Iranian producers see them (RJ, Iranian focus group participant).

This response is closer to the continuous development concept of diasporic media suggested by Siapera (2010). As diasporic or migrant community members the participants have commonality of experience rather than the core identity related to their country of origin. These radio programmes represent their diasporic experience and local context in New Zealand.

Through the internet, it is now possible for radio programmes produced by New Zealand's migrant communities to be accessed by other Iranian, Nepalese and Filipinos in other countries, as these programmes are easily available online. However, the content of these radio programmes is not likely to be relevant to people living in places such as Iran, Nepal, the Philippines, the USA, or Australia. They are not likely to be able to relate to the

information included in New Zealand's radio programmes, particularly local information, and migrant communities in Christchurch may not find radio programmes from the same diaspora to be relevant if produced in another city or country.

For example; if someone in my country listens to this radio, they could not relate to the content but for us living here when they are talking about like different things, different events it would be easier for us and the other way around (RP, Iranian focus group participant).

Local community media is not just a medium like commercial or public media. They become part of the culture or part of their community identity in the local media sphere, as noted by Forde et al. (2009): "Where local and culturally appropriate frameworks are used to structure community media, then these media become part of the local community – that is, part of local culture" (Forde et al., 2009, p.59). In this regard, these migrant radio programmes are also part of the migrants' culture and identity in New Zealand.

#### 5.2.2. Language preferences and authenticating information

Migrant populations prefer their native language media over the mainstream media not only to receive community activities and local context but also to overcome language barriers. In some cases, these preferences are connected to their feeling and level of comfort. In other cases, however, the language preferences are necessary as they have little or no knowledge of the second language – that is, the mainstream language of the host society. In general, a particular diaspora or migrant community is made up of various migrant categories.

According to Cohen's classification there are five different forms of diasporic communities: victim, labour, trade, imperial, and cultural (Cohen, 1997). This research is not intended to

analyse the different categories or forms of migrant communities. Rather, it analyses the migrant community as a whole and assumes that the community includes all the forms or categories described by Cohen. The rapid transnational movement of people and migration as noted by Koser (2001) affects not only “the professional sector of migrants but also the unskilled, manual and even illegal sector” (as cited in Pauwels, 2007, p.2). In some instances, use of native language media becomes the only available option. In some cases, however, an interest in recovering or re-establishing their roots encourages migrants to use their native language, especially the first and second generation of migrants in a host country (Wilkinson, 2009).

In the New Zealand context, data from the largest city, Auckland, shows that the majority of the Pasifika, Chinese, Indian and Korean populations prefer media in their own native languages (CreativeNZ, n.d.). The media consumption here is not only associated with their native language as an available choice, but also with the obligations of some migrants as the population comprises illiterate migrants as well. For instance, some migrants’ first, second and third generations are in New Zealand due to refugee resettlement programmes, such as Nepali-speaking Bhutanese. Limited English-language skills pose significant challenges for migrants, especially those from refugee backgrounds, in finding jobs and gaining access to health and education services (ChangeMakers Refugee Forum, 2012). For migrants with limited or no English skills, native-language radio programmes are the only available media option for receiving local news and information. A majority of the participants in my research responded that the radio programmes in the language from their countries of origin are particularly helpful to those members of the migrant community who are not proficient in English.

Most of the Filipinos here [in New Zealand] are not fluent in English. So, there are some concerns about living in New Zealand or some government policies and laws that cannot be understood especially those from the tradespersons, when most of them are not very fluent in English. So, this community radio for Filipinos that one really helps for those skilled Filipinos workers who are not able to understand English that much (MR, Filipino interview participant).

So far, my experience says that lots of families are over here and most of them are even illiterate. They did not know how to speak English and so how we can expect they listen to English very well. In that case, if we want to listen to the news of Nepal, Nepalese news, so it is a nice medium for them to listen in their own language because they cannot even surf the internet. So, if we broadcast the news in Nepalese language then this will also be good for those people who are illiterate and who does not know English very well (NN, Nepalese focus group participant).

These responses are evidence that the radio programmes can communicate well to those migrants that are not proficient in the English language.

Professional or skilled migrants who are proficient in English (the dominant language in New Zealand) may also prefer their native languages or languages from their countries of origin. Language provides not only a means of communication but also creates a sense of identity and membership in a community (Boyd, 2007). The majority of participants in my research responded that they feel proud and recognised when they listen to the radio programmes in their native languages through a New Zealand Access Radio station.



I think most of all it is the feeling that people get. It is a real story of a friend. She told us that the first time she heard the Persian programme in radio when she was driving, she really shocked, and for a moment she thought that she was in our country. It is a really nice feeling and gives us this actually give us this feeling that you are important (MS, Iranian focus group participant).

It is still important that in a [radio] programme we speak our language because some of the Filipinos, even though they can speak English, still want to listen to our own language. Because it is easy to understand especially when they are talking about issues so, it's more important that we talk in our native language (CC, Filipino radio programme producer).

Even people who work as professionals in mainstream society and are fluent in English also prefer their native languages. They use English as the first language to interact with mainstream society, however, inside their community, English is their second language.

The majority of the migrant participants in my research largely used English in their everyday life, and most of their information and media needs are fulfilled by the mainstream media in English, but still they prefer radio programmes in their own languages. They felt that their primary language or native language is more expressive and connected with their culture and feelings in communication. By contrast, communicating in the second language, English in this context, is somehow based on knowledge. In this regard, most of the participants responded that English and the language from their country of origin are different, in a way, like feelings and knowledge.

When you are a child and you learn your mother tongue, you learn it by feeling and by your life experience, but you learn the second language by knowledge and it is totally different. Now, I am speaking in English just I am transferring my idea from my head to your head, it does not have my feeling very well. If I want to transfer my feeling, I should [speak] Farsi and because of that, I listen to Toranj for Farsi content to feel something not just to have knowledge. Yes, if I want to, for example, acquire knowledge about some specific things, I go maybe BBC, CNN or different news outlets, check them in English and I understand that correct thing but if I want to have the feeling I should go to Iranian outlet (RJ, Iranian focus group participant).

I think language is the main thing to communicate any information or feeling. So, I may speak a couple of other languages than any other my first language. So, it does not make any sense I understand every word of the second language or the real feeling of my heart I can express through the words I have launch of the second language it makes a sense. But when I speak the first language my language and my feeling comes up there. I understand someone's feelings even in a similar way, the word is not enough but someone's signal, expression everything comes with the languages (KR, Nepalese focus group participant).

Speaking in your [native] language is like feeling really [at] home. Through your own language you can exactly express what you really want to express. (BL, Filipino focus group participant).

The participants responded that language is not just a means to communicate information, but is also an expression of feelings. The feelings associated with migrants' culture and radio programmes are instrumental in communicating such feelings.

Language is also considered one of the important factors in defining ethnicity. Fishman (1989) argues that language is a characteristic marker of ethnic identity. He further argues that “for the ethnicity experience, language is much more than ‘merely communication’ just as ethnicity is much more than ‘mere life’” (Fishman, 1989, p.28). The language functions as a major component in most definitions of ethnicity, however, the relationship between language and identity is a dynamic phenomenon (Extra, 2007). The language preferences are not only related to identity, recognition or obligation, but also in most cases they are about authenticating the information. It is again because of the familiarity with the languages. The way people pronounce certain words, the way of placing stress, or simply pauses, can make a difference. Some participants responded that when they listen to some information in English and their native languages, they find the information more authentic in their native languages.

If you have migrated to a different country as an adult, no matter how good you are in the language of the new country, be it English or Finnish, Norwegian, it will never feel native and you wish for the moment so that you don't have to translate. Because our mother tongue is not English – it's our second language – we are always translating to and from English. So, you wish for the moment when you just don't have to think about what you are going to put into words and if you hear a word you do not have to decide for the different meanings of the words. And that's the feeling you get when you can listen to your mother tongue (SSH, Nepalese focus group participant).

It is [information made] more clear for us. We could understand it [information] easily when it is delivered in our own language as well. Maybe that is the reason why it is authentic. So, we can easily understand what they are saying (CB, Filipino focus group participant).

Sometimes it is just you can find [words and meaning] just in our language and if you translate in English, you cannot get that feeling to the audience. Actually, we can feel relation within our language much better when using some terminologies, you can express your feeling through your mother tongue, not in any other languages (MS, Iranian focus group participant).

The migrants not only receive information but it feels more authentic because of their language preferences. In this regard, the radio programmes are working as an alternative platform to receive even mainstream information.

The language preferences of migrants are also associated with the production of meaning. The majority of the participants thought that their community members could use English as a communicative second language. However, most of them are concerned about meaningful communication through English, particularly in the cultural context. In many cases, they cannot translate words or phrases from their native languages into English.

We have a lot of traditional ceremonies that they are not in other cultures and we cannot translate it exactly into English language words (ZP, Iranian focus group participant).

There are some phrases that there is no direct translation in English from Filipino, from Tagalog. So, sometimes it is still better especially for us to say in our own native language because you really can't translate it into English (LS, Filipino focus group participant).

When you translate to another language, it is totally different. The flavour is already gone (SS, Nepalese focus group participant).

Here again, the radio programmes are more involved in the cultural practices of migrants. More precisely, the radio programmes are also part of cultural practices and identity negotiation in multi-cultural New Zealand society.

The issue of minority language becomes more complicated by the coexistence of concepts of indigenous and nonindigenous (migrant) minorities in many societies, as Extra (2007) noted in the European context. Migrants' minority languages are comparatively less protected than the indigenous minority languages (Extra, 2007). He further argues that during integrational processes migrants' minority languages lose communicative value, however, "they often maintain an important symbolic value for minority groups" (Extra, 2007, p.31). The majority language in any nation-state functions as a marker of external group boundaries, and minority languages as internal group boundaries (Extra, 2007). In this regard, the majority of the participants consider that their native language is just for a communicative purpose within the community. However, hearing their language on radio boosts their sense of identity, particularly in New Zealand's increasingly multicultural society.

So far, I understood the concept of the community radio is actually to enhance the cultural richness, to connect the people locally. It is not all about you know the connecting with the different communities. It is all about connecting with your own people actually and the community. So, I strongly believe that it only happen if you broadcast in your own language actually (SDP, Nepalese interview participant).

The radio programmes are uniting communities as communicative platforms for the migrants. Here, in this context, the language is not only a communicative medium but a cultural symbol as well. The socio-linguistic aspects of communication can be understood as one of the influential factors of native-language preferences over the mainstream language by migrant communities. Moreover, language preferences are closely associated with the community identity constructed by migrant communities in New Zealand, particularly in Christchurch.

### 5.2.3. For future generations

In this research context, the ‘future generation’ refers to the children of migrant parents, or child migrants. Attitudes toward the language (majority or minority) and culture can be different for different generations. The general assumption is that the first generations of migrants are more connected to the language and culture of their countries of origin.

However, Pauwel (2007) argues that the second generations, who are born in host societies or migrated with their parents as children, are more connected with the language and culture of the host society. Pauwels (2007) used the metaphor “vessels of vulnerability” to describe language shifts in the second generations of immigrants. The metaphor is based on the assumption of “losing the home language skills and hence the potential for language shift and language attrition” (Pauwels, 2007, p.182).

The host country's policy-attitude toward cultural and lingual integration is also one of the factors that makes the second generation vulnerable in terms of language shift (Boyd, 2007). As argued by Boyd (2007) the state always focuses on the importance for "children growing up within its borders to develop a proficiency in the dominant majority language of the country, its national or official language which is to be the preferred language of the dominant group" (Boyd, 2007, p.143). The second generation of migrants, which Winter and Pauwels (2007) termed "the first local generation", is likely to be more affected by the situation of rapid or gradual language or cultural shift. The term 'language shift' refers to the reduction of use of the mother tongue and the adoption of society's dominant language as the communicative language (Clyne, 2003). In many societies, community groups, particularly migrants, coordinate initiatives to maintain the minority languages. In this regard, Nepalese, Filipino and Iranian community organisations define the community radio programme as having a language maintenance function in New Zealand, especially for the future generation, who were born or are growing up here.

Yes, having a dedicated radio programme in our own language is quite important, it is quite crucial because there are a few different aspects. The Nepalese population in Christchurch or Canterbury region, there are quite a few youngsters as well who might have [been] born in New Zealand or who might have moved to New Zealand at a very young age and they might struggle speaking, listening or understanding Nepalese language. So, at least having that radio programme and inspiring the youngsters to listen to those programme is a quite effective way to help improve the listening abilities to the younger generation (SP, Nepalese community leader).

These migrant communities are operating their radio programmes as a conservative function for their languages and cultures in New Zealand society.

Language is a tool of primary socialisation. Language determines socialisation in the family, and parents teach children to become a member of family, kinship and community, as Boyd (2007) argues that language is the means of communication by which “cultural knowledge can be transmitted between generations; and community, the inclusion and exclusion of individuals in relevant linguistic and cultural groups” (Boyd, 2007, p.143). Not only community organisations but also the audience members felt that it is very important to have local radio programmes in their native languages especially for their children. All the participants in my research responded that they thought radio programmes are valuable to teach the parents’ language and culture to their child who was born or has grown up in New Zealand.

I guess for those who grew up mainly in other countries, it is a nice way for them to learn about their own culture especially if our own native language is not their main language any more, if it is English. It is a nice way for them to learn the language as well (LS, Filipino focus group participant).

We should think of the next generation of Iranians [who] are going to grow here [in New Zealand]. So, we as the older generation, we would like them to learn Farsi to hear Farsi or like mother tongue (HN, Iranian focus group participant).



It is the recognition as a Nepalese. We want that and we want it to be adopted by our future generation. These are the major two things I think. To pass on to the future generation (BP, Nepalese focus group participant).

It is evident that these radio programmes play important roles in language maintenance in New Zealand society, especially for the second generation of migrants. The language is a symbol of identity and the first generation want it to be adopted by the future generations, and migrant radio programmes are one of the platforms for cultural identity transformation.

Heath (2010) argues that if the language maintenance functions are not carried out effectively, the language shift creates a communication gap between the generations even within the family. Heath (2010) noted the possible consequences of losing the mother tongue contact in the family. When children grow older, they lose the confidence and willingness to talk with their parents, and opportunities for family bonding activities like reading, talking, sharing ideas, and projects become impossible (Heath, 2010). She further noted that “the most fortunate among first- and second-generation youth in immigrant families lived in households where the mother tongue was kept alive through wide-ranging functions” (p. 24). In this research context, the radio programmes help the young children of migrant families and their parents to talk about their native languages and culture.

And this is important to next generation, for new generation. For example; my daughter, when I listen to Persian radio, always come to me and say what’s that and it is really good because it encourages her to learn Farsi. This aspect I really like to have the radio in our community (FM, Iranian focus group participant).

Although the communities initiate the maintenance of minority languages, the degree of its effectiveness always depends on the attitudes of its members. For instance, (Kuncha et al., 2004) studied attitudes toward language shift and maintenance among migrants to New Zealand who were native speakers of Telugu, a language spoken in southern India. The study, which included twenty children of eleven years or above and fourteen mothers, found that the majority of the mothers “do not feel it is necessary to learn Telugu”. Over fifty per cent of participant mothers thought that teaching Telugu to their children was a “waste of time” (Kuncha et al., 2004, p.4). Most of the parents in this research context thought that enhancing English as the major language widened their children’s opportunities and success. However, from another perspective, the parents are concerned about their children being “out from their roots” (Kuncha et al., 2004). Boumba (2014) found a mixture of feelings from the parents about their children’s adoption of the parent’s culture and identities, in the context of Congolese migrants in European countries (Boumba, 2014). Most importantly, the attitude toward language maintenance is, as argued by Giles et al. (1987), influenced by three major factors: First, there were status factors, such as the economic, political, and linguistic prestige of a minority group. The second factor was demographic characteristics, and the third was institutional support, such as recognition of the group and its language in media, education and government (Giles et al., 1987).

In another assumption, parents may feel that children raised to be bilingual or multi-lingual have the opportunity to belong to multiple communities (Boyd, 2007). The participants of my research prefer their language and culture to pass on to the future generation, which is a situation as argued by (Boyd, 2007) that “parents usually have a strong desire to socialise their children into the community or communities into which they themselves were socialised” (p. 142). If the parents used native languages to communicate with the family

members, then the children were most likely to learn the basic communicative skills in the native languages. However, radio programmes are still important to maintain the process of passing the parents' culture to the second or third generations of migrants.

It is simply gives way for younger generations not born in Nepal. Because people like me who born in Nepal and brought up in Nepal, we came here so there is no way that we can forget the language although we might not practice it too often. But my kids, the next generation like who have been exposed to the Nepali language but don't know a lot about the Nepalese culture, Nepalese music and all these things, the radio program plays an important role, it definitely gives them an opportunity those who are interested (RD, Nepalese interview participant).

They [children] always speak English in school or outside. I mean the only way that they will hear the native language [is] either at home or through the radio (LS, Filipino focus group participant).

It [the radio programme] is more important for families, and if they have children, so they want to show it to the children as well. Children here they go to school or kindergarten something like that but this programme can show something new about the culture they do not have it here, they have in Iran (AT, Iranian interview participant).

Although the parents try to maintain their native language at a domestic level, for the second generation or beyond it is difficult to keep the proficiency level high. Gibbons and Ramirez

(2004) argue that the home use of a minority language often means that children develop a domestic variety, but “the lack of a place for it outside the home and community [which] may mean that the children have little opportunity to develop aspects of the language that relate to more complex and more public uses” (p. 4). In this instance, the parents’ native languages become only domestic for the second generation. The second generation is considered a very important generation as they link the past and future. The second generations are seen “as carriers of cultural histories and knowledge directly passed ‘down’ from the first generation, as bodies of integration into, or social cohesion of, the new society” (Winter and Pauwels, 2007, p.180).

The migrant communities included in this research are initiating a variety of activities to maintain their minority languages. For example, the Nepalese community runs a weekly two-hour Nepali language class for New Zealand-born children. In addition, favourable national, regional and local policies toward multi-culturalism also expanded opportunities for the migrant minorities to preserve their languages and cultures in New Zealand.

### **5.3. Community radio as a public sphere and the spiral of silence**

After observing the processes and analysing the shared experiences of migrant community members during my research, I argue that the migrant communities are using community radio programmes as a community public sphere where community members engage and participate for their common interest. The localness of community radio is one of the most important features that enables dialogue and participation with diverse members of the community and common shared cultural experiences (Forde et al., 2002a). The major concept of the community public sphere in a culturally diverse society is that community radio can

facilitate the engagement of people from a similar background who formulate positions on issues that can be brought to a wider public sphere (Fraser, 1993). However, this community public sphere and ethnic media's role are oppositional to the normative or earlier concept of the public sphere which is considered a space of rational discussion on public matters and building public opinion with a strong sense of consensus (Siapera, 2010). In comparison to a normative public sphere context, these minority media are challenging the concept of a united public sphere with open access to all. However, community radio can work as counterpublics for a plurality of contesting publics rather than as a single or comprehensive public sphere (Fraser, 1990). According to Fraser, counterpublics have dual functions in society. On the one hand, they function as spaces of withdrawal and regrouping; on the other hand, they also function as bases and training grounds for agitational activities directed toward wider publics (Fraser, 1990, p. 68). In this context, community radio programmes are facilitating a consensus-building process within the communities by providing equal opportunities for the community members to participate and express their concerns. Furthermore, whatever the communities decide or do, their actions and opinions are directed toward the broader public sphere in New Zealand society. Moreover, in democratic society media is considered influential in facilitating public spheres where people get access to participate in public opinion formation, and community media provides a more participatory platform for the community (Gaynor and O'Brien, 2017). From this perspective, the Access Radio stations are vehicles that facilitate public spheres, in which diverse communities, including these migrants, participate through their radio programmes. To Forde et al., the term 'community public sphere' is a "space that develops in a unique context, and these spaces offer opportunities for people who are regularly subordinated and ignored by mainstream public sphere processes" (Forde et al., 2002a, p.57). In this research context, the migrants believe

that they are linked by their cultural identities, and radio programmes are their voices in society.

[The] Nepalese celebrated ten years of radio [on Plains FM], and this shows that these communities are very active. You know, whether we like it or not, we are competing together, not fighting, competing together in this society and these are advantages for them and apart from, for example, spreading their culture, their language, all these things. It shows they exist in the society and they have a voice in the society (RJ, Iranian focus group participant).

Fundamentally, multicultural society does not generate unequal social groups, however they do not need to be culturally homogeneous (Fraser, 1990). This is the context of a multicultural society, defined by Fraser, where counterpublics form different spheres to practice their cultural identities, and the radio programmes provide platforms for these three migrant communities to practice their cultural spheres.

In multi-ethnic or multi-cultural societies, ethnic or diasporic media pose a series of concerns in terms of the integration of minority culture into mainstream culture. The availability of media from the home culture is often blamed for isolating ethnic minorities, which causes “anxiety about the cultural withdrawal of immigrant groups and a decreasing willingness to integrate into the host culture” (Echchaibi, 2002, p.39). This concern is exaggerated to oppose the necessity of local minority media in multi-cultural societies where a melting-pot effect of integration is assumed. However, Siapera’s (2010) two reasons are more appropriate in relation to these concerns: first, that diasporic media uphold the right to communicate, and second, that diasporic media contribute to the creation of diasporic public sphericules. Public

sphericules are fragmented public spheres in small isolated groups organized around affinity and interest (Gitlin, 1998). In this regard, the local community media facilitate the integration process even though they operate as separate public sphericules (Siapera, 2010) or counterpublics (Fraser, 1990). These migrant radio programmes are also supporting an integration process. For instance, most of the participants in my research responded that immigration-related information is one of their priorities for community radio programmes. In reality, immigration-related information is easily available in mainstream sources and in the English language. The main intention of seeking such information is to integrate into mainstream New Zealand culture.

It is very informative as well when I am listening to these radio programmes.

For information that is related to the immigration concerns [of those] who live in New Zealand and some national issues regarding the country that might affect the Filipinos here in New Zealand. (MR, Filipino interview participant).

It would also be useful to know about the things of interest in general to all migrants [not] just Nepalese, such as any changes to immigration rules or anything that every migrant needs to know. Also the events and activities being held in Christchurch for example; [if] they are planning the light festival or anything that's happening within Christchurch which people might have interest in going [to], that would be really useful (SSH, Nepalese focus group participant).

The reasons for choosing community radio programmes for particular information could be for a simplified version of it, or to overcome the language barriers, or to intend to build a

sense of consensus amongst the community members. Forde et al. (2002) argue that community radio enables local communities-of-interest to develop their own counter-discourses and to interpret their own identities and experiences through dialogue. Moreover, not only is planning community radio a process of cultural empowerment, but the way radio stations can facilitate community organisation, and cultural relationships between programme producers and the community are important (Forde et al., 2002a, p.57). From this point of view, migrants' radio programmes function effectively for maintaining cultural identities and facilitating community organisation. In addition, hearing information about activities and events around Christchurch can help people to integrate into the wider community or public sphere.

Although the radio programmes are efficiently maintaining a community public sphere function, some spiral-of-silence effects are evident in these communities. According to Noelle-Neumann (1974), the 'spiral of silence' is a minority attitude in public opinion formation. It explains the attitude of groups, and why some members remain silent while others raise their voices in public domains. The spiral of silence results from not only from a fear of isolation but also from doubts about capacity (Noelle-Neumann, 1974). In this research context, the spiral-of-silence effect is apparent in every community because most of the participants doubt their own capacities to be involved, or participate, in the processes of radio programme production and broadcasting. The majority of the participants felt that to become the producers or hosts of the radio programmes they need special technical skills. This could be one of the main reasons for community members remaining in the non-participant audience zone.



It is because it is like [a] professional thing. It is not like I do not have any experience of producing a programme. What I can do is just maybe talk. If I am not good at talking or speaking so, I do not think I'll be a help because it needs a training I think for producers (HN, Iranian focus group participant).

Not as of the moment. I am not quite confident to participate with that kind (DSG, Filipino interview participant).

Besides technical skills and confidence level, in some cases, the spiral of silence exists because of factions within the migrant communities.

In most migrant communities, there are two or more community organisations in the same location. For instance, the Nepalese and Filipinos have two organisations in Christchurch with similar motives (CINCH, 2018). These factions within the communities can create unhealthy competition that may promote the culture of ignorance. Moreover, community members also feel that their opinion may be ignored and so keep themselves in the zone of silence. Particularly, some Filipino participants shared their feelings on this issue. To illustrate the issue more precisely, here is a transcription of a small piece from the focus group of the Filipino community:

**AG:** I do not know how to say it, but we have, can I say it?

**CB:** Yes, say it, anyway it is just in the room.

**AG:** We are factions within the community if I may say it blindly. There are factions and sometimes if people do not want you, they just don't want you and I think they do not want me.

**JB:** Actually, we got this culture that if you are at threat, I will listen to you.

**AG:** Exactly.

**JB:** We got this culture that sometimes it is not for the best of the group, but it is best of the benefit of just me. If I see that oh yes you got a good advice and suggestions, it will make us good but it will also put you on top. So, I will not listen at that. So, it is always my opinions; I'm on top. We got that culture in the Philippines for quite sometimes. Even there are good suggestions; we tend not to listen because I know it will benefit but not me.

These responses are evidence that because of the factions within the community organisations some opinions are placed in the zone of silence.

In the Iranian community the spiral of silence exists in the form of self-censorship. Some audience members felt that the producers ignored some of the content; for instance, Iranian political content on Toranj. This may be different from society to society, however, one of the Iranian participants responded in an interview that he feels as though producers and community organisations are using censorship or self-censorship on political content.

Something that it was a beginning of this programme, self-censorship about political aspects or political discussion something that happens [in Iran]. So they ignored already from the start as default discussing about politics and if we are going to think about complete survey or complete information about social communication or social subject of the country, politics is one of the most important parts that producers they ignored (AT, Iranian interview participant).

This context can be clearly described as the lack of availability of the desired content to some extent, however, compared to other responses from the same community, then it seems a matter of interest among community members. However, some community members thought that the producers were not including political issues as they wanted to keep the community united.

Iran is a very diverse society and it is a big threat to go through politics and that is why I guess the producers they decide not to go through politics then they might lose their audience here. So, it is mostly focusing on cultural things and then problems, mostly music or food or interaction between other cultures and that is a big difference when you are receiving news from your own media from your own country or the media here. That is mostly I think a kind of bridge for this society here in New Zealand, probably New Zealand cultural aspect and Iranian cultural aspect it is like, it is just like a bridge (RP, Iranian focus group participant).

Iranian society is I can say all are politicised, means we refer everything almost all our interactions in politics and our political bias can make us friends or enemies or everything. We have not experienced that we can live together, we can be friends and still have different political views about things and it is because in Iran all our media are governmental and under the government supervision (RJ, Iranian focus group participant).

Although the mixture of interests exists, the inclusion or exclusion of political content depends on community members' preferences and decisions.

In the Filipino and the Nepalese communities, participants responded that they never feel such censorship on their radio programmes. Different socio-political backgrounds in these communities' countries of origin might be a factor in such censorship or self-censorship among the migrants and their radio programmes. However, the ethnic community-radio producers enjoy the same level of press freedom as other mainstream or community media in New Zealand. According to the station manager of Plains FM, Nicki Recce, these community broadcasters or community organisations are free to adopt their own editorial policies.

It's up to the community, it's totally up to the community to decide on that [editorial policies]...the only restriction is: what is legal? So what Laura [programme co-ordinator] does pretty much [in] the first session is [that] she goes through the processes of what is legal and what is not legal for broadcasting in New Zealand and that's really important, so that it covers things like defamation, privacy, advertising and things like that (Nicki Reece, 2018, personal communication, 20 October).

The radio programmes have editorial freedom. In this context, if any censorship exists within the radio programmes, that may be with the consent of community members. Moreover, these community organisations are functioning as democratic institutions and there are possibilities, and community members hold the power to change the policies.

In this regard, the migrants' community radio programmes are working as public spheres where community members can participate to form common opinions and facilitate their actions as a community to enrich their culture and identities. These participation and opinion

formations can be through organising public events including cultural festivals based on migrants' cultural practices. These three radio programmes are platforms for practicing migrants' cultural differences and these diverse practices are part of wider multi-cultural New Zealand society. Extra (2007) argues that the idea of integration is based on the imagination of a culturally homogeneous society which believes that cultural differences between immigrant minorities and established majority groups in the society will disappear over time. On the other hand, the concept of multiculturalism is based on the principle that those cultural differences are assets of the pluralist society, which promotes cultural diversity in terms of new resources and opportunities (Extra, 2007, pp.34-35). However, some scholars such as Sheffer (2003) believe that on an individual level, members of diasporic communities try hard to integrate into the mainstream culture, but the process does not include whole communities, and the groups that are left out maintain a core connection to their country of origin. Sheffer (2003) argues that "despite demographic losses, relatively large core groups maintain their ethno-national identities and connections with their homelands" (Sheffer, 2003, p. 163). Ethnic community media are useful in this context to maintain cultural spaces and connect these community spaces with wider social space.

This chapter answers research question one: Why do migrant populations need local radio programmes? The chapter argued that the radio programmes provide local information that is not available on media from their country of origin and elsewhere, which supports their everyday life in New Zealand society. It also argued that these migrant communities are using their language radio programmes as an alternative source for receiving information that is also available in English-language media but which feels more authentic when delivered in their own language. The radio programmes also work as a platform to preserve and transfer migrants' culture from the first generation to the future generations. Through the radio

programmes, migrant communities are creating public spheres to build a sense of community and cultural identity. These radio programmes provide opportunities and encourage audience participation in content production and in deciding content and programme policies.

## **CHAPTER SIX: Understanding access and participation**

### **6.1. Introduction**

This chapter analyses the access and participation of audience members in their community radio programmes. The decision-making processes and participatory approaches here are mainly those that take place within the radio programmes and community organisations. The chapter analyses the participatory context from two perspectives: participation in media and participation through media. Participation through media is discussed in Chapter Seven, ‘Feedback and modes of communication’. This chapter examines the accessibility of radio programmes to the audience and the opportunities for the audience to have direct participation in production processes. It analyses the content-related participation and structural systems and practices of migrant communities to promote audiences’ participation as decision-makers in radio programmes. It also explores how social media, particularly Facebook, are emerging as platforms to facilitate access and participation of community members in their radio programmes.

### **6.2. Access and participation of the audience: an overview**

Access and participation frameworks are the basis of my research to analyse migrants’ community radio programmes. This chapter mainly uses the frameworks and models of analysis developed by Carpentier (2012) and Berrigan (1979), along with examples and definitions from others. Scholars have developed different frameworks for analysing community radio as a participatory media platform. Ease of access and participation in production processes and decision making make community radio more effective and an important medium, especially for minorities such as ethnic or migrant populations. Servaes

(1999) defines access and participation in participatory communication with reference to the 1977 Belgrade meeting of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) on New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO):

Access refers to the use of media for public service. It may be defined regarding the opportunities available to the public to choose varied and relevant programmes and to have a means of feedback to transmit its reactions and demands to production organisations ... Participation implies a higher level of public involvement in communication systems. It includes the involvement of the public in the production process and also in the management and planning of communication systems (Servaes, 1999, p.85).

Servaes (1999) argues that the UNESCO's definition of access and participation is a second perspective from which to analyse participatory communication after the dialogical pedagogy of Paulo Freire (1970). This chapter borrows the main ideas from this definition to understand access and participation in migrant radio programmes. This chapter analyses how easily migrant communities receive these radio programmes and how audience members participate in programme production, and the opportunities available to the members to be involved in management and planning as decision makers.

This study uses Carpentier's (2012) Access, Interaction and Participation (AIP) model to analyse audience participation in community radio programmes. This model offers a basis to explore access and participation on content-related and structural levels in migrant radio programmes. This study broadly borrows from four areas of the AIP model to see how migrant communities are practising their radio programmes as participatory media platforms.



For instance, content-related participation refers to how community members get involved in deciding programme content, and structural level participation is limited in terms of how community members are involved in policy formation processes for the radio programme.

Carpentier argues that media participation is significantly different from having regular access to media content and interaction. According to Carpentier, “Access and interaction do matter for participatory processes in the media – they are actually its conditions of possibility – but they are also very distinct from participation because of their less explicit emphasis on power dynamics and decision-making” (Carpentier, 2012, p.172). Carpentier defines access or presence through a negative-relationist strategy as the presence of four areas: technology, content, people, and organisations, in a variety of ways (details in table 2). He further argues this from a digital divide perspective, mainly focused on media technologies that allow people to access media content. The table below describes Carpentier’s AIP model in more detail.

**Table 1: AIP model proposed by Carpentier (2012)**

	Access (presence)			
	Technology	Content	People	Organizations
Production	Presence of (proto) machines to produce and distribute content	Presence of previously produced content (e.g., archives)	Presence of people to co-create	Presence of organisational structures and facilities to produce and distribute content
Reception	Presence of (proto)machines to receive (relevant) content	Presence of (relevant) content	Presence (of sites) of joint media consumption	Presence of organisational structures to provide feedback to
	Interaction (socio-communicative relationships)			
	Technology	Content	People	Organizations
Production	Presence of (proto)machines to produce and distribute content	Producing content	Co-producing content as group or community	Co-producing content in an organisational context
Reception	Using (proto)machines to receive content	Selecting and interpreting content	Consuming media together as a group or community	Discussing content in an organisational context (feedback)
	Participation (co-deciding)			
	Technology	Content	People	Organizations
Production (and reception)	Co-deciding on/ with technology	Co-deciding on/ with content	Co-deciding on/ with people	Co-deciding on/ with organizational policy

Carpentier's AIP model emphasises participation more in the production sphere than in reception. According to this argument, access and interaction play key roles toward equalised power relations in decision-making processes. The model divides participation into two different categories: 'content-related participation' and 'structural participation', which are associated with audience involvement in content production and management, and at the policy formation level (Carpentier, 2012). This chapter particularly uses this content-related and structural participation framework to analyse community involvement in their radio programmes.

To examine access and participation in these migrant radio programmes, Berrigan's framework offers lists of situations that can be comparable to this research context in terms of availability of access and participation requirements in migrant radio programmes. It is particularly useful to analyse the access and participation in the traditional setting of community radio programmes' production and decision-making processes. Although Berrigan's work cited here is from the pre-internet era, it is used to analyse the radio programmes and migrant communities using the traditional form of radio programming that is Hertzian wave based broadcasting. Moreover, the chapter also provides opportunities to analyse the pre-internet era's access and participation framework in the modern digital era where the participatory approach of community media has been adapted to internet and social media platforms (Rennie, 2007). In later sections, these models and principle ideas are applied in the contexts of the three migrant communities and their radio programmes. Participation is analysed using two main frameworks: content related, and structural participation.

Berrigan (1979) defined access, participation and self-management as key concepts in community communication practices. According to Berrigan, access refers to “the ability of the public to come closer to communication systems” (p. 18). Berrigan defines access on two levels: the level of choice and the level of feedback. At the level of choice, access includes: the individual’s right to listen to or view desired programmes, when and where a person wants; the availability of a wide range of materials of public choice instead of being imposed by production organisations, and the transmission of materials requested by the public. At the level of feedback, access involves interaction between producers and receivers of messages; direct participation by the audience during the transmission of the programme; the right to comment and criticise, and a means of keeping in touch with producers, administrators and the managers of communication organisations (Berrigan, 1979, p. 18).

Participation, as described by Berrigan (1979), is the involvement of the audience in the production process and involvement in managing the whole communication system. According to Berrigan’s framework, participation can be analysed on three different levels. At the production level, participation involves having unrestricted opportunities for the public (individuals or groups) to produce programmes and to have access to professional help, technical facilities and production resources. At the decision-making level, it involves the content and duration of programmes, scheduling of programmes, and the management, administration and financing of communication organisations. At the planning level, it involves the formulation of plans and policies for communication enterprises, and the formulation of national, regional and local communication plans (Berrigan, 1979, p.19).

### **6.3. Content-related participation**

Content-related participation in media is largely associated with public involvement in the content production process. Participation in the production process is participation in media that allows people to be active in one of the spheres of their daily life (Bailey et al., 2008; Carpentier, 2011). Participation is mainly audience involvement to decide particular content for media. Carpentier's (2012) primary argument about content-related participation refers to the involvement of the audience in deciding media content in the production process. In this regard, analysing content-related participation is also about the opportunities available to community members to decide particular content for radio programmes. This section analyses how producers encourage audience involvement in programme content and as decision makers to select subjects for radio programmes.

To the community members, the radio programmes provide platforms for participation in content production at a different level. The community organisations also encourage audience participation in content production through their community activities. Nearly half of the thirty-five participants had been directly involved in their media content. Although not regular contributors, some of them had been to the recording studio to share their expertise and experience occasionally. One of the Nepalese interview participants, an expert on seismic and structural engineering, shared his experiences of participating both on a commercial radio station as an expert and in Nepalese community radio programmes as a community member. His participation in the commercial media is completely based on his professional expertise. On Nepalese radio programmes, however, he participates as a community member and talks about the common good of the Nepalese people living in Christchurch rather than his professional expertise:

My interviews with the commercial radio in English medium have mainly been on my professional expertise and there I am usually asked my opinion on something that I know about [...] whereas in the Nepalese medium, many of my interviews are not related to my professional expertise, so there it is mainly opinion based (RD, Nepalese interview participant).

The community members not only participate directly in media content, they also use the platforms to share information with the wider community. In such cases, radio programmes work like interactive platforms, or what Wartella et al. (2003) define as an ‘interactive communication space’ or ‘floor’. To them, “a medium is not interactive if there is no floor, and interactive media differ quite substantially from each other in terms of what can be placed on the floor and how contributions on the floor can be taken up” (Wartella et al., 2003, p.469). In this context, a representative response from community members seems appropriate:

I never participated in other radio programmes but if I had any participation in such on the line of communicating it should [be] meetings face to face. When I attend a meeting, I at the same time pass the information which I get and announce it or pass it to anyone who announces it on the radio. In that way, especially when you represent a group you have the responsibility to share that information [to] the community members (DR, Filipino interview participant).

In this regard, radio programmes provide a platform to participate in or share information and ideas to the wider community.

Although most of the community members or audiences were aware that they can initiate their participation to make the radio programmes more useful, most of them have reasons that work as barriers to participation. Involvement in these community radio programmes is mostly voluntary. Producers or presenters do not receive any salaries for their contributions. The Nepalese and Filipino producers occasionally receive small incentives, but the Iranian producers were making completely voluntary contributions. The Nepalese producers receive petrol vouchers on a regular basis, and the Filipino producers get small incentives when they get some donations from the sponsors:

Yes, the programme is voluntary, so there is a sponsor that will give us donations. At that time we can have some very small like for petrol like that. But it is not a salary, and it is not always. Maybe the last time we received from sponsor, maybe I think last year. So yes, it is really sometimes a sort of sacrifice (CC, Filipino producer).

I would not say the financial support, but we have a culture; our society has made up its culture to purchase, to give some voucher for the petrol things even [when] you doing some social things (BIP, Nepalese producer).

The programme is only 25 minutes a week but for these 25 minutes, I can say that we never been there less than three hours for recording the programme and for editing the programme, preparing it for you to be played and it's really really hard job because we are doing voluntarily (MT, Iranian community leader and one of the producers).

Most of the Iranian producer/presenters are students, and audience members are also aware they are volunteering their time and efforts. Some community members have realised the need for active participation and they try to encourage other community members as well:

It is not just a matter of money; most is time. People are most of them are postgraduate students, so busy, and it is too hard to take time to gather the information and they have to spend time on the recording. So, I think we have to participate to do anything we can do. Some people can help with the recording; some people can help (MS, Iranian focus group participant).

Although the barrier of time exists, some community members are actively participating and producers are also encouraging participation to suit the audiences' convenience. For example, through the use of recorded voice and suggestions for programmes' contents.

One of the most common barriers of participation for these migrant communities is the nature of the employment they have in New Zealand. Most of the temporary residents of New Zealand were employed in shiftwork or rostered jobs. Although some audience members were keen to participate or to contribute directly to the production processes, they thought that they must have a routine everyday life to contribute this time to the community:

At the moment I cannot think about it because I'm really busy with my studies. I think most of the hosting even they [producers and presenters] are people that are not that busy in their study or have a routine job. [In the] morning they go to work, evening finish it and afternoon they are not going to do that much. I believe most of them are in this condition. I could not match my timetable to go



and take part even short duty or something. But maybe in future when I have more free time, yes, probably I could help them (AT, Iranian interview participant).

The community or alternative media's reliance on a particular community sometimes comes with negative impacts as well. If the community does not have a strong interest in participating in the production process than the result reduces heterogeneity in content (Carpentier, 2011). For some people, participation only means promoting the radio programme to other community members:

We can contribute but maybe just to listen and promote what you know to tell the other Filipinos that we have that radio station. But like what you said volunteering, we need that much. In my case, I cannot do it because I really want to work, work and work and I need it (CB, Filipino focus group participant).

On the other hand, general perceptions about radio production also result in less participation in content production. In some cases, audience members seem happy with whatever participatory approach the community radio programmes have adopted. These kinds of satisfactory responses demonstrate the reason behind the passivity of community members toward active participation. Passive participation is like 'counting heads' or 'participation by information' where people's feedback is very small or non-existent (Tufte and Mefalopulos, 2009). Although community members receive content as a passive audience, the possibility of active and direct participation of the audience always exists, despite these barriers. Whenever community members feel they have something useful for the wider community the opportunities are available to them to participate actively.

Content-related participation in media emphasises the participation of non-professionals in producing media output (Carpentier, 2007). The main idea behind involving non-professionals in the production process is to include them in radio programme production with technical support. Prehn (1992) describes the BBC programme *Open Door* and *Danmarks Radio* (Denmark) as having participatory approaches that encourage the involvement of ordinary people in those radio programmes. The participatory approach encourages ordinary people to become involved in programme production, and professional people to provide technical support to ordinary people (Prehn, 1992). In this study context, the producers also encourage the participation of ordinary people in content production. One innovative example of including audience members is the Iranian-community practice in which they include recorded voice and content from audience members in the radio show:

They can call us via phone or Skype and then we can record it and just put [it] in our programme. For example; one of them she started talking about health because it is her area. She recorded her voice and sent it to us and the other one finished her study in biotechnology and she prepared a programme for us [of] three minutes. We ask them to send us each fortnight for two-three minutes and then we are putting them in the programme. It was really good, and we find until now almost five-six people [to contribute] just in few weeks (HM, Iranian producer).

Another example of involving ordinary people in the production process is also found on the Nepalese radio programme. During the observation of the production process of *Namaste Nepal*, I found that the general community members were volunteering to record other

ordinary people's voices during the community gathering on 3 September 2016, when the Nepalese community was celebrating one of their cultural festivals. Two general members helped producers to record the voices of other members about the event and its cultural importance, on a small portable handheld recorder. That was the first field recording I observed during the three-month period. In the same event, ordinary community members also got opportunities to be heard on the radio in the form of vox pops. Berrigan (1979) argues that recording outside of the main technical studio is one of the aspects of including non-professional community members in the production process. The Nepalese producers edited and broadcast the voices recorded by ordinary community members on the portable recorder. As noted by Browne (2005) after analysing African-Americans of Springfield and their community radio, involving volunteers from the community as reporters of the events within the community which were never picked up by mainstream media, are the kinds of initiatives that build a sense of ownership in that particular station or media outlet, and that enable audiences to become a community (Browne, 2005b, p.123).

Despite the community radio programmes' producers' encouragement, a few audience members were not satisfied with their participation initiatives. This small portion of one of the Iranian focus groups reflects different views of people within the community organisations:

**JG:** I open it up and I am listening as the announcer says, 'We have got a newcomer in the Biology department.' So, everybody is listening to that, but I am not sure if I get back to the forum and web pages you see if someone has come or not. But then you know interacting with the audience is much easier on the radio than, you know, web pages.

**MS:** But the problem is that the people from the Biology department might not listen to that programme.

**JG:** But if the people knew that it is an option they are with. For example, nobody can be sure Toranj is a way of communication and interaction as in Iranians. They just know it is a one-way story, you just tell the stories in radio and we listen.

**FM:** I do agree but.

**Researcher:** So is not that interactive?

**MS:** I think its bias; people do not participate.

**JG:** You should ask, you should ask the people.

**MS:** They have been asked but there are no responses from them. I mean as far as there is no participation in the programme, this radio programme would not make it good interaction with people.

In some cases, the community members seemed to wait for requests on a personal level to participate in the content production. Some community members responded that if their personal circumstances improved, they are ready to be involved directly in production processes. Some participants responded that they have good experience or a strong interest in production processes.

I used to be in the media for the longest time in the Philippines and so I can help them, if they want (AG, Filipino focus group participant).

I am quite interested to run the programme. I do have some that skill you know in the past but due to my other commitment actually, I am not very active with

those things these days. But if it is needed I am quite happy to sustain the programme in future (SDP, Nepalese interview participant).

This feedback suggests that the community organisations and radio programme producers could improve their initiatives and communications toward the general community members to make them more participatory. The intensity of community members' attachment to the radio programmes certainly indicates an interest in participating in the programmes.

Participation by the community in production leads to more diversified content with a heterogeneous societal voice (Carpentier, 2011). These migrant radio programmes have the potential for a multiplicity of voices from different segments.

There seem a lot of opportunities for Toranj. We talk about the sad moments that we can get close to and then we can help our community either here or in Iran and I know one of the opportunities might be because of, as I heard, there is a large community of people from Afghanistan Iran, so Toranj, as a Persian radio could reach out to that audience also and then probably the larger audience, got the better they can improve in the future. That would be also one of the best opportunities for them (RP, Iranian focus group participant).

However, community members still thought that these community producers were not reaching out to the all of the local community members. The limited reach and awareness of the radio also affected participation. If people are not aware of the existence of radio programmes then it is harder for the broader community to participate in them:

I also think it is important, like, for the majority of the people living in Christchurch that are they aware that there is a radio programme running, how well we are marketing that segment of the community because most of the people are more in Facebook and social media things like that. So, I doubt like many of us, our radio programme has reached many of the newcomers. I doubt they are aware that there is the programme going on and what is the importance of it. So, it depends as long as we can make the radio more visible in a sense to the wider community then the input will be two way. So, at the moment it is just like community input is a little bit lacking because of exposure or things like that (HD, Nepalese focus group participant).

The response from the audience members indicates that the community organisations could increase the reach of the programmes at a local level, which can ultimately increase the participation in and diversity of radio content.

Principles or ideal aspects of participation are never found fully implemented in practice. As Berrigan argues, “not everyone would want or need to be involved in the practicalities”. He further argues that “more important is the opportunity to take part in decisions about the range of topics which should be covered, the methods of selecting material, and participation in the management, administration and financing of media institutions” (Berrigan, 1979, p.19). As both Carpentier and Berrigan describe, participation can be assessed through the degree of access and involvement in decision-making processes. In this regard, analyses of the feedback processes can make it possible to see community involvement in the decision-making processes. The feedback processes and practices of these three migrant communities are analysed in Chapter Seven. The next section of this chapter analyses the structural

participation of community members in the decision-making process of community radio programmes.

#### **6.4. Structural participation**

Structural participation by the audience mainly refers to access to participation in the decision-making processes of the media organisations. Bailey et al. argue that this allows “people to learn and adopt a democratic and/or civic attitude, thus strengthening (the possible forms) of macro-participation, as well as the civic culture” (Bailey et al., 2008, p.11). According to Prehn (1992) “participation implies a wider range of activities related to involving people directly in station programming, administration and policy activities” (Prehn, 1992, p.259). To analyse the participation of community members at the decision-making level of media policy in these three migrant communities, this section of the chapter looks at the community organisational decision-making processes at large. Bailey et al. (2008) argue that alternative or community media facilitates its community members to participate in produced content and the content-producing organisation. This section analyses the participation from a decision-making perspective. This perspective has two aspects: participation on decision making for particular content, and participation in organisational decisions about the radio programmes. These aspects are close to Carpentier’s (2012) structural participation and Berrigan’s (1979) self-management approach to participation; however, the structural participation addressed in this research context is limited to decision making about programme content and community organisations’ executives.

In this regard, the organisational structure of the radio programmes would ideally be “alternative to the way mainstream broadcasters are organised” (Carpentier, 2011, p.98).

Carpentier (2011) argues that alternative media should have 'horizontal hierarchies' which allow content producers to have structural participation in the media management. For the migrant communities' radio programmes, the producers were the main managers not only for the programme content but for the programme management as well:

There is no exact measure [to decide the content]. The context should be in the show. It is personal judgment. Whatever happening in the Christchurch related to Nepalese people, that is our priority and the other things like if 1st of *Magh* [the 10<sup>th</sup> month] in the Nepalese calendar, the cultural things I try to collect in the materials is what is *Maghe Sankranti* [Nepalese festival] all about. Recently, we [broadcast] the show [about the] *Swasthani* story. In the Nepalese calendar, *Swasthani* starts in 15 of *Poush* [9<sup>th</sup> month] to 15 *Magh* [10<sup>th</sup> month] (BIP, Nepalese producer).

On Mabuhay Radio Filipino as well, the producers determine the content from their subjective judgements:

Yes, it's my judgment because usually Filipino, I know what a Filipino want to hear, so I just focus on that topic. So, if I see something like immigration, work like labour matters, so I just [do] that (CC, Filipino producer).

On Toranj, however, the producers share the responsibility for the particular content type to select and prepare for the programme. But these judgements are also subjective and based on personal preferences:



Now we have a person who is in charge to find the content for Toranj like anything that happens like about technology, about culture anything that she feels is interesting and she finds that maybe other people who are around they are interesting because she has a website so she is perfect in this thing. So, we ask her to help us and she tries to find out those materials for us. So, these things actually we also search in google, for example; if we have Waitangi Day, we are searching what is Waitangi? And we are talking about Waitangi Day (HM, Iranian producer).

This is similar to the process Berrigan (1979) describes, where topics in community media are targeted to audience needs and interests, also chosen by the communicator. However, the main focus of analysis here is the availability of opportunities for audiences to participate in content selection. For example, whether they select subjects or topics for radio programmes. In the terms of Berrigan's framework of participation at the decision-making and planning levels, the community organisations manage and decide the policy for radio programmes. However, all audience members can be involved in these processes through feedback systems. Community members can freely pass their ideas and suggestions to the community organisations. These community organisations have formal and informal mechanisms and platforms to address feedback from the audience members. Feedback mechanisms applied by the migrant communities are discussed in detail in the next chapter. The audience members can participate in the decision-making process for programme content at any level. The community organisations mediate between the community members and radio programmes:

We are acting as a bridge between the radio programme, the producer, and the general members, and the feedback we get to them. So, general members can

pass on that feedback and suggestions to us and we pass [them] on to the producers of the radio programme and it works both ways. So, the radio programme producer might have some suggestions or might ask for the suggestion which in turn gets discussed within the executive committee of our society and with the other general members when we get to meet other general members during our social events and activities (SP, Nepalese community leader).

Particularly in the Nepalese community, the community members also found the community organisation instrumental in terms of facilitating the participation of general members in deciding radio content and policy:

I think society has been quite instrumental in that. There are dedicated members who used to look after the radio aspects of the society. You know, how the equipment can be managed, what [are] the problems of the host, programme producers etc. so, they are quite instrumental. Whenever they were relaying some message then obviously the aspects of the radio programme used to be incorporated (DB, Nepalese focus group participant).

This response illustrates how community organisations can facilitate and encourage audience participation in radio programmes.

In the Filipino community, the community organisation, PCS, allocates responsibility for the radio programme to certain core members of the organisation. Some producers are also part of the core group. However, in PCS meetings, they only discuss the radio programme if there

are problems. In general, the community organisation assumes that if there is no feedback there is no problem:

This radio program is just assigned to certain people. So, we don't talk about it in our meetings, only if there is a problem because we see it as something that is not, it is just sake for the connecting, so there is no problem in that, so we don't talk about it. No, it's only the payment we talk about. We have funding (DR, Filipino community leader).

However, the audience members have direct access to the producers and presenters to provide any feedback and suggestions regarding the radio programmes. The community leader responded to the question of how easily general members can access the feedback platform of the radio programme by saying: "It would be easy because they know the phone numbers of the announcers." On the other hand, audience members also found the producers were easily accessible for the feedback:

I guess its Carlos, the producer. The way it usually works with us is that we usually know someone who knows someone. So, it's normally like that. For example: since MR knows the producer, I tell her. It's usually a great line when we talk to someone – like do you know this guy then we will give them the feedback that can you give them this then for us it's just a bit faster if you actually know someone who knows who knows that person (LS, Filipino focus group participant).

In the Iranian society, they are using any social gathering as a platform for feedback sharing for the radio programme. The community organisation UCIS is the biggest Iranian community that we have in Christchurch and the radio is working under the affiliation of UCIS. Recently, we decided to register another Iranian community, which is Christchurch Iranian community. But these two are working together and most of the people, most of the members are members of both groups. So, as I said, every Iranian event that is held in Christchurch somehow has a relation with UCIS. So, in that event, we have access to all the community to talk about our programme, our radio programme (MT, Iranian community leader).

From the audience perspective, they also believe that they can access the radio producers directly. Some of them believed that this is more convenient than going through the community organisation:

Because we are a small community, so we can directly go to the radio producers and provide our feedback to them and talk about other programme or community to like UCIS as you said. Because even if I think if we provide feedback to UCI, they will refer us to producers (HN, Iranian focus group participant).

This is one of the main features of how community radio functions on a small scale and by targeting a specific group, for instance, language groups in this research context. The producers and audience members are familiar with each other as they are members of the same community.

Although there are some operational differences between the communities, the majority of the interview and focus group participants responded that they have very comfortable access to the governing body of the radio programme. The community members did not feel ignorant about the decision-making processes. The relatively equitable distribution of power and activity in community radio facilitates the desired level of engagement of community members in production and management (Scifo, 2015b):

Usually, like our community organization has been very much, you know, like positive in implementing, receiving ideas and implementing the ideas by members of the society and I've been lucky that actually most of the ideas that I have put forward have been adopted and implemented (RD, Nepalese interview participant).

In this regard, it is evident that the radio programmes are participatory in terms of content or structural level of participation. However general members are not included in the everyday processes of the regular administration of the programmes or in forming the operational policy, as this is not possible in practice. This situation still justifies these migrant radio programmes as being participatory according to Berrigan's framework. Berrigan (1979) argues that even though day-to-day participation in decision-making may be ideal, the practicalities of setting up such a system are overwhelming (p. 9).

The executives who run the organisations are elected or chosen by the community members. The community organisations regularly host meetings and follow the rules and regulations. In this regard, the Nepalese community organisation – Nepal New Zealand Friendship Society of Canterbury (NNZFSC) – and Philippines Culture and Sports (PCS) are incorporated

societies, in addition to the University of Canterbury Iranian Students' Association. UCIS is a student club from the University of Canterbury that is operating according to the guidelines of the University of Canterbury Student Association (UCSA). As community members the audience can participate at any level within the organisational guidelines. Lewis (2008) argues that the audience gets involved in community media through volunteering, collaboration and representation on the governing bodies. Those participations allow "audiences to be involved in defining needs, researching, producing and presenting programmes and participating in policy and fundraising" (Lewis, 2008, p.23).

The process of self-management is another factor that significantly affects the level of participation. Berrigan argues self-management is the most advanced and far-reaching approach to participation. The concept of self-management in participatory-communication approaches concerns every aspect of community media. This includes access to information, participation in production, management of community communication systems, and developing communication policies. In this regard, he describes self-management as a "total form of involvement" (Berrigan, 1979). The main principle of self-management includes the right to participate in the planning and production of media programming. However, Berrigan (1979) argues that in practice, not everyone would want or need to be involved. He further argues that "more important is the opportunity to take part in decisions about the range of topics which should be covered, the methods of selecting material, and participation in the management, administration and financing of media institutions" (Berrigan, 1979).

Therefore, this chapter section argues that these migrant communities meet the main criteria of self-management. Community members are free, and even encouraged, to get involved in subject selection and decision-making about the radio policies. Audience members are volunteering in content production processes. They are also encouraged to send their

feedback, and some of the formal and informal structures of feedback are discussed in Chapter Seven.

## **6.5. Access and new platforms**

Access refers to the available opportunities for audience members to choose media content and also a feedback system to respond to their reactions and demands. This section looks at the new media platforms used by the three migrant communities and the accessibility of their community radio programmes through these platforms. The new media is more interactive than the old media (Okafor et al., 2015). However, it is hard to find the exact demarcation between new and old media. Okafor et al. (2015) define new media as a “disparate set of communication technologies that share certain features, apart from being new, made possible by digitalization and being widely available for personal use as communication devices” (p. 32). Media convergence has changed the accessibility of media content significantly. As Jenkins (2006) argues, convergence has created a paradigm shift from medium-specific content to multiple media channels and is influencing communication interdependency. Traditionally, radio programmes were mainly available through radio receivers tuned to the terrestrial networks transmitted on AM or FM frequencies. However, the last two decades have brought digitisation of radio broadcasting technologies and many developed countries have already adopted such digital transmission formats as Digital Audio Broadcasting (DAB), Digital Radio Mondiale (DRM) and In-Band-On-Channel (IBOC). Moreover, the internet has significantly changed the possible radio broadcasting and receiving platforms.

The internet and digital platforms facilitate the convergence of previously separated media, “enabling audiences to listen to the radio on their television sets, laptops, mobile phones and

other portable devices” (Starkey and Crisell, 2009, p.115). Using Carpentier’s AIP framework for access or presence in production and reception spheres, I can argue that the community members are easily accessing radio content. All thirty-five audience participants responded that they were accessing media content through multiple channels:

It is not difficult because that radio program I know is aired on that day. So, whenever I am free, I can easily access [it]. It is simply turning on that channel in my radio or my sound system. But for others like if they have got work, then they might not be able to do that, but they can always get back to the podcast version. So, it is not difficult (RD, Nepalese audience, interview participant).

If the listeners are familiar with the internet, it’s very easy to get to the site or to the radio if they have a radio, so it’s easy to listen but going back to other programmes, the programme before, if they know how to use the internet so it’s very easy. You just go to the Plains FM website and just search for Mabuhay Radio Filipino and then search for the date or what you want to listen. So, it’s easy (CC, Filipino producer).

The programmes have been advertised each time into Iranian groups in Facebook; one of them is for Iranian students, and the other one is for Iranian society. So, these two pages always advertise the programme, and recently *Telegram* is another programme that is very common in [the] Iranian [community]. It is advertising Toranj as well (MT, Iranian, community leader).



One of the Filipino participants, DSG, responded during the interview: “I can just tune into the station or podcast. Sometimes, they do live on Facebook.” Similarly, some audience members also use their mobile phone to receive live content from the radio frequency. One of the participants of the Filipino focus groups (code name MM) responded that she uses a mobile phone to listen to the live broadcasting of Mabuhay Radio Filipino. She said, “We listen to live radio, we use a cell phone to listen every Tuesday.” These are some of the representative answers from the focus groups and one-on-one interviews with the three migrant-community members. The producers and presenters of the programmes also try to make their content easily available to the audience, including the previous contents (archives), to make sure that more community members can access it. Convergence has affected the top-down media corporate relationship and bottom-up participatory culture (Jenkins, 2006, p.243). The migrant community members are utilising the convergence of technology in media. Here the available new platforms, the internet and social media, have made considerable differences to the participatory community radio.

Media convergence and the digital platforms have not only influenced the accessibility of media content but also changed the audience involvement in content production. The terms and concepts such as ‘prosumer’ and ‘produsage’ have emerged to define the audience involvement in content production and distribution mostly on internet platforms. Bruns (2007) argues that the emergence of internet-based media eliminates the boundaries between producers and consumers and creates a hybrid role of ‘produsage’ where all the participants are involved as users as well as producers. Moreover, smartphone and tablet applications create the easiest access by bypassing browser-based web pages (Bruns, 2007). Jenkins (2006) argues that convergence in media has changed the platforms and traditional role of media audiences from passive to active. Convergence is primarily understood as a

technological process that brings different media functions within a single device. More than that, Jenkins argues, “convergence represents a cultural shift as consumers are encouraged to seek out new information and make connections among dispersed media content” (Jenkins, 2006, p.3). Participatory culture, according to Jenkins (2006), considers media producers and consumers as both being participants of interaction rather than separate components occupying separate space. The convergence in technological aspects has created new platforms that can be used as more accessible interactive platforms, particularly in the developed world where people can afford new technologies, such as smartphones and tablets, and the opportunities created by these devices in conjunction with the internet. People can easily access the radio content from the live frequency of the radio station or access live streaming or archives (podcast) through web browsing or through the apps. At the same time, people can send feedback using social media:

They sent us the link to his interview. So, yes for us as Filipinos, we are more on the internet right now, I guess. So, they much prefer to listen to it through the internet because normally in our houses, I guess here we don't really have radios. So, it's mostly through the internet or if we do have a radio, it's in the car or if your phone is capable of AM, FM. So, it's pretty much it. But yes, we are more, we are a very online people (LS, Filipino focus group participant).

Internet platforms provide an enormous opportunity for interaction of the participants. This interactivity includes instant and influential participation in content production, particularly user-generated content formats available on the internet platforms.

The producers are also utilising internet platforms created by media convergence. During my observation of the radio programme production process, especially Mabuhay Radio Filipino as it was broadcast live, the producers were always checking Facebook and Messenger, and most of the time I found that they instantly interacted with the audiences. Sometimes I noticed that they received birthday wishes through Facebook during the programme and they have delivered the wishes. Some of the listeners requested songs as well. Through the social media or through the internet platforms producers encouraged audience participation to identify the content of community interest:

Yes, on our Facebook page we always ask them that if they have something waiting for us to broadcast, yes, we ask them. But it's always the same so, they will just ask for immigration matters like that especially yes, immigration is always the issue (CC, Filipino producer).

On Namaste Nepal, I found that the producers also regularly check Facebook and emails. Although the programmes were mostly pre-recorded, the producers used the internet and social media regularly. However, on Toranj, I did not notice the use of the internet during the recording. It may be because during my observation they were not able to use the production studio independently.

The Internet is also the main source of content and ideas for radio programme producers. However, sometimes they use community members, friends and social media as a content source:

Mostly, I take from the internet. I know sometimes it's time-consuming as well. But you can't rely on these things all the time. Like we had *Panthi-cup* [community cricket tournament] last time, and I just tried to involve people for an interview [because] you cannot get from the internet these things (BIP, Nepalese producer).

Yes, this [internet] is the source. Sometimes we have a colleague that is talking about the books that she has written previously (HM, Iranian producer).

However, in this study, internet platforms such as websites and social networking sites are mostly only used as distributive channels and as a medium of feedback. The internet and social media users can receive the radio programmes at their convenience and in a more simplified format. But these platforms are not used to engage audiences directly in content generation processes by the radio programmes in this study. The radio programme producers can use digital platforms to interact and engage with audience members, which encourages participation in the production process.

Digital platforms encourage interaction between producers and audience members. The interaction encourages the possibility of audience involvement to receive desirable content. Berrigan (1979) explains the context as a level of choice, which emphasises the availability of desired content rather than that imposed by producers. All thirty-five audience participants in interviews and focus groups were happy with the content of the three community radio programmes. However, some people prefer more content about their interests than the other content. One of the interview participants from the Nepalese community, SPD, said: "Well, it is more casual conversation with people, and that is my one of the favourites. Others are

listening to popular Nepali songs and more. Actually, I enjoy the conversation and, you know, music and pretty much everything.” Another interview participant from the Filipino community, MR, who never sent any feedback to the producers, was happy with the content. He did not find any reason to send feedback to the producers: “For me, it is nothing, for me everything they are doing is perfect. I know I just think that they know what they are doing. So, I think there is nothing wrong with what they are broadcasting on the radio.”

Audience members can easily request any content to be broadcast through the radio programmes, and the producers include those requests and recommendations in the radio programmes. Most of the participants responded that their ideas and requests were included in the radio programmes, however, many of the suggestions or feedback points were general ideas. One of the Nepalese focus group participants, DB, responded, “I think the [radio programme producer] has responded quite well because the way it has emerged; [it has become] more interesting, bringing up some better ideas of relaying the message that’s really praiseworthy.” However, some audience members felt that their requests were ignored. One of the Iranian focus group participants, JG, responded that his request was ignored: “I wanted them to talk about an issue, but I even did not get a response that we are doing it or not, nothing .”

According to Carpentier’s AIP model, access is the presence of the audience in the media organisation with the opportunity to have their voices heard through feedback. Berrigan also discussed access and participation in the pre-digital era as a level of feedback. The organisational structure to provide feedback is discussed in detail in Chapter Seven. The feedback analysis is also part of Carpentier’s model. He argues that interaction as per the AIP

model at the production level refers to “interaction with media technology and people to (co)-produce content, possibly within organisational contexts” (Carpentier, 2012, p.174).

The following sections analyse social media and podcasts as new platforms for access and participation. In this context, digital platforms, such as podcast and social media have created new platforms that offer a participatory approach in community radio programmes. However, the new platforms seem more effective for increasing the accessibility of the media content amongst the migrant communities.

#### 6.5.1. Podcasts

The podcast is one of the popular platforms used by these three migrant communities to receive their community radio programmes, particularly for migrants engaged in shift jobs. Easy to download and listen to offline, podcasts have significantly changed the community engagement with radio programmes by these migrant communities. This section analyses the podcast and the accessibility of migrants’ radio content for the community members. Nowadays, distributing radio content on internet platforms is considered the easiest and cheapest option for broadcasting, with plenty of opportunities. Podcasting can be seen as a technological innovation that changed the distribution channel as well as widening opportunities for the people as producers of the content.

Internet broadcasting is divided into two categories, ‘webcasting’ and ‘podcasting’, according to its transmission characteristics (Starkey and Crisell, 2009). “Webcasting is the transmission of linear, ‘streaming’ audio (or video) content over that international network of computers that we know as the ‘Internet’ or ‘web’ – often the very same content that a radio

station is transmitting by traditional, atmospheric means” (Starkey and Crisell, 2009, p.113).

‘Podcasting’ refers to a delivery mechanism for audio and video file through the internet for download and later playback (Markman and Sawyer, 2014). The webcast is available in a streamed format so an active internet connection is a pre-requisite; however, the podcast can be downloaded and played later without an internet connection (Starkey and Crisell, 2009).

Podcasting provides opportunities for broadcasters to reach specific audience segments.

Similarly, it can be used by a community organisation or by independent podcasters as an alternative form of online broadcasting. In this regard, the most cited scholar on podcasts, Berry (2006), argues that with podcasts listeners can decide what to listen to, when, in what order, and where to listen. He argues that even though the producers maintain control over the content, this shift “in decision-making power over the schedule and listening environment from programmer to listener fundamentally changes the radio content” (Berry, 2006, p.145).

In this research, I am particularly interested to analyse the podcast as a method of delivery for the radio programmes that have already been broadcast through the ‘webcast streaming’ and radio transmission.

All of the radio programmes broadcast by the twelve Access Radio stations of New Zealand are available online as podcasts. The radio programmes are accessible through the radio stations’ website as webcasts as well as in podcast format. Similarly, there is an online platform, Access Internet Radio (AIR), where anyone with an internet connection can access the radio stations and different ethnic language radio programmes in a single place as podcasts (Access Internet Radio, 2018a). The migrant communities included in this study also benefit from podcasts. Almost all the participants of my research, in the focus groups and interviews, who listen to the radio programmes are familiar with receiving radio programmes in podcast format. Some audience members, however, were more interested in

listening to the radio programmes live on the broadcast frequencies as most of the time they found it convenient:

I prefer listening to radio and the time we are having Namaste Nepal broadcasting between 8 o'clock to 8:25 p.m. is for me the perfect time because I try to keep it as a regular walking programme after dinner. So, 8–8:25 is a perfect time and I do like to listen to Namaste Nepal most of the time while I am walking or doing jogging (SK, Nepalese focus group participant).

However, podcasts are significantly popular among the Nepalese, Filipino and Iranian community members interviewed in this research. The majority of the community members were engaged in different shift jobs or busy with their studies, so they found a podcast is a convenient way to listen to the radio programmes:

Mostly you know basically Toranj radio online and as available by Plains FM but honestly on that time on Thursday evenings I'm busy most of the time (AT, Iranian interview participant).

Ah no, not live. Anytime I have time and I'll listen to that [podcasts] (FD, Iranian interview participant).

If you have access to the internet if you want to listen to the podcast, yes. It's easy (MT, Iranian interview participant).



The podcast is fine. So, I just need to, if I have time to listen to it, I just go to podcast address and it's OK (MRU, Filipino focus group participant).

Yes, I do [listen live] but not actually always. Recently, they have started to archive their recordings [podcasts], though I do [listen to live] when I'm free (SDP, Nepalese interview participant).

Not only the delayed casting (podcasting) but webcasting or live streaming is also a convenient medium for some listeners:

We access the internet, the podcast [is available] every Friday and it is also available through the website (MM, Filipino focus group participant).

This makes a sense of the choice. Time [broadcast time] makes a difference. It's personal interest and what I am listening to and why I am listening to the radio rather than just thinking about the time (KR, Nepalese focus group participant).

However, some listeners believed that interest or choice is more influential than the timing, particularly to the radio listening.

At times it seems like the concept of podcasting in the context of radio programmes does not have the potential that independent podcasting may have. Podcasts are working as distributive platforms for migrant communities and Access Radio stations in New Zealand. Millette (2011) quoted an independent podcaster from Montreal, Canada, who claimed that the webcast radio programme is not a true podcast but only a replica of the traditional radio

station and their rules and regulations (Millette, 2011). In this research context, one participant from the Iranian focus group raised a question on the importance of minority radio. He argued that if they receive the radio programme as a podcast, he does not consider the radio programme to be radio anymore.

I think that's not radio any more. It is a podcast as you said. I listen to the podcast but do you call it radio? (HN, Iranian focus group participant).

The community members' understandings indicate that podcasts can become an alternative format for community broadcasting. For instance, the migrant communities can produce and distribute their podcasts as community radio programmes through the internet. In this case, they do not have to depend on the radio platforms that Access Radio stations are providing now. The podcast can offer a more interactive, more involved and ideal 'critical prosumer' platform for participation of the migrant communities. Madsen argues that podcasts offer more democratic communication opportunities than are realised through traditional radio (Madsen, 2009).

#### 6.5.2. Social media and social networks

This section analyses the use of social media and social networks by the migrant communities in the participatory process of community radio programmes. In recent times, growing popularity and the engagement of users has posed opportunities and challenges. Social media, particularly Facebook, have facilitated access and the participatory approach of migrant communities and their community radio programmes. Facebook is the most popular social network site among the Christchurch-based Nepalese, Filipino and Iranian migrant

communities. The community members believe that social media has changed their mode of communication and that these changes are effective:

I think that's the major feature and also the revolution by the social media. The mode of communication has changed, you know. In this pattern as you know, before we used to go somewhere to collect the information. Now it is coming up to us automatically, you don't want [it] but it is around. It happens to pick up here and there so the mode of communication has changed. So, obviously, the Facebook or any social media has been an effective way for communication (DB, Nepalese focus group participant).

Social networks or social media are effective for communicating among the community members. Social media and social network platforms have different adaptability as communicative platforms. But this research is focused on migrant communities' use of the social network as a platform that facilitates access to and participation with community radio programmes.

Facebook is one of the most popular social media and network sites not only amongst these three migrant communities, but in the world. As of March 2018, Facebook had an average 1.45 billion daily active users, and an average of 2.20 billion monthly active users (Facebook Newsroom, 2018). Big company businesses and specific interest groups are utilising the platforms provided by Facebook. Although people are connected and share some common attitudes, the users are not a homogeneous group (Webb et al., 2012, p.13). Facebook is popular among migrant communities particularly for receiving radio programmes and for providing feedback. Facebook is facilitating the participation in content production as well as

at a decision-making level through its informal structure. Almost all thirty-eight participants of focus groups and interviews believe that Facebook is the easiest and most effective platform for receiving or distributing radio content:

I'm just listening through their Facebook [podcast link shared through the Facebook page], since I'm always online in social media after work, always online – even at work, sometimes, when at break time (MR, Filipino interview participant).

Probably because of budget or something like that so they choose on the Facebook page of Persian community here and this is the only way that they present at the moment. If they going to have their own webpage, I'll definitely go to their website. I mean this radio, but at the moment they are working just on Facebook and we have a connection with them. I have, I am listening to their podcast, yes on the Facebook page (AT, Iranian interview participant).

In this context, it is clear that Facebook is used by these migrant communities as one of the easiest distributive platforms for radio programmes.

All three community radio programmes have Facebook pages and producers appreciate any suggestions or feedback through Facebook. Compared with the traditional model of communication, the social-media audience is potentially more active and much narrower. Humphreys argues this with an example of updating a Facebook status, where creating a message intended for a particular group or public can be seen as collaborative engagement and production of content (Humphreys, 2016). The producers of the programmes are actively

using social media and the programmes are particularly focused on the members of the same community they belong to:

Yes, we also have a Facebook page we share, what we air on our programme in the Facebook page. So yes, a lot of Filipino just view the page and comment there, they can comment if they want. (CC, Filipino producer).

We set up the Facebook page as well and we have a radio email address as well if people feel free to put their comments and suggestions through the Facebook page and email, but we are really low [receiving little] to get the suggestions and feedback from them [audience]. But when I see the people [in person], I'm getting a good response (BIP Nepalese producer).

The collaborative engagement concept could be useful in this context. In some ways, social media, particularly Facebook, is used to connect to migrant communities. As more of their friends and relatives are active on social media, they too tend to be active users, both in their country of origin and in New Zealand.

We usually work so we are not usually on Facebook, only when we are at home at night or early in the morning. But based on my experience from the Philippines, I mean we are very active on social media and in our country that is how it usually works. There are more requests through social media than through calls. So, I guess it's the same way here [in New Zealand]. ...It is more appropriate for people doing shift jobs. I'm guessing almost everyone has an internet connection. So, it's easier for them to request through Facebook. So,

that's why I guess all the producers are really active on that platform (MRU, Filipino focus group participant).

In this regard, Facebook is working as a social media and social network for creating content and engaging community. Facebook is also creating a platform for social curation in this context. Social curation is about people distributing and promoting media content in their networks with personal referrals to consume content that they consider interesting and relevant (Villi, 2012, p.617).

### 6.5.3. Facebook and participation

With reference to the principles of access and participation from Berrigan (1979) and Carpentier's (2012) frameworks, Facebook can influentially facilitate the participatory process of the audience in radio programmes. As mentioned earlier, the producers use Facebook during the live broadcasting of the programmes. I also found that one of the Filipino focus group participants requested songs through Facebook during a live programme. In this regard, Facebook can facilitate a platform for participation at the decision-making level of radio programmes' content. All of the research participants thought that Facebook could be a medium of participation for future programmes. The producers can ask about future content beneficial to the wider community through Facebook:

It would be beneficial at this time. We use Facebook, [they] may check their Facebook post within one hour or something like that. So it would be beneficial if the host says "OK we are going to run this programme" and then [asks] what we think is the best way to run this programme or how do you think it would be

more beneficial if we run it this way, that would be beneficial (JD, Nepalese focus group participant).

Producers, on the other hand, responded that they were always encouraging such kinds of suggestions and feedback from the audience members. However, in some cases, they thought it became challenging to implement all the suggestions from the audience members, particularly if suggestions were related to content types:

It is a bit difficult to make everyone happy. Maybe a simple example: someone asks for lots of increases in the number of music that you play. Two minutes is not enough? OK, increase it and some say no, do not do that. If you want to listen to music, you are going to that radio and we are listening to music. So, we try to ... negotiate (HM, Iranian producer).

However, audience members have suggested utilising the social media platforms to reach a consensus, including community members. In one of the Iranian focus groups, participants suggested that the producers can use voting to identify the particular issue for an upcoming radio programme:

**JG:** But something that could help the Toranj people would be using the voting system in Twitter or Facebook. For example; they ask the question about the subject and the audience could vote without knowing who have chosen the no or yes.

**ZP:** Yes, I agree.

**JG:** So, it would be better.

**JG:** Because you know the population is not that much for the audience of Toranj is not too much. I think they should have more interaction between their audience and themselves. So, it is the best way to ask a question to them.

**ZP:** To choose the hot topic for [the] next broadcasting.

By analysing these responses, I can argue that Facebook also provides a platform to build understanding of the programme content. However, the decision power for the content is always on the producers' side. On a structural-participation level as well, Facebook is influentially facilitating communication between the community members and community organisations. Facebook is one of the preferred media of communication between community organisations that coordinate the radio programmes and the community members. In most cases, community organisations were using Facebook as one of their effective communicative platforms:

We have got our society's website. So, people can drop in comments on the website as well; we have got our Facebook profile and we have got our Facebook page and profile both. So, people can provide feedback through that medium as well if they wish and all the members of our society have got our contact numbers that are on our website as well, so if people wish to talk to us over the phone then that is quite easy as for them to get hold of us as well and we have got a few Viber groups as well, so feedback can come through that medium as well (SP, Nepalese community leader).



I have also observed the Facebook pages of radio programmes and community organisations. Most of the community groups are operating Facebook as closed community groups and public pages as well. In the public pages I just hit 'like' and followed their posts, and in the case of closed groups, I asked community leaders to add me to the group. I also used those closed groups and pages to identify potential participants for focus groups and interviews. In this research I am not intending to analyse the communication among the community groups through Facebook, however, I am interested in any unique or particular communication related to radio programmes. The community members suggest or share their ideas with the community organisations through Facebook, including radio related feedback:

They will put their information on the Facebook page, on the NNZFSC Facebook page, because recently one of the general members have posted that how we can help to the Kaikoura earthquake. So, how we can respond to that and it was on the Facebook page. So, it might be something like that maybe later on or maybe before this, there might be some information like that in the Facebook page so that all of us can see the same information and just give our feedback (SD, Nepalese focus group participant).

In this context, Facebook facilitates the participation of community members on a structural participation level. This practice corresponds to Berrigan's definition of choice and access.

Although social media are very effective and influential platforms for facilitating participatory community radio processes, it is likely that some community members are excluded from these platforms. Some participants raised that issue during my focus group discussion. For different reasons, there might be segments of migrant communities that

cannot access those social media through which distribution of radio content and feedback processes occur. The community organisation or the radio producers need to think about reaching those segments as well. One of the participants from the Filipino community, whom I have included as a non-listener community member, responded:

If you are not broadcasting like in the street, it is a modern day that is why you should reach out to find how I can reach the people who can or does not know us. Because there are some Filipinos that [say] yes we love Facebook. And how about those people who do not use Facebook, Instagram, like that? So, I think it is more about them. The community who will reach out for the radio station, it's more on that radio station, we need to reach out for what are target people (JB, Filipino focus group participant).

For various reasons a noticeable segment of the population of New Zealand is still unable to access the internet. According to the latest report on the digital divide, nearly ten per cent of New Zealanders still have no internet connection (Smith et al., 2016). The digital divide exists in New Zealand for different age groups, levels of skill, income level, settlement location (urban or rural), gender and ethnicities.

Both Carpentier's (2012) and Berrigan's (1979) participatory media frameworks emphasise involvement in deciding the content and communication policies of radio programmes in this context. These radio programmes are practising several formal and informal structures to include community members, from content-related participation to decision-making levels. Community members can participate at any point in content production in the community or studio, or even using social media and emails. Digital distribution platforms, especially

podcasts and Facebook, have significantly increased the communities' sense of the radio programmes' accessibility. The digital platforms have also been encouraging participation in decision-making processes by providing opportunities for immediate feedback.

This chapter answers research question two, which asks: How do migrant community members participate in their community radio programmes? The practices of participation documented here position community members as 'critical prosumers' who can become co-creators and consumers of the content. Another important aspect and structure for participation in any communication process, feedback, is analysed in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: Feedback and modes of communication**

### **7.1. Introduction**

This chapter analyses the feedback systems being practised in three migrant community radio programmes. The analysis of feedback mechanisms used by radio programmes is closely associated with the ways in which audience members can access and participate in radio content and in decision-making processes within the community organisations. This chapter along with Chapter Six answers research question two: How do migrant community members participate in their community radio programmes? This chapter observes the ways in which audience members give feedback about the radio programmes. These feedback modes include: in-person, or through the social-media pages of radio programmes and community organisations. The chapter understands feedback processes as both formal and informal, in person and through intermediaries or online. Feedback is one of the major modes of participation, and through the analysis of audience participation, along with Chapter Six, this chapter argues that community members are involved in these radio shows as prosumers. This chapter particularly analyses the activity and self-understanding of audience members as critical prosumers in these migrant communities' radio programmes. Participation and its main elements analysed in this research context are: community members' access to the capacity to produce radio content; access to the possibility of receiving the produced content and archives; interaction with radio content – feedback to producers, ability to contribute to the content; and the ability to contribute to decision-making. In this digital era, participation of the audience in terms of feedback and involvement in traditional or mainstream media has also increased since these media went online (Johansson et al., 2017). In this research context, social media and other community platforms such as community gatherings also serve as community participation platforms with a lower level of barrier to participation. As

members of small communities, participants thought that other platforms, such as Facebook, are also effective and participatory. However, these migrant community members, as collectively under-represented and under-served by the structures of participation in other media, are highly motivated and involved in their radio programmes.

## **7.2. Feedback mechanisms**

Feedback as a mechanism or process has different associations and meanings in different fields of study. Feedback is most important as a corrective or evaluative measure or as a source of learning and is considered one of the dynamic processes of human interaction (Sutton et al., 2012). In this research, feedback takes the form of human-to-human interaction that may be either active or passive. According to Sutton et al., active interaction is when a sender directly criticises, praises or advises a receiver. A passive activity is when a person observes the behaviour of others and perceives but does not react (Sutton et al., 2012). In a mass communication model, feedback is understood as a reverse flow of communication, in which the original source of a message becomes the receiver and the original receiver becomes the new source of the message. Baran and Davis (2012) describe the mass communication process as a series of feedback loops:

Feedback loops enable sources to monitor the influence of their messages on receivers. But just as important, receivers can in turn influence sources. If the effects are not what was expected or desired, a source can keep altering a message until the desired feedback is obtained (Baran and Davis, 2012, p.184).

In a traditional mass communication system, feedback is considered difficult and complex and dependent on a formal system. However, the internet and digitally-distributed media

content have changed the feedback system by providing effective and immediate platforms. Utilising social media as digital platforms provide not only effective distribution channels but also efficient and accessible feedback channels. Digital platforms and processes assist audience members to become co-creators of content. A feedback mechanism is one of the prerequisites of participatory communication.

Berrigan argues that feedback is an important element of access and participation in community media. The emphasis given to feedback can determine people's degree of participation or involvement at production and decision-making levels (Berrigan, 1979). The existence of adequate feedback mechanisms in any communication system makes communication more participatory and decreases audiences' passivity. Berrigan (1977) argues that, without a means of feedback, media only practice one-way communication. Through feedback, the audience can be involved in a radio programme as a decision maker. At the same time, through feedback, producers and the community organisations can evaluate whether the content of the radio programme and the policies adopted to sustain it are beneficial and effective, or not, for the wider community. In this context feedback means the available opportunity and the ability for audiences to contribute in decision-making processes of radio content or in community organisations. Community organisations should be responsive to the needs of society, which can be achieved through continuing dialogue and implementation of community views. As Berrigan argues:

...there has to be continuing dialogue, communication, between those for whom the services are intended. More than that, there has to be some guarantee that the views of the community will be taken into account. Only in such a situation can the process of growth continue (Berrigan, 1979, p.9).

Feedback processes provide opportunities for interaction that can be used to build community consensus over the content and policies. Interaction in this context means opportunities for the community members to provide feedback to producers and also their ability to contribute in small practical ways to the content. The three migrant communities discussed in this thesis are utilising a range of modes of communication to interact with audience members.

Sometimes the community organisation that coordinates the radio programme works as a facilitator of the communication:

In past or till now, I think if there are some sort of suggestions we have received from our general members or if we receive any feedback then we talk to the producer in person or maybe face to face when we get to meet or greet each other, or we might talk over the phone and pass on the feedback in that way (SP, Nepalese community leader).

In some instances, as discussed in Chapter Six, the community organisations and radio programmes are easily accessible through the various feedback mechanisms practised within the communities. These encourage audience reactions and demands for the purpose of including them in the content production and decision-making processes of the community radio programmes. They include interpersonal interactions, telephone, email or letters, social media interactions and formal meetings about the content and policy related to radio programmes. Referring to Chapter Six, I argue that community members are also using these communication modes to exchange their reactions and feedback with the radio producers and executive teams of community organisations.

Community radio encourages the participation of community members at every level of broadcasting. Although it would be too idealistic to expect that the majority of the audience will be involved in radio broadcasting in any society, Barbrook (1992) argues that the participation of an active minority of listeners justifies the condition of participation in community media (Barbrook, 1992). Martinez-Roa and Ortega-Erazo (2018) argue that requesting songs is a major form of audience participation on local community radio stations in Colombia. They further argue that, although in small numbers, audiences also critically participate in the radio content by “making a suggestion, a complaint, a critique of the broadcaster, and participating in a debate”(Martinez-Roa and Ortega-Erazo, 2018, p.86). The study argues that in community radio audiences participate passively, in accordance with the tendencies of audience participation found in Chile (Ramírez, 2014) and Ecuador (García & Ávila, 2009), (as cited in Martinez-Roa and Ortega-Erazo, 2018, p. 88). However, the majority of the audience members who participated in this research were satisfied with the content and improvements they were feeling in these radio programmes:

Actually, initially, they had a different module, but now I think they have started, you know, to increase the participation from the local community, which is really good. So, I think it's not very frequent, but the trend is much better than before (SDP, Nepalese interview participant).

I have personally seen a lot of improvements in their programme on their first day. They initially started with mostly music and then they improved a lot or sometimes they speak about just points or too much or too long. But they improve it then by the time after a couple of programmes, couple of weeks after they got feedback (HN, Iranian focus group participant).



Yes, usually even now while we are on-air, lots of listeners are messaging that they are happy, they are thankful because actually they send us that message. Yes, they are happy that they have something to listen [to] about the Filipino community, so yes, they are just messaging. And sometimes, when they are with us personally, they will just be happy to meet us (CC, Filipino producer).

The community radio programmes are platforms for these migrant communities where they can participate easily. The majority of the participants in focus groups and interviews responded that their feedback was not ignored.

During the interviews and focus groups, participants responded that they mostly pass on ideas and feedback about the programmes' format and contents. However, some audience members send feedback or talk to the producers if they find wrong information or ideas:

Basically, I go for the content of the programme. Sometimes there is nonsense. It should not be part of it but then sometimes they would just exaggerate it and that would create a negative impact in the community (DSG, Filipino interview participant).

The feedback quite often has been related to the broadcast that [has] already been on the radio itself. So, being a listener and listening to the broadcast, we get a few different ideas and we obviously pass that constructive feedback to our producers and then see what we can do a bit differently in future to increase the effectiveness of the programme itself (SP, Nepalese interview participant).

Most of the programmes I listen [to] maybe. Sometimes I found something is not correct. I send them feedback (AT, Iranian interview participant).

However, some of the audience members were very active. They sent feedback before and after every episode and they knew the importance of feedback for the betterment of the programmes. One of the Nepalese focus group participants who regularly follow the radio programme Namaste Nepal, responded that feedback is important to improve the programme quality:

At one stage, even the programme producer was not that much needed to have some sort of the motivation. He was not motivated at that time. But time has changed for the last couple of years. Now lots of people are listening to Namaste Nepal, Nepalese community radio. They are providing their feedback via different media telephone, texting or maybe Facebook or whatever it is or may be face to face. It is very important to provide feedback and to make some sort of changes; you really need to have some sort of different flavour (SK, Nepalese focus group participant).

The active audience knows the importance of feedback, and they contribute it on a regular basis. According to the producers, the number of active audience members is very small. However, the producers say that whenever the producers meet community members at community gatherings and activities, they receive compliments and feedback. Most respondents prefer to talk to the producers in person. In community radio, the participation of the audience can contribute to the creation or maintenance of the community (Guo, 2017).

Guo proposes that, in alternative or community media, community members can be involved in two ways: being content-oriented, and participation oriented. In content-oriented involvement, producers and audiences continuously exchange viewpoints over the media content. In participation-oriented involvement, audience members are encouraged to participate in the media production process (Guo, 2017, p.114).

More than half of the interview participants responded that they have participated in radio programmes at least once or twice during last three to four years. They participated mainly as guests or through voice recordings. The producers try to make the participation process easy so that everyone can participate in radio programmes:

What I'm trying to say, there are people who always want the big picture. You know, big people in society as guests. But we try to do some different interviews during, many times, you know? So, like you can be a one person, he doesn't have any social status, social renowned faces, he can be the guest that's how I do the radio show (BIP, Nepalese producer).

So, we just select it through randomly. There is no such requirement, so like Tuesday so we met a Filipino that [is a ] member of our Christchurch City Choir. So, we get interested to her and we guested her. So, anything that interests our Filipino community (CC, Filipino producer).

We are trying to ask them to share what they want, what they have with us, even we have Facebook or recording their voice sending to us, even email. We are happy if they want to come, even we suggest to them "If you find that is

difficult to record in your phone or sending to us, you can come to the studio, we are booking the room and you can come here we are recording here, editing, we can do entirely like interview and editing.” That’s why we are trying to involve them in the programme and we find if we involve people from different groups because we have different groups of Iranians here. If we involve people from different groups, it will, like, increase the number of listeners (HM, Iranian producer).

These responses above are evidence that the community members are encouraged to participate in their radio programmes. Moreover, these practices provide opportunities to the community members for their involvement in content production through the feedback mechanisms, such as the Iranian community is including content which is recorded using audience voices.

In some cases, community members recommended the guests for an interview. They mostly recommend the guests for interviews from their area of interest or someone from their network or relationships. In this regard, the community members can influence the programme content through their interview recommendations, and in most cases, as their recommendations were implemented, this justifies the availability of opportunities to interact with the programme content and with the producers themselves. The community executives and radio producers were flexible and responsive to the suggestions and feedback from the community members. However, they could not accommodate all of the requests because of the available space:

Many of the audience asked us to have a lawyer to talk about immigration problems – the way that they can apply for New Zealand residency and something like that – and we tried to find one who is an Iranian person and who can speak in Farsi so we do not need any translator but we could not find anybody in New Zealand. We also had this option to find a lawyer to talk about [immigration issues] but we [do not have a] translator who knows laws very well (MT, Iranian community leader/producer).

Although the community radio programmes themselves offer opportunities for community participation in every step of the production and decision-making processes, the extent of utilising such opportunities remains with the community. Browne (2005) argues that in minority media and participation, the audience is the community and the community is the audience. He further argues that ‘feelings of meaningfulness held by the community members matter more than the form of participation’ (Browne, 2005ap.114).

Although the opportunities and mechanisms exist to encourage audience involvement in content production, to some extent it can be argued that these radio programmes have also adopted a commercial format in content selection, as mostly the producers decide what might be useful for the audience members. Pinseler (2015) argues that in commercial radio, listeners appear as ‘imagined listeners’. According to Pinseler, the main idea of ‘imagined listeners’ is based on producers’ assumptions about listeners, such as their dislikes and interests. He argues that commonly listeners appear on radio programmes not by being heard but by being referred to (Pinseler, 2015, p.62-63). However, the availability and accessibility of the feedback mechanisms in community radio place it in a different situation from commercial radio. In this regard, audience members believe that community radio producers

are picking up the right content. The high level of satisfaction amongst the community members can be one of the main reasons that discourages active audience participation and encourages passive involvement. Moreover, in community media, the producers and audiences, as members of the same community, share the same language, identity and socio-cultural background, and as a member of the community, producers tend to create conversation with the audience (Guo, 2017). This situation and understanding lead to authenticity in the communication process, as Widdowson (1979) argues that authenticity “depends on a congruence of the language producer’s intentions and language receiver’s interpretation, this congruence being affected through shared knowledge of conventions” (Widdowson, 1979, p.62). The community organisations practice formal and informal structures of feedback for the radio programmes. As a small community, the producers and audiences know each other, and feedback mechanisms mostly exist as interpersonal communication systems.

### **7.3. Interpersonal and other traditional forms of feedback**

Technological innovation has changed the modes of communication significantly, in terms of both content distribution and feedback exchange. Social media platforms affect the traditional sender-receiver relationship. However, the traditional mass-communication perspective also believes that community radio is also capable of blurring the boundaries between producers and audiences through its participatory practices. The participation of audiences in content production and decision-making also differentiates community radio from public or commercial radio. In community radio, the producers and audiences share the same cultural background. Moreover, the producers in community media are not media professionals like in commercial media but are also community members. As members of the same community,

producers and audiences share common community platforms such as community events, festivals, rituals and community celebrations. Because of the close communal connections, interpersonal communication is the most popular traditional feedback method amongst these communities. In the mass media communication system face-to-face interaction is considered one of the most influential forms of participation (Servaes, 1999). Servaes (1999) argues that “dialogue and face-to-face interaction is inherent in participation” (p. 89). When interacting with someone face-to-face, participants can observe each other, especially how their interactions are being delivered, and they can add more interaction and clarifications to make communication meaningful (Thompson, 1995).

For relatively small communities and those located in very local geographic areas, the most advantageous feedback mechanism here with the migrant communities is interpersonal communication. These unique features and settings of migrant communities also increase the interactivity between producers and community members because most of the audience members know the producers/presenters of the radio programmes. Of the thirty-two audience member participants, twenty-nine responded that they know the producers/presenters personally and most of them said they prefer providing any feedback or suggestions in person and through the social media. A few representative responses were:

Most of the time it's one-to-one meetings with the host in person. Most of the time we do that and apart from that I have already told that I have not called him, and I have not emailed him till now. So yeah, it's just the face to face communication with the host regarding the programmes, you know, what he has broadcasted [and] what I want to listen [to] (JD, Nepalese focus group participant).

Oh yes, actually I know all [the] producers here, most of them, maybe two of them are civil graduates or maybe [their] wife or husband, or some of the students are here at Canterbury University. So, I know most of them, they are students here, I saw them in Persian festivals or ceremonies (AT, Iranian interview participant).

We know the person. That's why we are just able to directly pass to them about it...because we do interact with them on a regular basis. So, when it just comes in the mind, we tell them what we think you should do or something like that (MRU, Filipino focus group participant).

Yes, exactly, it's really good as I just said in a very small society like Iranians here, it's easy to interact with producers, like some of them are, some of the people working on the radio are our friends, you meet them every so often, so we can just give them our suggestions (RP, Iranian focus group participant).

Some participants thought that interpersonal communication can enhance the sincerity of feedback and communication. One of the Filipino interview participants, DSG, responded: "I think it would be like for me because you can find it the sincerity of the person talking right in front of you." However, some people are not comfortable with face-to-face communications, especially when someone intends to pass a critical comment on something. A small piece of conversation with an Iranian interview participant indicates the possibility of the existence of such anxiety in communities:



There should be someone that I [can] tell them, and then tell because I couldn't say [to] them directly...it is because of our culture we couldn't say directly that, for example, your voice is not good, you have some problem because of our culture, we couldn't do it (FD, Iranian interview participant).

Interpersonal communication is active two-way communication where the involved participants can actively negotiate the meaning of the communication content. Thompson (1995) characterises face-to-face interaction as where “the participants commonly employ a multiplicity of symbolic cues in order to convey messages and to interpret messages conveyed by others” (Thompson, 1995, p.83). In this research context, face-to-face communication is possible because migrant communities and radio programmes are based in a single small geographical area. However, mediated interpersonal communications are also popular in this context.

Social media, particularly Facebook, is another popular medium for feedback among these three migrant communities for exchanging feedback. However, some people prefer a direct call or text message (SMS) to Facebook:

I prefer [to] give the message to them, [to] have a conversation by texting, [to] give the message to them (MM, Filipino focus group participant).

I have most of them I see the producer. So, normally face to face talking or by text messaging. I have not gone through the Facebook page so far (BP, Nepalese focus group participant).

Before the popularity of social media, mobile phone and email technologies were considered the factors which changed the producer-audience relationship in radio broadcasting. Bonini (2015) identified the time frame (1994 to 2004) for when SMS and email were considered the most effectively-used media in radio broadcasting as a medium of interaction and participation:

Text messages and emails updated the private relationship between host and listener, which until then was only based on paper letters. The speed at which short digital texts could be transmitted thanks to mobile text messaging services and emails increased audience feedback to radio stations. This increase in textual flow became an invaluable source of information for producers; the information, filtered and re-elaborated, was then transformed into new content, ready to enter the radio flow (Bonini, 2015, p.11).

Interpersonal communication, whether face-to-face or mediated, can enhance the relationship between the producers and audiences. As argued by Bonini (2015), it also opens up the possibility of participation which places audiences as a source of the content. Increased access and participation of the audience in this research context meet some criteria that placed community members in a critical prosumers role in the production process.

The phone-in programme format is considered the most influential form of audience participation in radio. In live call-in radio programmes, the audience can call and speak to the producers live on air. Some scholars consider that this format is the most effective feedback platform for an audience to get involved in content production. For some, the phone-in programme format is also considered user-generated content on the radio (Starkey, 2015). In

phone-in programmes, the conversation of a listener allows other listeners to hear someone from “an identified neighbouring locality – that is, to hear someone arguably not dissimilar to themselves – and to relate to that person” (Starkey, 2015, p.45). However, some scholars have critically examined the extent of influence of the audience in such on-air participation. Pinseler argues, referring to several studies, that “individual listeners can regularly be heard on radio programmes but the listener as such has almost no influence on which arguments are discussed on the air” (Pinseler, 2015, p.58). These three migrant radio programmes do not utilise these phone-in features of a radio programme as they broadcast weekly and two of them, Namaste Nepal and Toranj, are pre-recorded. However, some community members expressed the opinion that they could include audience participation through phone-ins:

I think the pattern of live call will be good when you listen to the radio every time. For example, there is programme live and you are a regular listener then its better you call them and give your opinions and you know and what do you think about the programme. But right now, all the programmes are recorded, and you listen to, I mean, whichever time is suitable for you (JD, Nepalese focus group participant).

In this context, direct involvement of the audience in programmes might have some influence on the programmes’ contents or formats.

Producers are flexible in terms of feedback channels – they think community members can use any suitable medium. The producers also felt that they were acknowledged for their contributions. Many community members know the producers, who tried to be more visible at a public event where they meet community members.

Yes, because every time we have a seminar, so it's always I think twice a month we do seminars, and we always announce that we have a radio and usually I always wear my T-shirt to show them that we have a radio programme and I think they are not just very vocal, that they are listening, but what I experience is every time I meet other people and they know my name and they will just say 'oh, you are from the radio', so, they are listening (CC, Filipino producer).

Producers from the Nepalese and Iranian communities also felt the same. They heard a lot about their radio programmes and received compliments. Most of them said that they felt motivated by such feedback. However, they felt disappointed about not receiving critical feedback on content, suggestions from guests, or involvement in content production. Producers responded that they try to encourage not only feedback but direct participation in content production as well.

Community members, however, felt that the producers and the executive teams of community organisations continue to improve the community engagement, to encourage participation from audiences. The producers can reach many audience members at a social gathering or through social media to collect audience feedback and suggestions:

I definitely think it [radio programme] should be interactive and also in the social media. I think it would be useful if the producer and the other people who are organising the radio programme could come to the events and maybe walk around with a mic and then take interviews with different kinds of people

and they broadcast them later, which could show the interaction and maybe they could ask questions about the improvements as well (SSH, Nepalese focus group participant).

Although producers and community organisations use other community gatherings to promote radio programmes, these platforms can be utilised in better ways, such as conducting surveys, formally asking about programme contents. These resources are also useful for producers to understand the audiences' expectations. The producers also can utilise social media to encourage feedback and participation.

#### **7.4. Social media and feedback**

As discussed in Chapter Six, social media is influential in terms of extending opportunities and platforms for access and participation of the community in radio programmes. This chapter has particularly analysed social media, particularly Facebook, as a medium and platform for feedback. Some of the examples and responses from the audience members regarding content-related and structural participation were included in Chapter Six. On internet platforms, social media not only provides easy platforms and access to receive media content, but it also provides the audience with opportunities for re-production and co-production (Bonini, 2015). In this regard, internet platforms provide new spaces through which audiences can access, consume, and participate in radio (Moyo, 2013). To whatever extent radio includes the audience in a participatory approach, it is still one-way communication. The audience cannot provide feedback through the same device as two-way interaction. However, social media can work as back-channels which are considered

supplementary communication-channels for users, mainly to enhance communicative exchanges with radio (Zelenkauskaitė, 2015) .

In this regard, social media, particularly Facebook, is working as a back-channel to exchange feedback. A majority of the participants responded that they prefer to use social media, particularly Facebook, to send their feedback. The participants believe that Facebook is a more effective and immediate way to interact with radio programmes' producers.

Yes, more than a personal email and, you know, the personal communication over the phone. Actually, I prefer writing on Facebook and giving feedback on Facebook (SDP, Nepalese interview participant).

The most effective would be I think to be Facebook, social media (BP, Nepalese focus group participant).

Actually, the more effective really is Facebook because it's a platform that almost all the Filipinos use. There is no way that you cannot use Facebook, especially if you have to get in touch with family from home. So, I guess if you don't know the producers, I am pretty sure only a small group of people will know them and some of them are here. So, but for those living in different cities and different towns, that's the quickest way to get to them through Facebook (LS, Filipino focus group participant).

Yes and it [Facebook] is very interactive, you can instantly react and comment on the discussions (MR, Filipino interview participant).

Yes, they have a Facebook page and most of the time I give them the feedback if I do not agree, or some good feedback. I keep in touch with them (FM, Iranian focus group participant).

Yes, I agree that Facebook is the best way to communicate with producers toward your feedback (RP, Iranian focus group participant).

On social media platforms, the previously passive audience members become active participants and agents of cultural production (Villi and Matikainen, 2016).

One of the principles of community access radio is that its feedback needs to be always open, and full interaction between the producers and receivers of messages should be maintained (Tabing, 2002). Access and interaction in this research context is the possibility of listening to the content and sending feedback to the producers, which are closely associated with Berrigan's access of choice and access of feedback framework for participatory media. The radio programme producers are open to multiple channels to receive feedback, however, they prefer Facebook as a feedback-receiving platform:

Everything now is on Facebook. Yes, that is why, yes they always ask, send us a message to Facebook (CC, Filipino producer).

Yes, we are fine with Facebook (HM, Iranian producer).

Yeah, they know my number, they can text me. I love to hear comments in email and Facebook, whatever [is] easy for them, whatever access [is easy] for them, they can do this (BIP, Nepalese producer).

Although the participants prefer Facebook as the easiest channel for feedback sharing, it sometimes does not work comfortably, especially when people try to pass critical feedback.

Most of the social networking sites work as virtual platforms, and identity in those platforms is mainly self-represented (Zhao et al., 2008). However, for these migrant communities and their radio programmes, Facebook and virtual networks also connect as real-life social networks. As the Facebook profiles and pages of community groups are mostly closed, people who share, like, and comment on those pages are people with social or offline connections. In this context, some participants thought that Facebook was not appropriate for giving feedback as it cannot be done anonymously. In some situations, they simply want to avoid other people on the same Facebook pages:

But we have a problem with Facebook, [which] is that you cannot place your comments anonymously. But some websites like Stuff you know you read an article and [can] say something without any fear that, for example, this guy might judge me [when] I place my comments. OK, but I sometimes might be [thinking], perhaps maybe I don't like to place my comments because all Iranians are reading, [so] that it's not that fully comfortable (JG, Iranian focus group participant).



I think in these days you know everyone has their own Facebook page. If the program itself has its own Facebook page, I think people would find it easier. But if something doesn't have to be, you know there are certain sensitive things that it would be better to share in private or in a private message rather than made public then I think the community people should be aware of that and there should be a platform to send private messages etc. (SSH, Nepalese focus group participant).

It is believed that the majority of people connected in Facebook or any social network sites are known to each other. In other words, most people intend to seek real-life connections to add other people to their virtual networks (Diani, 2000, Ellison et al., 2007, Kujath, 2011). These migrant communities that are also connected through Facebook have real-life connections as members of the community organisations that coordinate radio programmes and other activities. However, social network sites, particularly Facebook, provide opportunities to make new connections based on common interests and goals. Such interest groups exist on Facebook.

In some cases, Facebook can potentially become a reason for conflict, and this may affect real-life relationships. One of the Iranian focus groups participants responded:

There are some points: actually most of the people are using their Facebook and they might not listen to Toranj programme and radio but can download their link on Facebook and give their comments. But sometimes there might be some conflicts between people and it is not good because in Facebook you

know who you are talking with and this conflict may affect your relationship in the real world (MS, Iranian focus group participant).

Social media multiplies the participation opportunities for audiences in content production but, to some extent, this involvement is not significantly changing the producer-audience relationship. In this context, producers are still gatekeeping, and audience involvement at an interpersonal level is also not sufficient to make the radio programme more participatory. However, Willems (2013) and Monclús et al. (2015) argue that with two ideal conditions a desirable level of participation can be achieved: first, the audience members develop initiatives and contribute to content production as producers or co-creators; and secondly, a willingness from the radio programmes to invite the audience to call in, SMS or email their messages or leave their contribution on Facebook (Willems, 2013, Monclús et al., 2015).

### **7.5. Formal and informal structures of feedback mechanisms**

In this context, formal feedback means the structural mechanism or process of providing feedback at decision-making levels available to individual community members. These structures include community meetings or similar types of formal setup, and the accessibility of community members in such structures to provide feedback related to radio programmes. On the other hand, an informal structure means the availability and accessibility of feedback mechanisms in personal or casual situations. The informal structure includes any interpersonal communication or interaction between community members and producers or community leaders, either face-to-face or in the mediated sphere. The existence and accessibility of formal–informal feedback mechanisms are associated with the access to and participation of the community members in their radio programmes. The availability of

feedback is also connected to power relations even in non-profit, community-based organisations. This section analyses the strategies and policies implemented by the community organisations and radio producers to make sure that every member's voice is being heard. This chapter argues that informally, every individual is able to access the feedback mechanisms either in social, face-to-face interaction, or mediated interaction. However, the formal structures and practices are crucial to understanding the actual extent of participation at the decision-making level.

These three radio programmes are owned by non-profit community organisations. Every member of these organisations has equal power, and there is the right for members to be elected or to elect their representatives. These organisations are operated through specific rules and guidelines according to the nature of their establishment. The Nepal New Zealand Friendship Society of Canterbury Inc. (NNZFSC) and Philippines Culture and Sports (PCS) are incorporated societies and function according to their incorporation rules. In contrast, the University of Canterbury Iranian Student Association (UCIS is a student club from the University of Canterbury) is operating under the guidelines of the University of Canterbury Student Association (UCSA). These three radio programmes are within the activities of these community organisations. These community organisations conduct several meetings within the core team of executives at least once a month, where they can talk and decide the content or policy of the radio programmes. Such meetings are also used to discuss radio programmes as well, but most of the time only if any issues emerge:

We do not talk about it [Mabuhay Radio Filipino] at our meetings, only if there is a problem because we see it (DR, Filipino community leader).

Ok, maybe once per month we have one meeting. So, during the meeting, we try to discuss all those things, because now we are six people. We are going for the recording, so we divide into three different groups because as I told you we are either working or full-time studying so what we do, we create different groups, so we are discussing about this one (HM, Iranian producer).

Yeah, that has happened in [the] past and that's something we are focusing on as well. So, I believe if we invite the radio producer to our meetings and get his feedback and provide our feedback as well, we might be able to come up with some sort of structure or some sort of common will or common understanding between the community and the producer himself and come to a common understanding and toward the better results (SP, Nepalese community leader).

These meetings can be seen as formal structures where community organisations can draft any changes of policies for the radio programmes. As representatives of community members, the core team or the executives have the right to decide about the radio programmes.

Apart from electing representatives, community members believe they have easy access to the formal structures of monthly executive team meetings, and can be part of decision-making. They can use this process if they think something is important to broadcast or change in the radio programmes:

Actually, we can ask ... the executive members. Like 'I have this idea and you can just put it on your next meeting so that you can have some rigorous

discussion on that, and just ask the producer to make it like that, or how effective it will be to put on the like to produce on that matter (SD, Nepalese focus group participant).

Because two of the hosting people, they are members or executive members of UCIS. So, when I send a comment and they have good connections with other executive members of UCIS, so I'm pretty sure ... [if] they saw my comment [that] already means that executive members of UCIS also saw, so it didn't happen again specific message for executive members (AT, Iranian interview participant).

So, when that happens it's very casual to see the list, we don't really have strong strict rules that everyone must follow. We just have people giving their feedback telling other people that maybe you want to do this, or you want to set things this way and then a lot of people will say yes and some of them will say no but in the end, there is no full obligation (MRU, Filipino focus group participant).

In this regard, the community organisations are operating as democratic institutions and they have different structures to include members' voices on particular issues. These responses from audiences indicate that the structures are accessible to the general members to raise concerns about radio programmes.

Besides those monthly meetings, the Nepalese community has another formal structure, the AGM (Annual General Meeting), where the audience members can discuss the radio

programme. Most of the Nepalese participants think that this can be a very influential platform for involving community members in direct interaction about their radio programme. As per this practice the executive team has to submit accountabilities of all the programmes run by the NNZFSC, including the radio programme Namaste Nepal.

There have been a few discussions in annual general meetings with regard to the quality, or how being a non-profit organisation, all the funding or the day to day expenses are covered by the funding of the donations, so there have been quite a few discussions in the other general meetings, or [the] annual general meeting as well, [as to] how we can provide the proper funding to improve the quality of the radio itself (SP, Nepalese community leader).

From a general community member or audience member's perspective, the annual gathering can be utilised as a forum or platform to discuss the radio show. However, some members are concerned about the turnover of community members at the AGM. A small piece from the Nepalese focus group discussion can indicate the individualised experience of the AGM and its efficiency:

**SD:** Yeah, that will be a good platform to discuss this matter because, for the large community, you have the direct respondents over there. So, it will be more effective in that particular situation.

**JD:** Seeing the trend within society in the last two or three years, I haven't seen many people turn up for the AGM. So, I mean I don't think people are coming to the AGM to listen to the feedback or to give the information on the radio

show. I think in my opinion it would be better if we give the information by the social media rather than in the meetings you know. That's the trend, what I see here in Christchurch.

**DB:** But actually, it's never missed you know. As a part of the annual report, that is mentioned because that becomes a better chunk of the budgeting as well. That has to be discussed and it [is] stipulated somewhere you know in the report. So, there happens to raise the issue and then you know, I think it has been a topic for discussion. It might not have to come for a long time but then it's always discussed or at least mentioned you know.

The responses indicate that the Nepalese community has a formal structure that provides opportunities for the community members to participate in decision-making about the radio programme. However, as the radio programme is only one of the activities that the community organisation runs, the community members also responded that a separate meeting could be a good strategy to enhance participation in the radio programme.

The Filipino and Iranian communities do not have a formal feedback structure as the Nepalese community does. The Iranian community is relatively newly organised and they are still trying to formalise the structure. However, the UCIS is trying to utilise other community events and gatherings as a platform to receive audience feedback and encourage participation. In contrast, the Filipino community leader thinks that the organisation is not able to focus on the radio as the community is managing other events and projects. These two community organisations assumed that no critical feedback means all the community members are happy with the radio programmes:

Most of them in the events we have, in Iranian events may be twice, three times, four times a year when we see all the community, most of the community in somewhere, they talk to us about the programme and sometimes between friends' groups or something like that (MT, Iranian community leader).

It is important but we don't have time to do that anymore. We don't have time to do that anymore, we have a lot of projects to do which [are] keeping our time and these people are also busy. So, getting feedback is, that [if] no one tells us that means it is positive (DR, Filipino community leader).

Although these two communities are not practising any formal structure, community members are encouraged and welcomed to raise their concerns through the interpersonal social media platform. The community organisations are flexible and positive regarding such feedback.

Scholars argue that the community radio should have a flexible or horizontal structure that allows community members to participate at any level of the content production or decision-making processes. According to Carpentier (2011), the horizontal power structure of community radio facilitates the participation of marginalised groups and communities where “core or staff members (often present in the community and alternative media organizations) shy away from the ‘traditional’ media professional identities and practices” (Carpentier, 2011, p.97). Even in democratic community structures, equitable opportunities for participation exist in an ideal situation. Hochheimer argues, referring to research practice,



that people who are more active in the content-production process are more active in society, and when they begin to participate they compare themselves as being the most knowledgeable in their community (Hochheimer, 1993). This may be the reason that fewer people come forward with feedback and suggestions to participate in radio programmes. In an ideal situation, these migrant communities would have formal and informal feedback structures and horizontal power structures. However, the major concern here remains whether all community voices are given the same weight or not. The majority of the participants in this research responded that their feedback and suggestions were implemented in radio programmes:

Yes, usually like our community organisation has been very much positive in implementing, receiving ideas and implementing the ideas by senior members of the society and I've been lucky that actually most of the ideas that I have put forward have been adopted and implemented (RD, Nepalese interview participant).

Most of the participants felt that their suggestions and feedback were valued by radio producers and community organisations. However, it is difficult to relate power structures and participation barriers by analysing some of the audience responses, as most of the participants were not involved intensely in programme production processes. A more in-depth observation of community activities and decision-making processes might be helpful to see the power structures and any exclusion of segments of the community. In this context, again Hochheimer's (1993) argument about access and gatekeeping is appropriate.

Hochheimer asks:

What about those who do wish to be heard? Station planners often try to make access feasible, yet problems remain. Should the station be the conduit for all who come before the microphones? Or does the station exercise some form of gatekeeping? Frequently, those who come to the station to be heard not only are drawn from the more disaffected parts of society (who certainly need channels of expression in a system dominated by the powerful), but they are also those who have the easiest means of access to the station, because of the access to transport, time off from work or proximity (Hochheimer, 1993, p.476).

It is worth noting Hochheimer's argument in this research context as most of the community members who are involved as producers or executive members of the communities are volunteering their time and efforts. Also, some of the audience participants responded that they were not able to contribute to the radio programmes because of time and financial constraints. These might be the reasons for the less active participation of community members in radio programmes.

## **7.6. Understanding access and participation of audiences as critical prosumers**

After analysing the access and participation of community members in their radio programmes, this thesis argues that these migrant community members are performing the role of the critical prosumer. According to Sandoval and Fuchs (2010), in an ideal form of alternative, and participatory, media, the audience is involved in production processes as a prosumer. For Sandoval and Fuchs this is a key difference between alternative media and commercial media. This chapter, along with Chapter Six, has analysed the modes of content

and structural participation by audiences of these radio shows, through feedback and other formal and informal structures. The Nepalese community holds an annual general meeting where community members can talk about their radio programme. The Iranian community is promoting community members' participation through the recorded voice and by email, and the Filipino producers also provide an immediate feedback system on their live radio programme. These practices and the availability of opportunities for community members to participate in radio content and decision-making are the major examples of these migrant community members participating in their radio programmes as critical prosumers.

However, these migrant radio programmes' contextual substances are not similar to an ideal model of community media as defined by Sandoval and Fuchs (2010), which is only imaginable in a capitalistic society. Sandoval and Fuchs (2010) argue that an ideal alternative media model requires presupposed societal conditions which are not possible under the capitalistic system. In a capitalistic society "non-commercial, participatory, and collective organization can often only be sustained at the cost of public visibility and political effectiveness" (Sandoval and Fuchs, 2010, p.146). They further argue that to gain public visibility community media needs financial resources for producing and distributing media content. To achieve the ideal alternative media, people need to have the time and skills to consume and produce media content, and technology for media production should be available free of cost. Because the concept of alternative media is too ideal or imaginary under the capitalist societal system, Sandoval and Fuchs (2010) proposed that critical content is a minimum requirement of alternative media. They argue that capitalism creates social inequality and alternative media content should be critical toward the inequality that exists in capitalistic society. Sandoval and Fuchs (2010) propose the ideal or achievable alternative or community media model in two structures: media actors, and media structure, with

prerequisites at both levels. In an alternative media structure, media content should be critical, or in complex form, and at the media actor level, the producer produces critical content. The content is able to be critical if it is free from economic dependency, because, argue Sandoval and Fuchs (2010), commercial financing leads necessarily to ideological content as it creates dependencies. The ideal media production processes involve the transformation of objective and subjective knowledge to produce critical and complex content:

Through the production process, the subjective knowledge of media producers becomes objectified in media products. Subjective knowledge of the producers turns into an objective structure. Media products again become subjectified through the process of reception: the objective media products turn into subjective knowledge. The reception also enables further production (Sandoval and Fuchs, 2010, p.145).

Applying these requirements and social conditions to this study, it can be argued that these migrant communities are producing critical content as they are free from the market pressure inherent in commercial radio. Commercial media create content suitable for advertisers in order to generate revenue from the advertisers, and media producers are also influenced by that market-driven journalism (Hagen, 2015). These migrant community radio programmes are free from market pressures as they broadcast as not-for-profit radio programmes. The Plains FM only charges an air-time fee, which is relatively small, and the community leaders explained that they receive the funding from charitable organisations and sometimes they do internal fundraising.

The broadcasting facilities, including studio, equipment and software, available at Plains FM are easily accessible to the broadcasters and are free of charge. The producers/presenters received basic training from Plains FM staff on how to use studio equipment and recording facilities. During the observation, I found that the Nepalese and Filipino producers seemed more confident in live broadcasting and using the recording studio as they have long experience of operating in the studio. Because the Iranian producers are relatively new to radio, they were less confident, for instance in operating the live studio. According to producers/presenters' preferences and confident levels, these production facilities are available through easy to follow procedures.

We can have access to the pre-recording studio there and the on-air studio. So, we have to make a pre-booking for both the studios (BIP, Nepalese radio programme producer).

It is easy because there is a computer and it is always online. So, you just have to sit there and do your thing. [No formal procedure] I always go early to the radio station and do the research and prepare music (CC, Filipino radio programme producer).

To book that studio, we just log in to the Plains FM email from the calendar. We book it directly and the stuff ... we need ... is already there. It is easy and they [staff from Plains FM] are very kind and they are helping with our issues (HM, Iranian radio programme producer).

The community radio programmes are relatively close to Sandoval and Fuchs' (2010) ideal alternative model in terms of market pressures and accessibility to the production facilities. In addition, Plains FM is also encouraging community members to participate in their radio programmes. According to Nicki Reece, the station manager of Plains FM, the station always welcomes community members to get some technical skills to run their radio programme. Plains FM offers training and staff support (Nicki Reece, 2018, personal communication August 20).

Ownership is another important aspect of analysing participation. Democratic participation and grass-roots decision making are the principles of participatory democratic theory, and true democracy is not limited to the political realm but spread across all social systems (Sandoval and Fuchs, 2010). Particularly, in the radio programmes, I found that audience members understand they have ownership of their radio programmes. The majority of the participants responded that they feel the radio programme is their own. In relation to another important point of ownership, the majority of the participants responded that they are ready to help financially to sustain their radio programmes:

When we started Namaste Nepal, actually, we did not have any funds to run the programme. But we decided, look because we will use our contingency funding which is the funding coming from the members, membership fees and donations, like we were even getting donations and membership fees, and we started, we ran the programme for the first year and then only we started applying for external funding from the councils and from other external funding organizations. So, still now actually we have not got enough funding to compensate for the hosts' time (RD, Nepalese interview participant).

As far as I have any extra [money] like why not, it's an organisation or it's a place where you can help. Yeah, why not, because they are also helping that one in return to people who are in need, and they are the access to those people which you don't know ... and because of the station we can reach out (DSG, Filipino interview participant).

I'm willing to because the very purpose of that radio program is very important for Filipino like me. So, I'm willing to help (MR, Filipino interview participant).

Being part of the people who want to support, yes, but if most of the people say no, I could not support personally. We can do something for the programme, as a group yes (FM, Iranian focus group participant).

I think we should contribute financially and also time wise. I am ready to contribute my time, whatever is needed, and also financially if needed for the development and sustainability of the radio programme (BP, Nepalese focus group participant).

These responses show that the community members have strong feelings of ownership of the radio programmes. This sense of ownership also widens the opportunities where community members can participate in radio content production at the decision-making level.

After analysing the access to, and participation by community members in, these radio programmes, it is evident that community members have the access they desire to their radio

programmes to contribute to decisions about the production and content. The community organisations and producers encourage community members' feedback and participation. Baran and Davis (2012) argue that traditional mass media only uses audience feedback to redesign promotional messages but not to gain insight into real life situations and the needs of the audience. An ideal communication system functions in mutual cooperation where "sources will become better informed about the everyday situations faced by audiences, and audiences will gradually learn useful information for restructuring their lives" (Baran and Davis, 2012, p.287). In this regard, the radio programmes are working as an ideal communication system, as the producers are also part of the community and community members are participating in every stage of programme production. The main idea of the prosumer is the involvement of the audience in content production and decision making.

This chapter answers research question two: how do migrant community members participate in their community radio programmes? It finds that the migrant community members are performing critical prosumer roles in their native language radio programmes by taking ownership, participating in production and decision making, and by providing feedback.



## **CHAPTER EIGHT: Community radio programmes as sharing platforms**

### **8.1. Introduction**

This chapter answers research questions three and four: What roles do radio programmes play when uniting the community during disasters? And how do radio programmes work as a platform for identity negotiation? The chapter analyses how the radio programmes create a sense of community through covering natural disasters from migrants' countries of origin. When a natural disaster hits a country with a diaspora, radio programmes help to disseminate information and to create a sense of community for the diaspora in the host society. This chapter also discusses how these community radio platforms are used to share personal reactions when disasters create chaos in a country of origin. In this regard, the research found that most participants prioritised information from their countries of origin over information from their community radio programmes. More precisely, as first-generation migrants, they maintained close connections with their countries of origin. Some scholars argue that even established diasporic communities also have strong cultural and individual connections to their homeland, and those diasporas are promoted and mobilised in different ways from the homeland and the host states. This chapter also analyses how community radio programmes enhance civic engagement among ethnic communities in broader New Zealand society. The chapter argues that migrant radio programmes are helpful for migrant communities when negotiating their space in increasingly multicultural mainstream New Zealand society. These radio programmes not only preserve communities' cultures and identities related to their countries of origin, but also work as vehicles that facilitate the everyday life of communities in wider New Zealand society. The chapter is about community, including these aspects, and using disasters in the countries of origin as an important example of community context.

## **8.2. Times of disaster and radio platforms**

Radio is one of the best media of communication in times of disaster, especially when other technologies and media, such as electricity and telephone, are not available (Spence et al., 2011). The immediacy and easily accessible content of radio make it the best option during disasters. Community radio broadcasts in local languages or dialects also reach and serve disaster-affected areas. An example may be found in the Tohoku region of Japan, where telecommunication infrastructures were seriously damaged by an earthquake and tsunami on 15 March 2011. Local community-based radio stations were the most important media source for the local people to receive updates, and for disaster-related lifeline information for survivors (Kanayama, 2012). Community radio is considered the most effective medium for disaster preparedness as well. In Australia, Cretikos et al. (2008) conducted a survey on disaster preparedness and information sources with respect to the severe storm disaster in New South Wales in June 2007. The survey found that radio was the most useful source of information during the disaster. They further argued that radio replaced television not only in the areas where the electricity supply was interrupted, but also in households that did not experience electricity interruption (Cretikos et al., 2008). Tanesia (2007) analysed the role of community radio in natural disaster experiences in Indonesia, such as volcanoes, earthquakes, and floods. She argued that community radio provides effective support for the coordination of aid distribution and spreading of information about disasters. Tanesia further notes that community radio is effective in Indonesia for entertaining the victims who stay in tents and temporary shelters, as well as becoming a learning tool for students who are unable to go to the schools because of the damage (Tanesia, 2007). Perez-Lugo (2004) found that when Hurricane Georges affected eight communities in Puerto Rico in 1998, the media was significant in supporting the emotional needs of people and creating a link between isolated

groups and individuals rather than simply disseminating official information. At that time, radio served as a tie between isolated individuals or groups (Perez-Lugo, 2004).

In New Zealand, Pauling and Reece (2014) have analysed community access radio station Plains FM and its programmes during and after the two major earthquakes in Christchurch (4 September 2010 and 22 February 2011), using different theoretical models of community radio. During the first earthquake, in September 2010, Plains FM continued broadcasting updated and key information about the quake and recovery. Community broadcasters, including migrant communities, played a vital role in disseminating such information to their communities. However, after the second earthquake, on 22 February 2011, the station was not accessible to the staff members and volunteer programme-makers for several weeks (Pauling and Reece, 2014). Because of the local radio stations' inability to broadcast even days after the earthquake, people in Christchurch entirely depended on national broadcasters, with their content designed for a national audience, for the earthquake coverage on the radio (Joyce, 2016). After Plains FM regained access to the station building, the broadcasters produced and broadcast a series of programmes that helped communities with their recovery and everyday life in the post-disaster situation. After analysing the disaster and post-disaster broadcast experiences, Pauling and Reece (2014) argue that Access Radio stations played roles as outlined by Citizen Media, Democratic Participant Theory, and Alternative to Mainstream Media Theory. Access Radio stations were "thereby fulfilling the criteria of a Multi-Theoretical Approach and providing a tool for deepening society's democratic roots" (pp. 34-35). In this research, some participants who experienced the earthquakes of 2010-2011 in Christchurch also preferred local community radio during the disasters, for example:

I do believe that actually, it is more efficient, quick and accurate than the big commercial broadcast, you know. So, I do prefer a local radio actually, rather than a big commercial [radio], you know, in the case of the disaster, and you know those things. So yes, it is easy to understand and very accurate and very relevant and reliable news for the local radio (SDP, Nepalese interview participant).

Community members also acknowledged the role of radio programmes during other disasters such as earthquakes, fires and floods in and around Christchurch. The community members responded that these radio programmes offered important information and support to the community members in need:

Filipino community radio had an announcement about [the November 2016 Kaikoura] earthquake. They are asking, [if] any Filipino here [had] been hurt or need some assistance. So, it is a good idea for that radio programme, and last time during the bushfire in the Cashmere hills, they also ... [asked] if any Filipino living in the Cashmere Hills need help. So, they [the radio programmes] are always there to help the community, especially those in need (MR, Filipino interview participant).

These responses show that radio programmes are capable of disseminating disaster-related information and support to their specific language community in New Zealand. Pauling and Reece (2014) acknowledged these radio programmes' roles as being similar to Citizen Media during the Christchurch earthquakes in 2010 and 2011.

In some cases, community radio itself becomes a community. Birowo (2010) noted how Lintas Merapi Radio provided a community for people living around Mount Merapi, a volcano located between the provinces of Yogyakarta and Central Java in Indonesia. People volunteer as observers for the radio to broadcast potential risks and updated information through the radio. Even some nearby residents have built towers to observe the volcano on Mount Merapi to provide information for the inhabitants through the community radio (Birowo, 2010). Gultom (2015) argues that community radio, as locals, can assist in disaster response by helping volunteers to identify local hazards during the disasters. In New Zealand, the migrant communities feel that their radio programmes work as a ‘linkage’ with the wider community, particularly during disasters. According to Dominick (1996), the linkage function of media refers to “the ability of the media to unite people with similar interests, such as people who are experiencing the impact of the same natural event” (as cited in Perez-Lugo, 2004, p. 212). The radio programmes are working as a connection to their wider communities, as co-existing in the wider community:

[Through] the connection between the Iranian community and the host community, we show that we exist in this country. I guess if we did not have radio Toranj, possibly we did not have this chance to connect with the society and say we need your help. Or, [if] it is not just asking for help, it is showing we exist in this society too and even when you need help, we are here for you too (RJ, Iranian focus group participant).

These radio programmes are working as facilitators between the migrants and wider New Zealand community, especially during natural disasters.

Although migrant radio programmes can play important roles during natural disasters, these programmes have some limitations as well. Mainly these radio programmes are half-an-hour and weekly programmes so they are not able to provide updates and immediate life-line information. In addition, during or a couple of days after the disasters, people expect more updates regarding the situation. One of the Nepalese participants shared his experience of the 2015 Nepal earthquake and Namaste Nepal's role in providing information to Nepalese living in Christchurch. The radio programme worked at its best:

Because of its limited frequency of airing, it was not enough. It [the radio programme] tried its best, but it was not enough. So, given its limitation, it did very well, right? But again as I said at that time you need to have information, [it] was coming so thick and fast, so you need to communicate that to the members every day if not every few hours right. So, the programme was limited in its ability to do that, but it tried its best (RD, Nepalese interview participant).

Other participants also acknowledged that the radio programmes worked to their full capacities during the disasters, however, they preferred to promote other media to help victims and support relief work. For example, one of the Filipino participants responded that he prefers other media immediately after disaster because of the broadcast hours and nature of the radio programmes on Plains FM. However, the radio programmes can promote authentic sources and contact with the victims:

It is not going to be easy for Mabuhay radio because it only has one hour a week to do that. But the best thing [they] can do is that during times of disaster, they usually promote websites where we can either donate or we can get more

information. I think, do they do that I am not sure, but if they do that under a crisis, because what happened was in the local radios in the Philippines during Yolanda (a typhoon) crisis, they will promote the government websites that have the list of people and survivors (MRU, Filipino focus group participant).

Despite the limitations, the community members were satisfied with the role that radio programmes play during disasters in New Zealand, and in their country of origin. The migrant community members responded that the radio programmes are uniting community members together during disasters.

Diasporic ethnic groups, particularly members of more recent ethnic diasporas, maintain more intimate personal attachments with people and cultures from their country of origin. State-linked diasporas are more likely to be engaged in communal activities (Sheffer, 2003). According to Sheffer (2003), state-linked diasporas are “those groups that are in host countries but are connected to societies of their own ethnic origin that constitute a majority in established states” (Sheffer, 2003, p. 73). This type of diaspora engages mostly with the communal organisations in the host countries, fundraising, sending remittances, investing in the home country, and engaging in the social and economic development of home villages and regions (Cohen, 2005). The participants in this research also maintain a close connection to their country of origin, as most of the participants are in New Zealand for temporary purposes. The student participants intend to return to their countries after finishing their studies. Frequent travel to countries of origin, and financially supporting immediate family members at home, are some common forms of homeland connection. To the migrants, radio programmes are one of the important sources of information from the country of origin. However, because radio programmes are weekly, they expect more details from their

countries of origin. They believe that the mainstream media from the host society provide little information about disasters that happen in the migrant's country of origin. A crisis situation increases immigrants' dependence on their ethnic media (Matsaganis et al., 2011). For example, during the earthquake in Nepal on 25 April 2015, Nepalese preferred their weekly radio programme over any English-language radio or other New Zealand media:

What is the situation going on ... back home? You can get more information from the Nepalese programme. Other language programmes will just broadcast the little information about the casualties. But that is our programme and they can collect lots of information and give [it] to us, and about the situations of different kinds of places. We are here from different parts of Nepal. So, they can provide us the news about the different societies or different parts of Nepal. So, we can get lots of information and we can rely on that (SS, Nepalese focus group participant).

We will go back to the first conversation that we have as much easier for us to understand, because it is our own language and it would keep us recognised in this kind [of way] when overseas. So, it is important especially in that [disaster] time (JB, Filipino focus group participant).

From the responses of the participants it is evident that community radio programmes play important roles during disasters, providing information and building a sense of unity amongst the migrants in the host society.



Host countries and countries of origin both mobilise diasporas as lobbyists or interest groups (Shain and Barth, 2003; Sheffer, 2003; Patterson, 2006). In this regard, diasporas work as mediators and facilitators between the host and homeland and both countries try to use diasporic influence to enhance their foreign policies with each other. Shain and Barth (2003) argue that diasporas use mainly financial resources through donations to various civil society projects. On the other hand, countries of origin use diasporas and their identity interests as government tools to influence foreign governments (Shain and Barth, 2003). Apart from the political mobilisation of diasporas in different states' interests, members of diasporic communities maintain strong homeland connections in different ways. This connection and diaspora efforts to help in their country of origin are discussed as separate cases in the following sections.

#### 8.2.1. Nepalese experiences from the 2015 earthquake in Nepal

This section analyses radio programme Namaste Nepal's role during the 2015 Nepal earthquake. In particular, it analyses the Namaste Nepal and Nepalese community's participation and engagement in the radio programme through the System Dependency Theory of media. According to the system dependency theory, media effects will be more pronounced when the audience must depend on the local mass media for information. The media source becomes more significant when people are more dependent on media, such as during natural disasters (Moody, 2009). On April 25, 2015, Nepal experienced a 7.6 magnitude earthquake. The movement of the Earth for less than a minute turned millions of people's lives upside down. The earthquake not only affected the lives of people in Nepal, but also Nepalese living away from the homeland, including in New Zealand. The epicentre of the earthquake was the village of Barpak in the Gorkha district, 81 km northwest of

Kathmandu. The devastating earthquake claimed 8,891 lives, with 198 people missing and 22,303 with serious injuries (MoHA & DPNet-Nepal, 2015). The earthquake rendered millions of people homeless as it fully damaged more than 600,000 houses, and partially damaged another 300,000 houses. Nearly a quarter of the country (14 districts) was severely affected by the earthquake and another 31 districts out of 75 were affected to varying extents. More people were displaced from rural hilly areas and the Kathmandu valley. The aftershocks continued for weeks; in Kathmandu, people remained outside their houses for several nights. The disaster caused a total loss of US\$7 billion. The calculation includes damages and loss, as the value of destroyed physical assets (24 per cent of the total effects) and the losses and higher costs of production of goods and services arising from the earthquake (MoHA & DPNet-Nepal, 2015). The disaster also destroyed many heritage sites and posed extra challenges to rebuild works. However, Nepal and the Nepalese received generous support to recover from the disaster. Governments, donor agencies, INGOs (International Non-Governmental Organisations), and even civil societies around the world supported the humanitarian and rebuilding processes. The Nepalese diaspora tried to connect with the wider community to support their country of origin, their friends and relatives affected by the devastating earthquake.

In New Zealand, particularly Christchurch, the Nepal New Zealand Friendship Society of Canterbury (NNZFSC) initiated a fundraising programme in coordination with New Zealand-based groups and the Student Volunteer Army to support earthquake victims in Nepal. The radio programme Namaste Nepal worked closely to appeal to the Nepalese and other communities in New Zealand:

Oh God, that was really big. During the earthquake in Nepal, we put our effort to win the heart and soul of the New Zealand people. That is why we were able to collect the unexpected amount of [\$] 140,000 [NZD] plus amount. It ... happened because ... the communities [were] into relations. It cannot be seen from our side but [from] the bonding of the different community in Christchurch in New Zealand (BIP, Nepalese radio programme producer).

Immediately after the disaster in Nepal, the priority for the Nepalese living in Christchurch was getting detailed and updated information from Nepal. In this case, media from Nepal and social media served their needs best, as Namaste Nepal was broadcast once a week and only for half an hour. During the disaster time, people seek answers to their questions that impact their survival and to normal functioning in the community (Ball-Rokeach and DeFleur, 1976; Hindman and Coyle; 1999, Moody, 2009):

It is that kind of scenario where people will turn to wherever they can get information from. They want updates you know where possible be it internet, be it social media you know, be [it] personal you know, anything. Even you know it would be, radio would be really effective that way as well (DB, Nepalese focus group participant).

They [the radio programme producers] were quite active during the time of information dissemination and then they were actually broadcasting the things [that] happened in Nepal. I remember ... [they conducted] interviews with some of the experts working in the earthquake here in New Zealand also. So, I think they were able to capture the scenario of the earthquake and make a good

engagement with the community and other Nepalese living in Christchurch  
(SDP, Nepalese interview participant).

The Nepalese participants felt that Namaste Nepal played an active role in disseminating updated information from Nepal. The radio programme was also able to build community engagement amongst the Nepalese in Christchurch during the disaster in Nepal.

As argued and analysed in Chapters Six and Seven, the Nepalese radio programme is participatory. However, during the disaster, it became more participatory, as half of the participants, among the fourteen community members who participated in this research, responded that they directly participated in the radio programmes during the earthquake and its aftermath to share their personal experiences and sympathy with other Nepalese, particularly those living in Christchurch. Local radio stations are considered more participatory during disasters (Hindman and Coyle, 1999). In times of disaster, “broadcast media often change normal gatekeeping processes to an ‘open gates’ process and expand news programmes to meet the increased need for information in the community” (Hindman and Coyle, 1999, p. 13):

I do have that time I was on the radio programme ... I had that opportunity to share my grief, and with the whole community. And that was the, like at that time. it was like a good feeling that you are sharing something with the whole community, and you were imparting your pains to other people in the community as well and that was good, that was really good (SD, Nepalese focus group participant).

Participants considered that sharing personal experiences can be an effective way to motivate people emotionally. It can be a source of motivation to help victims, to mobilise volunteers to collect support funds or relief materials, and to update diaspora communities far away from the home country. As argued by Garner (1996) people make sense of disaster through personal accounts and stories on media and their own experiences (as cited in Hindman and Coyle, 1999).

What I think during that time of the earthquake, if somebody goes to the radio programme and shares their experience, I mean that is a disaster right and it is not a good experience. It might be a bad experience so that I mean we are Nepalese and then we are touched by the feelings of each and every Nepalese. So, what it can do is, for example, if you know about the information that somebody's house has been destroyed or somebody has lost a life, it will bring a bit of sentiment into our hearts and then it will provoke us to do something, contribute something. That is what I mean a radio programme can do during the time of recovery because you are Nepalese and you are living here (JD, Nepalese focus group participant).

The radio programmes not only can share disaster information but also unite the sense of belonging among the community members. That sense of belonging encourages community members to unite and help the victims.

Although these migrants or diasporic populations are far from their country of origin, they can be very crucial and important in post-disaster communication and support systems. Wall and Robinson (2012) argued that in the Haitian earthquake and post-disaster context,

diasporas with the communication technology can be a source of information about what was going on and an emotional support and also a source of emergency financing. They further argue that the Haitians living overseas emerged as “an affected community in its own right after the 2010 earthquake, with people desperately searching for news of their loved ones” (Wall and Robinson, 2012, p. 4). All of the fourteen Nepalese participants in interviews and focus groups responded that they were actively involved in activities such as fundraising, holding candlelight vigils, gathering and mass praying, and radio worked as a facilitator of such community programmes:

At that time actually we were busy collecting those funds and putting stalls in different parts of the cities everywhere, [in] malls, and at that time it was helpful to give them information ... [about] where you have to go, where are the less people and where are the more people, so that you can coordinate and run that collecting scheme very well (NN, Nepalese focus group participant).

When we had [the] flood [in Nepal], we had to raise funds to help the flood victims, and when we had an earthquake, we had raised funds. I think radio Namaste Nepal requested everybody to gather in one place. What programme we are doing? How to donate? Where to donate? All this information (BP, Nepalese focus group participant).

The radio programme Namaste Nepal worked as a platform to unite the Nepalese living in Christchurch during the 2015 earthquake in Nepal. Although the Nepalese living in Christchurch had a strong personal connection to Nepal as described above, the radio

programme worked as a central point to unite and mobilise community members in post-recovery processes as well.

The issue of migrant communities and their connection to their countries of origin can be analysed through the transnational context. Although the term transnationalism produces a variety of meanings depending on its context, it is broadly defined as “multiple ties and interactions linking people or organisations across the borders of nation-states” (Vertovec, 1999, p.447). The Namaste Nepal radio programme also serves the Nepalese in Christchurch as one of the main sources of information about community gatherings, fundraising, and coordinating with other communities on Access Radio. Through the various Access Radio broadcasters, the Nepalese radio programme tried to reach to the wider community to support the cause of Nepalese trying to support their relatives and friends in Nepal. Similarly, it worked as a reliable source of information from Nepal:

I think four to six weeks [after the earthquake] we just shared the information [about] what [was] happening in which region, just tried to gather the information from the different regions of Nepal. Apart from this, impressing the New Zealander was the important thing as a [Nepalese] community. I talked to the manager and programme coordinator from the Plains FM and we put an appeal so that every community programme [which] are on Plains FM would know what was happening in Nepal and they just tried to share that information to their community [through their community radio programmes] (BIP, Nepalese radio programme producer).

The opportunity to link the migrant community with other communities, which Namaste Nepal used during Nepal earthquake, can be seen as opportunities available to other radio programmes. These radio programmes can connect their communities with other communities during the disasters.

After a disaster, as time goes by, the focus and priority of community radio will change from updating disaster-related information to programmes that can be helpful for rebuilding the community (Kanayama, 2012). The radio programme Namaste Nepal served as more than an information provider for Nepalese living in Christchurch during the 2015 Nepal earthquake. Through the radio programme, Nepalese in Christchurch felt more connected to their community. It enhanced solidarity among the Nepalese and motivated them to feel the suffering of their relatives and friends back home. The participants responded that the radio programme helped greatly to unite the Nepalese in Christchurch to share their grief and solidarity:

That [radio programme] helps to unite the people. A simple answer is that [it] helps to unite the people. And to send out the message within our community ... [about] what we can do and what we are doing, these are the basic things the radio programme can spread out. I think [it promotes] unity within the Nepalese people living in this city or in this area (SK, Nepalese focus group participant).

Us being a non-profit organisation, so we more often come to assist with regard to the emotional side of things, and that's linked with the people and giving them the assurance that we are still here as a strong community and yeah so



helping each other out when and where needed (SP, Nepalese community leader).

During a disaster, communities develop a greater solidarity than in less difficult times. High levels of system dependency narrow the knowledge gaps between lower and higher status groups of people in the community (Hindman and Coyle, 1999). In disaster situations, people became more dependent on media systems than they would be otherwise.

#### 8.2.2. Experiences in the Filipino and Iranian communities

Filipino and Iranian communities living in Christchurch, New Zealand, also have similar experiences of disasters to the Nepalese and their community radio programmes. All of the participants in my research were the first generation of migrants from the Philippines and Iran. As argued earlier, first generations of migrants have stronger connections to their countries of origin. Most of the participants' immediate family members were in their countries of origin. During the informal talks or 'ice-breaking' conversations before the focus groups and interviews, most of the student migrants or other temporary migrants said that they are supporting their family members financially. It shows that they have a very strong sense of connection and if an event such as a natural disaster happens in their countries of origin, these migrants will be among those who suffer. Trlin et al. (2001) argue that the connections between immediate family members, relatives, friends and others in the community can work as links in the migration systems between sending and receiving countries (Trlin et al., 2001). Halilovich (2012) identifies informal linkages as trans-localism. According to him, linkages based on real relationships such as family background, kinship, friendship, dialect and place of origin (particular region, city, village or neighbourhood) act

as social ‘glue’ that connects individuals or groups with their collective identity and local particularity (Halilovich, 2012).

During the interviews and focus groups, some Filipino participants remembered the Mindanao crisis. In 2017, the crisis started when Marawi City on the island of Mindanao of the Philippines turned into the site of a bloody urban battle between ISIL (the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant) fighters and government forces. The crisis resulted in the deaths of 920 fighters, 165 government soldiers and at least 45 civilians. Nearly 300,000 people were displaced because of the crisis (Betteridge-Moes, 2017). During that time, local Filipino community groups and radio programmes worked together to gather financial support in New Zealand for the victims in Mindanao. Some participants also remembered the natural disaster of 2013 when one of the most devastating super typhoons, Yolanda, also known as Haiyan, hit the Philippines on 8 November. The typhoon claimed 6,300 lives and left hundreds of thousands of people homeless (Milman, 2015). During that disaster in the Philippines, the radio programme Mabuhay Radio Filipino brought the Filipino community in Christchurch together to support people in their country of origin:

Recently it is about a case of somewhere in Mindanao where there are ISIS police and militaries were attacked, and the community together with the radio [Mabuhay Radio Filipino] are gathering funds for the people left behind of those militaries who were dead. So, we are actually like collecting funds to help the victims (DSG, Filipino interview participant).

We experienced that in 2013 when we had Haiyan typhoon and then the Plains FM gave us three hours of airtime and all the Filipinos, basically almost

everyone, went there and it was just heart-warming just to go there helping to fundraise, three hours, imagine the people were coming. So, that is very useful in times of distress (AG, Filipino focus group participant).

These responses are evidence of migrant community radio programmes' role during disasters at different times. The Filipino community members remembered the examples from 2013 and 2017. These radio programmes and their role can be seen as diaspora and their connection toward the country of origin. These connections could be personal and emotional.

According to Safran (1991), diasporic minorities are committed to the maintenance and restoration of their original homeland's security and prosperity. Safran argues that "diasporas believe that their ancestral homeland is their ideal home and the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return" (Safran, 1991, pp. 83-84). In this regard, the personal and emotional connections of the migrant population toward people in their countries of origin can be justified as they initiated several fundraising activities in New Zealand. For example, in 2016 the Iranian students initiated the fundraising radio programme Toranj, one of the first of its kind. Less than a year later, the radio programme initiated supportive activities for disaster victims in Iran:

On November 12 [2017], there was an earthquake in Iran, and then the radio Toranj collaborated in collecting donations from the community, and also New Zealand, New Zealanders, and they were successful in collecting donations through [the] programme. Plains FM allocated ... an hour for this donation specific programme and that helped a lot (HN, Iranian focus group participant).

This is another example of how these migrant communities' radio programmes build a sense of community and work as sharing platforms. Through the radio programmes, community members realise their coexistence in the community.

During that disaster situation, Iranians also preferred the media from Iran to get the most updated information about the situation. However, all of the participants appreciated the role played by the local radio programme Toranj in Christchurch. The Iranian participants agreed that being Iranian or Persian is one of their identities in New Zealand. In reality, however, their places of origin are different. The level of emotional and psychological effects of a disaster may be different, depending on the loss and suffering of one's relatives or family. As Iranians, however, everyone is emotionally touched when something happens in Iran. Some participants responded that they feel good as they have some medium for talking about suffering in their country of origin. In that way, they can realise other people also have the same concerns:

My family were not that much affected because they were on the other side of the country. I just wanted some other online news or something like that mostly and emotionally, yes, all people in the country are in the depressing situation or terrible news or something like that but it was not that much after the disaster (AT, Iranian interview participant).

You are talking about the disaster that just happened back home, ... you know I think you feel much better when you know that it has been talked [about] here in New Zealand other than just being something [to] happen you know in Iran. It is just a feeling (JG, Iranian focus group participant).

You realise [there are] lots of people with the same concern as you have (MS, Iranian focus group participant).

The degree of connection and motivation might vary but most of the participants responded that the radio programme Toranj played an influential role as a sharing platform especially during disasters in their country of origin.

Perez-Lugo (2004) argues that the dominant media perspective makes an inaccurate assumption about the media-audience relationship, especially during a natural disaster event. She proposes three phases of media-audience relationships: (1) the media–audience relationship remains across disaster phases, but its function changes with those phases; (2) the media–audience relationship during the impact of the natural event is equally intense or even more than in the other phases; and (3) it fulfils more functions than strictly the supply of information, such as providing emotional support and a sense of community (Perez-Lugo, 2004, pp.210-11). From the programme producers' perspective, the radio programmes worked as platforms of sharing for building a sense of community. They also tried to disseminate updated information from their countries of origin during the disasters:

It is emotional. ... When we have a programme here, we feel OK. We are not alone, we are the group, [and] we are a community. So, we can do that and we really proud of ourselves that we have this programme. It makes the community stronger; it is not just radio. If we have events, yes if we have events radio, we have a different group like [the] dance group, the music group. So, those things

make the community be together and make it stronger. Yes, I think it is very useful for everyone in the community (HM, Iranian radio programme producer).

A lot of things [are] happening in the Philippines ... and not everything is on the internet. So, that's why ... if something happens in the Philippines, we like to talk about it in the radio so that some of our Kababayan [Tagalog word, meaning fellows] can be well informed [about] what's really happening. Yes, we always talk about what's happening in the Philippines disaster (CC, Filipino radio programme producer).

Some participants considered that listening to music from their country of origin also makes them feel closer to home. These migrants are the same sections of the migrant population which Schiller et al. (1995) define as 'transmigrants'. According to them transmigrants are the "immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across the international borders and whose public identities are configured about more than one nation-state" (Schiller et al., 1995, p. 48). The following sections analyse these migrant radio programmes and migrants' cultural identities.

### **8.3. Cultural identity, hybridity and community radio**

In contemporary societies, migrants are considered to be living with multiple cultural identities. The strategies and pressures of integration in the host society, together with memories and myths from the country of origin, promote the multi-layered cultural identities of migrants. The transnational networks including household and families, social organisation and media, are the key factors to maintaining multiple cultural identities and hybridity

amongst migrant or diasporic communities. Hall argues that cultural identity is a constantly transforming concept and matter of ‘becoming’ as well as of ‘being’ (1990). Identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position, ourselves within the narratives of the past (Hall, 1990). Matsaganis et al. describe ethnic identity using three interrelated and reinforcing dimensional concepts: as cognitive, behavioural, and affective. They argue that ethnic media is an important tool for maintaining these dimensional identities. The cognitive dimension of identity is the cultural knowledge associated with that identity, such as the traditions, customs and values of the culture. They further argue that cognitive-identity formation is shaped by lessons from the older members of the group. When a person, after knowing their cultural values, behaves in accordance with that group’s norms, then that formation can be defined as a behavioural dimension of identity (Matsaganis et al., 2011). For Matsaganis et al., the affective dimension refers to feelings of belonging to that particular ethnic group (Matsaganis et al., 2011, p. 71). Immigrants evaluate their life in a new or host country by “dual frame of reference” processes (Sua’rez-Orozco, 1989; as cited in Reese, 2001). According to Reese (2001), the concept of duality is particularly related to migrants when they compare their lives in the host country with reference to their country of origin. Reese further argues, in the context of Mexican immigrants in the USA, that although the immigrant family may be living in crowded conditions, with parents working long hours, and possibly experiencing discrimination as newcomers with little control of the English language, “they compare their circumstances to their home country and feel that they enjoy better circumstances in their adopted country” (Reese, 2001, p. 455).

As a generic definition, cultural hybridity refers to the assumption of a mixture of two separate yet bonded cultures. However, scholars such as Werbner and Modood (2015) reject this claim as too generic, or as a misconception in the field of cultural hybridity. They

emphasise Bakhtin's (1981) idea of hybridity as unconscious (organic) and conscious (intentional) (Werbner and Modood, 2015). According to Bakhtin (1981), organic or unconscious hybridity is a process of historical life and the evolution of all languages through which languages change and exist. Similarly, conscious or intentional hybridity is "precisely the perception of one language by another language, its illumination by another linguistic consciousness" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 359). Young writes, "hybridity thus makes difference into sameness and sameness into difference, but in a way that makes the same no longer the same, the different no longer simply different" (Young, 1995, pp.24-25). If Bakhtin's idea of unconscious or organic hybridity is applied to a cultural context then it can be argued that hybridity is the product of cultural evolution and practices. Through their practice in host societies, migrants form a hybrid cultural identity and that identity becomes their common community identity.

If an unconscious hybridity approach is contextualised into migrant communities' cultural practices and the formation of common community identities, then one can argue that hybridity is the product of practice. From another perspective, if the diasporic community is comparatively homogeneous (as discussed in previous chapters), changes in migrants' culture might be a result of the homogenisation process. For instance, migrant communities in host societies are known as a single identity group, such as Filipino, Iranian, or Nepalese. Within each of these identities, however, there are heterogeneous identities based on languages or dialects, religions, class or social strata. For example, Nepalese people living in New Zealand and Christchurch particularly share a common identity. This is despite Nepal being a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual country with 125 different ethnic groups and 123 different spoken languages (CBS Nepal, 2012). Their common identity as Nepalese can be considered a common or homogeneous identity that carries heterogeneous identities within. To be



Nepalese, Filipino or Iranian in New Zealand is merely to have an ethnic label; in Nepal, the Philippines or Iran, it is the national identity (Bell, 1996). When individuals with different identities organise as a community and practice the culture and rituals based on their previous life in their countries of origin, they may change the cultural practices and create a hybridised form that fits in local contexts. The aim of forming the new communities should be to re-establish a sense of identity to provide a sense of continuity with the previous self (Colic-Peisker, 2002). The community radio programmes can serve as a collective symbol of cultural identities within the New Zealand context. However, the community members believe that the radio programmes still can touch on the inherent ethnic identities of the members by talking about festivals, rituals or playing songs from different dialects and ethnic groups within the communities:

Nepali is the commonly spoken language, so beyond that there are different other dialogues and other different languages, but we cannot have a separate programme. But probably, what the programme organizers could do is occasionally have a song in one particular language [such as a] Newari or Rai [Nepalese ethnic languages among 123 spoken languages] language song ... whenever the Rai special tribe festival approaches. So, that is how they could feel they are touching on different diversities within Nepal. We are all Nepali first and then within Nepal, we have got our secondary identity, right. So, that secondary identity cannot suppress the primary identity, so that is why we are dealing in terms of primary identity at the moment (RD, Nepalese interview participant).

At least they listen to some information in that community radio which we learn something from. We are in one country, but we are from different provinces, and we are from different practices. So, whenever we heard some information from that radio and then we suddenly realise that this is the practice of this group, that is why when I met them here, they are doing this and they are doing that and they are eating this and they are eating that. So, that is the one [advantage] I think [of] sharing, I can benefit from that sharing platform (MR, Filipino interview participant).

Although the migrant communities share their common identity related to their country of origin or mainstream culture from their country of origin, radio programmes are performing as the platforms that unite diverse cultural practices. Through the radio programmes, the migrants are sharing their cultural practices with the other cultural groups from the same country.

In the last decade, every year, nearly four million people left their country of origin globally. They did so for various reasons. Most people moved within regions and often from low and middle-income countries toward high-income countries (United Nation, 2017). This largest section of the population, considered collectively as ‘migrants’, have to undergo changes from their original ways of living, largely because their societies of origin are culturally different from the one in which they are currently living (Sam and Berry, 2006). These new migrant groups maintain close connections and ties to their countries of origin. Schiller et al. (1995) argue that not only recent migrants but also older established migrants are assimilated into the host society ‘melting pot’, while preserving their culture and customs and identities. Through the melting-pot effect of integration, immigrants transform their homeland

connections and ties into sentiment (Schiller et al., 1995). When migrants cross the boundary, they have to face both welcome and hostility, and when a minority group faces hostility, its first reaction is to unite and tighten its cultural bond to face the oppressor (Sarup, 1994). Sarup further argues that “the group gains strength by emphasising its collective identity” (p. 95). As a cultural transformation process, in recent times more people are negotiating their cultural identities “between continuity and change, between similarity and difference” (Leeuw and Rydin, 2007, p. 175). According to Leeuw and Rydin (2007), people construct their sense of belonging in a new place with reference to both the new place and the old place they left behind. For example, the migrants believe that they are also part of mainstream New Zealand culture, but also they strongly believe that they belong to different cultural identities and consider that the radio programme is one of the cultural activities they perform in New Zealand:

Namaste Nepal is the representation of the Nepalese community, Nepalese music, Nepalese culture, Nepalese people and Nepalese activities in Christchurch. That is how people get benefited by the means of the news and information and by the music. So, living in a foreign country, I would say foreign land, foreign community, we are part of this community now, this all because of the Nepalese things, Nepalese activities and not only other things, Namaste Nepal also is the big aspect of Nepalese activities in the society (BIP, Nepalese community radio programme producer).

The unity of the community is very important and having a radio is a tool to achieve, to unite the whole community. Although it takes time, the radio cannot do that immediately, it takes time for people to engage with the radio and start

listening to that and participate in different radio programmes. Yes, but I guess the final goal or the main goal of a community radio should be that, and it should be in line with other activities in the community (RJ, Iranian focus group participant).

The majority of participants believe that radio programmes are cultural, identity-related community activities. The radio programmes represent these migrants' cultural identity in wider New Zealand society and also support the common community identity-building processes. Because of migration, societies are becoming culturally plural. However, although people from different cultural backgrounds live together in a culturally plural society, they are not equal in power, whether numerical, economic, or political. The power differences make them mainstream or minority ethnic groups (Berry, 1997). Unlike the basic assumption that minorities unavoidably become a part of the mainstream culture, Berry (1992) argues that some societies remain culturally diverse. In a plural society, he argues that there will be four acculturation options available to individuals or groups: assimilation, integration, segregation or separation, and marginalisation:

*Assimilation* can take place by way of absorption of a non-dominant group into an established dominant group. *Integration* implies some maintenance of the cultural integrity of the group as well as the movement to become an integral part of the larger social framework. *Segregation and separation* differ mainly concerning which group or groups have the power to determine the outcome. When the dominant group controls the situation, Segregation to keep people in “their place” appears. On the other hand, the maintenance of a traditional way of life outside full participation in the larger society may be desired by the

acculturating group and thus lead to an independent existence, as in the case of separatist movements. *Marginalisation* is a situation in which groups lose cultural and psychological contact with both their traditional culture and the larger society (either by exclusion or withdrawal) (Berry, 1992, pp. 73-74).

In these acculturation processes, however, individual or groups may choose the degree of acculturation (Padilla and Perez, 2003). In this process “the changes between cultural orientations can be ‘selective’, and persons involved in intergroup contact can decide what elements of their culture to surrender and to incorporate from the new culture” (Padilla and Perez, 2003, p. 37).

In this research, some participants responded that in most cases they are interested in mainstream culture. Although they see some integration function through the community radio, some of them are more interested in the host community’s culture. This was a similar situation to what Berry (1997) termed an ‘assimilation strategy’. In this situation, individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and they seek daily interaction with other cultures:

New Zealand is a multi-cultural country and really appreciable that they respect cultures of minorities or different groups of migrants. But I want to say now that I am a single person here and I want to know more about Kiwi culture. For example; even I tell you before I move here, I did not know even that much about Christmas or Boxing Day – you know, about Labour Day, public holidays here, you know. It is interesting for me, I know more about ... things here. Honestly for example; even for example know something about my culture and I

persisted I want to present to Kiwi people here, yes extra point. But first I think at the beginning of my life here, I need to know more about hosting community than after that maybe if my situation or all community situation is stronger enough than I think that [there is] always Plan B (AT, Iranian interview participant).

In these comparatively diverse societies, the local community radio or radio by immigrants not only plays a key role in uniting the community as a cultural group but it also works as a vehicle of integration into the mainstream culture. For example, it may provide a significant if not sole source of information related to daily life in the host society for the refugees or migrants who are not proficient in English or another main language of the host society. This notion is similar to Tufte and Riis' (2001) research on Indre Norrebro, in Copenhagen, where they analysed ethnic community media's role in the integration of migrants into mainstream Danish society (Tufte and Riis, 2001).

### 8.3.1. Identity and radio

“I am a turtle; wherever I go, I carry ‘home’ on my back” (Anzaldúa, 1999, p.43).

I think, it is part of identity actually. Wherever we go, we have our values and culture. So, it is our space, and I think it also helps to develop a mutual cultural harmony with the other communities in the society also. I really love the idea of having our own space anywhere (SPD, Nepalese interview participant).

The metaphor 'home' is associated with the cultural identities of migrants, which originated from their countries of origin. The quotes above are used together to explain the associated identity and context of migration. For the migrant communities included in my research, radio is one of the activities they believe is an important vehicle to enhance the identities associated with them. These identities are mainly related to the cultural practices from their countries of origin. Radio programmes in native languages can be seen as a symbolic interaction or cultural expression. As community members, they are not fully dependent on radio programmes, but they can easily influence the output of the media. This is one of the major concerns that needs understanding regarding the relationship between minority media and their audience (Siapera, 2010). The migrant communities consider that these radio programmes are also among their community activities. In addition, the particular community radio format of New Zealand also encourages ethnic communities to use the radio platform. For instance, Plains FM, as the Access Radio station of Canterbury, encourages migrant communities to produce their own programmes with full editorial freedom. Almost all participants in my research said they feel proud to be in New Zealand with their cultural identities as Nepalese, Filipino and Iranian, and believe that radio programmes in their native language are enhancing their cultural identities.

There is a sense of pride for recognising our community. So yes, the programme can make us feel prouder and you feel that all the New Zealander's government of this country has accepted us by having our own radio programme (AG, Filipino focus group participant).

We are in an overseas country, and it catches our attention in our heart when you hear our local radio station or language issues in a community radio

[programme] here and we feel like revalued in a part of the country, not because we are not strangers like we got FM running Filipino [programme] and we are recognised (JB, Filipino focus group participant).

I'm proud of being a Nepali – Nepali living in New Zealand actually – and I [am] always proud of my culture, my values and language wherever I go. It's always with me (SDP, Nepalese interview participant).

We are in New Zealand now, being in New Zealand, and [we] show other communities in New Zealand, show the host that we exist in [the] community. These are advantages for them [migrants] and apart from, for example, spreading their culture, their language, all these things, it shows they [migrants] exist in the society and they have a voice in the society (RJ, Iranian focus group participant).

The participants expressed the feelings associated with their identities and radio programmes as being 'valued', 'accepted', 'recognised', and I believe these words convey a deep feeling of recognition in a multicultural society.

The community radio can work as a platform to negotiate identities that are considered a continuous process. Matsaganis et al. (2011) argue, after analysing Australian aboriginal newspaper writers' self-identity processes that those ethnic identities are developed partly through comparison with others and these others might be the majority group in a society or other ethnic minority groups. According to Rose (1996), Australian aboriginal newspaper writers supported a self-identity based on 'historical brotherhood' which put them closer to



Native-Americans then the African-Americans with whom they share a similar skin colour (as cited in Matsaganis et al., 2011). They further argue that identity formation is an ongoing process and ethnic media are major platforms for identity debates. They further noted that “ethnicity is not a fixed category. Ethnicity is something that members of a minority group can—and do—define over and over again for themselves, and the ethnic media are often the loudspeaker through which these debates are conducted” (Matsaganis et al., 2011, pp. 70-71). The participants in this research also think that the radio programmes in their native language represent their sense of identity in wider society:

Well, for me [it's] simply a sense of identity. Nowadays, we have internet everywhere, most of the time available. You can listen to Nepalese programmes where you are. Just go to tuning or whatever [and] you can listen to Nepalese language news, programmes and so on. But if you are having [a] Nepalese programme in the city where you are living, for me that keeps a sense of identity, why this is my language and I am very happy, proud that we have such programme broadcasting in the city in our own language (SK, Nepalese focus group participant).

In this regard, these migrant radio programmes are also working as loudspeakers or platforms for identity negotiation for migrant communities. These radio programmes are also supporting the self-identifying processes of migrants living in New Zealand.

Different ethnic languages' radio programmes through the Access Radio stations can be seen as being part of a pluralistic media environment in New Zealand. However, the major concern that remains to be addressed here is the civic engagement of the ethnic communities

in broader New Zealand society. Mainly, these radio programmes broadcast in specific languages used by particular ethnic groups. Some of the participants are not convinced that radio programmes help them to connect with the wider community or other ethnic communities with different cultures and languages. As the radio programmes speak the language that other communities or cultures cannot understand then it is not clear how radio programmes can enrich their identity in wider New Zealand society or with other migrants. From this perspective, they do not see any importance in even having radio programmes in their native languages. However, they also believe that these radio programmes are helpful to some sections of the migrants from their culture. Some participants suggested that if the programmes were also available in English, then it would be more effective in communicating about their culture and identity with the wider community:

All of the people who listen to Toranj are Iranian because they are speaking Persian; for example, [if] New Zealand broadcast ... a programme in ... the English language and talk about this – it is very helpful, it is efficient. But when we speak in Persian nobody understands (FD, Iranian interview participant).

I do not think so [any importance of having radio programme in Tagalog] because if it is in the English language – still, we do understand. If the purpose of that radio station will be on the community itself then it might be, however, for the benefit of the people who don't understand it (DSG, Filipino interview participant).

It is really very significant to keep your identity and share your identity as well. Having said so, what I would emphasise is running the programme in only one

language, in your language, to unite the people alone is not sufficient. If you really want to take your identity to the native country here [in New Zealand] it is a very good platform. So, the number of listeners will naturally rise and they would like to know about your culture and your culture is nothing but how you do think, what you do, what you eat, what you celebrate. Now, this is called culture, this is identity. So, that's the right platform and then the community radio should not only focus on what the people inside the community would want to do, want to have, but we also think of you know disseminating that news (DB, Nepalese focus group participant).

These responses are related to radio programmes' role for civic engagement aspects of migrant communities. Some participants believe that the programmes cannot appeal to people from other languages.

However, some participants argued that people from other cultures might be interested in their native culture or languages. For example, one of the Nepalese interview participants shared their experience that some English-speaking New Zealanders attended their Nepalese language classes that typically focused on children born in New Zealand to Nepalese parents. They believe that native language radio programmes also can be platforms for learning language and culture for people from different cultural backgrounds:

People who are interested in Nepali culture and Nepali, they have already come across several of those people who contact us, contact the society and ask if they can attend the Nepalese language class. So, there are other ways like those people, those few people could come and experience and get a glimpse of Nepali

culture, but I do not see how Nepalese organising or airing a radio programme in English would appeal [to] them. They can easily read that in Google if they want to find out what Nepal is. So, that does not give them the ethnic experience of listening to Nepali music, Nepali culture, and all those things (RD, Nepalese interview participant).

It is a sense of pride, first that we are actually on earth that we are actually speaking, you can actually get from the radio that [it's] someone speaking in our language. I am pretty sure it is not only the Filipinos who can listen to it but if there is a foreigner [who] actually wants to learn our language, they can also listen to it. We can actually be proud that we are there; we are here (LS, Filipino focus group participant).

Some participants think that radio programmes can be resources for people from other cultures and communities, however, it is considered that the main users of small diasporic media are the population living dual lives (Bailey et al. 2008). They justify dual lives as people who have homes in two countries, speak more than one language, and whose work and, moreover, family ties involve frequent transnational travel (Bailey et al., 2008, p. 64).

Although there was a mixed reaction to whether the migrant communities' radio programmes should be in their native languages or should be in English, some participants believed that there were always flexibilities available at times of need. If for some reason they felt the need for communication with the wider community, they can switch it into the English programme. For instance, the Iranian radio programme Toranj was aired in English when the Iranian community was collecting funds for earthquake victims in Iran:

I see a very big mission for radio Toranj and that integrity, and because of that, I see the radio Toranj as a child [that] has a long way in front of it to do that. But in general, having the radio Toranj is a very positive thing and, for example, during the earthquake, it is a tool in the community's hand that we can use ... easily whenever we need that just by changing the language to English so we have a louder voice in the society. Yes, maybe a part of the society still do not notice or realise the benefits of the radio but I think as it goes on many more people will understand the importance of having the radio and support it more (RJ, Iranian focus group participant).

For some people, listening to their language on live radio gave them a sense of pride. One of the Iranian focus group participants describes his experience when he listened to the Persian language on radio for the first time as a moment of excitement. His response was: "I turned on the radio, and by sudden, it was Persian language radio Toranj, and I was excited, I thought it was recording it because that is a proud time for me that I can hear the Persian language through the radio in New Zealand." The sense of pride can range from listening to songs from their countries of origin to freely eating pork. One of the Filipino participants responded that eating pork without restriction is a moment of being proud to be in New Zealand.

My identity is one hundred per cent Filipino. I came from Dubai, Abu Dhabi and Qatar where you cannot eat pork; [that makes it] very hard to [live with] the Filipino [identity]. Unlike here [in New Zealand] you can go wherever you want, you can talk

and hear whatever you want. In the Middle East, [my life is limited to] work-room-work [but] here you are free (BM, Filipino focus group participant).

One of the Filipino participants shared his experiences during the initial informal conversation, that sometimes they listen to Mabuhay Radio Filipino on their workplace radio, and at that moment he just raises the volume and tells the other workmates that “this is our Tagalog radio programme and our music”. Therefore, after analysing these opinions and experiences, I can argue that these migrant communities associate their radio programmes with their cultural identity and these radio programmes were helpful in negotiating their space in an increasingly multicultural mainstream New Zealand society.

### 8.3.2. Radio’s role in preserving home culture

Home culture, in this context, is a culture that is related to the roots of the migrants, and diasporic or migrant media is considered one of the important tools for preserving that home culture. This argument is based on the connective function of migrant media, connecting migrant communities with events in their countries of origin (Matsaganis et al., 2011). The participants in this research were first-generation migrants, who are more connected to their native culture. Moreover, some of the participants considered their stay in New Zealand as temporary, for instance, students. Not only media but various social or cultural groups or organisations that exist in any host society are primarily concerned with their cultural identities. A good example for these community groups are the community organisations included in this study: the Nepal New Zealand Friendship Society of Canterbury (NNZFSC), Philippines Culture and Sports (PCS), and University of Canterbury Iranian Society (UCIS), and their cultural activities, including radio programmes. In this research context, the

community is based on geography as well as the memories and myths from their roots. Even though the migrants live in multi-ethnic communities or neighbourhoods in host societies, native cultural aspects influence their living. One of the participants described his experience in New Zealand as a Filipino as:

From the gap though, it is just having a contrast to how the Kiwi culture is, many Kiwis are kept to themselves and they can actually live their lives just gardening and being with their cats, but then Filipinos are different. We want to be surrounded with other Filipinos in the Philippines and having a radio show that talks in Filipino and talks about Filipino stuff and talks about Filipino lives is supplementary to what we are going to hear every now and then, which is the interaction with Filipinos (MRU, Filipino focus group participant).

Migrants' living practices are also related to their cultural identities which are connected to their country of origin. Not only the Filipino participant MRU but some other participants also responded that their way of life in New Zealand is greatly influenced by their native cultures.

In contemporary diasporic societies, migrant minorities develop and preserve their cultural connections with the country of origin and develop their cultural identities in host societies. The majority of the diasporic population choose to stay in their 'adopted homeland' and negotiate their new identities and differences (Halilovich, 2012). The network or connections between the migrants and their places of origin is not only dependent on household and family but is also extended to organisations that link host and home countries (Schiller et al., 1995). Voluntary immigrants' organisations do assist newcomers in settling in any host

society. On the other hand, some researchers consider that immigrants establish these organisations to preserve their culture and to assist members to assimilate into host societies (Schiller et al., 1995). In an American multicultural context, Schiller et al. (1995) argue that immigrants' cultural organisations are representatives of ethnic communities in the nation's cultural diversity (p. 56). In this context, the community organisations included in my research are also functioning as ethnic representatives in the diverse New Zealand society. These organisations were helping their members to assimilate into mainstream culture by providing orientation functions. Orientation includes providing information relevant to everyday life in New Zealand society, as discussed in previous chapters as well. Also, these community organisations were working as agents, preserving their cultural identities from the countries of origin. In this regard, the migrants considered their radio programmes were effective media that helped in both ways, preserving native culture and assisting in adopting the host society's culture:

It is quite good being in New Zealand and being a Nepalese as well. So, obviously we moved to New Zealand for different reasons, so we have got our own identity and having the Nepalese radio programme, it is onto our efforts to save our culture, heritage as well. Our Nepalese music can be played in our radio programmes and when you listen to the radio programme that is in your own language, it is quite a good feeling (SP, Nepalese community leader).

There is music, there is news from the Philippines. That is the connection between the Philippines, the mother country and here [in New Zealand] and it [radio programme] talks about their experiences as migrants. They [community members] talk about problems, they talk about their ambitions, they talk about



their achievements and they talk about families. So, it is very important (DR, Filipino community leader).

In Iranian events when we gather and hang out for celebrating, for example, the Fire jumping festival, *Yalda* night [Persian festival], [and] many traditional ceremonies, we can not only keep our culture alive but it [the radio programme] can also help [us] to see each other because all the time we are busy, we cannot meet each other, it definitely helps by advertising the events by talking about the events and trying to help people get together in these events (ZP, Iranian focus group participant).

The participants in this research believe that the radio programmes are platforms to enrich their cultural identities in multicultural New Zealand society.

Ethnic media are not only platforms of identity negotiation in multicultural societies but also a medium that preserves their cultural practices. As discussed in Chapter Five as well, these cultural preservation functions are more appropriate for the second or third generations of migrants. Between the generations, the concept of cultural home and homeland became different and complex. Stock (2010) argues that the first generation of migrants relates their diasporic experiences to their memories of a time before migration, and the host society became new land for them. However, for the second or third generation that ‘new land’ has never been new (Stock, 2010). As Sheffer (2003) argues, although they may have unpleasant memories of life in their countries of origin, elders try to teach young members of the community a favourable opinion and salutary sentiments about the homeland. He further argues that “by doing so, they serve to strengthen the diaspora’s cohesion in its host country

and to maintain its loyalty to the homeland” (Sheffer, 2003, p. 152). Here, I can argue, with support from Chapter Five, that for these first-generation migrants, the participants in my research, their radio programmes are important media for transferring their culture to the new generations:

First of all, I am thinking about the kids, those kids, those Iranian kids who grow up here. So, if they listen to those programmes, maybe they will learn more about Iran. We talk about Iran normally in each programme, maybe it is a small part but anyway we talk about Iran. It is useful for the kids and other community people [that] they can share knowledge about what [is] happening here [in New Zealand]. In our culture [that] may be something very important, so if we talk about that ... so it would be helpful and useful for the others (HM, Iranian programme producer).

Ethnic media are not only important for preserving or practising cultural identities within the community, but it also reminds other communities about their existence. In crossing-over into the mainstream, ethnic media can build awareness, and it can increase familiarity with the differences that exist in multicultural society (Williamson and DeSouza, 2006).

In this research context, some participants felt that their radio programmes can enhance community cohesion, while at the same time they can eliminate misunderstanding and miscommunication about their culture associated with their countries of origin. One of the participants from the Iranian community shared her experience in an interview that other people’s misunderstandings make her upset:

Some people talk about my culture in a very bad way that they become upset because [they] think in this way. For example, they did not have any idea about my country, about my culture, what my language [is]. But they can produce the programme because they did not know anything, for example, we are in the Middle East and we are neighbours with Arabs and most of them even, they did not know our language is Persian, they think that we are Arab. If you are a very religious person, something like this, but we are not in this way, for example, some people ask me did you talk with boys in your country? I become very upset: why [are] they teasing like this about my culture? (FD, Iranian interview participant).

In this context, the ethnic community media initiated by ethnic minorities can be useful especially for providing information related to their countries of origin and cultures. Caspi and Elias (2011) argue that ethnic media are made by minorities and for minorities. Media ‘for’ minorities is media designed by others to serve minorities, such as public service or mainstream media content targeted at minorities, whereas media ‘by’ refers to the media initiated by minorities (Caspi and Elias, 2011). They further argue that media-by is considered more sensitive to minorities’ needs and to providing information related to their countries of origin and elsewhere around the globe to strengthen solidarity with co-ethnics. In comparison, Caspi and Elias (2011) argue that media-for may ignore the news and events from minorities’ countries of origin, and coverage is also selective and largely negative. The participants in my research thought that the radio programmes remind them of the roots of their cultural origins and help them to keep their culture alive:

Sometimes the information it is providing [is] not related to the social activities but some of the cultural matters in Nepal, [and] I realised that oh I did not know about that, I did not know about the background of this, you know, like cultural practice that we had. So, it occasionally enriches my Nepalese understanding of Nepalese heritage, Nepalese culture, but otherwise it just doesn't allow me to forget where I am from. So, it helps me, you know like, to maintain that sense of belonging (RD, Nepalese interview participant).

For these migrant communities, their radio programmes not only preserve their cultures and identities related to their countries of origin but are also a vehicle that facilitates their everyday life in wider New Zealand society. As argued by Caspi and Elias (2011), the migrants insist on minority rights to hybrid identity to preserve their cultural attachment to the country of origin, and at the same time, they maintain national loyalty to the receiving country.

This chapter has answered research questions three and four: What roles do radio programmes play when uniting the community during disasters? And how do radio programmes work as a platform for identity negotiation? It analysed the community radio programmes, and disaster and identity issues from two perspectives. The first perspective examined how these radio programmes work as a medium to unite communities during disasters, and the second perspective analysed how these radio programmes work as a vehicle for migrants to represent their cultural identity in multicultural New Zealand society. The chapter argued that during a disaster the community-sharing and identity-negotiation functions of these radio programmes become more pronounced as a central point to unite community members during the disasters in New Zealand and their country of origin as well.

These radio programmes coordinated and facilitated fundraising campaigns to help victims of disasters and conflicts in their country of origin. The chapter also argued that these migrant radio programmes are helpful in negotiating their space in an increasingly multicultural mainstream New Zealand society. These radio programmes not only preserve the cultures and identities of communities related to their countries of origin, but also work as a vehicle that facilitates their everyday life in wider New Zealand society.

## **CHAPTER NINE: Conclusion**

### **9.1. Concluding findings and arguments**

The thesis analysed the community radio programmes of three small migrant communities in a culturally diverse New Zealand context. The research asked how migrant communities use these radio programmes as an alternative platform in their country of residence. The radio programmes function as community public spheres that are being practised in line with the concept of counterpublics in a multi-cultural New Zealand context (Fraser, 1993, Forde et al., 2002a). The migrants practise their community public sphere through the radio programmes to build their sense of community and consensus for their common cultural identity. The activities and function of community public spheres are ultimately directed toward the wider New Zealand public sphere. For instance, the radio programmes provide information that helps migrants' everyday lives in New Zealand; that information supports their integration into mainstream New Zealand culture. At the same time, these radio programmes enhance multi-cultural coexistence within the wider society by providing a platform to practice migrant cultures associated with their homeland or countries of origin. The principle of multiculturalism believes that cultural differences are assets in a pluralist society for promoting cultural diversity in terms of new resources and opportunities (Extra, 2007). In this regard, the radio programmes work as a connective medium to connect migrants with their countries of origin. The homeland connections become particularly important during times of disaster in their countries of origin. The radio programmes provide support not only with information but also by working as a platform for building a sense of community. These radio programmes are participatory platforms for the migrant communities to foster their cultural practices and identities in New Zealand. The radio programmes on Access Radio stations are the only broadcasting platform for small migrant communities; for instance, the

Filipinos, Nepalese and Iranians. These migrant communities use this platform to maintain their language and preserve their cultural values. These radio programmes also can be seen as platforms for transferring parents' cultures and languages to the future generations.

These migrant community radio programmes closely fulfil the access and participation criteria of the 'ideal alternative media' model proposed by Sandoval and Fuchs (2010). The audience members are able to participate in these radio programmes at any stage of the production process and decision-making levels. In a participatory media practice, access refers to the availability of opportunities for the audience to choose relevant content, and the availability of feedback mechanisms to send and implement their demands (Servaes, 1999). The migrant communities practise several formal and informal structures of feedback that encourage audience participation at every stage of content production and decision-making. In this research context audience members have easy access to broadcast radio programmes. Various forms, for example, live broadcast, webcast or podcast, and content are accessible from mobile devices to car stereos or through the Hertzian wave. Social media, particularly Facebook along with podcasts, support accessibility as a distributive platform. The majority of the participants preferred Facebook as the easiest medium to receive radio programmes as podcasts. Feedback is a mechanism that encourages audience interaction with produced content and producers, and that interactivity creates a place for audience members to contribute to the content production and decision-making processes.

In a participatory platform, Berrigan (1979) argues that audiences should have access to participating in production and in deciding the communication policies for content. In this regard, the radio programmes are fulfilling the participatory requirement by providing opportunities to the community members to become involved in content production as critical prosumers (Sandoval and Fuchs, 2010). From the democratic participation perspective,

having access to media content and interaction are not similar to participation, but these two conditions support the actual participation, which is in decision-making (Carpentier, 2012). This perspective mainly focused on equal power relations amongst the members in the decision-making process. In this regard, as members of democratic institutions, community members have theoretically-equal power to decide any editorial or ownership policies for the radio programmes. The community organisations have structures that mean community members can participate with equal rights to decide content and policies. However, this does not mean that every member of the community participates on a daily basis to produce radio programmes. This argument supports Berrigan's observation (1979) that in practice not everyone would want or need to be involved. The important thing is that the opportunity is available.

The thesis analysed the participatory practice and sharing platform that these migrant radio programmes offer to their communities by answering the following research questions:

*RQ1. Why do migrant populations need local radio programmes?*

Chapter Five answered this research question with the argument that these radio programmes provide local information to the migrants that is not available on media from their countries of origin or elsewhere. The local information supports migrants' everyday lives in New Zealand. In this regard, migrants need their local radio programmes to receive information about what is happening around them. Although the migrants can easily receive any media content from their country of origin and other diasporas around the world, the migrants can relate themselves to the local information that local radio programmes provide. The radio programmes work as a platform to support the orientation of the new migrants to New



Zealand society and also to connect migrants to their own culture. The thesis argued that these migrant communities use their language radio programmes as an alternative source to receive mainstream information. They feel that information from their community radio programmes is more authentic than the same information available on English language media. For instance, the migrants preferred immigration-related information from their radio programmes, although this is easily available in any English language media. In this sense, the radio programmes authenticate mainstream information by communicating with feeling. As members of migrant communities, the audience believes that the radio programme producers or presenters are among them and most of them are known to each other. The close relationship between sender and receiver also increased the sense of authenticity and credibility of the communication. Moreover, the migrants in these communities are from different backgrounds, including, for example, refugees and people on family-supported visa categories, and most are not proficient in English. The radio programmes are the only available media for those migrants with limited skills in the English language.

The migrants value their local radio programmes for preserving their cultural practices and transferring culture and languages to the future generations. The migrant communities consider their radio programmes as one of the community activities that keep their languages and cultures alive. As the first generation in New Zealand, the migrants believe that their radio programmes encourage the second generation, a comparatively vulnerable generation of migrants (Pauwels, 2007), to learn their parents' languages and cultures. The second generation is also termed 'the first local generation' (Winter and Pauwels, 2007), as they are likely to be more affected by the rapid or gradual language shift because of the assimilation policies of the host society and language use outside of the home. Although the parents try to maintain their native language at home, for second or third generations, the parents'

languages become domestic only. In this regard, the migrant communities use the radio programmes as a tool for language and cultural maintenance by involving the second generation in the radio programmes as well.

*RQ2. How do migrant community members participate in their community radio programmes?*

After analysing community radio programmes and their practices, the thesis argued that these radio programmes are participatory and community members are accessing and participating in every process of the programmes, from content production to decision making. As discussed in Chapters Six and Seven, the radio programmes are available and easily accessible to community members. Digital distribution platforms, especially podcasts and Facebook, have significantly increased radio programmes' accessibility. Community members have access not only to recent media content but also to the archives as well. The radio programmes are available at community members' finger tips through Facebook and podcasts. These radio programmes employ several formal and informal structures to include community members and audiences in participating in radio content. In content production, the radio producers encouraged community members' participation by broadcasting community voices and involving them as guests in the radio programmes. The community members are encouraged to record their voice on their topic of interest and send the recording via email or social media to be included in the radio programmes. The producers also used community members as co-producers of the radio programmes and encouraged them to collect vox pops at community events. These practices meet the criteria of participatory radio in terms of content production and audience involvement. These practices also demonstrate that these radio programmes are involving non-professional community members in content

production by providing general technical skills. Involving general community members in content production is one of the criteria of participation in media or content-related participation (Carpentier, 2007). Community members can participate at any point in content production in the field, the studio or by using social media and emails.

At the structural level, the audience members hold equal rights to participate in communication policy-making for radio programmes. The community organisations encourage the structural participation of members through monthly or annual meetings. Those meetings formulate the policies that govern the community organisations and also provide guidelines for radio programmes. Digital platforms have also encouraged participation in decision-making processes by providing opportunities for immediate feedback. The community members can pass their feedback to the radio programme producers and community leaders through social media. The availability of such a feedback mechanism placed these community radio programmes close to the ideal alternative media model where the audience is considered a critical prosumer. The main idea of the prosumer is the involvement of the audience in content production and decision making. The community members are taking ownership, participating in the production of radio programmes and decision making through feedback. The practice of involving community members as co-creators and decision-makers of the radio content and policy is evidence that these radio programmes fulfil the requirements of participatory community media. Although in practice there is little active participation by the audiences of these programmes, the availability of opportunities for participation still meets Berrigan's (1979) framework, which emphasises more the availability of the structure than the participation of all community members.

*RQ3. What role do radio programmes play in uniting migrant communities during disasters?*

Chapter Eight addressed this research question by tracing the memories of migrants. These radio programmes played central roles during disasters not only by disseminating up-to-date information but also by drawing on the sense of community of these migrant groups. The research traced earthquakes and typhoons as natural disasters from the migrants' countries of origin and analysed how these radio programmes worked as a platform for sharing. During disasters, community radio is considered one of the most effective media for providing disaster-related lifeline information, and it is also effective in preparedness programmes (Kanayama, 2012; Cretikos, 2008). The migrant community's radio broadcasters played important roles during the Christchurch earthquake, by delivering advisory messages and preparedness information to their communities. During disaster times, people are more dependent on their local ethnic media to receive life-saving information and updates (Matsaganis et al., 2011). These radio programmes also played important roles during other disasters in the Christchurch area, such as the Kaikoura earthquake, the Port Hills fires, and floods in Christchurch rivers.

Chapter Eight particularly focused on the radio programmes' role in migrant communities when disasters and conflicts hit their countries of origin. The radio programmes worked efficiently to provide updates from the home countries and they also worked as major platforms to initiate relief work and support for the victims. The migrant community members preferred their own radio programmes over the mainstream media in New Zealand even though they broadcast only weekly. The migrants believe that their radio programmes provide more detail and more accurate information from their country of origin. These migrant community radio programmes initiated several activities, including fundraising programmes, to support the disaster and conflict victims. The Nepalese community radio

programme was central in uniting migrant Nepalese living in Christchurch when the massive 7.6 magnitude earthquake hit Nepal in 2015. To support the victims and the rebuild, the Nepalese community collected a support fund of NZD140, 000 and the radio programme was actively involved in fundraising. The community members living in Christchurch were invited to share their knowledge and experiences, which encouraged other community members to participate in those fundraising programmes, prayers and a candlelight vigil. The Iranian radio programme also initiated a fundraising programme when the 7.3 magnitude earthquake hit Iran's western province in 2017. The Filipino radio programme has also been active in fundraising to support typhoon and conflict victims in the Philippines. These radio programmes are instrumental in uniting migrants living in Christchurch and supporting the disaster-affected people in their countries of origin. Participants considered that sharing personal experiences can be a source of motivation to help victims, and to mobilise volunteers to collect funds or relief materials, even when they are living far away from the home country. The thesis argued that community radio programmes play a central role in uniting community members during disasters in New Zealand and their countries of origin as well.

*RQ4. How do radio programmes work as a platform for identity negotiation?*

Chapter Eight of the thesis argued that these migrant radio programmes are helpful in negotiating migrants' cultural space in an increasingly multicultural New Zealand society. The migrants believe that they are part of New Zealand society, and at the same time they consider their identities are associated with cultural practices from their country of origin. In this context, the radio programmes are a symbol of migrants' cultural identities and they feel their identities are "valued", "accepted" and "recognised" in New Zealand. The sense of pride

in being in New Zealand and having different cultural identities range from listening to their native language radio frequency to freely consuming pork. One of the Iranian participants shared his moment of excitement when he listened to the Persian language on radio for the first time. Another Filipino participant responded that eating pork without the restriction he experienced working in Middle Eastern countries was a moment of feeling proud to be in New Zealand. The identity negotiated through the radio programmes is comparatively more homogenous than the ethnic identities of migrants themselves. These migrant community organisations and radio programmes support the common community identity-building processes. In actuality, the community members belong to different ethnic groups, and speak different dialects in their countries of origin. However, in New Zealand, these radio programmes serve as a collective symbol of cultural identity. Moreover, when individuals with different identities organise as a community and practice the culture and rituals based on their country of origin, the cultural practices can change and create a hybridised form that fits in the local context. These three migrant-community members believe that their radio programmes touch their inherent ethnic identities by talking about festivals, rituals or playing songs from different dialects and ethnic groups.

As language-specific radio programmes, it is challenging for these programmes to engage with wider New Zealand society or other ethnic communities with different cultures and languages. These programmes are platforms to connect these migrant communities with other migrants and wider New Zealand society. For example, during disasters in migrants' countries of origin, Plains FM can work as a platform to communicate with the wider New Zealand society about fundraising and other support activities. The flexibility to change language to English at times of need can overcome the language barriers and connect the migrants with wider society. The community members considered that the radio programmes

are also part of their cultural-identity-related community activities. The community radio programmes are functioning as ethnic representatives of migrants in the diverse New Zealand society. The radio programmes are working as platforms to preserve their native culture and assisting in adopting the host society's culture. The cultural preservation functions of the radio programmes are more appropriate for the second or third generations of migrants.

## **9.2. Implication and contribution**

As qualitative research, the findings of this thesis are not generalizable to other communities and practices; however, it provides an in-depth understanding of community radio programmes and audience participation in its unique contextual setting. This thesis contributes to the theoretical and practical understanding of community radio, migrants and their media use, and alternative media and its participatory approach. It provides a model of analysis to explore the participatory theoretical approach of community radio and practice-based examination in its contextual setting. The models and frameworks used in this study to analyse community radio programme production and audience participation provide a basis for similar analysis elsewhere. It contributes to the understanding of the 'critical prosumer', which is usually related to web 2.0 generated media content, in a community radio context. The thesis is also useful for understanding how new media platforms, especially podcasting and Facebook, increase the accessibility of media content on distributive platforms and encourage participation through the immediate feedback mechanism.

The thesis also contributes to the understanding of migrant or diasporic media, and ethnic media literature in New Zealand. In this digital era, where media content is increasingly available on globalised platforms, this thesis provides an analysis of how locally-produced media content can support the everyday life of diasporic populations in a host society by

providing local information. Similarly, the thesis contributes to an understanding of migrants and their connections with the culture from their previous life or homeland. The thesis also aids understanding of how diasporic media works to form a comparatively homogeneous common identity that is largely based on the mainstream culture from migrants' countries of origin, and how it satisfies the actual diverse ethnic feeling to keep the common identity strong. It also contributes to the field of diasporic or migrant media and its role in preserving migrants' native culture and language maintenance for future generations. It contributes to the understanding of local community media and their role in uniting migrants emotionally and in making sense of community to support the victims at their countries of origin. Through the traced memories of disasters and conflict, the research offers guidelines for understanding disasters and diasporic homeland connections.

This thesis has implications for the radio broadcasting sector of New Zealand, particularly, Access Radio broadcasting. Access Radio research is predominantly descriptive and based on small audience and broadcasters' surveys. New Zealand On Air annually makes a considerable investment in the twelve Access Radio stations. However, the effectiveness of that investment for minority communities using the Access Radio platform is not deeply understood, as small surveys cannot provide a sufficient basis for analysing the impact of radio platforms. This research provides guidelines for an intensive qualitative impact analysis to examine how these radio platforms are integrated into the everyday lives of community members. This research provides another perspective to understanding how small migrant communities, who otherwise cannot participate in their language broadcasting, utilise these radio platforms in an increasingly multi-cultural New Zealand. The research provides areas of consideration for the funding agency for the community radio sector, New Zealand On Air, to formulate funding policies. Similarly, it also offers insights to Access Radio stations



themselves, on how to conduct a qualitative analysis of their ethnic community radio programmes.

### **9.3. Limitations and suggestions for future research**

One of the major limitations of this thesis is associated with the qualitative research method itself. The thesis is limited to only three migrant communities and the findings cannot be generalised even to another context within New Zealand. Because of this limitation, the research is not appropriate for generalising about other migrants who broadcast on Plains FM or on other Access Radio stations. For future research, including participants from more communities or using other methods such as surveys to learn the situation from other communities, may serve to better understand the whole New Zealand context.

The research is mainly based on focus groups and interviews, which only cover the areas and subjects orally expressed by the participants. The interview-based research is dependent on the memories of participants. Analysing radio programmes' content alongside these interviews would provide a deeper understanding of the context and how effectively these radio programmes provide local and homeland information. Further research could be done incorporating both qualitative and quantitative content analysis to understand the participatory approach in a more in-depth way.

The research is cross-cultural in nature, and barriers such as languages and cultural unfamiliarity exist between the researcher and the participants that can limit the research and certain shared understandings. For instance, the observation of the period required an understanding of nonverbal communication, which is challenging in different cultural contexts. Because of the language barrier, I was not able to understand the communication

between the Filipino and Iranian producers/presenters. Similarly, because of the cultural barriers, the size and composition of focus groups lost consistency. However, as a member of that community, I found a comparatively much more easy space in the Nepalese community to overcome such barriers. Future research could eliminate such cultural or linguistic barriers by employing assistants from the same community in which the research is being carried out. Or this limitation can be overcome by choosing only a community that the researcher belongs to.

This research analysed the radio programmes' role in negotiating cultural identity. More precisely, this research focused on migrants' communities and community public spheres, and it only assumes on theoretical grounds that these community public spheres or counterpublics are directed toward the wider public sphere of mainstream society. However, future research can cover these lapses and analyse how migrant community spheres are integrated with the wider public sphere. The participants considered that radio programmes are one of the cultural-identity-related community activities. However, analysing these communities' other activities that are directed toward identity negotiation would provide a better understanding of the field of cultural identity and hybridity amongst the migrants.

This research included the first generations of migrants, and half of the participants had temporary immigration statuses, such as students and those on short-term work visas. As facilitators of cultural transformation, a vulnerable generation in terms of culture and language maintenance, involving second-generations of migrants would provide other aspects of understanding. Future research could address this limitation to learn how the first local generation values their parents' cultural identity in the host society.

This research analysed social media platforms, especially Facebook, as new platforms or backchannels that support communication between audiences and producers of community radio programmes. Similarly, this research analysed podcasts as a distributive platform. However, these platforms are capable of facilitating new modes of independent communications by themselves. Future research could analyse social media through a multi-dimensional approach to explore how this platform works in migrants' community spheres.

Within its limitations, this thesis analysed how migrant communities value their local radio programmes in this digital era to make connections with their countries of origin and a new society. It examined how local community radio programmes work as platforms for migrant communities to negotiate their hybrid cultural identity in multi-cultural New Zealand. This research compiled the evidence on how migrant communities can utilise the community radio platform to preserve languages and cultural practices from their homeland and transfer those to future generations. The research enquires how community radio builds a sense of community amongst migrants by covering disasters from their countries of origin. The thesis observed the migrant community radio programmes as a participatory media platform. It analysed how community members participate in their radio programmes and blur the boundaries between producers and receivers to emerge as critical prosumers in their unique context and settings. This research analysed how internet platforms, especially social media and podcasts, increase accessibility. The research provides guidelines for qualitative impact analysis of community access media and their audiences by focusing on three Christchurch-based migrant communities and their unique contexts.

## **Appendices:**

### **Appendix 1: Major thematic coding categories and sub-categories:**

#### **#Access and participation**

Access

Participation

Contribution

Making participatory

Encouraging participation

#### **#Access and new platforms**

Social media/Facebook

Facebook and Podcast

#### **#Feedback Mechanism**

##### **#Audiences**

Feedback

Feedback for future programmes

Feedback medium

Feedback requests

Feedback structure

Feedback to community

##### **#Producers**

Community feedback

Feedback types

Future episodes

Medium

Preferred medium

Recommendation requests

Structure

##### **#Community organisation**

Access

Feedback types

Medium

Platform and structure

#### **# Social media as an interactive platform**

- Facebook use
- Facebook as an interactive platform
- Opportunity and challenges
- #Community radio as an alternative voice
  - Authenticating information
  - Second language
  - Content source
  - Accessibility and representation
- #Community radio during disasters
  - Nepalese experience
  - Filipino experience
  - Iranian experience
- #Cultural identity, hybridity and community radio
  - Identities
  - Identity and community radio
- #Diasporic local media and its relevancy
  - Diasporic media
  - Importance
  - Languages and cultures
  - Localness
  - For the future generation
- #Resources and issues of sustainability
  - Available resources
  - Financial resources
  - Financial contribution
  - Community support
- #Radio as public spheres and spiral of silence
  - Spiral of silence
  - Content and self-censorship
  - Involvement and skills

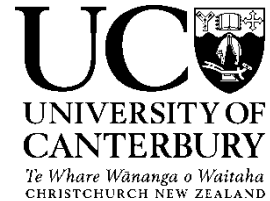
## Appendix 2: Consent forms and information sheets

### Appendix 2.1. Consent forms

#### 10.2.1.1. Consent form for observation

Telephone: +64 3 366 7001 (Ext. 8679)

Email: [netra.timilsina@pg.canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:netra.timilsina@pg.canterbury.ac.nz)



### Consent Form for Participants of Observation

I have been given a full explanation of this project and have been given an opportunity to ask questions.

I understand what will be required of me if I agree to take part in this project.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any stage without penalty.

I understand that any information or opinion I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and that any published or reported results will not identify me.

I understand that all data collected for this study will be kept in locked and secure facilities at the University of Canterbury and will be destroyed after 10 years.

I understand that I will receive a summarized report on the findings of this study. I have provided my email details below for this.

I understand that if I require further information I can contact the researcher, Netra Timilsina.

If I have any complaints, I can contact Dr. Zita Joyce or the Chair of the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

The researcher can record my activities by using following methods only for the note taking purpose.

Audio record      Yes      ☐ No      ☐

Video record      Yes      ☒ No      ☐

Photographs      Yes      ☐ No      ☐

By signing below, I agree to participate in this research project.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Email address: \_\_\_\_\_

### 10.2.1.2. Consent form for focus groups

Telephone: +64 3 366 7001 (Ext. 8679)

Email: [netra.timilsina@pg.canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:netra.timilsina@pg.canterbury.ac.nz)



### Consent Form for Participants of Focus Group

I have been given a full explanation of this project and have been given an opportunity to ask questions.

I understand what will be required of me if I agree to take part in this project.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any stage without penalty.

I understand that any information or opinions I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and that any published or reported results will not identify me.

I understand that all data collected for this study will be kept in locked and secure facilities at the University of Canterbury and will be destroyed after 10 years.

I understand that I cannot disclose any information provided by other participants within the discussion

I understand that I will receive a summarized report on the findings of this study. I have provided my email details below for this.

I understand that if I require further information I can contact the researcher, Netra Timilsina.

If I have any complaints, I can contact Dr Zita Joyce or the Chair of the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

The researcher can record my activities by using following methods only for the note taking purpose.

Audio record      Yes      ☐ No      ☐

Video record      Yes      ☒ No      ☐

Photographs      Yes      ☐ No      ☐

By signing below, I agree to participate in this research project.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Email address: \_\_\_\_\_

### 10.2.1.3. Consent form for Interviews



Telephone: +64 3 366 7001 (Ext. 8679)

Email: [netra.timilsina@pg.canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:netra.timilsina@pg.canterbury.ac.nz)

### Consent Form for Participants of Interview

I have been given a full explanation of this project and have been given an opportunity to ask questions.

I understand what will be required of me if I agree to take part in this project.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any stage without penalty.

I understand that any information or opinions I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and that any published or reported results will not identify me.

I understand that all data collected for this study will be kept in locked and secure facilities at the University of Canterbury and will be destroyed after 10 years.

I understand that I will receive a summarized report on the findings of this study. I have provided my email details below for this.

I understand that if I require further information I can contact the researcher, Netra Timilsina.

If I have any complaints, I can contact Dr. Zita Joyce or the Chair of the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

The researcher can record my activities by using following methods only for the note taking purpose.

Audio record      Yes      ☐ No      ☐

Video record      Yes      ☒ No      ☐

Photographs      Yes      ☐ No      ☐

By signing below, I agree to participate in this research project.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Email address: \_\_\_\_\_



## Appendix 2.2. Information sheets

### 10.2.2.1. Information sheet for observation



## INFORMATION SHEET FOR OBSERVATION

**Project:** Mainstreaming the Alternatives: Access and Participation of Audience in New Zealand's Community Radio

**Researcher:** Netra Timilsina, Department of Media and Communication Studies,

Phone: +64 3 366 7001 (Ext. 8679),

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### Supervisors:

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Dr. Linda Jean Kenix

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[lindajeane.kenix@canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:lindajeane.kenix@canterbury.ac.nz)

This research is a part of my PhD study in the field of Media and Communication Studies and approved by the human ethic committee (HEC) of the University of Canterbury. The study is focused on involvement status of audience in community radio. Three Christchurch based migrant communities (Nepalese, Filipino and Iranian) and their community radio experience will be analysed. The study will evaluate the audience participation in community radio as content producers, consumers to decision making level. Similarly, it also intends to analyze the community radio's role as a vehicle of cultural and language preservation as well as platform of unity and sharing with special reference to natural disaster in their country of origin.

This study includes different methods and phases: observation, focus groups and interviews. In the observation phase of the study, I will simply observe the radio program production process in non-intrusive manner.

Here is some information that you may need to decide about participation in this study:

### General

Your participation is completely voluntary. You may withdraw your participation at any stage of the study at any time without penalty. This withdrawal includes the material you have contributed as long as this is practically achievable. All data will be kept in locked cabinets or password protected computers with the utmost safety and only the researcher and the supervisors will have access. All study results will be reported for the study population collectively. No individual participant will be identified in the results and your identity will not be disclosed. All data will be totally anonymised before analysis. Your identity will never be shared with others in any form.

### **Observation**

The observation area is determined by the nature of the production of regular radio shows. In this phase the researcher observe the production process of radio programs. This will be completely non-intrusive observations. The research intends to observe the production process as it occurs in its natural or regular manner. If the researcher's presence annoy you to perform your regular tasks, than you can ask the researcher to leave the field at any time.



## INFORMATION SHEET FOR FOCUS GROUP

**Project:** Mainstreaming the Alternatives: Access and Participation of Audience in New Zealand's Community Radio

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This research is a part of my PhD study in the field of Media and Communication Studies and approved by the human ethic committee (HEC) of the University of Canterbury. The study is focused on involvement status of audience in community radio. Three Christchurch based migrant communities (Nepalese, Filipino and Iranian) and their community radio experience will be analysed. The study will evaluate the audience participation in community radio as content producers, consumers to decision making level. Similarly, it also intends to analyse the community radio's role as a vehicle of cultural and language preservation as well as platform of unity and sharing with special reference to natural disaster in their country of origin.

This study includes different methods and phases: observation, focus groups and interviews. If you decide to participate in this study, you will have an opportunity to choose whether you feel comfortable with one-on-one interview or focus group.

Here is some information that you may need to decide about participation in this study:

## **General**

Your participation is completely voluntary. You may withdraw your participation at any stage of the study at any time without penalty. This withdrawal includes the material you have contributed as long as this is practically achievable. All data will be kept in locked cabinets or password protected computers with the utmost safety and only the researcher and the supervisors will have access. All study results will be reported for the study population collectively. No individual participant will be identified in the results and your identity will not be disclosed. All data will be totally anonymised before analysis. Your identity will never be shared with others in any form.

## **Focus Groups**

Focus groups will be conducted including 4 to 7 participants in one group and they all from your community. You will be free to express your opinion without any pressure and obligations. The group discussion will be facilitated by me and you will be encouraged to express your views on discussed topics. The focus group will last within 1.5 hours at its most including refreshment. You can tell me at any stage of the focus group if you feel uncomfortable.

All information obtained will be kept strictly confidential. You will have the opportunity to receive the summarized transcripts of the focus group. The whole discussion session will be recorded by digital recorder. Recorded audio will be kept in a safe and secure place and will be destroyed after 10 years. All materials will be stored in a secure location and access will be restricted to me and my supervisors. You will be asked to respect the privacy of the other group members. Every participant in focus groups will have different label to maintain anonymity in audio records.

All participants will be asked not to disclose anything opinion expressed within the discussion, but it is important to understand that other people in the group with you may not keep all information private and confidential.



## INFORMATION SHEET FOR INTERVIEW

**Project:** Mainstreaming the Alternatives: Access and Participation of Audience in New Zealand's Community Radio

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This study includes different methods and phases: observation, focus groups and interviews. If you decide to participate in this study, you will have an opportunity to choose whether you feel comfortable with one-on-one interview or focus group.

Here is some information that you may need to decide about participation in this study:

### **General**

Your participation is completely voluntary. You may withdraw your participation at any stage of the study at any time without penalty. This withdrawal includes the material you have contributed as long as this is practically achievable. All data will be kept in locked cabinets or password protected computers with the utmost safety and only me and my supervisors will have access. All study results will be reported for the study population collectively. No individual participant will be identified in the results and your identity will not be disclosed. All data will be totally anonymised before analysis. Your identity will never be shared with others in any form.

### **Interview**

During the interview you will be asked to talk about your community radio experience covering different topics related to radio programs. The interview takes no longer than 1 hour including refreshment. The interview will be recorded on digital audio recorder. You will receive a code or pseudonym before the interview and your name will not be used during the interview. Therefore, the audio will address you or your friends just using the code. You can tell me at any stage of the interview if you feel uncomfortable. You will have the opportunity to receive the transcript of the interview on request. Recorded interviews will be kept in a safe and secure place and will be destroyed after 10 years.

The results of the study will be available through the University of Canterbury Library. The results also might be published in academic journals and articles. If you agree to participate in the study, you are asked to complete and sign the consent form.

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