

Internet-based Community Radio and communication rights: A Chilean case study

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Introduction

On the International Day of Freedom of Expression 2012, the President of the World Association of Community Broadcasters (AMARC), Maria Pía Matta, called to encourage and strengthen the existence of a third communications sector in Chile, in particular in regards to the community radios. Furthermore, she highlighted the obligation of the state to create conditions that make greater plurality of voices possible, accounting for the cultural diversity in Chile.

For long has an increased concentration of media ownership been stimulating a powerful economic ignorance of local needs and an often assumed media revolution has in general been absent in Chile. But since the beginning of the 21st century, community media initiatives and new technological interventions have expanded and participatory communication and Internet based media portals have challenge traditional media constructions. This phenomenon has especially been present 2011, a year full of social eruptions and protest. New practices through Internet seems to have advanced new opportunities of distribution, giving the radio production through Internet a key position in regards of the reinforcement of the debate around communication rights. However, this is not emerging without certain consequences for the access to information. Different access to the use of communication platforms and Internet many times depend on the cost of access, education level or other social, cultural, economic or even political factors.

Understanding the concept of Community Radio

My research started as an investigation on the relationship of community media, civil society movements and the use of new Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs). I aimed to look at the role of community media in the context of the student protest of 2011. But, when establishing the research, I saw an informative blockade between reality and things that were advanced in traditional media. Essential legal means seemed to be standing in between community radio practitioners and communication rights and freedoms. So, to understand the importance of the access to information, legislative frameworks surrounding the debate of community radio was included within the analysis.

The objectives therefore became two folded: Firstly, to study Internet-based Community Radio, using Radio Tierra as a Chilean case study, assessing experiences and understandings of the functionality of traditional and new technology methods adapted to new practices and social change. And secondly, to explore how the environment, recognition and existing legal provisions

were acting as promoters or obstacles for the advancement of civic dialogue when broadcasting online in Chile. Important thus, was to emphasis communication and information rights when looking at experiences and advances of community radios using internet as a primary tool.

Community media is a common term when talking about local radio and television, local newspapers and public access video facilities. A wide range of concepts surrounds the notion of community media: alternative media, citizen media, radical media, social movement's media, people's media, popular media and so on. An assumption common to these concepts is that media power is at stake, since it is primarily concerned with political and social empowerment. (See Sage E-reference about alternative media) Community Media, in this article, is understood as an independent alternative, a civil society based media that operates for social advantages, standing as an alternative, both to national public broadcasters under government control and to private commercial media, providing the civil society with information and knowledge as well as enhancing the freedom of expression, access to information and the democratic voice.

The concept of Community Radio originally referred to local and geographical communities, and later extended to include communities of interests, interpretative communities and communities of meaning. (Cammaerts & Carpentier, 2007) Many scholars further agree that it has developed as an agent of participatory democracy that can assure an inclusive role to members of a certain society or group. Within this definition Community radio becomes a practical and cost-effective way to reach out playing a crucial and very specific role in encouraging public participation, when giving voice to marginalized groups that otherwise shouldn't be present within an oligopoly media landscape. I therefore chose to look at radio as the most extended medium, and to Internet broadcasting as a complementary tool for its sustainability, through a case study.

For the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, UNESCO, (2011), "the emergence of community media is often associated with wider political change particular the deepening of democracy and the strengthening of civil society". Ellie Rennie (2006) states that community media is to be seen as an advancement of the protection and extension of civil society by civil society itself (p.36). For her, civil society is the "sphere of formal and informal networks and groups, such as associations, clubs, and cultural allegiances, and the social bonds that tie communities together" (Ibid: 7). Rodriguez (2004) follows this understanding, meaning that citizens' media stands for the transformation of alternative media participants into active citizens. The most important issue is not that everyone wants to be involved, but to make participation possible in the process of the creation of media content. By giving people access to a computer they are given the opportunity to get alternative information and knowledge and to participate within ongoing debates in society. But there are still barriers to be found within the debate of civil society participation when it comes to equitable participation through new ICT use. Different access to the use of communication platforms and Internet may come as an outcome depending on the cost of access, education or other social, cultural or economic factors.

Media Development in Chile

The system created under the dictatorship, 1973-1990, which resulted in the disappearance of oppositional press, has continued to govern the media landscape even after the return of democracy. Positive advances could be seen during 2010, when the access to information law finally got implemented. However restrictions to the development of community radio, and the use of the penal code to stop radio stations and journalists, alongside with ownership concentration, continue to be a threat to freedom of press, speech and information in Chile.

In Chile, the combination of inexpensive electronic devices with digital communications platforms, give new prospects for citizens to exercise their right to freedom of expression, communication and information. Along with transformations of the global media culture, beyond standardized notions of media, increased participation in media production and policy debates is possible. But saying this one must also consider restrictions and political measures within such a debate since media structures can further help reinforce existing power interests and maintain social, cultural and political inequalities. If that's the case, alternative voices must find other methods to exist.

The most massive protests seen since the return of democracy in 1990 rocked Chile during 2011-2012. Several journalists have stated that these upheavals mainly developed because of new potentials spreading the word through platforms online but it is also important to look at the reason behind them: namely the lack of social satisfaction with the action or inaction. Meaning that alternative media networks and the use of ICTs such as the Internet helped spreading an already existing discontent. From this perspective Community Radio stands as an example of alternative media networks trying to create spaces for debate and participation for and by citizens. The "civic eruptions" during 2011-2012 are therefore believed to advance two central characteristics; the distance between the citizen's (civil society) and the political institutions that represent them; and the presence of new ICTs as a tool for coordination, information and articulation.

Reporters without Borders stated after a visit in Chile 2011 that it is visible how new channels of news and information is playing a more central role in the civic eruption: "During the last 20 years of rule by the Concert of Parties for Democracy, media ownership continued to be concentrated in very few hands, hindering pluralism and leading to conflicts of interest. Is the media oligopoly about to be broken?" (Reporters without Borders, 17/8/2011).

The case of Radio Tierra

Radio has for long been the most accessible medium and an important information source for the popular and marginalized sectors in Chile. It offers extended and diversified information, both in terms of content and area coverage, especially when media is otherwise characterized by an extreme concentration of ownership. The development of radio has taken specific turns to adapt to the changing of concentrated ownership and lack of support for smaller broadcasters. Both the citizens and the practitioners have discovered digital communication platforms and the Internet as tool for information, gaining control of both media and their own reality, using alternative media methods as a substitute.

Radio Tierra is an independent citizen- or civil society media promoting human rights and is at present going under the slogan- 20 years of liberty. The radio station is an outcome of actions and practical experiences by a Santiago based women's organization, "Corporación Feminista La Morada". It has from the start been using an AM frequency; instead of the more common FM frequency that in technical terms could have given them better quality and reach far more people. In 2004, Radio Tierra started their broadcast also through Internet, offering new forms of media content and broadcasting for national as well as international audiences.

In this sense Radio Tierra began to differ themselves from many other community radio stations in Chile conceptualizing themselves as a social network or media movement that linked organizations and social movements together. It is especially interesting to analyze the development of the radio signal and its provision on the Internet since it is an assessment of social functions within new technology platforms, and a tool essential to the freedom of expression and communication.

As a case study it holds several characteristics relevant for this kind of investigation. It is:

- Socially based in civil society and the women's movement;
- Has got its values rooted in citizenship, human rights and democracy;
- It is participatory and has got a self-reflective management model; and
- Holds diversification of activities (UNESCO, 2011).

It also represents the use of new communication methods and tools, such as:

- Radio broadcasting through Internet;
- Video broadcasting through Internet; and
- Twitter, Facebook and Flickr.

Communication rights and freedoms in Chile

The legislative frameworks that regulate community broadcasting around the world are of very different structures. In accordance with UNESCO and AMARC legislative standards often apply to the history, culture and socio-economic situation, which are why it becomes important to also look, or at least refer to, the legislative context of Chile.

Chile did for long lack a public policy on the access to information but new legislations has successively been adopted, creating both advantages and challenges for the civil society, media and the government themselves. A digital development strategy was implemented 2008 in order to build an information society in Chile and is running until 2012. Included within this strategy is [a net neutrality law that now has been implemented as the first of its kind in the whole world](#). It is purposed to "mandate net neutrality, forbidding internet service providers from restricting or interfering with content or access to content by users".

Thus, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR) has penalized Chile three times for censoring content; the second case of Marcel Claude 2006 is the first of its kind within an International court in regards of access to information. The Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression of the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights (ICHR) has also called on indirect violations because of job insecurity of affecting press freedom in Chile. Meaning that, legal mechanisms have brought consequences leading to restrictions on free debate and confrontations of ideas, opinions and information in Chile. The Special Rapporteur has further expressed concern about a series of assaults and arrests of journalists and communicators, among several community radio stations, that have been committed by police during mass demonstrations in Chile 2011. (ICHR, 2011) Something that also could be confirmed when Chile ended up going down from Nr. 33 to Nr. 80 of 179 countries when analyzing the media freedom index 2011. (Reporters without Borders, 2011) The Rapporteur also insists that Chilean law must conform to international broadcasting standards and should be imposed through the use of administrative penalties and not through the use of criminal law. He further states that "any restrictions of freedom of expression on broadcasting standards should be proportional, in the sense that there exist a less restrictive alternative to the right to freedom of expression to achieve the legitimate aim being pursued". Recalling that legal recognition on community broadcasting is not enough when there are rules and standards that establish discriminatory conditions for the operation as well as disproportionate sanctions of the use of criminal law. (ICHR, 2011)

In Chile [the law on freedom of opinion, information and exercise of journalism](#) was approved 2001, aiming for "freedom to express opinions and information without prior censorship as a right for all". Further stating that pluralism in the information system will favor the expression of social, cultural, political and regional diversity in the country, "with this purpose it will ensure the freedom to create, publish, establish, operate and maintain social media". However Community Radio experiences show something else. Within the Chilean law, Community Radios legal name is defined as "Low Coverage Radio" (Radio de Mínima cobertura). This definition is given to the stations that are approved and recognized by the state under the law that was initiated in 1992, was modified 1994 and today, from 2010 are called the "Community Radio law 20.433" (Ley de radios comunitarias). The complete recognition of Community Radio is still not there and the definitions that are included continue to describe it from geographic terms instead of a community of interest. Limiting financing mechanisms is still present since restrictions on advertisers is included and consequently, this separates community radio from commercial radio. Furthermore, the law only reserves for 10 percent of the spectrum on FM leaving the remaining 90 %, digital radio and AM for commercial or state run radio. The new law (after approval on May 2010) continues to penalize unlicensed radio transmitters with fines and up to 3 years of prison. (Law No 20.433) 31 legal proceedings against Community radios had been initiated since then. This use of penalization has been strongly criticized by various social actors, both nationally and internationally, since it is seen as a limiting factor in regards of access to information and communication (AMARC, 2011).

Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), Old and New

Significant for ICT-based community radio initiatives is the underlying assumption that information technologies are the tools needed to bridge the gap between voiceless citizens and

their governments. It can therefore be essential to look at community radio and networking as a principal tool for social movements attempting to break dominant social codes and power relations. In this light, ICTs can be seen as bringing new promises for social movements, if access to them is available. However, processes and technologies are not always simple and without tensions when being used within Community Radio projects and networking. Traditional technologies may be more comfortable, within some processes, than the internet since the more traditional ways might lead to a more extended inclusion of the civil society. (O'Donnell, 2005). Through digital technology, messages, information and dialogue can be forwarded endlessly at no cost, but only with the premise that people within the specific society or community can have access to these devices and the tools needed in order to receive this information.

To advance and further look into the value of Internet radio as a tool used by community radio to reclaim the public space, we have to acknowledge Internet as an alternative arena for community radio practitioners. Internet can have additional impacts on broadcasting, bringing light and depth to the communication process already being used. In this way, Community Internet Radio is providing a greater variety and spectrum than before by placing TV and video broadcasts over the Internet, something that is becoming more conventional. However, the use of Internet within different areas brings certain challenges to the debate. OECD (2008) shows that the assurance of a widespread availability of publicly accessible Internet services, at no or nominal cost, stand as a minimum basis for ensuring equitable participation in the Information Society.

Nevertheless, through the emergence of a new era of digital technologies, the Internet has proven that greater participation in media technologies and development can be both possible and desirable (Rennie, 2006). Internet and alternative media forms, especially radio, have been advanced as successful tools, giving voice to the voiceless. The use of these methods has helped advance the causes of many movements worldwide, with Chile being no exception. These methods have mainly helped to challenge political representation and managed to promote organized civil society movements. The emergence of the Internet as a media platform is having profound effects on the possibilities and practices of community radio, creating opportunities to distribute content without the need to use the radio frequency spectrum (UNESCO, 2008). However, it remains essential to have in mind that even if technologies used by community media practitioners have changed over time as new technologies and possibilities are being introduced, radio continues to be the most successful ICT since it is inexpensive to use and is clearly oral in its nature (Nederveen Pieterse in Lovink & Zehle, 2005).

Fundamental human rights, including the equal access to media, should be both protected and extended within the context of rapid changes within ICTs (AMARC ALC, 2010). Those rights are often seen as vital for the formation of public opinion and for the accurate development of the civil society. Within this context, radio is playing a key role in the reinforcement of "freedom of expression as the most economical and universal means of communication meeting local communication needs in the context of globalization" (UNESCO, 2010). The growth of Internet both limits and enables freedoms and accessibility of information. Internet as a tool can give people the ability to find and receive valuable information and opinion to advance knowledge and culture and promotes discussions on subjects that are of specific interest. The right to communication is therefore more vital than ever since it manages to encircle several rights that can

be jeopardized within new Internet societies. It can as easily restrict thoughts, opinions and public debate, since the control of the access to the Internet relies upon the infrastructures of others. It has then become more vital than ever to preserve freedom of opinion and communication rights online, especially in the light of alternative media methods.

Three key factors, advanced by UNESCO and AMARC, are central when analyzing these issues and talking to practitioners in the field:

- *The enabling environment and recognition* of community radio and its implications for the access to information.
- *The social and technological strategies for the sustainability* of community radio and the ways in which it can circulate and exist through Internet.
- *The social impact* of community radio in Chile in relation to the social model of communications.

Enabling environments and access to information

Community Radio is addressed within the new law on Community Radio Article 1 (Ley de Radios comunitarias 20.433) and it is recognized as a radio that has a maximum service area a municipality or group of municipalities, according to the scope of Community action to the concessionaire. According to all the informants, Chile lacks modern legislation on social issues and community radio is closely linked to that. When looking at the very existence, and by that provision of Radio Tierra, created by an interest group focusing on women and human rights, wanting to be visible and to communicate their vision to the civil society, they are directly being limited by the law in Chile since it doesn't even recognize their existence.

Juan Ortega, President of AMARC in Chile and Director of the NGO ECO, means that Chilean law lacks several standards and is therefore not adequate and inclusive for Community Radios. The Organization of the states of America (OEA) and the United Nations, he states, have criticized Chile every year in regards of freedom of expression and the provision of Community Radio, meaning that the development of illegal community radio stations is a product of the governing legislations: "Due to legal frameworks supporting commercial radios, several clandestine Community Radios have developed". (Juan Ortega)

According to María Pía Matta, President of AMARC and journalist at Radio Tierra, rights and freedom of expression lie within its core values, where this freedom is seen as a human right in two aspects; where you get but also can produce information, being a collective right as well as a right for the people. An important annotation within her argument is that we do not just have to receive information because of the freedom of media that might exist for the owners of media; we also have the right to produce it. The state has since 1994 and onwards neglected a FM frequency for Radio Tierra, which by Radio Tierra is believed to be the outcome of the commercial rules governing the market. She explains that Radio broadcasting, understood also as technical support, should not just be comprehended within its economic conception, it should also incorporate the

notions of human rights. And further says that in their case the state, is constantly disconcerting them making it impossible to fulfill their mission to communicate in the ways we want.

Radio Tierra has been present online since 2004, combined with the AM frequency, but are since 2010 only transmitting online through their webpage. When asked if there are any limiting factors with only transmitting online, Maria Pía Matta says that there were none, meaning that they would like to have a frequency but that it has been neglected by the State. Rosario Puga Moller, coordinator of Radio Tierra, says that it is a big challenge working with platforms that are not universal, that implies that people are connected to Internet. She further refers to the significance of the great number of Chilean people that don't have access to the Internet, even if the Internet in Chile is more widespread than in many other countries in Latin America. So of course, transmitting online has required many modalities but in general is the Internet a good method reaching out to the civil society, using traditional forms of broadcasting, within new platforms.

The social and technological strategies for the sustainability

Alongside with new technologies, audiences are changing. In the long run this means that everything becomes more global. With Internet for instance new ways of broadcasting are taking shape for many Community Radios where the audiences are global instead of being extremely local. Juan Ortega says that this phenomenon can be both positive and negative since the audiences are becoming more distanced, leading to a need of a broader set of content. Meaning that, all Community Radios must globalize since the social reason on Internet changes society. The concept of globalization is therefore becoming more evident within the Chilean reality, even if several things are still under process.

Maria Pía Matta further says that the state denies them the possibility to transmit with FM frequency and on several occasions they have applied but without approval. She says that “we bought an AM frequency, no one gave it to us, and we had it for 20 years, and we cannot maintain it any longer. Therefore the State must be held accountable for making it impossible for us to transmit in other ways than through the Internet. So in regards of existing or not existing at all, Internet seems to have created possibilities for survival, at least in the case of Radio Tierra: “You want to be democratic but you can not be so democratic. The problem is not ours, it is the state”. (Maria Pia Matta)

Journalists at Radio Tierra insist that the Internet has created a new world for them. Even if a FM frequency had been a good complement the Internet has advanced their position since AM was no longer listened to, due to many technical and economic limitations. The Internet becomes what radio for long has been: a less expensive alternative, at least with regard to the production of content. Everything becomes incorporated on the Internet. Roberto Fuentealba Matus, web editor at Radio Tierra, further explains that the Internet has functioned as a promoter of their cause. Several actors within organizations and collaborators of their networks use their platform as a reliable source of information to regional programs and more local broadcasting programs around

Chile. This has led to changes in their functionality, as they adapt to legal provisions when using tools and communication platforms.

Hence, in Chile, it can even be indicated that the conflicts and limitations to some extent have improved another network system where the Internet has served as a platform that connects different radio stations and broadcasts with each other, something that the analog system never permitted in the same way. Although it is far from being comprehended as something greatly developed or inclusive for all community radio practitioners or their listeners, maybe digitalization could be one way to facilitate access and freedoms of media.

Perla Wilson, another journalist at Radio Tierra says that they are transmitting programs of other radios, holding a shared relationship of being connected and linked with regards to specific themes of interest. She also adds that they have many collaborators, more than 10 groups of organizations within Radio Tierra that create different programs. So there are several indicators showing that Radio Tierra has advanced through new methods of communication and collaboration even if they rather would have chosen to deliver their message in a combined manner, something that is not possible today.

Enzo Abbagliati, Director of the Online community “El Quinto Poder”, further explains that the potentials of social and technological strategies are widespread but the universal access to information and the Internet must be guaranteed in order to follow the relevance, aim and work of community radios. When establishing who the disconnected people are it becomes clear that it follows the same stream as in the rest of the world, the people with less income. Hence, the same people that is supposed to benefit from community radio as a less expensive and more participatory tool. From this angle, Rennie’s (2006) arguments on the strength of community media lying within the processes of everyday life and permitting ordinary citizens to express and organize themselves are no longer relevant since the ordinary people will become divided into connected and disconnected groups in society.

Enzo Abbagliati further clarifies that the Internet is a space of lettered culture meaning that to have your voice heard you need to manage certain competences and codes. This means that technology also advances technological inequalities where some have access and some do not. The Internet and community radio broadcasting online excludes people from the information, “it has got its own logic excluding people” (Juan Ortega). This is especially important to understand since it is the cultural heritage that decides how and to what level a person is informed and animated to participate. The barriers to enter those spaces can be enormous for people that are not accustomed to expressing themselves and their ideas.

The strengthening of social impact

Rosario Puga Molles tells me that Radio Tierra functions as two blocks, the first mentioned as an intern production block the second as the voices of their collaborators, organizations and associative experiences of culture, politics, environment, human rights, education, women etc. Meaning that the second block are collaborating in their role as civil society actors creating

content and an agenda for dialogue used within the aim and cycle of programs meanwhile the production block look at themes of actuality and the contingency of programs within the radio. Consequently, it is also important to advance things that are not yet debated or have become a topic, since it is believed to be important for the people. Roberto Fuentealba Matus agrees and adds that it can be difficult sometimes since it brings a lot of responsibilities towards the civil society and citizens. Even if it (Radio Tierra) was born with a feminist input, it is a public radio, and open for all, debating themes that primary deals with civil liberties.

Radio Tierra is getting their inspiration through those values and seek to be a reflection of different understandings of civil society in the minds of participating citizens, with the intention to strengthen communication and promote an active role for citizens. It is in many ways a progressive radio but it also strives towards the intersection of absolute freedom, freedom of expression, freedom of the right to decide, the freedom of religious credibility, what is it that I seek, why do we have to listen only to two churches (the evangelical and the Catholic), what are the circumstances of life, that is Radio Tierra. (Maria Pía Matta)

Juan Ortega refers to the importance of community radios under the protest upheavals of 2011. According to him, the transmission chains were an important part of the interaction and dialogue. Behind the chain was Radio Tierra, unifying 40 media channels, mostly radios, allowing different community radios be a part of a national transmission block on different hours so that local, regional as well as national actions all became a part of the same debate.

In regards to the social irruption, Rosario Puga Molles explains that it is an outcome of a system of concentrated media that doesn't manage to achieve a social function. "What we have seen during 2011 is a conflict of ideas...where the quality of content within the debate is appearing as a crisis of public debate". She further states that the media is becoming a part of this crisis since no social function of mainstream media can be defined and the role of Radio Tierra and other alternative media platforms, as intermediaries or mediators within the conflict is becoming clearer. It is thus important to see how to dissenter the logic of the confrontation and effectively confront the weakness of democratic coexistence. Roberto Fuentealba Matus says that the underlying aim of Radio Tierra became even clearer under the protests and social irruptions of 2011 since their space became more defined and easier to reach. "We had the radio on the street, asking people on the street, debating live on the street; that is community radio- community radio in its best approach is a participatory radio, present among the people, where the people are and in their own community".

However, the concentration of ownership appears to come between the intentions of Radio Tierra and their real desire of being part of changing structures. Several objectives are thus being fulfilled and Radio Tierra gives the impression of being decisive with regard to certain dimensions within the public debate while striving to be loyal to new forms of participation and organization of the civil society. When believing that traditional forms of participation- economic, social or political- are being exceeded, it's even more important to make the appearance of new communication platforms for alternative information and knowledge creation possible. This logic is forwarded within the very aim of Radio Tierra and Rosario says that in the transition of Radio Tierra the question on how to effectively augment the debate of the

quality of democracy has been developing and adds that the situation is not about dictatorship anymore but that it's relevant to understand that we are living within a tainted democracy.

By way of conclusion

The greatest challenge for community media as a whole is to consolidate a legal framework that supports and enables the development of community media guaranteeing freedom of expression on the Internet. This implies that it is extremely important that the possibilities given by Internet will be maintained and assured before restrictions starts to develop.

There seems to be an ethical obligation to the institutions and radio stations that manage platforms through the Internet as well as a pedagogical vocation to constantly invite, interchange, and teach social movements and civil society members that are there to participate. Juan Ortega says that several stations were left behind during the social protests of 2011, since social media networks became more important as a tool. That led to a great change, because the civic role of community radios were reawakened and social movements managed to accelerate radios en general. This was caused mainly because the social protests in general also held a critical position towards mainstream media, giving more space to Community Radios and alternative ways to create and deliver messages for and by the civil society: "While mainstream media was exploring the movements and exposing them from other positions, Community Radios created broadcasting chains to include each and every smaller platform or radio station within the national context".

So maybe María Pía Matta is right when she says: "I believe that we need to expand community radio to be community media...as the aim of creating community, to be able to be transversal with the content in regards to forming opinion about things that we consider important to talk about: democracy, liberties, freedom of expression and diversity, as fundamental factors to change the world." This might be the way forward in order to secure the survival and sustainability of community radios around the world. The interdependence between radio and Internet seems to empower Radio Tierra giving their networks the possibility to be a part of participatory approaches through new methods or dialogue. Nevertheless, it brings about critical stress factors regarding the extreme differences between groups in society and their use and access to the Internet. Through digital technology, messages, information and dialogue can be forwarded endlessly, at low cost but only with the premise that people within the specific society or community have access to the devices and tools needed in order to approach them. Community Radios may have to globalize, and even advance towards community media platforms, since the social reason on the Internet also changes society. However, an important actor within this change is the state that first of all must assure better conditions for community radio sustainability. In this way access to civic dialogue for all can be assured and developed through traditional radio and now, as we have seen, through new online spaces.

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