

The Construction of Identity & Community by Local Media

a Case Study in **Lierderholthuis**, a Small Village in the East
of the Netherlands



Judith Reimer

s1327070

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Faculty of Spatial Sciences

University of Groningen

Supervisor: dr. E.H.K. Karel

Dutch Agronomic Historical Institute

University of Groningen / Wageningen University



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TOWARDS A DEEPER UNDERSTANDING OF
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Motivation

The object television became since the 50s part of the furniture in households in the Netherlands. Often, the TV set figures as the centre around which the living room is organized. The medium takes nowadays an essential place in the everyday life of people. The presence of the television is often self-evident. For the radio this is the same, during work, driving, eating etc., people listen. Then there is the fact of the enormous use of the Internet. The computer seems, like the television, a basic need in the household in the Western world. This use is not only practical, but there are also all kinds of information available which can be found worldwide. The media (newspapers, magazines, radio, television and the Internet) seem to influence largely the frame of reference of people, or as Morley and Robins state, the film and television industries determine (partially) the *'memory-banks' of our time* (1995 : 90).

This research is done in the 'Rural Europe' project. One of the aims of this project is to gain knowledge about rural areas in European Countries, which the project title does indicate: 'Towards a Deeper Understanding of Rural Europe'. The village of Lierderholthuis, a small hamlet near the city of Zwolle in the Netherlands, is one of the six villages chosen for this project.¹ In Lierderholthuis, three students (including me) did their own research but tried to share ideas and experiences about the village. Lierderholthuis has approximately 420 inhabitants. The village is centred around a school, a church, a café and a community centre. Lierderholthuis was (partly) selected for the research project because there is a vivid community life. People do participate in several ways in this community. How community life is constructed is the main subject of one of the other researchers, Wendy van Rooij, visual anthropology student at Leiden University. Monika Berenyi, art student at the Dutch Art Institute, made an art project about the meaning of ritual for village inhabitants. My own interest focused on the way community is reproduced by media. This focus on media was triggered by the so-called radio pirates in the area.

In Lierderholthuis and surroundings (and more parts in eastern and northern Holland), there is a (large) network of young people, mostly boys who are spending free time broadcasting music into the ether. I asked myself questions about motives of these young boys and their public. The government sees these activities as a crime. Lijfering (1988) wonders why this form of broadcasting isn't seen as a violation of the law instead of a crime. The broadcasting of music is for the (young) men an important hobby. Besides pirates, there is also another form of local media produced on the local scale. In Lierderholthuis, situated in the municipality of Raalte, this is done by RTV Raalte. This is a form of media totally regulated by law. The organization is run by volunteers. The programs have to contribute to a meaningful public sphere. Both forms of media are totally different, but both are produced on a voluntary basis.

¹ For more information on the Rural Europe project: www.ruraleurope.info.

This local media use and production are the starting point for this research. With the rise of media in general, people all over the world have more and more access to the same sounds, images and networks. The media landscape up scaled enormously and plays a role in globalization processes. Media operate on a global level and seems to create world citizens. However, this doesn't mean media disappear on the local level. According to Robins, *broadcasting and other media have been seen, over a long time, as making an important contribution in articulating the distinctive interests and identities of local and regional communities, and there are no signs that things will be any different in the new media order* (1994 : 233).

It is interesting to make a comparison on the functioning of two different media operating on the local scale. This gives insight in the way media work and how people identify (or don't identify) with media and how this relates to their identification with the local spaces and places where they live their life.

1.2. Research question(s)

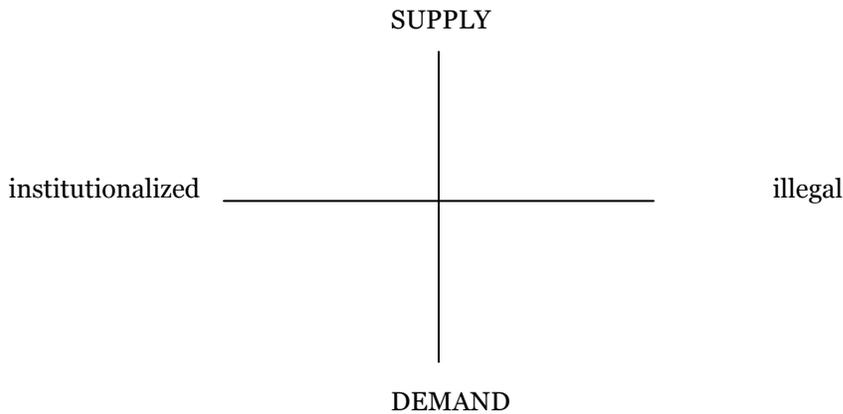
The discussion between the notion of globalization of the media and the consequences on the local scale is the basis for the formulation of the research question. I mentioned two forms of local media. First is the television and radio station which is an institutionalized organization for the whole municipality: RTV Raalte. Second is the (illegal) broadcasting by young people in (mainly) eastern and northern parts of the Netherlands. The two forms of local media, one institutionalized and the other illegal, are both totally different. Not only because of the way they're organized, but also because both producers and audience don't seem to overlap much. Their resemblance is that they are made by people from the community for the community, voluntarily. I want to answer the following question about these local media:

What function have local media for small communities in rural areas, specifically in the case of Lierderholthuis?

This question will be split up in several sub questions. The research will be divided in supply (the producers) and demand (the consumers) of local media. This difference will be important for the sub questions.

- What are the motives for producers of local media to make radio and/or television?
- What are motives for consumers of local radio and television in Lierderholthuis to listen and/or to watch?
- Why do inhabitants of Lierderholthuis neither watch nor listen local television or radio?
- What do these different motives say about the functions of local media for Lierderholthuis as a village in a rural area?

The subject can be simplified in the following quadrant. In this research, the four parts of the quadrant will be analyzed in relation to the importance they have for the identification of inhabitants with the local community.



1.3. Relevance

There hardly exist studies where the subject of (local) media is related specifically to questions of place and identity. This research tries to give some practical answers on how media can be related to these two notions. In Dutch studies about local media, they are analyzed from a political perspective. The background of these researchers is communication studies. With a geographical point of view, the functions of (Dutch) local media are seen from a rather new perspective.

The second point is the social relevance of the subject. I hope this thesis will give insights in production and consumption patterns of local media. Understandings of behaviour and motives for behaviour particularly, are very helpful for (social) policy making. This thesis can help to think about the future role and functions of local media for society.

1.4. Chapter contents

The following chapter will present the theoretical backgrounds for this thesis. All concepts I use will be introduced and I will present a history on development of media in the Netherlands on the different scales. Media used to have a function in identification with the nation state and developed after on international and local and regional levels. The main authors on the field of geography and media are David Morley and Kevin Robins. Especially *Spaces of Identity* (1996) seemed to be one of the most important guidelines to this research. Chapter three is an introduction to the village of Lierderholthuis. Before starting the analysis of the two forms of media, I will explain my research methodology and explain the choices I made in my data collection in chapter four. Chapter five and chapter six are the core of this thesis. In these

chapters, I try to find with the help of all the primary and secondary data an answer to the main question. Chapter five will focus on the production and the objectives and motives of the producers of local media. Chapter six focuses on the consumers of these media. A conclusion in chapter seven finally integrates the production and consumption side of local media.

CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUNDS

2.1. Introduction

Lots of research has been done on media and the role of media in society. For this research, both geography and communication studies offered interesting perspectives. The geographers Kevin Robins and David Morley published regularly on the subject. Therefore their work will recurrently be referred to in this thesis. From the perspective of communication studies, Kevin Howley wrote about 'community media', a useful concept referring to local media initiatives founded with a *sense of dissatisfaction with mainstream media form and content* (2005 : 2). The Dutch researchers Ed Hollander, Coen van der Linden Peter de Goede have the same background (in communication studies). They are concerned with local media in the Netherlands mainly in relation to policy.

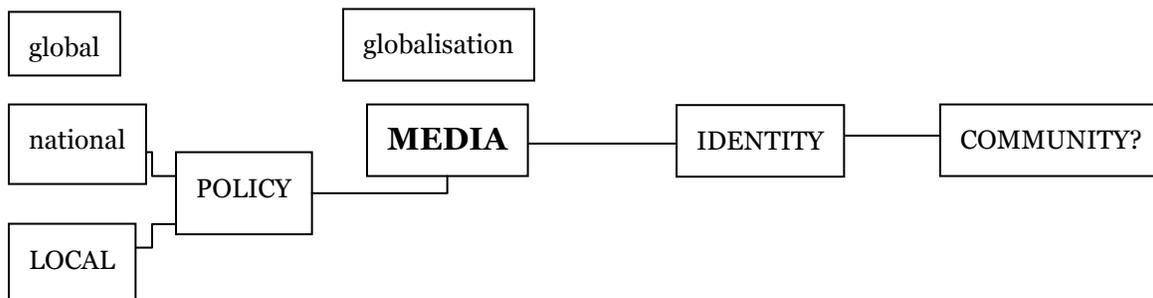
The second chapter of *Spaces of Identity* by Kevin Robins and David Morley (1995) is entitled *Reimagined Communities*. They explain current perspectives on the presence of media from the idea that in Western Europe, media developed in the nation state and had a function for the maintenance of the nation state. These visions are the starting point for answering the main question in this thesis. Currently, media are much more disintegrated and exploded in quantity, mainly on the global scale by the use of the Internet. But besides these movements towards globalization, there is also much attention from researchers for the local. Morley and Robins explain the two movements as following:

What must be recognized is that there are forces also working against cultural homogenisation and transnationalism. In the context of centripetal tendencies brought about by the globalization of communications, there are also centrifugal tendencies to protect and preserve native languages and cultures. The 'globalization of social transactions' experienced as an 'internationalisation process' which is gradually robbing Europe of its originality and demobilising its citizens so that European cultural differences are disintegrating, also conspires to produce localised and particularised communities and identities. (2005 : 35)

These last notions, 'communities' and 'identities', are both important concepts for this thesis. In this chapter, I'll describe how media from a national phenomenon developed on different other scale levels. Global media developed in a commercialized way contrary to the regional and local media in Western Europe. After that I'll explain how I relate media to identity and community. First I'll start with a model where all concepts will be presented shortly.

2.2. Conceptual model

In the following model, several important concepts in this thesis are presented. Media had a function for the nation state. The local media developed in this public national media system. Of course policies could hardly influence global media developments. Globalization is both a cause and a consequence of media expansion on global scale. The role these media have for local and regional identities is the next question. If these identities are shared, it is possible to speak of community. All the concepts in the model will be explained in this chapter.



2.3. History of media in the Netherlands

To describe the context of the subject of this thesis, I want to go back to the time where press, and this was in the beginning only paper press, became available to a large public and so became a means of mass communication.² The increasing accessibility of the (news)paper, was due to technological and economical factors. In the second half of the 19th century, it became cheaper and easier to print (1991 : 48). In Western Europe, after the paper press, radio was introduced on large scale in the beginning of the 20th century and television in the years after the Second World War. In the Netherlands, households bought their first televisions on a massive scale in the beginning of the 1960s. The media, newspapers, radio and television became major elements of every day life and this has only increased since their introduction now that media are available on the Internet too and that Internet became itself a medium for mass communication.

2.3.1. National media

Historically, the media played a role in the maintenance of the nation state (1994 : 219). Morley and Robins for example refer in *Spaces of Identity* to Benedict Andersons' 'imagined community' (1995 : 26) and so does Aldridge who explains that the consumption of media is a *shared experience* which makes you part of the community, an *imagined community* (2007 : 5). Morley and Robins state that broadcasting is a powerful instrument to which *listeners and viewers have come to imagine themselves as members of the national community* (1995 : 11). In the first half of the 20th century *broadcasting has been fundamental to the production of national territory, and to the construction of the unified identity of national community* (1994 : 219).

In comparison with neighboring countries, the function of media for the nation state takes a somewhat different form. In the early days of the 20th century, the so called 'pillar' society develops in the Netherlands. This means very roughly that different ideological currents had their own social life system with their own associations, clubs, newspaper(s), labour union,

² This is how media the concept of media is described by the Oxford English Dictionary, as *the main means of mass communication, esp. newspapers, radio, and television, regarded collectively*. source: <http://dictionary.oed.com>. 14.03.2010

political party, schools, housing corporation etc. with scarcely mutual contact. The pillars most regularly distinguished in the Netherlands are the Catholic pillar, the Protestant pillar and the socialistic pillar and forth the liberal one but the liberals were against the concept of 'pillar society' and didn't want to be referred to as a 'pillar'. Above this vertical structure in society, the political system strongly cooperated and supported in this way the system. This collaboration on the governmental level was necessary to make society function in this structure.

Media were in this system (mainly) used for the benefit of a pillar. Bakker even calls the media *weapons in the 'battle'* between the different pillars (1991 : 45). This applies to all forms of media, newspapers as well as radio and television. The rise of radio and television in the Netherlands took place in the time when society was structured around these pillars and the current diversity and the large number of broadcasting organizations in the media landscape in the Netherlands is a result of the different pillars having their own organizations.

The Dutch government saw, like other European countries, the important role which media could have for society and the unity of the nation. Before the Second World War, policy about media was primarily a technical issue. After the War, media policy became part of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Welfare and was an important aspect of cultural policy (1999 : 21). The consequence of this policy change was that media started to function more on a national scale, as an umbrella over the pillars. The foundation of the Dutch Radio Union (1947) and Dutch Television Foundation (1951) expresses these changing visions (1999 : 21). Around the same time, Dutch society started slowly to 'depillarize'. Both changing media policy and 'depillarization' of society are (of course) interrelated.

2.3.2. Towards a multi scale media order

The national media furnished a basis from whereon media could be launched on other levels, global as well as regional and local. On a global level, the most influential changes took place during the 1980s because of changing regulation, economic changes and technical progress resulting in a new media order (1995 : 11). The global media order is commercialized and mainly out of (law) regulation. People are considered consumers and aren't addressed to in *political terms* the way they were used to (1995 : 11).

The regional and local media developed in a totally different way. Regional radio started to broadcast because national media weren't so reliable just after the Second World War and there was a demand for regional news. In the Netherlands, commercialization was immediately restricted by strict media policy. The rise of regional radio (and much later television) was completely directed by the government and became completely institutionalized. The policy makers saw a demand for regional a local media and they were seen by the government as a counterpart against international developments (1993 : 55). Robins and Cornford describe clearly how it is *becoming increasingly apparent*, that broadcasting is *implicated in the creation of other territories, other kinds of community, other ways of belonging* (1994 : 219).

In the Netherlands, this approach resulted in excessive interference in media broadcasting in regions. This could be a reason that illegal radio broadcasting is a constant 'problem' in the Netherlands. Compared to other European countries, the Netherlands have relatively more ether piracy (2003 : 3). The government always strongly suppressed piracy.

2.3.3. Regional media

The first initiative for regional radio appeared in the south of the Netherlands in the province of Limburg in 1945. Quickly after that, the Regional Broadcasting Company North (RON) started to broadcast. Both companies were part of the Dutch Radio Union (NRU). The two regional organizations were thus led from 'Hilversum'; the national broadcasting organization.³ In the sixties, regional broadcasting is seen as an important aspect of increasing democratization and an element of rebuilding society (1994 : 119). Another reason was the fact that in the provinces, the technical quality of the national radio senders was very bad.

There are two major recurrent points in policy discussions about regional and local media (1996 : 52). First is the financing. This is related to the discussion about commercialization and journalist independency of regional and local radio. Second is the question about the responsibility of the financing and supervision of local and regional media. This switched between the national and lower scale levels (province or municipality).

The first initiatives concerning a clear policy regional broadcasting was initiated in the first half of the 1970s. This period is characterized by protectionism against commercial broadcasting and financing became an important issue. It was for broadcasting organizations forbidden to use advertising for income. Policy in this period was strongly based on the role regional broadcasting could play to the integration of people in the local community especially in a time where media were up scaling internationally (1993 : 50). According to a note of the association for regional broadcasting (ROOS), regional broadcasting could reinforce democracy, enhance the multiformity of media and culture life and therefore strengthen social integration (1981 : 2). Meanwhile, the regional broadcasting organizations became independent from the NOS (the national level). They had now liberty both administratively and also as regards content, although under certain conditions (1993 : 37). It was the time of the new *Mediawet* or Media Law taking effect from the 1st of January 1988.⁴ The regional organization became the representative of the province. As the regional broadcasting organizations are official channels, at least 50% of what they broadcast has to be Information, Education or Culture, the ICE norm.⁵

³ Hilversum is still a metaphor to refer to the national public broadcasting institution which was (and is) often criticized because of its protectionist policies and restricted media offer. Hilversum is the city where the media department of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences (*Commissariaat voor de Media*) and different offices and studios of media organizations are situated.

⁴ <http://portal.omroep.nl>, history, 21.07.2009

⁵ Commissariaat voor de Media, *Publieke lokale media-instellingen en de Mediawet; Spelregels voor de lokale publieke omroep in Nederland*, <http://www.cvdn.nl/content.jsp?objectid=CMVD:9303>, 20.11.2009

In the 1990s, the regional stations had an enormous market share. They were very important competitors of the national organizations (1993 : 39). In a complex interaction of developments on different scales, people got more cosmopolitan but this seems to be compensated by trying to form other kinds of identities in their daily environment (1994 : 123).

For a long time, regional broadcasting was only radio. Only in the nineties, television broadcastings started. *Radio Oost* in the east of the Netherlands was first with television programs starting in 1992.

2.3.4. Local media

Between 1974 and 1978, experiments took place to measure the possibilities and effects of local broadcasting (1993 : 40). The reason that local broadcasting occurred, was related to the increasing technical possibilities because of cable-wiring in the Netherlands. Initiatives for local broadcasting could have two purposes: entertainment or information supply. Van der Linden and Hollander make a distinction between two types of local media. The first is distribution of information on local events. Behind this way of broadcasting is a goal to increase involvement in the region (1993 : 40). The second is radio 'piracy', this means that people, alone or in a small group, buy a sender and illegally broadcast music in the ether. The goal here is to amuse listeners with (nice) music. Later some of them became officially registered radio broadcasting organizations. For both ways, the initiative came from the people in the region themselves. The local media are bottom-up initiatives and at first, national or regional authorities didn't play a role in the formation of the channels. This is a main difference between regional and local television.

The following paragraph is about this music piracy. The other initiatives for local broadcasting were more interested in news provision (combined with entertainment). In the beginning of the development of local media, the national authorities weren't very enthusiastic about the idea of local media, certainly not because they always repressed the illegal send amateurs.

After regional broadcasting, local broadcasting finally became a new layer in the media supply. In 1981, the OLON (Organization Local Broadcasting Netherlands) is founded to defend the interest of the growing number of these local broadcasting initiatives. Around the same time, the political authorities started to see the value of local broadcasting. Local broadcasting was seen as a way to increase local participation. This was partly due to the lobby of the OLON.

Originally, the local media were mostly to be found in bigger municipalities. In rural areas, media regularly operated on a higher scale level than the municipality (1993 : 24). This is a normal consequence because in bigger municipalities (e.g. cities), there is a higher population and therefore a relatively higher availability of volunteers. This was the main difference with regional broadcasting. Local broadcasting was seen as a more amateurish activity while regional broadcasting operated in a professional way. Financing local broadcasting is a continuous problem (1993 : 43).

2.3.5. Radio piracy

Radio piracy is as old as radio is. Lelieveldt (2008) makes a distinction between three kinds of illegal radio in the Netherlands. What they have in common is that they all broadcast without a license. First are the senders who operated from the sea. This is where the name 'pirate' comes from. Sea piracy started in the Netherlands after examples in the United Kingdom. An important sea pirate in the sixties was *Radio Veronica*. Their goal was to open up the strongly regulated system of public broadcasting. The second group of pirates are the activists who use radio to spread their ideas and their statements. Their roots are in the squatters movements in the 1960s. In other countries, Germany, Switzerland or Austria, these radio stations are the third official group in the broadcasting system, next to public and commercial radio. They are called *nichtkommerzielle Lokalradios* (NKL) (2008 : 5). In the Netherlands, this is a mainly urban phenomenon contrary the third group of pirates. This group is often called the 'land pirates' (derived from the 'sea pirates') and is mainly active in rural areas. Their function is to entertain. These are the pirates which broadcast Dutch (and German) 'pirate music' in the ether. This third group is still very active around Lierderholthuis.

Illegal stations in the northern and eastern parts of the Netherlands exist already before the Second World War. There are different visions which explain these forms of piracy (1988 : 6). One is the bad quality or even absence of national senders, a reason which is also related to the foundation of regional media. A second explanation is related to high unemployment in the region in the years before the Second World War (1988 : 6).

Ether piracy flourished again in the seventies. It was a time were illegal broadcasting started to increase all over the Netherlands, in cities as well as in rural areas. In the second half of the eighties, the authorities took action against all the illegal stations broadcasting (mainly) Dutch music (1993 : 41). According to Van der Linden et.al. most pirates disappeared (1993 : 41). Around the time this book is written, in the middle of the nineties, young groups of boys restarted with piracy. How and why this happened is for the moment a question without a sure answer. The still existing mostly individually operating 'attic pirate' activities were copied by youth.⁶ This is when piracy became an important hobby for youth in rural areas in the northern and eastern parts of the Netherlands.⁷

The authorities continued to try to prevent and stop piracy but prevention wasn't always equally successful. The frequency of radio piracy in the Netherlands, in general higher than in other European Countries (2003 : 3), could be related to the strong influence and regulation of the national government on media developments.

⁶ These hypotheses have to be tested in eventual further research about pirates.

⁷ In *Panorama*, a Dutch magazine (for male audience) appeared the 14th of April 2010 an article about a pirate. The protagonist of the article starts with piracy at the age of 13. He doesn't like sports and is glad to have found a hobby in ether piracy.

Contrary to media policy in general, the technical aspect of broadcasting is part of the Ministry of Economics and is accommodated in an independent institute; *Agentschap Telecom* (Telecom Agency). For two reasons, *Agentschap Telecom* started a large project in 2003 to clear the ether from pirates. First reason is that the Ministry wanted to rearrange the ether so that more commercial radio stations could enter the ether (2008 : 2). The second reason was that they wanted to reduce continuous violations of the ether which occurred during years. According to the Telecom Agency, the pirates are a *direct threat for the reach and reception of public and commercial radio* (2003 : 3). The project called *Ether Flash* had to reduce the number of pirates. The area where piracy is strongest is the North East of the Netherlands with three provinces who stand out: Groningen, Drenthe and Overijssel. This is the area where Lierderholthuis is situated. This form of piracy is very popular in the area of Lierderholthuis. The action of *Agentschap Telecom* was the least successful in these areas. They conclude that there are pirates in this area who aren't discouraged by penalties and confiscation (2003).

2.4. From organization to audience

Media is often stated to create community. By several researchers, one of the first examples is the function of media for the nation state, the 'imagined community' of Benedict Anderson. Both Morley and Robins (1995) and Aldridge (2007) refer to his imagined community: the nation as a socially constructed idea by people who imagine themselves part of a group. Howley gives examples of other media which is founded to *create media systems relevant to their everyday life* (2005 : 2). Howley calls his examples 'community media' (2005). Nowadays, media are extremely fragmented and used in so many ways that they can create all kinds of community.

Although people are consuming media most regularly in the privacy of your home, consuming media is mass consumption. The characteristic of mass media is that consumption is shared by lots of other people. Media are often referred to as having a function in the process of strengthening the sense of community but are at the same time being accused of doing the opposite too, depending on what purpose and what form the media takes. Both functions will be elucidated.

Media of mass communication are seen regularly as being one of the main drivers of globalization (e.g. Aldridge, 2007). Media are certainly playing a role in changing meanings of space and place for people. As Morley and Robins say, our '*memory banks*' are partly determined by for example television (and films) (1995 : 90). Globalization is often referred to a number of different processes in history which resulted in the intersection of *separate areas of the globe [...]* in a single imaginary 'space' (2008 : 271). Due to increasing mobility (of both people and sounds and images), distances seem to become shorter and people have access (real or through a screen or apparatus), to more and more parts of the world. An important question is how globalization affects the experience of people in space and place. According to Giddens (in Howley) *local*

happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa (2005 : 39). Life on the local scale changes as a result of process on a global scale and communication technologies (including media) are playing a role in this. Cornford and Robins explain that *identities that feel they are becoming detached and disembedded through the forces of globalization may readily seek refuge in new kinds of communal coherence and cohesion* (1994 : 221). From another perspective therefore, media can also have a function in the opposite movement, an increasing interest for what is in the immediate vicinity of your home. Aldridge mentions in her study about the local media in the United Kingdom that it is sometimes forgotten that media are very culturally specific in the way they are produced and consumed (2007 : 21). These opposite tendencies are described by Wijfjes and Smulders too:

Globalization and regionalization are the magic words in the Western media world. A small number of enormous media groups conquer in high speed the world market with cross-border offers of standardized program formulas. But the small-scale media in regions, cities and neighbourhoods flourish at the same time, thanks to programs who just try to show what is locally specific. (1996 : 1) (translation by author)

In the years they wrote this article, regional media had a very high market share in the Netherlands. In comparison with regional and local media in other countries, regional and local media developed relatively late, due to the late 'depillarization' of Dutch society and the protectionist policies of the authorities. When the Dutch government recognized the demand for local and regional media in Dutch society, they based policy on the same points as national public media policy. The media have, besides an informative function, a representative function so that different audiences have the possibility to identify with what is showed. In the Media Law, these functions are described as follows in article 2.1.2.⁸ (translation by author):

Public media services meet the democratic, social and cultural needs of Dutch society by proposing media which:

- a. is balanced, multiform, varied and qualitatively edifying and characterizes itself by a wide variety of form and content;
- b. gives in an evenly way an image of society and the multiformity of beliefs, opinions and interests in social, cultural and ideological spheres of the Dutch population;
- c. is focused on and has a relevant reach amongst a large and general public, as population groups and age groups, of different size and composition with special attention for small groups;
- d. is independent of commercial influences and, with the exception of law regulation, government influence;
- e. corresponds to high journalistic and professional qualities; and
- f. is accessible for everybody.⁹

⁸ Media Law, article 2.1.2,
http://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0025028/volledig/geldigheidsdatum_04-01-2010#Hoofdstuk2,
12.04.2010

⁹ Media Law article 2.1.2.

Publieke mediadiensten voldoen aan democratische, sociale en culturele behoeften van de Nederlandse samenleving door het aanbieden van media-aanbod dat:

- a. evenwichtig, pluriform, gevarieerd en kwalitatief hoogstaand is en zich tevens kenmerkt door een grote verscheidenheid naar vorm en inhoud;

These rules are determined for media on the different scales, from local to regional to national. There is a focus on the multiformity of society. The concept 'representativeness' will come up regularly to refer to this aspect of the law. For national broadcasting, there is much more time than for local broadcasting. The question is if the relation between time and different audience groups is the same for local and national broadcasting.

2.5. Identity

Media are a tool to create identification with place. According to Robins, *to consider media is to simultaneously raise questions of economics –production, distribution, and consumption- and questions of culture –meanings, identities and ways of life* (1994 : 217). In order for media to reach to reach a certain process of identification, people have to identify with what is being reproduced by these media. That's why the government makes clear policy with a rule of representativeness. Ascribing meaning to place doesn't necessarily have to be the main purpose of media, regularly it is a side effect of media.

Identification is an important process for people to make sense of themselves. This identification starts by peoples' names. When someone asks who you are, you usually start by presenting yourselves by your (first) name. Identification is important because it gives people a sense of being. The place where you live normally plays an important role for identification too. You often make clear where you live and where you're coming from. Depending from the context, you identify yourself for example as European, Dutch or *Groninger* (inhabitant of Groningen). Identifying with Groningen can take place because you're home is situated there. Mostly, it does include more. You're involved in a network of social relations in the place where you live by work, school, neighbours, friends, etc. but for 'feeling at home' that's not enough. Rose states that *places are the focus of personal feelings* (1995 : 88) and therefore people ascribe meaning to place.

Rose (1995) makes a difference between three types of identification: identification with a place, identification against a place and not identifying with a place. An example of identification with a place is identification of inhabitants of Lierderholthuis with their village for example. People are happy and maybe even proud to live in Lierderholthuis and they do ascribe certain positive qualities to the village like small, pleasant and cosy (based on Weenink, 2009). Another

b. op evenwichtige wijze een beeld van de samenleving geeft en de pluriformiteit van onder de bevolking levende overtuigingen, opvattingen en interesses op maatschappelijk, cultureel en levensbeschouwelijk gebied weerspiegelt;

c. gericht is op een relevant bereik heeft onder zowel een breed en algemeen publiek, als bevolkings- en leeftijdsgroepen van verschillende omvang en samenstelling met in het bijzonder aandacht voor kleine doelgroepen;

d. onafhankelijk is van commerciële invloeden en, behoudens het bepaalde bij of krachtens de wet, van overheidsinvloeden;

e. voldoet aan hoge journalistieke en professionele kwaliteitseisen; en

f. voor iedereen toegankelijk is.

example could be watching a television series which takes place in New York. After watching several episodes, you identify with the characters and the places they live and visit. This might be a reason to visit New York some day or to copy certain elements of a lifestyle you identify with the city of New York. Identification against a place is according to Rose *establishing a sense of place* [...] *by contrasting yourself with somewhere you feel is very different from you* (1995 : 92). Football hooligans are an example of people who identify strongly against certain 'enemy' clubs. Rose gives the example of Edward Said and his concept of orientalism. The media do have a role in the identification against a city with some violent accidents for example. Media strongly influence public opinion. There are then also the senses of places that are *irrelevant to identity* (2005 : 96). You could for example consider the television series we mentioned before, you can watch it without having a process of identification with New York.

Identification with (or against) place isn't static. It can change regularly and is by different people experiences in different ways. This is only one of the six characteristics Groote, Huigen and Haartsen ascribe to identities (2000 : 2,3). For an understanding of the way the concept of identity will be used further in this research, I rely on the six aspects Groote et al. define for identities (2000). First is the idea that identities *are by definition a social construction* and that secondly this *constructions are based on specific perceived characteristics or qualities of the area* (2000 : 2). Groningen is constructed as a university town by many, because a relatively high percentage of the inhabitants are students. The third characteristic of identities explained by Groote et al. is that they rely on the past (2000 : 2). In the construction of the identity of Lierderholthuis, the past plays an important role. Lierderholthuis was always a village with relatively much associations compared to the number of inhabitants. The fourth characteristic of identity is that they are contested (2000 : 2), ideas about identity are never equal and different persons have different interests in certain identities. Radio piracy is for example seen by pirates as relatively innocent while authorities identify pirates as criminals. In the fifth characteristic of identity by Groote et al., they refer to the context wherein the identity is produced (2000 : 3). This can be related to power. The last characteristic of identity is the one I started this paragraph with: [...] *identities are by definition processes*. They constantly change.

2.6. Community

The concept of 'community' is often mentioned in the context of media for example by Robins (1994, 1995), Aldridge (2007) and Howley (2005). Moreover, in the context of rurality the notion plays an important role, according too Woods it is *one of the most powerful words to be associated with rurality* (2005). The concept therefore certainly needs some clarification. In the last century, ideas about community changed considerably. I'll explain first how the notion of community is used in rural studies and conceptualize with the help of Liepins (2000) a contemporary interpretation of community. The next subject will be the way the concept of community is used in media studies, it is related to globalization and localization tendencies.

2.6.1. *Rurality and community*

‘Community’ isn’t a notion anymore to use specifically in the description of social life in rural areas, an approach proposed by Tonniës who made the difference between *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* (2005 : 90). *Gemeinschaft* indicates in this vision rural life (and all the positive aspects of social interaction). Using the concept of community for characterizing rural life is nowadays *overly simplistic* (2005 : 91) and seems to be an old idea. Certainly in the Netherlands the differences between urban and rural are sometimes hard to make. Not only is the country densely populated, the difference in norms and values between rural and urban areas is (extremely) small, maybe even absent. The dichotomy between the urban and the rural is however important for the understanding of people of their environment. Woods also states that it is a strong element in lay discourses (2005 : 91). This is endorsed by Weenink who has done research on community feeling in Lierderholthuis (2009). He explains that experiencing a feeling of community is important for inhabitants and that this (maybe socially-minded) description of village life does fit into the traditional image of a rural community (2009 : viii). Therefore the notion of rurality in combination with community is important as a social construction. In a nutshell you could say that it is NOT the rural (as an opposite of the urban) which defines community, but, on the contrary it is the notion of community that is used in rural areas to make sense of life specifically in rural areas. The contemporary (and my) definition of community is that they are *multi-dimensional entities* (2005 : 91) who can occur everywhere, in both rural as in urban areas. The next paragraph will define the concept further, using Liepins (2000).

2.6.2. *Conceptualizing community*

Liepins conceptualizes community as an interaction between three other concepts: meanings, practices and spaces and structures.¹⁰ By meanings Liepins is referring to ideas constructed by people about their connections and identities (2000 : 31). An example could be the importance inhabitants of Lierderholthuis ascribe to the local sense of community in the village (Weenink, 2009 : 25). Practices are the processes by which people express these meanings, an example could be listening to pirate radio or participating in a course about the Automatic External Defibrillator (the latter is an example based on Weenink, 2009). Spaces and structures are the third element of community in the model of Liepins. *The final element [...] recognizes that cultural and economic dimensions of life occur in spaces and through structures* (2000 : 32). An example of this could be the gathering of (mainly) mothers in front of the school in Lierderholthuis as they pick up their children, an important moment for mutual consultation about practical matters concerning school or village activities.

¹⁰ For a detailed description of the interaction between the three elements in Liepins’ conceptualization of community, her model is present in Liepins (2000) and Woods (2005).

This definition of 'community' stays *'inside' the 'community'* as Liepins states it (2000 : 30). In her model of community, she refers shortly to what is located 'outside' the community as *temporally and locationally specific terrains of power and discourse* (2000 : 30). The most important concepts in this definition are 'power' and 'discourse'. Media pre-eminently can be positioned outside community itself. This could be power of big media companies but also the power of governments by determining media policy. The discourse could for example be the idea that community is related to social life in rural areas (and that inhabitants of rural areas want to correspond to this image). These are two examples where power and discourse play an important role for the community. For institutionalized media for example, authorities try to exercise power by policies on the way community is constructed, as we have seen for Dutch pillar society for example. The Dutch government supported by their policy the existence of different separated ideological and religious pillars in society.

2.7. Conclusion

Community is in this thesis considered as a large notion applicable for people sharing practices and meanings they ascribe to a certain place they identify with. An example I mentioned is Groningen, people do identify with this region and are thereby related to other who share the same meanings about Groningen. As this chapter has shown, I consider community as a social construction. Communities are defined by practices, meanings and spaces and structures (Liepins, 2000). Media have a role in this construction. They communicate identities of communities to the consumers. Historically, media did have a function for the construction of a national community: the nation state. From this perspective, policy has been developed for media on the regional and local scale.

CHAPTER 3. LIERDERHOLTHUIS SITUATED

3.1. Introduction

The Rural Europe project wasn't the first research project with interest for the village of Lierderholthuis. A year (or two) before the Rural Europe project, a research team of the University of Wageningen visited Lierderholthuis to explore the every day experience and importance of social cohesion (Weenink, 2009). An interesting question is why this (small) village received in such a short time so much attention of researchers. Lierderholthuis is situated in what is called a rural area. Rural areas are changing and functions are changing. An example is the interest of the government which resulted in two studies about changing functions and social life in rural areas (SCP, 2006 & 2008) and the interest from scientists, for example Haartsen, Groote and Huigen, 2000 and Haartsen, 2002. With the recent attention for globalization processes, questions about social relationships received a new impulse (2009 : 5), for example by posing questions about Lierderholthuis.

In this introduction to the village of Lierderholthuis, I'll start with a short historical overview and describe some important aspects of social life in the village nowadays. Agriculture and religion are the foundation of social life in the village nowadays. The second part of this chapter will be about the media offer in Lierderholthuis, the main subject of this thesis. The different organizations on the regional and the local level will be introduced shortly.

3.2. A short history of the village

This historical overview is based on a history of the village of Lierderholthuis written in 1977 by Leo Ogink and Ton Groot Beumer. The history of birth of the village of Lierderholthuis goes back to the Reformation in the Netherlands in the 16th century. As it is the time of the Reformation, the village of Heino had to convert to Protestantism in 1581. Due to Reformation, Catholicism became temporarily suppressed in Heino and surroundings. Catholics remained however and they came together to attend the Mass secretly in barns of land owners and farmers on distant and isolated places. In the region of Heino, fathers of a monastic order in Zwolle organised these Masses. One of the barns was located on the property of the '*Lierderbroek*'. This is where the name of the village comes from.

The Fathers started to read Masses on the *Lierderbroek* in 1685. This was an important moment because the *Lierderbroek* started to have a central function for Catholics in the area. The current church is built in 1863 and that building is still the centre of the village. The Catholic Church was also responsible for the foundation of the school in the village in 1907 and for the foundation of multiple associations like the brass band in 1922, the drama club in 1934, the

church choir. Church was also responsible for the summer fair (*kermis*).¹¹ An (open air) solemnization is still part of the festivities in this annual event.

Catholic religion was one of the main stimuli for the foundation of social life in the village. The other was the importance of agriculture. Agriculture was omnipresent in Lierderholthuis and does not only play a role in economic life. It is also interwoven in village life, which is built on agricultural activity. First because all kinds of organizations are founded in Lierderholthuis around agriculture; most are local divisions and related departments of the A.B.T.B. which means the 'archdiocesan organization for farmers and horticulturists'. There were for example committees for young farmers and farmers' wives. As the name reveals, this was a Catholic organization established in the time of pillar society. People with protestant background could go to Heino. The number of these organizations decreases because farming doesn't play such an essential role anymore. The local department of the A.B.T.B. still exists but together with the department in Heino.

Besides organizations which established around farmers and farming, there is the so-called *noaberschap*, a form of neighbourhood where people living near one another support and help each other. Within this neighbourhood, the neighbours have duties towards other neighbours. This can be very practical help, the farmer with a horse and a cart helped other neighbours who hadn't. It's an intensive and useful form in areas which used to be far away from cities and facilities. Currently, this *noaberschap* is still seen as an important element of rural life in certain areas. In a development strategy for Salland for example, a program within the framework of the European LEADER program (rural development program of the European Union), the notion is used to characterize the spirit in the area of Salland and social interaction amongst each other (2007 : 13).

3.3. Lierderholthuis nowadays

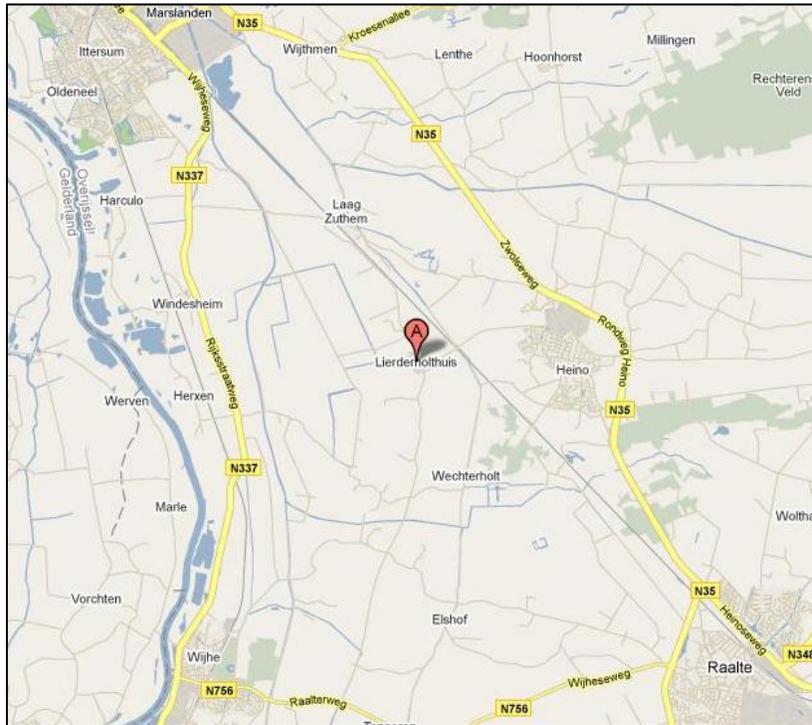
3.3.1. Facts and figures

Lierderholthuis had on the first of January 2009 414 inhabitants. In The Netherlands, this can be seen as a (very) small village. It is part of the municipality of Raalte, which has in total 36.891 inhabitants.¹² The municipality consists of nine villages different in size of which Lierderholthuis is the smallest. Raalte and Heino are the biggest villages with respectively 19.040 and 6961 inhabitants. Heino is important for Lierderholthuis because it has facilities Lierderholthuis is missing, food stores for example. The municipality of Raalte is seen as a rural municipality. According to a scale of urbanism of the CBS, Lierderholthuis is situated in the least urban scale (2006 : 19). In the village of Raalte dominates in the street scene a large animal forage

¹¹ The word 'kermis' is a corruption of the words 'church mass' in Dutch and was meant to be a church festivity.

¹² Gemeente Raalte (2009), *Inwoneraantal gemeente Raalte*, <http://www.raalte.nl/index.php?simaction=content&mediumid=1&pagid=1278&fontsize=12&stukid=4429>, 30-07-2009

factory which shows that economic life used to centre around agricultural activities. Heino municipality joined the administrative unit of Raalte in 2001 to form the new municipal organization named Raalte (*Gemeente Raalte*).



Map of Lierderholthuis (A) with in the north west corner the city of Zwolle and in the south east corner the village of Raalte at (almost) equal distance. The straight line is a train connection from Zwolle to the east of the Netherlands.
source: maps.google.com

Raalte is situated in the administrative unit of the province of Overijssel. Between these two official administrative layers lies the region Salland. Salland is not an administrative unit anymore but was historically one from the Middle Ages till the beginning of the 19th century. Salland is still an important region in popular speech. Simon (2004) states that regional identities are becoming less powerful but they are still present in identification processes. The concept of the region of Salland is still reproduced.



The province of Overijssel. The yellow area is Salland.
 source: provincie.overijssel.nl

The centre of Lierderholthuis is dominated by the presence of a big Catholic church building which makes the appearance of the village often named ‘traditional’. The building can contain more people than actually live in the village because of its central function for the area. In the opposite of the church, you find the former priests residence which doesn’t belong to the church anymore. It is a family residence nowadays. There is a primary school in Lierderholthuis, next to the church. There are about 70 children going to this school. The school is still teaching with respect for Catholic values and is named after a Catholic saint (St Nicolas). The number of 70 children is in The Netherlands close to the crucial number of existence for a primary school. By many, the school is seen as the (essential) heart of the village, without Lierderholthuis would slowly die. In front of the church is a café. Next to the café is what is called the ‘*Kerkehoek*’, a community building used for different purposes: sports, music, theatre etc. It belonged to the Church but they gave it to the community as a sort of gift. There is much debate about this building because it needs restoration. It doesn’t have all safety standards and good climate regulation. Moreover, the building is too small. The visible centre of the village is also the heart of community life.

3.3.2. Social life and identity

Outside this core of the village, there are the houses of the inhabitants. Obviously missing in the village itself are facilities like grocery stores. There were different kind of stores in Lierderholthuis, but they all disappeared. People in Lierderholthuis have to go to Zwolle, Heino or Raalte for food and clothes. People of other religions than catholic have to go to church outside Lierderholthuis. There used shops for agricultural products and others for food like a bakery and a grocery store. Outside the core village are mostly agricultural companies and private individuals living ‘outside’.

Social life in the village is centred in and around the school, café and the community building. School, church, sports and music are important factors for solidarity in the village (Weenink, 2009 : 26). This social cohesion is what is mentioned often when inhabitants start to talk about their village. Although other villages also have an active community life, in the social construction of the village community in Lierderholthuis this aspect is constantly mentioned. An example is the book about the history of Lierderholthuis published in 1977 (Ogink et.al.). In the second part of the book about the period after 1945, all the associations are described. The writers call the village, due to the presence of so many associations, ‘een dorpje apart’ which means something like ‘our strange little village’ (1977 : 142). The writers are referring lovingly to their village in which community life was very special and that still seems to be the case. This is a clear example of how Lierderholthuis is (still) represented, referring to community life. Associations are important for the identification with their village.

Community life must be seen as a part of social life. According to research of Wageningen University, the biggest part of the inhabitants of Lierderholthuis have their work outside the village as well as their most important personal contacts and family (2009 : 19). This means that people put effort in their village to keep life agreeable even though people are very mobile and don’t depend necessarily on the village for social life and education.

Nowadays, the MultiFunctional Accommodation is a very important point of discussion in the village. MFAs are rising in Dutch rural areas. These buildings are used by different associations and have facilities for sport, music, school, catering etc. The MFA can support community life but in small villages like Lierderholthuis their presence can also pose problems. The construction of the building is very expensive, for a small village it is more difficult to find enough money. The MFA further needs to be used and needs thus support and energy from the inhabitants to sustain. Inhabitants of the village have to take this on voluntarily.

3.4. Short overview of media in Lierderholthuis

Besides the national and international media which are available by papers, on the Internet, radio and television, there are on lower scales several forms of media available for the inhabitants of Lierderholthuis. I’ll discuss these forms shortly to give an idea of the context wherein local media exists and it gives at the same time an idea of the concurrence for local media.¹³

¹³ The subject is only radio and television, not local news sources on paper. Information about the reproduction of identity in newspapers in Simon (2004).

3.4.1. Regional media

Lierderholthuis is part of the province of Overijssel and the official radio and television station of this area is *RTV Oost*. They offer radio and television and their website with news and sports and the television and radio programmes can be listened and watched on the Internet too. The news section is split in geographical areas in the province; Twente, Salland and North West Overijssel. Lierderholthuis and Raalte are part of Salland. As every official registered broadcasting company, *RTV Oost* has a PBO (*Programmabeleid Bepalend Orgaan*), which means a commission that has to define and evaluate policy and programming of the company.

RTV Oost started in 1946 as the RON, the *Regionale Omroep Noord* (RON) or Regional Broadcasting Company North. The company was part of the Dutch Radio Union (NRU), the later NOS, the still existing Dutch Broadcasting Foundation (Van der Linden, 1993 : 37). The RON became in 1959 the RONO, Regional Broadcasting Company North and East. In 1978 this organization was split in three different broadcasting companies for different areas, *Radio Fryslân*, *Radio Noord* and *Radio Oost*, the latter for the provinces Overijssel and Gelderland. Those two were split in 1985 and *Radio Oost* became the station for Overijssel.¹⁴ As the names of the organizations make clear, it was only radio broadcasting. The first television program was shown in 1992 which was also the first television broadcasted by a regional broadcasting company. In the former municipality of Heino, people had started before that to make television on a local level.

3.4.2. Local media

In Lierderholthuis, people can receive television and radio of *RTV Raalte*, the local station for the whole municipality. This organization exists since the municipality of Raalte and the municipality of Heino had to merge in 2001 due to reorganizations, a current phenomenon in The Netherlands. The precursor of *RTV Raalte* was Heino Cable Television or the HKT (*Heinose Kabel Televisie*). Both organizations will be introduced shortly in the following paragraphs.

HKT: Heino Cable Television

Before the existence of *RTV Raalte*, there wasn't an official local radio station in Lierderholthuis (and Heino). The HKT was only television. Three inhabitants from Heino had the idea to broadcast some photos and videos they made during the celebration of 750 years of Heino in 1986. April this year was their first emission and people in Heino were very enthusiastic.¹⁵ The images they shot were showed in the centre of the village under a large three and the organization also arrived at broadcasting on the cable at the same time. People continued broadcasting and started a cable TV information service (*Tekst TV*). The money for broadcasting was paid by the inhabitants of the municipality of Heino and about 66% (or 75%) of the people sponsored the

¹⁴ www.rtvooost.nl, history, 20.07.2009

¹⁵ Interview Agnes and Hans Kelderman, resp. former host and member of the management, 26.09.2009

programmes (no agreement).¹⁶ The number is regularly been used to prove how successful the station was (and how bad it became later). On October 24 1989, the Foundation Heino Cable Television was established and they became an official local television chain approved by the Commission for the Media.

The municipal reorganizations posed a problem. Only one licence for broadcasting in a municipality is allowed by the Media Law. This means that the Foundation Heino Cable Television had to merge with the Foundation Local Broadcasting Raalte, who had financial and organizational problems that ended with bankruptcy in December 2000.

RTV Raalte

Since the 29th of December 2000, *RTV Raalte* exists due to the fusion between the local media foundations in Heino and Raalte. Television came from Heino and radio came from Raalte so theoretically the fusion was perfect. In real terms, problems occurred because of the problematical history of the Foundation Local Broadcasting Raalte (in the view of the television department from Heino).

RTV Raalte is an organization in three levels, all three run by volunteers. There is the management, who are primarily responsible for financial matters, the editor in chief and her or his editors, and there is the PBO, the commission to evaluate and define the programmes, this commission has to be representative of the inhabitants in the area they encompass.

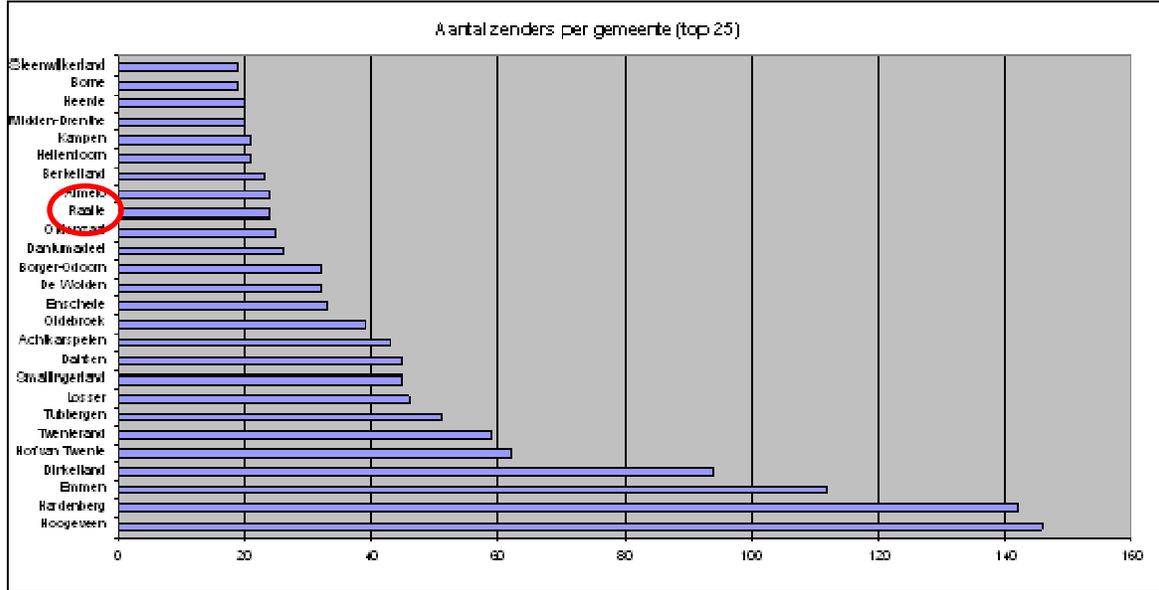
There are radio programs seven days a week and television five days a week with a ten minute program repeated on Sunday morning. Although its only ten minutes per day, they however have their own channel; they broadcast *Tekst TV* the rest of the day to earn extra income.

Piracy in the ether

Illegal radio is an (important) part of media supply in Lierderholthuis. There a several illegal stations in the village. This isn't something typical for Lierderholthuis. Ether piracy in the Netherlands is as old as the radio and exists in different ways, as I explained in chapter two. In the municipality of Raalte, several groups of mainly young boys broadcast music. In Raalte, the number of stations is estimated between 20 and 25 which makes it part of the 25 municipalities where piracy is most common.¹⁷

¹⁶ Interview Agnes and Hans Kelderman, resp. former host and management member, 26.09.2009

¹⁷ Agentschap Telecom, Dataset piracy in the Netherlands 2006 – 2009, Unpublished, Archives Agentschap Telecom, April 2010



The number of piracy stations in the 25 municipalities in the Netherlands where piracy is most frequent. source: *Agentschap Telecom*

CHAPTER 4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

Methodological choices are of major importance when you're doing research. Therefore you always have to be very conscious of the approach and methodology you choose. In a research you want to find evidence for the answers on the questions posed. When methods have to be chosen, a critical view is necessary because they highly influence the results of your research. The conclusions you draw have to be valid. Secondly, doing research with and about people asks for ethical considerations. Both aspects of methodology will be treated in this chapter.

One of the first choices is choosing between a quantitative and qualitative approach. This research has a strong qualitative angle. The data gained by the researcher is qualitative. This qualitative data completes the already existing quantitative data collected by other organizations (e.g. *Agentschap Telecom*, RTV Raalte). After further explaining the qualitative approach chosen for this research (4.2), the different forms of data will be treated (4.3).

4.2. Research approach

This research has a focus on Lierderholthuis. This is why questionnaires were distributed in Lierderholthuis only. However, during my research, I discovered that especially for the pirates, keeping the focus on Lierderholthuis restrains the ability to draw good conclusions, simply because there aren't many stations in the village. To get to results, there wouldn't be any difference if research was done in another village in the municipality. This isn't the case for RTV Raalte. The functioning of the institutionalized local media differs strongly in different villages. RTV Raalte is an organization related to the authorities, the municipality in this case. Therefore, the focus in its totality shifted from Lierderholthuis only to the whole municipality of Raalte. This made it at the same time easier to protect the privacy of the pirates.

This research is done in the context of the project 'Towards a Deeper Understanding of Rural Europe'. One of the points of departure in the Rural Europe project was the idea of an interdisciplinary cooperation between students. In both villages in the Netherlands, a cultural geographer, a visual anthropologist and an artist worked in the same village.¹⁸ Each of these students did their own research but could complement each other with their specific knowledge. In Lierderholthuis I worked together with Wendy van Rooij, visual anthropologist student at Leiden University and Monika Berenyi, art student at the Dutch Art Institute. For this research, we shared ideas and information about the village. Besides, the contacts of Wendy made my access in the village easier. She was the one who could introduce me to gatekeepers in the village.

¹⁸ This approach was different from the research approaches in Turkey and France. For more information, www.ruraleurope.info.

The starting point in the choice of methods was the principle of ‘triangulation’ which means that I found it both necessary, useful and interesting to see different sources and different perspectives on the subject (Flowerdew, 2005 : 112). As I mentioned before, the organizational side and the consumption patterns of media ask for different methodologies, as well as the two different media organizations. For research about the organization of RTV Raalte, I went to the archives of the municipality and I did several in depth interviews with collaborators. RTV Raalte is an institutionalized organization and therefore lots of correspondence was documented in the archives of the municipality. Secondly, there were several audience surveys done by the organization itself. To supplement this information, I collected data with a questionnaire.

Researching piracy posed some difficulties. First because of a lack of academic research, the most recent study dates from 1988 (Lijfering). Second, piracy is illegal. For data about the subject, I contacted both *Agentschap Telecom*, the organization which has to prevent piracy and the pirates themselves. As a researcher, I was taken into confidence by both pirates and *Agentschap Telecom*. This means that you have to deal with this trust very carefully. It is important to think about your position as a researcher and the information you publish. To respect the trust of the pirates, I won’t publish their names.¹⁹

4.2. Research methods

For this research, I used both quantitative and qualitative research methods and several sources of available secondary data. This resulted in a wide range of different data from different sources. To get an overview of which methods and data were used for what purposes, it is useful to explain introduce these different methods and to explain the choices behind.

4.2.1. Literature

Scientific literature is necessary for preparing your research and being able to put your research in a theoretical framework. I used literature from different fields, both geography and communication studies. It is especially the analysis of Kevin Robins and David Morley in different books and articles that were essential for this research (e.g. 1994, 1995). This literature made it possible to put my research in a more analytical framework. I also used information about the historical context of the use of media. History and historical developments do play an important role because the current function(s) of media are compared to their historical function.

For the description of the history of Lierderholthuis, I used the book *Het dorp aan de Oude Wetering; Historisch overzicht van het dorp Lierderholthuis* written by Leo Ogink and Ton Groot Beumer (1977). This is not an academic analysis and therefore interpretation has to be done very carefully. In order to avoid mistakes, I compared the facts with studies about the history of rural areas in the east of the Netherlands.

¹⁹ For access to this data, contact the researcher at j.l.h.reimer@gmail.com. The researchers’ supervisor also possesses an unprotected version (Erwin Karel, e.h.k.karel@rug.nl).

4.2.2. Secondary data

Secondary data is described as data not collected by the researcher itself but by other organizations (Flowerdew, 2005 : 57). For this research, several sources of data were available. These were not only statistical datasets from RTV Raalte, OLON and *Agentschap Telecom* but also archival materials and non-scientific publications. The secondary data was considered a starting point for further determination of primary data sources.

4.2.3. In-dept interviews

I did several in-depth interviews with co-workers of RTV Raalte and young pirates in the municipality of Raalte. Teachers at the primary school in the village were my gatekeepers for the first two interviews. For the co-workers of RTV Raalte I used subsequently the effect of 'snowballing' to get in touch with more possible respondents. Snowballing means that you are using a contact to recruit another one (2005 : 117). For the pirates, I didn't only use contacts to find pirates but I also used the social network site hyves. I created my own account and used this account to contact pirates.

I interviewed five (former) co-workers of RTV Raalte. They were all willing to share their personal experiences and opinions about the organization. As the subject wasn't personal, neither emotionally charged, the interviews progressed easily in an open atmosphere. The first two interviews were done together as it concerns a couple.

List of interviews:

- Hans Kelderman, member of the management of RTV Raalte, 26.09.2009.
- Agnes Kelderman, former host of RTV Raalte, 26.09.2009.
- Gerda Middelkamp, former editor in chief of the television wing of RTV Raalte, 26.09.2009.
- Henny Veldhof, chairman of the PBO (*Programmabeleid Bepalend Orgaan*), the programming committee, 12.08.2009.
- Johan Seekles, chairman of RTV Raalte, 21.08.2009.

Piracy is officially forbidden. This has consequences for the recruitment of the respondents and of course for the research ethics as well. It is important to take into consideration how to protect the privacy of the respondents. Contrary to what I expected, I only had one negative response on the request for interviewing. The argument for cancelling the interview was in the fact that an article was published about them in the local newspaper and that there were negative consequences for the relation with the local authorities. I ultimately visited three stations and had interviews with six boys between 11 and 21 years old. I got in touch with one station by a gatekeeper, a teacher at the local school. In this first interview suggestion were

done for the next interview. The last interview was arranged with the help of the social network site hyves.

The guarantee of privacy also had consequences for the course of the interviews. First I had to consider my *positionality* which is described by Flowerdew as the process of reflection of how your own identity as a researcher will shape the interaction (2005 : 113). I grew up in an area where piracy is common. I therefore had already some insight in how to contact these groups their possible reactions to researchers. On the other side, the risk of bias is higher when your mind is shaped by certain activities you're familiar with. It has to be taken into consideration that the danger of bias exists. The next consideration was the use of taping for this group. Contrary to my other interviews with RTV Raalte co-workers, I decided not to tape the interviews of the pirates. As Flowerdew states, it is important to be sensitive to the interviewees' wishes (2005 : 124). In these cases, trust was an important aspect of the interviews. I judged not to take the step of asking for tape recording. This seemed to me one step to far.

Some interviewees (four boys) were prudent and sometimes a bit reserved during the interview. I think this has two reasons highly related. First the subject of the interviews was something forbidden, illegal broadcasting. The suspicion concerning authorities is high. Secondly the age of the respondents played a role. For this age group, it is more difficult to estimate if the researcher is someone to be trusted.

4.2.4. Questionnaire

Besides short interviews and in-depth interviews, I wanted to know how media are used and judged by the villagers in Lierderholthuis. A questionnaire seemed to be the appropriate method, mainly because it has the possibility to reach a larger group of respondents.²⁰ In that way the questionnaire served two purposes. First, I wanted to use the questionnaire as a validation of the results in (short) interviews. Second, the questionnaire provided essential information about the behavior of the villagers concerning local media. Wendy van Rooij was an important gatekeeper to gain the trust of the inhabitants and to approach the right people.

Although questionnaires are often used as a quantitative data source, I didn't search for statistical evidence. As my focus is on experience and has therefore a strong qualitative approach, I wanted to use the questionnaire as a support for existing quantitative data and to explain the results of this data.

The questionnaire was distributed on paper in the village and on the web. It took between 10 and 20 minutes to fill in the questionnaire, dependent on viewing and listening habits and age of the respondents. The first way I tried to distribute the questionnaire was ringing front doors of the inhabitants of Lierderholthuis. This method had low response rates. People didn't seem to like to get disturbed for these kinds of questions, maybe because of two earlier researches, one by Weenink (2009) and one by *Plaatselijk Belang*, the commission for local interest. As a

²⁰ The questionnaire is attached in appendix A.

consequence, I decided to try the associations in Lierderholthuis. I supposed that people in the context of a group would have less objectives and I wouldn't disturb them in the privacy of their homes. This seemed to be true. In the village café they could tell me exactly when associations came together. Besides associations I contacted the school. They gave me permission to ask fathers and mothers who picked up their children after school to fill in a questionnaire. The local school collected these questionnaires for me. After these successful attempts, I missed elderly people in my data. A large part of the elderly people regularly go to church and they are going on Sunday morning after the mass to the café. I joined them there on a Sunday morning and asked them to respond to the questions. Furthermore, I asked randomly people I met in the village, for example in the café, to fill in a questionnaire.

CHAPTER 5. SUPPLY

5.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on two totally different kinds of media, organized by locals for other locals. The first is the local media station RTV Raalte and the second are the young radio pirates, operating illegally on the FM band. In this chapter the focus will be on the organizational side. In chapter two, I explained that media can create a sense of belonging somewhere and that media are seen as a tool to create identification with place. Local broadcasting by RTV Raalte has taken form by rules declared in laws. Piracy is illegal and therefore out of every law regulation. This raises immediately a main difference between the two forms of practicing local media. RTV Raalte has a clear goal in creating belonging or social cohesion, a goal which is supported and directed by policies. The pirates don't have this kind of goal. In this chapter motives of producers are analyzed. I'll start first by explaining the aims of RTV Raalte in creating belonging. For me it is interesting how space is used to create identification with place. In the second part of the chapter I'll explore the motives of the pirates. In the conclusion, both forms of local media are being compared to one another. The effects on the public will be analyzed in the following chapter.

5.2. Institutionalized local radio and television

“...it's more about you seeing me or me seeing you...”²¹

5.2.1. Organization of RTV Raalte

In chapter two, I introduced a history of regional and local media in the Netherlands and very shortly of the municipality of Raalte. This specific history of RTV Raalte will be amplified further in this chapter. The history of local radio and television can be split in three moments. In the first period, a local initiative in Heino resulted in an official television station with strong local support (1986-2000). In the second, municipal reorganizations force the Foundation Heino Cable Television to merge with the radio station in Raalte and to become RTV Raalte. The beginning of this collaboration is difficult and RTV Raalte has organizational, financial and image problems (2000-2003). In the third period, the new organization RTV Raalte tries to rebuild and improve the image and the quality of their programs (2003-now).

²¹ Interview Johan Seekles, chairman, 21.09.2009

History of local television in Lierderholthuis

1986 – 2000

An obligation of local radio and television is not prescribed by law. The consequence of this is that most initiatives are bottom-up, organized by the local inhabitants. This is what happened in Heino. W.J. Jansen and J. Kappert, two residents of the village of Heino, asked for the first time permission to make local television in 1981. This first official initiative didn't appear out of the blue, for a small municipality however Jansen and Kappert were pioneers. Local broadcasting was the years before an important subject for the national government in The Hague. In the 70s, media broadcasting with cable connection became possible and there was literally space on the cable for local radio and television. The number of free radio makers increased but commercialization of media was for the Dutch government not an option. The government tried to regulate commercialization by lawmaking on local media. As a consequence, there were in Heino rumours around the subject for years.²² In a first draft for the municipal organization, Kappert and Jansen amplify motives, financial and technical possibilities of local television broadcasting. They clearly describe that in their opinion, the major effect of local television could be *increasing involvement in the local, also for the handicapped, the elderly and the ill.*²³ In relation to the regional station (RONO, Regional Broadcasting North and East, in the 80s), they see a surplus value in the fact that this television only brings programs about the own municipality (which was in 1981 the municipality of Heino). The local authorities in Heino reject the initiative for several reasons as well technical as juridical as financial. Concerning content, the emphasis was on reaching groups in society having (more) problems to participate in local society. It was exactly this group, the elderly and the ill, that couldn't be reached by local television because of technical impracticability (in 1981).²⁴ The small villages in the municipality, Lierderholthuis and Laag Zuthem, didn't have cable connection neither. It was therefore an initiative with a focus on Heino and done for the village of Heino.

The negative response of the municipality doesn't discourage the initiators. When the village of Heino exists for 750 years in 1986, a good occasion is offered to retake the idea of local television. In the beginning of this year, the municipality gives permission to do some test broadcastings. The same year, after successful test broadcastings, they submit an official application with both the former Ministry of Welfare, Health and Culture and the municipal authority in Heino. The test broadcastings started in April 1986 and Kappert and Jansen get official permission in May to continue. The minister gives his permission too.

From the beginning, the television broadcasts are a great success. The television was made in name of the committee of festivities for Heino (Foundation *Heija Heino*) but soon

²² Jansen W.J. and J. Kappert, Initiative to the foundation of cable television Heino, September 1981, Archives Municipality Raalte, visit: 04.09.2009

²³ Jansen W.J. and J. Kappert, Initiative to the foundation of cable television Heino, September 1981, Archives Municipality Raalte, visit: 04.09.2009

²⁴ Public works Heino, Advice to Mayor and Aldermen Heino about cable television, February 1st 1982, Archives Municipality Raalte, visit: 04.09.2009

continued under the name of Foundation Cable Television Heino (*Stichting Heino Kabel Televisie*), since October 24th 1989 officially. For ten years this Foundation successfully made television for the municipality of Heino. First two hours once in two weeks on Sunday morning and these programs were repeated on Monday evening. A consequence of official registration was the obligation of the organization to obey to the rules for local broadcasting organizations prescribed in the Media Law. One of the main issues in the article about local broadcasting is the representativeness of the organization, or in other words, the basic principle is on participation in society. The local media have to represent every group in society so that everybody feels represented. In the programming, there has to be attention for every group in society. More about this subject can be found in the next paragraph.

2000 – 2003

In the second half of the 80s, starting radio broadcasting was booming all over the Netherlands, also due to changing legislation. In the village of Raalte, there was an initiative for local radio broadcasting. A local radio organization was officially established there in 1989.²⁵ When the two municipalities had to merge, the television in Heino and the radio in Raalte had to become one organization. The advantage was that there was a television and a radio department, so theoretically the fusion was perfect. However, the radio in Raalte wasn't such a healthy organization; they had constant financial and management problems and therefore a bad image within the local community. The Foundation Cable Television Heino had to merge obligatory with this organization. The new foundation Radio Television Raalte (RTV Raalte) was founded on the 29th of December 2000.²⁶ After a year with a lot of problems to solve, the organizational aspects of the fusion between the two sections were finished and they could start putting more energy in the programs. There was a lot of distrust on the site of Heino. The general feeling was that the whole fusion wasn't positive for Heino. Gerda Middelkamp explains in an interview that the common feeling was that all good things had to go to Raalte.²⁷ This feeling was part of a more common feeling of resistance against the municipal reorganization in the community. That's why after the fusion, the number of volunteers first diminished strongly just like financial support by the inhabitants of the municipality.

The current situation: 2003 – now

Nowadays, RTV Raalte has radio programs every day of the week, on weekdays at the end of the afternoon and beginning of the evening and during the weekend also in the morning. On television, there is every day another item on (the five) weekdays. The items are shown on television every half hour and repeated throughout the day. Since the opening of the building in

²⁵ <http://www.rtvraalte.nl>, 30.12.2009

²⁶ <http://www.rtvraalte.nl>, 30.12.2009

²⁷ Interview Gerda Middelkamp, former editor in chief, 26.09.2009

2005, RTV Raalte is located in the multifunctional accommodation in the village of Raalte. They have two rooms in the basement of the building which they rent. One of these rooms is used to make radio the other one to make television programs. Although people are happy with this space, it means that the whole organization is centred in Raalte and that all facilities, like cameras, are in Raalte. This can be a disadvantage for people who collaborate and live in one of the small villages.²⁸ It also strengthens the feeling that Raalte is the centre of the municipality and that small villages are less important. This problematic is significant for the small villages. It is exactly the representativeness which is a problem.

All local broadcasting organizations have three layers. First is the management, second is the PBO, the commission which evaluates and defines content of the programs with respect for the aspect of representativeness and the third are the editors in chief and their editors. There is for RTV Raalte one editor for radio and one for television.

The manager of RTV Raalte is currently Johan Seekles, he is the connection between the three layers and he exercises control on the whole organization. There are currently about 55 volunteers. The management is responsible for the financial matters and there are constant financial issues about subventions for example. The management has to fight for the survival of the organization on the financial plan.²⁹ The second part of the organization are the editors in chief and their editors. They make the programs for RTV Raalte. They do filming, editing, hosting and all kinds of related activities.

The PBO, the third pillar, is a legally liable part of a public broadcasting organization. The committee has to guard the representativeness of the programs. The Media Law gives eight currents that have to cover the most important social, cultural and religious tendencies in society. For every current, there is a representative of the community assigned by the Mayor and Aldermen. The representatives have to defend the interest of their group in society. The eight currents are (1) Education, (2) Social Welfare, (3) Ethnic and Cultural Minorities, (4) Religious and Spiritual Communities, (5) Art and Culture, (6) Employer, (7) Employee, (8) Sports and Recreation.³⁰ In Heino, the representative for Education for example was a primary school teacher. For Ethnic and Cultural Minorities it was for several years an immigrant living in Heino. The Dutch organization *Vluchtelingenwerk* (Refugee Aid Organization) confirmed that this man could represent the ethnic and cultural minorities in Heino.

The PBO has three important tasks. First, they are the connection to the Broadcasting Commission of the Ministry, they maintain all correspondences with the Ministry and they have to justify the programming of RTV Raalte for the Broadcasting Commission. Second, the PBO is the contact point for the inhabitants of the municipality when they have question about programs

²⁸ Interview Gerda Middelkamp, former editor in chief, 26.09.2009

²⁹ Interview Hans Kelderman, management member, 26.09.2009 and Johan Seekles, chairman, 21.08.2009.

³⁰ <http://www.rtvraalte.nl>, 30.12.2009

and programming. Inhabitants can always come up with subjects and ideas. Third they officially appoint the editors in chief. The PBO of RTV Raalte meets (at least) four times a year.³¹

5.2.2. Programming

The PBO of RTV Raalte reduces the eight currents prescribed by the Media Law in classifying their programs in three areas. The first concerns nature, history, dialect, culture and folklore. The second is about politics, the municipality, social matters, religion, health and cultural and ethnic minorities. The third concerns schools and youth, sports, associations, hobbies, striking personalities, companies.³² The PBO tries to equally share programs into these three areas. In their Future Vision (2003), RTV Raalte mentions three functions of their organization who correspond roughly with the division they made for the programs.

“RTV Raalte takes a clear position and a clear opinion. RTV Raalte, management and co-workers, want to work for a local broadcasting organization who can be meaningful for the society in Raalte. Local broadcasting can **reinforce the identity of Raalte**. Local broadcasting can **bridge between politics and citizens**. Local broadcasting can figure as a **spokesperson** for many, foreign and autochthonous inhabitants.”³³ (translation and bold by author)

These ambitions are declared in a Future View of RTV Raalte formulated in 2003. As they state in this citation, they want to be *meaningful* in three ways. First is reinforcement of the identity of Raalte. Second is to function as a bridge between the local politics and the inhabitants of the municipality. The third aspect refers to the representativeness of the local station, they want to be a *spokesperson*, as it is described in the Media Law. Both a social and a political function are mentioned by the organization. The way RTV Raalte puts these aspect in practice in the programming, will be treated in the following paragraphs.

Identity reinforcement

In the division of programs in three areas, the first can be linked to the reinforcement of the identity of Raalte. The program elements are nature, history, dialect, culture and folklore. However, these elements are about the area of Salland, and not specifically Raalte. The identity of Raalte is made into an identity of Salland. There is for example a program on TV Raalte which is called *Salland Natuurlijk*, or ‘Salland Naturally’ about nature in Salland but within the frontiers of the municipality. The notion *Natuurlijk* in the title in Dutch language has to significations: nature and naturally. Salland is still such a strong construction that it is used as a social construction to create regional identity. In *Claiming Rural Identities*, Groote et al. (2000)

³¹ Interview Henny Velthof, chairmain of the PBO, 12.08.2009

³² Overview broadcasted programs television Raalte 4th quarter 2008, from: H.J.F. Velthof, chairman PBO RTV Raalte

³³ RTV Raalte (2003), *Toekomstvisie RTV Raalte 2003 – 2006; Contouren van een beleid rondom lokale omroep in Raalte*, Maart 2003, Raalte
original text: RTV Raalte neemt een duidelijke positie en standpunt in. RTV Raalte, bestuur en medewerkers, willen werken aan een lokale omroep, die iets voor de Raalter samenleving kan betekenen. Een lokale omroep kan de identiteit van Raalte versterken. Een lokale omroep kan een brug slaan tussen burgers en politiek. Een lokale omroep kan de spreekbuis zijn voor velen, allochtoon en autochtoon.

mentions several aspects which characterize the social construction of (rural) identity. Several of these characteristics are recognizable in these ways of presenting and filling in programs. The first aspect of regional identity is that they are social constructions; this is an element we already mentioned for the current presence of the region of Salland in the communication between people. The third aspect mentioned by Groote is that they rely on the past (2000 : 2). This is in the case of Salland a very important point. The identity of Salland is reproduced for years. This means that the identity of Raalte is for most part an identity of Salland and that RTV Raalte reproduces in its programming the regional identity of Salland. The communication of this social construction is self-evident for RTV Raalte.

Politics and citizens

The bridge between the authorities and inhabitants of the municipality is made in a radio program of RTV Raalte which is broadcasted on Saturday morning and is called *Raalte Deze Week* (Raalte This Week). This item is seen as a news item. Bringing the latest news is for local radio and television not as obvious as it might sound because of technical restrictions. For news, there is a difference between radio and television. For television, it is impossible to bring the latest news. As a former editor in chief of the television explains:

researcher: What was for you as editor in chief the most important task?

Gerda: To bring something special a regional station cannot bring. That you can bring the solidarity that such a small organization has can transmit. [...] I think with news, you are always behind. But the normal things, you don't see anywhere else.³⁴

According to Gerda Middelkamp, bringing news is a task of the local newspaper. RTV Raalte likes to show events and persons with a goal to increase acceptance and understanding of the local, in general but at the same time of people, associations and organizations in particular. She mentions for example the introduction of a new Mayor. After the new installation of the Mayor, there is always an item which introduces him. For radio the technical possibilities to bring recent news is better. The question is to what extent bringing news is a priority for local radio and television.

Spokesperson

Historically, the television part of Heino was founded to bring reports of events on television and to bring music on the radio. You still see this tradition in the current programming. A large part of the programs for both television and radio is the registration of parties, markets, exhibitions, etc. If you take a look at the third goal for RTV Raalte programs: being spokesperson for the inhabitants, you see that they implement this way the demand of representativeness in the

³⁴ Interview Gerda Middelkamp, former editor in chief, 29.06.2009.

researcher: Wat vond je zelf als hoofdredactrice het belangrijkste?

Gerda: Om toch wat bijzonders te brengen wat een regionale omroep niet kan brengen. Dat je saamhorigheid dat zo'n kleine omroep heeft, dat je dat kunt brengen. [...] ..., ik denk dat je er met nieuws altijd achteraan loopt. Maar de gewone dingen, die je normaal niet ergens anders ziet.

Media Law. This means that RTV Raalte has to give a voice to the currents in society in the PBO which are themselves divided in several organizations, associations and companies which are situated in several villages and divided in totally different age groups. In the Media Law, the representativeness is one of the major points. The representativeness poses problems at the same time. If all these associations en organizations from all the different villages have to have a voice, is the programming still attractive to listeners and viewers? This will be one of the mayor question in chapter six. It is difficult to give everybody a voice and to keep all the inhabitants satisfied. This is exactly what the chief of RTV Raalte mentions as a something difficult, *the shift of something recognizable and the fact that the [broadcasting] organization is yours to less recognizable, not being yours because you are in a bigger municipality*.³⁵ A second related question is if this variety of programs for so many audiences doesn't decrease the audience rates.

An example of this problem is Lierderholthuis. Lierderholthuis is one of the (smaller) villages in the municipality. In first half of the year 2009, Lierderholthuis was only time a major subject in a television program. This was about the 100th year anniversary of the school. All nine villages have to be part of the programming and time is being invested in relation to the population in the villages. This means that Lierderholthuis, with the smallest number of inhabitants, is not regularly a subject in the programming of radio and television. This could discourage inhabitants of Lierderholthuis to watch. This will be a major subject in the next chapter.

5.2.3. *The vision of RTV Raalte*

An important question posed by the organization of RTV Raalte itself, is how to realize a surplus value for the local community in the municipality of Raalte. In 2003, after the difficulties with reorganizations, the organization came with a clear view for the future, directed by the chief of the organization, Johan Seekles. In this view, five concrete goals are formulated.³⁶ The first concerns financial stability, the financial means didn't (and don't) guarantee the future of RTV Raalte. The second affects the quality of the programs; this has to improve continuously for example by educating volunteers and improving the programs in both content and technical quality. The third goal touches on the idea of multiformity of the press. RTV Raalte tries to function as a stage for the local. The fifth goal is the acquisition of volunteers for the organization who are necessary for the quality of the programs.

The fourth goal concerns, like the third, a functional aspect of the organization.

“Defence of public interest. A local broadcasting organization is of all broadcasting associations **closest linked to the listener or viewer**. From an objective viewpoint, the organization tries to inform people about local news. Nowadays, **globalization** is the magic word. News from the other side of the world is being brought directly into the viewers' living room. The local news offer decreases due to increasing **centralization and monopolization** of regional newspapers. Increasing subscription costs and high advertising costs decrease the number of subscribers of local daily and weekly papers. For certain **vulnerable groups** in society the reach of local news

³⁵ Interview Johan Seekles, chairman RTV Raalte, 21.09.2009

³⁶ The summary is based on: RTV Raalte (2003), *Toekomstvisie RTV Raalte 2003 – 2006*; *Contouren van een beleid rondom lokale omroep in Raalte*, Maart 2003, Raalte

by newspapers can diminish. Moreover, there is a risk that **individualization of society decreases social cohesion and involvement of the citizen with local society**. The cable organization Essent has the obligation to make sure that all subscribers of cable television can receive the local programs thanks to her protected status. This makes clear the **public interest** of RTV Raalte.”³⁷ (translation and bold by author)

In a more abstract way, they try to give the organization legitimacy in this argumentation. The arguments they use are linked to processes of globalization. The movements of globalization have to be compensated by attention to the local, a very current view in debates about globalization. Related to these processes of globalization are according to RTV Raalte are processes of individualization of society. That’s were a local radio and television station can function as a countermovement which can reverse processes and increase *social cohesion and involvement [...]* *with local society*.

RTV Raalte also refers to the distance between viewer and organization. Although it is true that local broadcasting is the lowest scale level concerning radio and television broadcastings, this doesn’t necessarily mean that it is closest linked to listener or viewer.

The Media Law mentions in Article 2.61.2 two conditions for local broadcasting. First the Ministry wants a media offer *concentrated on the fulfilment of social needs*.³⁸

How can these goals and the programming, be related to the Media Law. In the law, two important point for local and regional media are mentioned. First is that local and regional media organizations have to *execute their public media task by offering media which is focused on fulfilling social needs for society* (Media Law 2008, 2.61.2.b.). The second function is that media offer has to be *representative for the most important [...] social, cultural and ideological currents* (Media Law 2008, 2.61.2.c.).

All these functions refer to what Ed Hollander and Peter de Goede describe as the social function of the local media organization. They talk about *integration, socialization, identification and / or orientation on the local community* (1996 : 13). The second function they mention for local broadcasting is a political function (1996 : 14). RTV Raalte has adapted both principles in their programming. RTV Raalte is functioning as policy makers like to see it. They have a clear view of their position and the function they want to have for society. At the same time, it is

³⁷ RTV Raalte (2003), *Toekomstvisie RTV Raalte 2003 – 2006; Contouren van een beleid rondom lokale omroep in Raalte*.

original text: Het uitdragen van het publieke belang. Een lokale omroep staat van alle omroepen het dichtst bij de kijker of luisteraar. Objectief probeert ze de inwoners te informeren over het lokale nieuws. Op dit moment is globalisering het toverwoord geworden. Nieuws van de andere kant van de wereld wordt “direct” bij de kijker in de huiskamer gebracht. Het lokale nieuwsaanbod via kranten en weekbladen verschaalt door toenemende centralisatie en monopolisering van regionale dagbladen. Sterk stijgende abonnementskosten en hoge advertentiekosten zorgen voor terugloop in abonnees bij regionale dag- en weekbladen. Voor bepaalde kwetsbare groepen in de samenleving kan het bereik van het lokale nieuws via kranten en weekbladen verminderen. Bovendien dreigt het gevaar dat door een sterke individualisering van de samenleving de onderlinge cohesie en betrokkenheid van de burger met de lokale samenleving afneemt. Dankzij haar beschermde status is kabelmaatschappij Essent verplicht alle tv-programma’s integraal aan alle kabelabonnees door te geven. Het publieke belang van RTV Raalte wordt derhalve duidelijk.

³⁸ Media Law, article 2.61.b.

http://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0025028/volledig/geldigheidsdatum_01-04-2010#Hoofdstuk2_Titel23, 31.03.2010

difficult for this kind of organization to connect with the inhabitants, because there are so many groups they have to represent. In the structure wherein the programs are being made, this is signalled as a problem.

5.2.3. Volunteering for RTV Raalte

All local broadcasting organizations are run by volunteers. The goal of RTV Raalte is to make programs for radio and television for the municipality. People who are in the PBO for example, have to represent a social current for the municipality; therefore they have connections with the current they represent. Someone who works in education, on a primary school for example, can join the PBO to make sure education will be a subject in programming and he or she can help to present and chose interesting subjects. Next to this common interest of the volunteers, they have personal interest in joining this organization. Several reasons were mentioned in interviews often both at the same time.

The first reason mentioned is that people have affinity with the technical aspect of radio and television. Gerda Middelkamp for example, editor in chief for several years, was asked to join the club because she had her own camera, which was less common in the eighties than it is nowadays. She lives in Lierderholthuis so she also new what was going on in the village. People who join the organization can learn a lot about the technical sides of making radio and television. RTV Raalte tries at the same time to offer courses for the volunteers although this is problematic because courses are expensive. From this perspective, a local broadcasting organization is often a breeding ground for talent. In Raalte there is for example a young boy who made a film himself and RTV Raalte broadcasts this film.³⁹ People interested in (audio)visual media can participate in local broadcasting and learn. Eventually they can continue they careers after on higher scale levels of media.

The second reason is the social aspect of joining an organization. RTV Raalte is a club being together regularly and to make programs you always work together with other people. People like the fact of making programs together. They are rewarded with a dinner one a year where all members meet each other. At the same time, this creates commitment to the organization.

5.3. Pirates

“...it just runs in my blood...”⁴⁰

5.3.1. Performing piracy

In chapter 2, I made a distinction between three different radio piracy traditions in the Netherlands: the ‘activist pirates’, the ‘sea pirates’ and the ‘land pirates’ (based on Lelieveldt,

³⁹ Interview Hans Kelderman, member management RTV Raalte, 29.06.2009.

⁴⁰ Interview pirate, boy, 17 years old.

2008). The latter is the group which is active in rural areas in eastern parts of the Netherlands. In the category of 'land pirates' I want to point out three different ways of broadcasting. The similarity between these three is that they all three broadcast roughly the same kind(s) of music without any official permission and that they are therefore illegal. Secondly in all three cases it is mostly men who do this. The context of their activity differs however. The first group are the (traditional) attic pirates, who seem to become rare. The attic pirate sometimes has a partner but hardly operates with more than two or three persons from (for example) the attic of their home. In general they aren't adolescents but adults with different ages. The contact with the listener however is very important, as it is for all pirates. Land piracy started on attics but became a more social event. The second group are the pirates who combine hanging out with friends with radio piracy. These pirates are mainly adolescents. The place where they hang out and they have their station is a so-called shed (*keet*). On evenings they broadcast, friends and acquaintances are welcome to pass by. These are groups of friends of different size generally between 16 and 28 years old. The third is the 'marathon pirate' (author's concept). These are groups of friends who organize broadcasting marathons with parties. Often several stations join each other to organize parties together. They combine partying with illegal broadcasting. I'll give some examples of how this works in real terms.

Station Plankgas (Station Full Throttle) for example, a piracy station with men between 20 and 30 years old, organized on April 25th 2009 an enormous party in a small hamlet near Heino called Elshof. Elshof is situated in the municipality Olst-Wijhe and Olst-Wijhe borders the municipality of Raalte.⁴¹ These parties are officially forbidden; in general they don't have a licence to sell alcohol. Of course broadcasting is forbidden too. A group in Lierderholthuis regularly broadcasts music under the name *County FM* and the same group does once a year a big marathon under the name *LOL (Lokale Omroep Lierderholthuis, Local Broadcasting Lierderholthuis)*.⁴² Haartsen, who bases this on Nairn (2003), states that *young people develop feelings of belonging to a certain space through social relations* (2010 : 7). The pirates seem to create feelings of identity and belonging by this form of social interaction in the specific activities which are all related to illegally broadcasting music. When the pirates get older, lots of boys stop with piracy because of other priorities (starting a family for example). A small group continues however and they generally become the traditional 'attic pirate'.

After mentioning the notion of *keet* or shed, it is useful to explain this phenomenon. Recently an article was published on the subject by the geographers Tialda Haartsen and Dirk Strijker in the *Journal of Rural Studies*.⁴³ The following description of the shed phenomenon is derived from this article. Sheds are places where young people in the age of 12 – 22 come together to do different activities, mostly sitting together and talk and laugh, often before going to a club

⁴¹ <http://www.destentor.nl/regio/salland/4878493/De-kick-van-illegale-piraterij-bij-Station-Plankgas.ece>, 27.01.2010

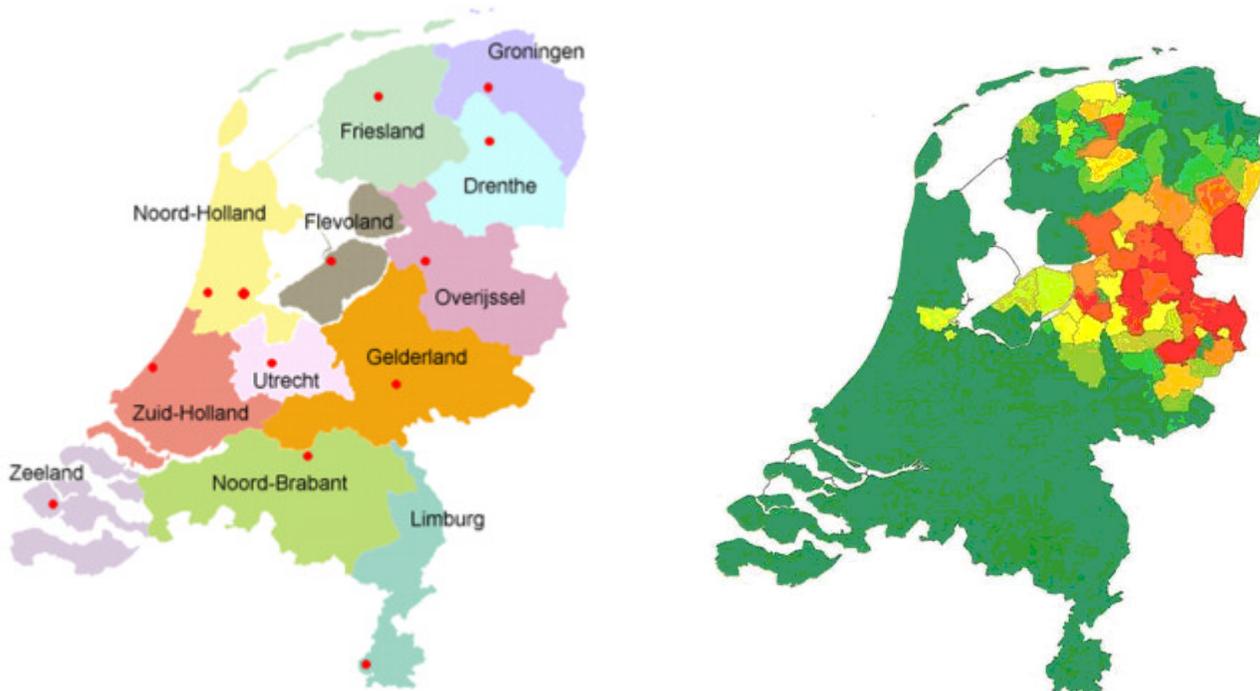
⁴² LOL is not only an abbreviation, it has a second connotation; in Dutch language 'lol' means 'fun'.

⁴³ Haartsen, T. and D. Strijker, *Rural youth culture: keten in the Netherlands*, *Journal of Rural Studies* (2009), doi:10.1016/j.rurstud.2009.11.001

(2009 : 1). *Keet* can be translated in English with shed although ‘shed’ doesn’t have the connotation of partying which has the Dutch notion. Sheds are a phenomenon that increased the last decades (2009 : 2). An activity of shed members is illegal radio broadcasting, according to Haartsen, 20% of the sheds interviewed (n=35) broadcasted music in the ether (2009 : 7). In Salland, the trends seem to be the same. According to my respondents, there are a lot of sheds in the area, some of them doing illegal broadcasting. Besides there are groups which broadcast illegally without having a shed aside.

Sheds are seen by Haartsen as rural hang outs which could be the equivalent of the urban hang out (2009 : 3). But as Haartsen indicates, a significant distinction from hang-outs is that *keten* are not located in public but in private space (2009 : 9). In the case of piracy, this seems to have some logic. Piracy is a forbidden activity and has to be done in hidden spaces situated in private spheres.

Salland, where Raalte (and Lierderholthuis) are situated, is located between regions were piracy is common. Overijssel is the province were piracy is most practiced. The following map shows the spread of piracy over the Netherlands. As the map shows, piracy is most common in the provinces of Overijssel and Drenthe.



Map of the Netherlands with different provinces.
source: nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nederland

The spread of pirates in the Netherlands.
source: *Agentschap Telecom*

Piracy in municipality of Raalte

Data about piracy is collected by the Telecom Agency with a purpose to suppress piracy. The existing data is therefore mainly around spread and frequency of piracy. I used a Dutch social network site⁴⁴ and interviews with pirates to get a grasp on the phenomenon in Lierderholthuis and surroundings. In an Internet research I estimated around 15 stations in the municipality of Raalte which regularly broadcast. This number can be higher because not every station necessarily has a hyve page. The data provided by the Telecom Agency confirmed this presumption. According to their research, there are in Raalte around 25 stations.⁴⁵ Furthermore I did the following observations. To protect the privacy of the pirates, I don't add the list of stations I composed.⁴⁶

- The age of the administrators of the hyve sites, of which we can assume they are also involved in broadcasting, is between 11 and 26 years old. 11 is an exception. The frequency of piracy station websites started to increase when the webmasters had the age of 16 or higher.
- The numbers of members of these hyves sites varied from 21 till 652 (January 2010).
- Lots of pirates operate in groups. According to my respondents, the groups are mainly around 4 persons (3 – 6 is most common).
- The names of the stations have regular reference to the area of Salland, other geographical unities (village names), rurality in general or just fun names. The next paragraph will analyse further these names.

The names of the stations

The most remarkable observation in the names of this station is the regular reference to the area of Salland which proves that Salland is a very important geographical unit in the minds of the people. The pirates too seem to maintain the social construction of the area of Salland. Other names also refer to geographical areas like the village of Lierderholthuis; *LOL*; *Lokale Omroep Lierderholthuis* (Local Broadcasting Lierderholthuis) and *Heino's Piratenteam* (Pirate Team Heino). It can also contain elements of rurality and a rural culture; County FM, *Plankgas* (Full Throttle) or *Koeiensteert FM* (Cow Tail FM). This refers to a rural culture, a social construction which creates regional identity. It is a construction which is relying on elements and practices of rurality and on some elements of agriculture. The young boys often call themselves 'farmers' (*boeren*), not referring to agricultural activities, but to the construction of an identity in a rural areas. The dichotomy of the country and the city is for both ways a present (and important) social construction. In the same way people create urban identities, in rural areas, people create rural identities. The last category of station names are fun names, like for example *Dakpan FM* (Roof Tile FM).

⁴⁴ <http://hyves.nl>, 28.01.2010

⁴⁵ A table with the top 25 municipalities with most pirates can be found in chapter 2, p.28.

⁴⁶ It is possible to ask for the complete list for research purposes. Send an e-mail to j.l.h.reimer@gmail.com

The names say something about the way pirates see themselves. First is identification with the place they live, where the reference to Salland is most remarkable (4 of 16 stations have the notion Salland in their name). Besides the area of Salland, the village pirates come from also plays a role in name giving. The second category of names refers to the rural in general. This can give proof of identification with elements of the rural where the largest part of the pirates grew up and which they use to create identity. The category fun names are referring to piracy as a leisure activity which of course is linked to having fun and enjoying yourself. Finally piracy is a way of spending free time.

I spoke with three stations and six persons in the municipality of Raalte. To respect the privacy of the respondents, they are referred to by a number and I won't further specify their location in the municipality or their names. The age of my respondents lies between 11 and 21 years. All three stations have a shed where they keep their equipment and people are invited to pass by (which is currently for the station of the youngest respondents rare).

There are three points of motivation for piracy mentioned by all the groups interviewed. First is the social aspect, there is much contact with the ones who listen and with friends who join each other to broadcast. Second is the kick of the illegality and the third is the music itself. The young pirates feel like they fill up a hole in the offer on Dutch radio. These three points in motivation will be treated separately in the following paragraphs.

5.3.2. Motives for piracy

The social aspect

One of the most important motives mentioned by the pirates in interviews is the response of and contact with their public. This can be both listeners and visitors. The visitors are people who come by to visit the 'shed' on evenings where they broadcast music. They hang out, listen to the music broadcasted and drink some beer. Before analyzing deeper the functioning of this contact, it is useful to mention how the respondents got in touch with piracy. The interviewed boys did get familiar with piracy because they have family and friends involved in this hobby. They mentioned for example that they had an uncle and a neighbour who liked to 'play records'.⁴⁷ According to another respondent, when he was allowed to leave the house alone from the age of 11 or 12, he went visiting other stations. This way he got to know piracy better. Later, around the age of 16, he started collecting his own equipment together with friends.

The contact within the piracy network takes place in two different ways, as mentioned before. First is the contact with the listeners of the station. A large part of the music broadcasted are requests. The listeners can send text messages or call the station. The more powerful the

⁴⁷ Piracy is often referred to as '*draaien*' which refers to playing records although the noun disappeared in the expression.

sender, the bigger the reach, the more listeners a station has and the more requests are being demanded. My respondents all agreed that this contact with the listeners is a very nice aspect of piracy. In a (seldom) newspaper article where a piracy station was interviewed, the men mention that the reactions of listeners are important. *The men enjoy it when they get signs from all over the country that their signal is clear.*⁴⁸

Second aspect of piracy for the pirates are their visitors. According to one respondent (6), *seeing 50 or 60 people sitting outside [in front of the barn], that's great, that's what you do it for.* The stations are often combined with a shed, so there is a hang out place included. People can visit the sheds, although the public is limited because of the illegality. Visitors are in general between 16 and 30 years old (except for the parents or other family members who can be older). Girls generally don't have piracy stations but this way they are involved in social activities in rural areas.

The marathon pirate is a newer trend. These marathons with parties are organized for everybody who's interested. Often stations work together to organize such a party. Although they have to be careful not to get too much attention, there is a large public for these activities. The station *Plankgas* organized a party for about 500 people where a famous Dutch artist came to sing.⁴⁹ Contact within this network is mostly mouth to mouth or with sms. There is competition within the piracy network itself but the pirates identify with each other and support each other. As one respondent answered, *it is mainly a bit of showing off your equipment and the like, there's no real concurrence.*

The following question would be which kind of space they seem to identify with but first the places involved with piracy have to be described.

Woods describes that a community has to be *embodied* in space (2005 : 94). The embodiment of the pirates takes place on three levels. First is the place of the shed and the eventual locations where the parties take place. These locations are mainly outside the village in the countryside, hidden in woods or at barn in farm yards. Second is the Internet. There are several sites where pirates register and where they buy and offer music (on vinyl mainly) and equipments for broadcasting. Besides sites like eBay or *Marktplaats*⁵⁰, there are specific sites for pirates. There are several ones, one of them is the social network site *hyves*. Lots of stations have their own *hyves* (all three stations I visited) and the general piracy *hyves* (*piratenmuziek.hyves.nl*) has 27197 members. There are also specific sites for pirates where stations register. These sites are news sites, they sell and exchange products or they have forums. The most important news messages for pirates are the confiscations by *Agentschap Telecom* of the different stations. Internet seems to play a major role in sustaining the activities of piracy

⁴⁸ <http://www.destentor.nl/regio/salland/4878493/De-kick-van-illegale-piraterij-bij-Station-Plankgas.ece>, 12.03.2010

NL: De mannen genieten als ze vanuit het land een seintje krijgen dat ze helder doorkomen

⁴⁹ <http://www.destentor.nl/regio/salland/4878493/De-kick-van-illegale-piraterij-bij-Station-Plankgas.ece>, 12.03.2010

⁵⁰ *Marktplaats* is the (biggest) Dutch equivalent of eBay.

The network of piracy, the hidden community is embodied on the Internet and in concrete places which can be visited. There is however a third place which is occupied by pirates. This place is the ether. Pirates illegally break into the ether to broadcast their music. This more abstract place will be treated separately in the following paragraph.

Illegality & Agency

Although pirates are in real as well as on the Internet somewhat hidden, they are certainly very present in another space, there were they broadcast. For the young pirates this is usually on the FM band.⁵¹ Older 'attic pirates' broadcast more often on the AM band. Sometimes the pirate stations reach all over the Netherlands, like one station I visited does. There is even an example of a former station in Twente (*Koning Keizer Admiraal* which is in English 'King Emperor Admiral') which reached all over western Europe from Denmark to Italy in 2004.⁵²

One of the questions I posed to my respondents was if this form of radio making would be as attractive if it wasn't illegal. All respondents agreed on this point. *The fact that it's illegal is just the kick to do it*, explains one of them. This is perhaps why the younger pirates broadcast on FM and the older ones on AM. The kick and the challenge of the illegality is more important for the younger ones. *Agentschap Telecom* concludes in their report *Etherflits* that pirates in the provinces of Groningen, Drenthe and Overijssel aren't discouraged to broadcast by confiscation, settlements, or penalties (2003 : 13). The penalties are high and it costs a lot of money to buy new equipment after confiscation. This is however what most boys do. This is also the reason that piracy is done together and not alone on an attic (for example). If you want to have a larger broadcasting area, you have to buy better equipment, the risk of confiscation is higher and it certainly costs much more money. This is exactly how the kick of piracy was described by one of the respondents.

According to Woods, *young people construct their own sense of 'creative participation' through activities which, whilst marginalized, give a sense of agency* (2005 : 250). This agency for pirates is in the fact that people react on the music they broadcast, the sense of agency of the young boys increases when they get more reactions from a larger geographical area. Their visibility is not on the street, which is easily associated with youth, but in the sky, by broadcasting music while (and for that reason) their real presence in space is hidden. This is nevertheless changing because of the parties which are more often organized recently.

Woods describes three points concerning '*politics of youth*' (2005 : 250). One of these is regulation of space. An example could be youth hanging on the street. This is visible contestation of space. In some way, pirates do the same, the break into the radio frequencies. This is not a way

⁵¹ Officially the expression 'FM band' is not correct, but in common language it is used regularly. FM band is shorthand for the frequency band in which FM technique (FM = Frequency Modulation) is used for broadcasting. I'll use in this research however the short expression.

⁵² http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/FM_broadcasting, 12.03.2010
<http://indymedia.nl/nl/2004/12/23779.shtml>, 12.03.2010

directly visible on the street, they are on the contrary hidden here, but they search for a free place on the radio where they don't disturb other stations. So both young people hanging out on the street as well as young people broadcasting are active in public space. This is also the difference with the shed culture. These are groups of friends hidden in private spaces of parents. For the pirates this is the same, although they very clearly contest the 'public space' of the FM band.

The pirates agree that what they are doing might be illegal, but doesn't harm anybody. They refer in the Internet discussion directly to the young people on the street. Listeners do agree on this point. One person states that *this boys keep youth from the street. That is a real decline of trouble.*⁵³ The pirates are proud doing something which is not bothering anyone directly. Although piracy can also be seen as a counterpart to the urban hang-out, the young pirates don't see themselves this way.

The owner of the confiscated station participates in the discussion by saying that piracy is part of rural culture. The 'culture' of piracy is closely linked to the music they broadcast which will be treated in the following paragraph.

Music & Identity

As I already mentioned, the real pirate music is actually a combination of different music genres. The music pirates broadcast is (for the most part) not broadcasted by other officially registered stations. There are stations specialized in Dutch music but their music is much more recent than the older Dutch music which is broadcasted by the pirates. On the Internet, vinyl records in the genre are exchanged on large scale. To explain this music choice, the pirates lean upon the past. The music is being passed on to new generations of pirates. Piracy had always a strong identification against the establishment of media, mainly because of dissatisfaction with the music broadcasted on regular public and commercial radio (2008 : 4). This motivation still exists and is confirmed by all my respondents. They get familiar with the music through pirates they know and they continue to broadcast the music because it will disappear otherwise. For the respondents, the piracy music is certainly not the only genre of music they like. It seems to be specifically a kind of music distinguished from other genres and related to the specific activity of piracy. The question occurs if the music is also a way for this youth in rural areas to distinguish themselves from for example city youth or the urban in general. My respondents didn't show any of these feelings. They identify with the rural but didn't seem to see the music itself as something which is associated only with rurality, contrary to the very popular farmers rock genre for example.

Although the music intrinsically is important and a motivation itself, it is also a way to create participation to a community and gives agency to the young people, as I'll explain further in the following paragraph.

⁵³ <http://www.sallandcentraal.nl/article.php?action=showarticle&id=15463>, 27.01.2010

5.3.3. *Belonging*

In the social network created through the activity of piracy, the pirates create a sense of community through different ways of identification. First they identify with the rural in general. The importance of rurality can be found in names of stations for example and the way they see themselves as 'farmers'. This social construction, the dualism between the urban and the rural, plays a role in the identification of the pirates with each other. This isn't the merit of the music but more of the background of most pirates who grew up in the countryside. It is not clear if there is (still) identification against 'Hilversum', the established order. My respondents did mention that they missed the genre on regular radio but didn't show any disapproval with the mainstream radio. The appreciation of the piracy music genre exists next to appreciation of other genres.

Piracy developed from a more individual activity to a social activity for youth in rural areas. Woods mentions concerning youth in rural areas what he calls an 'amenity deprivation', a lack of provisions. Piracy provides a form of spending pastime which gives agency. The social relations within this network are of major importance. According to the definition of Liepins, the pirates share obviously a practice based on several meanings ascribe to this practice. These meanings are explained as motives in the above. As Liepins states, '*communities*' involve social relations that occur transiently or continually in both places and spaces (2000 : 27). Piracy in this specific form therefore is a medium which creates community as Liepins defines it. This community uses several characteristics of places and spaces to identify with.

5.4. Conclusion

The Media Law indicates that local media are very suitable for the expression of social needs. Therefore the local public broadcasting organizations have to follow a standard of representativeness. The social needs of every group in society have to be part of the programming of local radio and television stations. This representativeness has to be guaranteed by a committee with members from different groups in society: the *PBO*. The paradox of the representativeness of a local broadcasting organization is that in a limited time space every current in society has to have a share in the programming. At the same time, all these different groups aimed at, make the totality of the programs less interesting for other groups.

All this doesn't play a role for illegally operating radio pirates. They are motivated by the fact that they broadcast music which otherwise wouldn't be heard. At the same time, they are challenged by the kick of the illegality, which is something that is related to their adolescent age.

In totally different ways, regulated and illegal, both forms of media do have a role in the public sphere. The presence of one is contested, the presence of the other one follows the rules as the government has prescribed them. Being occupied with the hobby of secret broadcasting gives the young boys agency. They have found, in their perspective, a useful and challenging free time activity. They are, according to themselves, the guardians of an otherwise disappearing music genre.

RTV Raalte is an organization operating to create social cohesion and to contribute to participation of inhabitants to the local society. If it works as RTV Raalte likes this to work, will be the main question of the next chapter. For the pirates, they create their own community where the medium of radio is both the basis practice and the tool for reproduction. Therefore piracy gives much insight in the way media can function in the creation of community.

CHAPTER 6. DEMAND

6.1. Introduction

The previous chapter made clear that different kinds of local initiatives of media exist in Lierderholthuis and surroundings. This chapter focuses on the uses of these media by the population of the village. The next and concluding chapter makes the comparison between this chapter and the previous one, between the organizational and the audience site or in other words, the supply and demand site. This chapter will make a comparison of the experience of the audience of two forms of local media: RTV Raalte and the young radio pirates.

The chapter starts with an analysis of the public of RTV Raalte and their motives followed by a same an analysis for the public of the pirates. A concluding paragraph lists the points about popularity between the two.

6.2. RTV Raalte

6.2.1. Introduction

I will start this analysis with audience rates for radio and television by RTV Raalte. The focus in this research is not on the quantitative aspect like Westerik (2001), audience surveys by OLON (2006 and 2008) and the audience surveys initiated by RTV Raalte (1987, 2003 and 2008), but on the qualitative aspect: the experience and effect of listening and watching RTV Raalte, with special attention to the experience of inhabitants of Lierderholthuis. The questionnaire I used supports the quantitative data already existing to make the shift to a qualitative analysis of the appreciation and further motives for watching.

The opinions of respondents about the organization RTV Raalte specifically are in general not present, or not very positive. These feelings of indifference and negativity are interesting. I'll search for the sources of this disapproval. First the focus will be on the level where RTV Raalte operates, it's an organization for the municipal level and RTV Raalte is related to the idea or representation about the municipality. The second reason is about the expectations the audience has about local radio and television. They don't seem to correspond with the aims of the organization. The third aspect is the quality of picture and program.

6.2.2. Audience rates

For the audience rates of local radio and television I used several sources of data which I described shortly in the previous paragraph. First are three researches done by RTV Raalte and the former Heino Cable Television. In 1987, after almost a year of television broadcasting in Heino, the organization wanted to know if people appreciated the existence of local television in

Heino (and later Lierderholthuis and Laag Zuthem).⁵⁴ After the fusion, RTV Raalte did two researches; one in 2003⁵⁵ and another in 2008⁵⁶. The research in 2003 was done by a teleworking organization. The second research was done by students. The organization wasn't satisfied with the latter research, so there are no concrete results, just some impressions, which is the only available data from this research. The dissatisfaction was according to the chairman of RTV Raalte related to the quality of the research. He didn't mention further motives but it is possible that the results of the questionnaire were not positive enough for the organization and that could be a reason why they don't want to present the results. Besides this quantitative data, there exist general researches done by the pressure group for local broadcasting OLON. They have done in 2006 a big audience survey in the Netherlands.⁵⁷ Another quantitative source is a PhD thesis by Henk Westerik written in 2001. This research is relatively old but it helped to get a more complete image of audience rates. The researcher's data consists of written questionnaires and interviews with inhabitants of Lierderholthuis.

As my research population is limited to the village of Lierderholthuis, an important aspect for the research is the geographical spread of the population. The researches of RTV Raalte didn't ask for the residence of the respondents. In both researches 250 people were interrogated but it is unknown where they live and if the spread of the respondents is in relation to the spread in the population. They therefore cannot be considered as representative for the population of Raalte.

Access and familiarity with the organization

Lierderholthuis consists of the core of the village and the environs. In a district classification of the municipality, 250 people live in the core and 216 in the areas around the village.⁵⁸ As television of RTV Raalte is only accessible with a cable connection, a large part of the inhabitants has no direct access to cable television. The number of respondents in the questionnaire with no direct access to local television is 12 of 34. This number doesn't correspond with the real division of inhabitants in core and environs. This can have two reasons. There are residents of Lierderholthuis with cable connection who don't live in the core of the village because they live coincidentally close to the actual cable in the ground and therefore could profit from this. Or it is possible that relatively more inhabitants of the core of the village filled in the questionnaire that is therefore not representative for the village of Lierderholthuis.⁵⁹ The

⁵⁴ Wezel, van Leen, Resultaten van het onderzoek naar het kijken en waarderen van Heino TV, 7 februari 1987, Heino

⁵⁵ Telewerkcentrum Oost-Nederland, Rapport kijk- en luisteronderzoek RTV Raalte, 2003

⁵⁶ RTV Raalte, Peiling naamsbekendheid en waardering voor RTV Raalte in 2008, Raalte

⁵⁷ OLON (2006), *Bereiksonderzoek; Lokale omroepen in Nederland*, Nijmegen, http://www.olon.nl/publiekdocs2/0110_olon_landelijk_klo_2005_rapport.pdf, 01.02.2010

⁵⁸ Gemeente Raalte,

<http://www.raalte.nl/index.php?simaction=content&mediumid=1&pagid=1278&fontsize=12&stukid=4429>, 20.01.2010

⁵⁹ More about this in chapter four; Methodology

television broadcastings can however be seen on the Internet. Radio is accessible for everybody in the municipality, it can be listened both through cable and in the ether.

In both researches of RTV Raalte (2003 & 2008), the majority (around 95% of the population) knows RTV Raalte. Of my respondents, the largest part also knows the organization even if the number seems a little bit less (4 of 34 indicated not to have heard of RTV Raalte). There are some reasons which could explain this (small) difference. First there is in Lierderholthuis a relatively higher number of inhabitants without cable connection when you compare it to the population in Raalte and Heino. Second, it can be related to the way the question is posed. The literal question was: *Do you know the local broadcasting organization RTV Raalte? Yes / No.*⁶⁰ It is possible that respondents could have understood this question differently by interpreting 'knowing' as 'being familiar with'. In this case, people might have heard the name but they are not familiar with the organization. However, concluding out of interviews, conversations and different questionnaires, it seems that the name RTV Raalte is known by the majority of the population in both Lierderholthuis and the rest of the municipality.

Radio and television rates

It is difficult to say something about the current popularity of local radio in the whole municipality. In 2003 there were 29 of 243 respondents who answered that they listen to Radio Raalte which is around 12% of the whole sample. According to the recent bearing of RTV Raalte (2008), this number augmented but they don't say how much. In my research, there were 28 respondents who never listen of a total number of 32 respondents who answered this question. If you compare this in percentages to the results for the whole municipality, they are almost equal. This means that the number of respondents who listen to radio in the whole municipality is around 12 percent and there doesn't seem to be remarkable differences between the sample in Lierderholthuis and this sample.

Looking closer to the frequency of listening, in the research of RTV Raalte (2003), 15 of 29 listeners tuned in to Raalte less than one hour a week. Of the six respondents in the researcher's questionnaire, only one listened regularly and the other five barely or sometimes. The national average for local radio in 2005 was a 12% public who listened at least once a week.⁶¹ The averages of the samples in both data seem to be lower. In the national numbers, 12% listens once a week. In both data of RTV Raalte and researcher, 12% is about the whole group of listeners. In this group, the biggest part is a rare listener. At least, in Lierderholthuis they seem to be. In the whole range of radio listeners, which does still increase, local radio is in Raalte not very popular.

There is among respondents in Lierderholthuis more interest for television than for radio. This is in accordance with the national trend. According to the OLON, the explanation has to be

⁶⁰ NL: Kent u de lokale omroep RTV Raalte? Ja / Nee

⁶¹ OLON, 2006 : 9

found in the accessibility of the television. Television is a medium used by the major part of the population and therefore local television is the easiest accessible (2006 : 2). At the same time, in Lierderholthuis, local media started with television. This could also explain its popularity. The research of RTV Raalte in 2003 indicates a number of 112 respondents of 244 who watch (sometimes) TV Raalte (46%). This doesn't say anything about the frequency of watching. In my own data, 30 respondents answered the question and 11 don't have cable. 11 people watch barely or sometimes on television which is a bit more than the results of the research of RTV Raalte. Again, as it is for the radio, this difference doesn't say more than that because the frequency of watching wasn't taken into account.

In my sample, I asked the question if people watch if there is an item about Lierderholthuis or if they watch when acquaintances, family or friends are on television. In both cases, the 11 respondents who watch RTV Raalte answered positively on this question too. It seems that people watch mainly when they something is on television they are familiar with. This can be people, an organization or just their village. This is confirmed by both the chairman of RTV Raalte and the former editor in chief.

Conclusions?

The question is what to conclude if you look at these numbers. They don't say anything in relation to rates of other local stations in the Netherlands or in comparison with hours of listening or watching national and world broadcastings. The OLON (2006) only measured that the knowledge of the Dutch population of all existing different radio stations and television channels and the main national and regional channels precedes both local radio and television.⁶² The significance of audience rates is for me interesting because local television wants to play a role for local society. If and how they fulfill this role is one of the main questions in this chapter. In chapter five, I explained the vision and objectives for local television both from a policy point of view and of RTV Raalte itself. I will compare this with the experience in practice. Audience rates are an aspect of this. Local broadcasting participation has all over the Netherlands a relatively low market share compared with other stations; I like to position local media for society and to test how policy works in practice.

There is one important element in the experience of the audience of local radio and television by RTV Raalte. They have often a reaction of indifference. Local radio and television don't seem part of daily, weekly or monthly routines of people. If there is a routine or a habit, it is to follow programming about Lierderholthuis. RTV Raalte is not an element in regular media use for most respondents and most of them didn't have a meaning or they had a negative meaning about the whole organization. The institutionalized local media don't seem to be an important

⁶² OLON, 2006 : 7,11

media station for inhabitants of Lierderholthuis, not only because audience rates are low, but also because they don't identify with media. If you consider functions of media and specifically of local media as described by Robins (1994) and Howley (2005) for example, I don't observe a value for maintaining community or community life of increasing identification with the region or place. There are three reasons that explain this indifference. First is the level where RTV Raalte operates, the municipal level. The feelings about the municipality seem to be mixed with feelings about RTV Raalte. Secondly, people like to see or hear a subject they are familiar with and they want to share their experience with other people. This is a social aspect of local media. This is impossible when a large part of the programs is about subjects they aren't interested in. The third aspect is the quality of the programs of radio and television Raalte and the quality of the picture on the screen. The three aspects will be treated separately in the following paragraph.

6.2.3. *The position of RTV Raalte in Lierderholthuis*

Salland vs. Raalte

Out of conversations I had with people in Lierderholthuis and the results of the questionnaire, it seems that local television is not popular in the village. Even some former fellow workers I interviewed don't watch nor listen (barely) to local radio or television. With popular I refer to watching and listening habits but also to the position of the organization as a valuable element in the local community that is generally accepted and commonly known.⁶³ Westerik concluded that there is no (statistical) significant relation between the use of local media and local participation (2001 : 106). This seems to be the case for the village inhabitants of Lierderholthuis. Of all respondents, eight people (a bit less than a quarter of the total sample) had an opinion about the local radio or television organization. Although there are people who watch sometimes or who listen, the subject of local radio or television doesn't seem present in the life of people. The general reaction when I brought the subject up was indifference. A lot of inhabitants of Lierderholthuis don't seem to have a specific meaning on local radio and television. Although it seems logic that they don't specifically think about functioning, the whole existence of the organization is not part of the mindset of people. Local radio and television, contrary to for example the regional newspaper, is not part of routines, daily, weekly or monthly. Or, as Tim Edensor calls this, *of the quotidian performances that tether people to place* (2006 : 491). If you could speak of a habit, this habit isn't time related but strongly subject related for example when there is an item about Lierderholthuis or when someone they know or they are themselves to be seen on television or speaking for the radio. In our data, there is one exception; one of the respondents regularly listens to the political program on the radio on Saturday morning. This excludes RTV Raalte for many people in Lierderholthuis from being a factor that plays an

⁶³ Definition of 'popular' based on Oxford English Dictionary, http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50184211?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=popular&first=1&max_to_show=10,04.05.2010

important role in participation in the community. In the case of RTV Raalte, the history of the organization seems to play a role.

In general, people try to make the place where they live valuable and agreeable. In Lierderholthuis, the allegiance to the village seems very strong. Being inhabitant of a small village, people feel a duty to participate in social life. In the questionnaire, I asked if respondents thought it was important to join community life.⁶⁴ Except for four respondents, everybody thought it was. The same results came out of a research from Weenink (2009). He states that local social cohesion is part of the identity of the village of Lierderholthuis and that a local 'moral duty' is supported by the inhabitants (2009 : 25). In my questionnaire, almost half of the respondents didn't even explain why participation is important, it is self-evident for them. They answered that just living in Lierderholthuis is an important reason to be involved in community life. In Lierderholthuis this involvement is done by participation in different activities and organizations and in being involved with the school that has a central function in the village.

All respondents, none excluded, answered in the questionnaire that they liked living in Lierderholthuis. In the questionnaire I also asked the question if they were satisfied with the municipality of Raalte.⁶⁵ In general the answers on this question weren't that positive. Ten respondents mentioned that they didn't like or weren't really interested in municipality of Raalte. Positive reactions were mostly about (good) facilities like schools and shops in the municipality. This reaction is common after municipal reorganizations. A research about the subject concludes that the trust in the municipality diminishes after reorganization and that the interest of citizens in municipal politics decreases as well (2008 : 118). Lierderholthuis is situated in between the village of Raalte and the city of Zwolle. The distance is approximately the same. However, in Zwolle lots of companies are situated and therefore lots of employers of inhabitants of Lierderholthuis. Zwolle is also a city with more facilities than Raalte, simply because it's bigger. That's why inhabitants of Lierderholthuis are oriented on Zwolle for many facilities.

In 2001, the municipality of Heino and the municipality of Raalte had to merge. There was a lot of resistance against this administrative reorganization. More than half of the respondents have a negative feeling about it.⁶⁶ The fusion between the two municipalities wasn't seen by the population as a real fusion but more like Heino (and Lierderholthuis and Laag Zuthem) had to join Raalte. This is an understandable feeling because Heino was the smaller municipality with fewer villages than the bigger Raalte and secondly Raalte village became the

⁶⁴ EN: Do you think it is important to be involved in village life? Yes / No; Why? Explain your answer.

NL: Vindt u het belangrijk betrokken te zijn bij het dorpsleven? Ja / Nee; Waarom? Motiveer uw antwoord.

⁶⁵ NL: Woont u met plezier in de gemeente Raalte? Ja / Nee

⁶⁶ 20 respondents of 33 were eight years ago unhappy when the two municipalities merged, 16 are still unhappy. 4 respondents had a positive feeling and the others were did mention not to have an opinion or they didn't care about the subject.

centre of the new municipal organization. That this is still problematical proves a fragment of a poem of the Village Poet of Raalte 2009 (translation by author):

Nine Pearls, with RTV Raalte,
theatre, museums and 'Salland naturally',
so beautiful and so full of splendor, I say certain
can only be one: municipality
RAALTE, the Pearls of Salland
as a nine-unity.

Finally I want to forge, - it will be definitely in gold -
all those beautiful pearls, I'll put them in ninefold
arranged by value, in a beautiful jewel.
And I will ask you solemnly:
"People, never speak again one word of evil about Raalte"⁶⁷

In the minds of inhabitants of Heino, the good and healthy municipality of Heino had to go to Raalte. This negative idea is being reproduced since the reorganization by mutual talking about it. And at the same time poems like this were the negative side in the communication in mentioned, confirm and reproduce negative feelings people have about the municipality of Raalte. In the poem, RTV Raalte is mentioned as an important element of the municipality. "Salland naturally" has two connotations. It refers to Salland as the area where Raalte and the nine villages are situated and at the same time it is the title of a television program of RTV Raalte about natural areas in the municipality.

The very popular Heino Cable Television had to merge to with the radio in Raalte in the same period as the municipal reorganization because it was laid down by law. So resistance against the municipal reorganization seemed to mix with resistance of the two media organizations; both on the organizational as on the audience level. As I explained in the previous chapter, there were a lot of problems in the beginning of the fusion. The image of the new organization was therefore in the beginning really bad, as Johan Seekles, the chairman, explains.

"The image of the organization, as a reliable, meaningful body in a community totally disappeared."⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Benne Solinger 2009 source www.beninbeeld.nl, visit: 20.01.2010, from the poem: *Gemeente Raalte: een negen-eeheid*,

NL:
Negen Parels, met RTV Raalte,
theater, musea en "Salland natuurlijk",
zo mooi en zo vol pracht, ik zeg het geheid
kan er maar één zijn: gemeente
RAALTE, de Sallandse Parels
als negen-eeheid.

Tot slot ga ik smeden, - het wordt vast in goud -
al die prachtige parels, die zet ik in negenvoud
gerangschikt naar waarde, in een kunstig sieraad.
En ik vraag U plechtig:
"Mens spreek toch van Raalte nooit één woord meer kwaad."

⁶⁸ Interview Johan Seekles, chairman, 21.08.2009
NL: "Het imago van de omroep als een betrouwbare, zinvolle organisatie in een gemeenschap viel helemaal weg."

The same process took place for Heino Cable Television. In advance, they were already skeptical about the whole fusion which makes clear the following citation of Gerda Middelkamp, former editor in chief.

“The people in Heino were disappointed that HCT went to Raalte like that because everything good had to go there. You had a surface of 30 km at once and the people here in the village are not that interested in what happens in Nieuw Heten.”⁶⁹

“You can see that everything stayed in Raalte, Raalte is the most important.”⁷⁰

Contrary to the negative feelings towards the municipality is the connection with the region, Salland. Salland is not an official administrative unity anymore but was historically one from the Middle Ages till the beginning of the 19th century. Later it became part of the province of Overijssel but Salland as a region stayed (and stays) important in popular speech. In my questionnaire I asked if the respondents felt a connection with the area of Salland. 28 of 32 respondents felt a connection, 6 respondents even a strong one and only 1 respondent didn't feel a connection with Salland as a region. In interviews too, people referred to living in the area of Salland as an important aspect of living in Lierderholthuis. Even the character of people in the area is linked to this geographical unit, even though there are lots of immigrants in the region.⁷¹ It seems thus that they want to be seen as *Sallanders* or inhabitants of Salland. Rose conceptualizes these processes of identification. Following Rose, you would say that inhabitants of Lierderholthuis identify strongly with Salland but they don't identify with Raalte, and some even identify against Raalte. The question why they don't identify with Raalte is being answered. This is mainly a consequence of the municipal reorganization and the presence of Zwolle nearby. Another question is why exactly they like to be seen as inhabitants of Salland. This is a more complicated question. As Groote (et al.) states, regional identities are contested. In identification processes with Raalte there are interests of inhabitants of Lierderholthuis which play a role. In the municipality of Raalte, Lierderholthuis is a small village and has therefore less power in political decision making (2000 : 3). If there is no reason to specifically identify against Salland, the question occurs is why people like to identify with Salland. Simon explains that several bodies have interests in reproducing regional identities. She mentions for the area of Twente, that there are relatively much socio-cultural characteristics which define the identity of Twente. This could be the same for Salland. A socio-cultural characteristic is for example *noaberschap* ('neighbour duties'), dialect and certain traditions and symbols. All three characteristics; *noaberschap*, dialect and traditions and symbols do exist in Salland in comparable ways. Simon describes the interest of organizations and companies in the reproduction of Salland. This reproduction is does affect

⁶⁹ Interview Gerda Middelkamp, former editor in chief, 26.09.2009

NL: “En de mensen van Heino waren teleurgesteld dat de HKT maar zo naar Raalte ging want alle goeds moest naar Raalte. Je hebt dan een zendgebied van 30 km doorsnee en mensen die hier wonen, interesseert het niet zoveel wat er in Nieuw Heten gebeurt.”

⁷⁰ Interview Agnes Kelderman, former host, 26.09.2009

NL: “Je kunt ook merken dat alles in Raalte is gebleven. Raalte is het allerbelangrijkst.”

⁷¹ One respondent talked about people raised on sand soil (like the people from Salland and people from Twente) who have similar characters.

the experience of individuals of the region where they live. Individuals in turn reproduce in communication the identity of Salland.

Seeing yourself

The indifference towards the organization itself and the phenomenon of local radio and television in the municipality, doesn't implicate that people never watch or listen local television or radio. In the questionnaire respondents indicated that they watch mostly when there is someone they know on radio or television or if an item is about Lierderholthuis. This is also what resulted from the interviews. People like to see themselves and subjects they are familiar with. They don't seem interested in what happens in other villages. This is what a former co-worker of RTV Raalte clearly expresses. She talks in this citation from the perspective of an audience member.

“Never! Never. Very strange, I never watch. When it was still HCT I actually always watched, but also because everything was from this area. Now you have Haarle en Broekland, god, that doesn't mean anything to me. You don't know these people, it just doesn't appeal.”⁷²

Johan Seekles mentions that this was in the time of Heino Cable Television a very important function. According to him, this was one of the most positive aspects of this period. It is not about the reactions on the subject but about seeing each other.⁷³

Watching radio and television is not a community activity but is in general done in the private spheres of home, like other forms of media consumption like reading newspapers. To keep community alive in Lierderholthuis, it is of major importance to share experiences with other people. This is an important aspect of local television and radio; sharing that you've seen or heard each other. As there are some many villages nowadays, this aspect less stronger because a lot of items aren't about subjects or people the audience is familiar with. This way, the importance of sharing the experience is less important and it makes local radio and television less important. RTV Raalte can't rely on these functions anymore.

This way of seeing local radio and television makes of RTV Raalte an event channel. In the questionnaire, all people who answered question 14 about RTV Raalte agreed that this is an important function.⁷⁴ Historically this was the major function. Nowadays, from the perspective of the audience it is still a major function. At the same time it is for RTV Raalte not possible to respond to this interest because it has to be an organization for whole municipality. This

⁷² Interview Agnes Kelderman, former host, 26.09.2009

NL: “Nooit! Nooit. Heel raar ik kijk nooit. En toen het HKT was keek ik eigenlijk altijd. [lacht] Maar ook omdat het allemaal hier gewoon uit de buurt was. Nu heb je uit Haarle en Broekland, god, dat zegt me allemaal niets die mensen ken je ook niet. Dat spreekt gewoon niet.”

⁷³ Interview Johan Seekles, chairmain, 21.08.2009

⁷⁴ EN: An important function of RTV Raalte is broadcasting events in the municipality (e.g. Stöppelhaene, fair). answer: Likert scale

NL: Een belangrijke functie van RTV Raalte is het uitzenden van evenementen in de gemeente (vb. Stöppelhaene, kermis). antwoord: Likertschaal

difference in image and expectations creates dissatisfaction at the public. They don't identify with what happens in other villages, they stay neutral (based on Rose, 2002).

Quality

Another factor which could explain the unpopularity of RTV Raalte is the quality of the programs, both on the technical as on the content level.

RTV Raalte is a small organization in a relatively small municipality. They can't compete in material with regional and national stations. In the beginning of HCT, local television was a new phenomenon. People were interested in the subject and probably they didn't mind that the quality was lower than national television. Regional television didn't even exist, which could also be a reason why people were really interested in television from Heino. Nowadays, images are everywhere and the number of television channels still increases and the quality of local television in comparison with regional and national television is still lower. They are constantly behind. In combination with the two arguments I described in the previous sections this quality aspect could be playing a role.

One of the respondents made a remark about the mediocre quality of the picture. In the data of the RTV Raalte in 2003 and also in the research of HCT in 1987, the quality of the image in the case of television is mentioned by respondents. Another remark was made about the mediocre quality of the programs. The same argumentation applies here. People are used to certain standards in the quality of programs which are made by professionals. In the case of local media, people have less time and less experience. Local media organizations function often as breeding ground for talent which means that they still have to learn a lot.

6.3. Pirate radio

In the second part of chapter five, I explained the motives of the young radio pirates. I subsequently wanted to know if there was public for this kind of radio too. The respondents noticed that contact with the public is one of the major elements of doing this kind of broadcasting. My questionnaire confirmed that there was a public; at least there is a public in Lierderholthuis.

30 respondents answered the question if they liked listening to pirates. 10 agreed on this question and the 20 others disagreed. These answers correspond with answers about listening habits. Almost the same number of respondents (11) thinks that the music pirates broadcast is a good addition to what is regularly broadcasted. Although there were positive answers on the question in every age group, it seems that the public increases when age decreases. Pirate music is more popular for younger people. Pirates themselves are young in general; a large part of their public is young too. Within my results, men appreciate piracy in a more positive way than women.

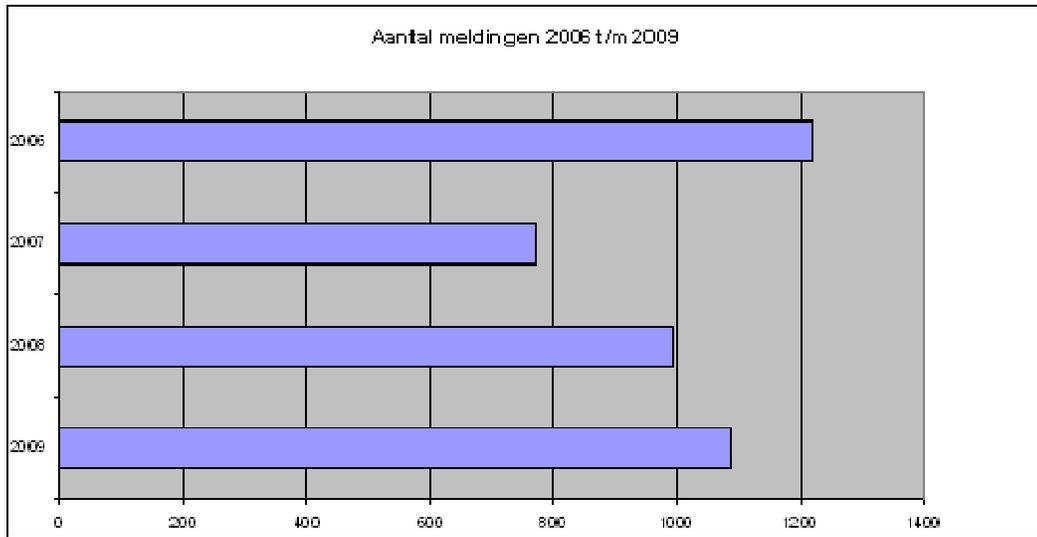
This also corresponds with the characteristics of the pirates themselves who are mainly male and for example the internet discussion were only male participants are taking part.

The most important conclusion concerning piracy in rural areas is the fact that there is a public for this kind of media. I found this public in every age group and this was confirmed by the respondents of the interviews who get reactions (sms / calls) from a very diverse public when it concerns age. As Aldridge states, consuming media makes you part of a community (2005 : 10). I explained in chapter five that participating in broadcasting itself seems to create a community. As a listener, the medium of radio makes you part of this community. It is possible that the easy accessibility of this kind of music (the step between listener and radio maker) makes listening very attractive. The music genre is perhaps the most important motivation for listening to pirates. It is not possible to get access to this music on another way (except for illegal downloading).

Recently, one of the senders of a group in Lierderholthuis was confiscated by the police and the Telecom Agency. This was announced on a news website for the area of Salland. The message resulted in a heavy discussion between opponents and supporters of illegal radio and the importance of illegal radio.⁷⁵ Some do feel bothered by pirates disturbing other radio channels. *The problem is that regularly when you listen to 3FM or whatever, you hear a echo voice who just pushes aside the other channel.*⁷⁶ By the pirates, this is seen as a problem solved with one telephone call to the station. Policy is more useful being busy with picking up the real criminals, so do the pirates say in the forum discussion. According to official numbers, there are a considerable number of reports on interruptions of the FM band. In 2009, there were around 1100 complaints about disturbing pirates.

⁷⁵ <http://www.sallandcentraal.nl/article.php?action=showarticle&id=15463>, 27.01.2010

⁷⁶ <http://www.sallandcentraal.nl/article.php?action=showarticle&id=15463>, 27.01.2010



The number of annual reports from 2006 to 2009.
source: *Agentschap Telecom*

There is a public which strongly supports pirates while there is another which is disturbed by pirates breaking into the ether.

6.4. Conclusion

Although most people in Lierderholthuis are familiar with RTV Raalte, the medium isn't very popular. RTV Raalte operates for the whole municipality. The identity of the municipality is not an identity people like to relate with. A small village has, in the experience of the inhabitants, a difficult position in comparison with other villages. Secondly, in line with the first reason, people are not interested in what happens in other villages. The station doesn't succeed in creating positive identification with other villages besides the home village.

For piracy there is and there always seemed to be a public. This public does ascribe a positive meaning to the music which is broadcasted thereby experiencing positive identification. By for example the music they broadcast and names and language the pirates use, they create regional identities which are both contested and very positively experienced.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSIONS

One of the current key questions posed by scientists nowadays is about the influence on media on the every day life of people. This is at the same a question which is extremely difficult to answer. There is no standard to measure something abstract like 'influence'. By looking at the perception and construction of two forms of media on the local scale, I tried to recover motives for both producing and consuming these forms of media. Thereupon I wanted to know if they play a role in the identification people with the place were they live, especially since the focus in this thesis is on a village, Lierderholthuis, that has inhabitants who identify strongly with their village. According to Weenink, the village of Lierderholthuis has *strong local attachment and community spirit* (2009 : viii). I wondered if the local media play media a role in the reproduction of this local community. The main question is therefore which function local media do fulfil for the local society.

There are two forms of local media produced for and by local inhabitants Lierderholthuis: the officially registered station RTV Raalte and the illegal radio pirates. RTV Raalte exists since the municipal reorganization of Raalte and Heino in 2001 and was a television station since 1986. The tradition of piracy goes back to the years where radio was introduced (30s). The Dutch government historically tried to regulate strongly the presence and use of media. The starting points in this research are the statutory purposes in the Media Law. In this law is described that local media institutions have to fulfil social needs and thereby representing different currents in society (Media Law 2008, art. 2.1.2.). These needs are described by De Goede, Hollander and Van der Linden as a social and political function of local media (1996). The goals itself are translated by the local organization RTV Raalte as *increasing social cohesion and involvement of the citizen with local society* (2003). Westerik noticed in his research that there is no relation between involvement in the local society and consuming local media (2002 : 106), this is for Westerik a striking conclusion. I used this conclusion as a hypothesis for Lierderholthuis.

Westerik does elucidate his conclusion with statistical evidence. I'll argument his statement with qualitative arguments. For RTV Raalte in Lierderholthuis, it seems that the conclusion of Westerik is true. Identification with the local community is important for much inhabitants of Lierderholthuis. RTV Raalte however doesn't seem to play a role for the reproduction of the community. This function was and is effectuated by the public national media from a historical perspective. The purpose of the laws is to make local media function the same way. Although the goals of RTV Raalte are clearly to reinforce social cohesion, and they eventually do fulfil this function for the village of Raalte, in Lierderholthuis there is no real identification with the organization, nor with the programming. Currently the offer of media is large. For a local television and radio organization it is hard to compete with the professional quality of other media and other stations. There also seems to be little interest in identification with the municipality. As a small village, Lierderholthuis has to compete with bigger villages. RTV Raalte

has to be representative and that's something which doesn't appeal to their public. In stead of identification with Raalte, if they have the choice, people seem to identify with Salland rather than on the municipal level. Furthermore, it is especially interesting to watch or to listen to RTV Raalte is there is a subject they, or someone they know, is involved in. The statement of Morley and Robins that local attachment is variable and becomes a more conscious decision (1995 : 41) is shown in the functioning and the popularity of the local radio and television organization.

Besides the official radio and television station, there are many unofficial local radio stations operating on the local scale. The pirates are involved with broadcasting because for them broadcasting is an important hobby. They do share this hobby with lots of others having the same passion in their free time. Although motives always differ personally, there are three main motives to broadcast which give meaning to their activity. First of all, broadcasting is something you do with others and for the listener. It is a social activity. Second they all experience the kick of the illegality. The space they occupy is (illegal) space at the FM band. Thirdly they feel like they are filling an important gap on the Dutch offer of music. As such, they create a community with producers and consumers which like the same kind of music. Characteristics of the village (the name for example), the region or of rural areas for example are used as tools for identification. As a consequence, this form of media creates a strong local orientation.

The recurrent question in this thesis is what kind of identification processes take place by consuming (and producing) these specific forms of media. Both local media organizations have one major difference. RTV Raalte is a top-down organization strongly regulated with a purpose to create local (or regional) identification. Although the policies are clear on these ideas, the pirates seem to function from this perspective in a much more successful way without any policies. Their hobby isn't related to any of these goals; it is for them a part of their daily life. It seems like this difference between the two media is an(other) example were a top-down initiative functions well for those who are involved while the institutionalized media bounded by laws do have more difficulties on both production and consumption site in reaching a public.

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Interviews

Agnes Kelderman, former host of RTV Raalte, 26.09.2009

Gerda Middelkamp, former editor in chief of the television wing of RTV Raalte, 26.09.2009

Hans Kelderman, member of the management of RTV Raalte, 26.09.2009

Henny Veldhof, chairman of the PBO (*Programmabeleid Bepalend Orgaan*), the programming committee, 12.08.2009

Johan Seekles, chairman of RTV Raalte, 21.08.2009

Pirates (6), boys, between 11 and 21 years old, September 2009 / January 2010

APPENDIX

Questionnaire

1. Wat is uw geboortejaar?
2. Wat is uw geslacht? M / V
3. Waar bent u opgegroeid? U mag meerdere antwoorden aankruisen.
 - In Lierderholthuis
 - In Heino
 - Anders, namelijk in
4. Hoe lang woont u al in Lierderholthuis? jaar
5. Wat is uw beroep?
6. Woont u met plezier in Lierderholthuis? Ja/ Nee; Waarom? Motiveer uw antwoord.
7. Woont u met plezier in de gemeente Raalte? Ja/Nee; Waarom? Motiveer uw antwoord.
8. Kent u de lokale omroep RTV Raalte? Ja / Nee
9. In hoeverre gelden de volgende beweringen voor u?
NB: Wanneer u geen toegang hebt tot TV Raalte kunt u de eerste vier beweringen overslaan!
 - 1= nooit
 - 2= nauwelijks
 - 3= soms
 - 4= regelmatig
 - 5= altijd

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Ik kijk naar TV Raalte. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ik kijk naar TV Raalte als er familie, vrienden of bekenden te zien zijn. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ik kijk naar items over Lierderholthuis op TV Raalte. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ik houd de programmering van TV Raalte in de gaten. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ik kijk via Internet naar items van TV Raalte. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ik luister naar radio Raalte. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ik heb vaste programma's die ik beluister op radio Raalte. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ik luister naar Raalte Deze Week op zaterdagochtend (of de herhaling). | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ik bezoek de website van RTV Raalte. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ik luister naar piratenzenders. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ik luister naar zendpiraten als ik ze toevallig tegenkom. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ik weet precies welke geheime zenders wanneer draaien. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ik luister naar radio Oost. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ik kijk naar tv Oost. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ik bezoek de website van RTV Oost. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ik kijk naar programma's van tv Oost via Internet. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

10. Keek u naar de Heinose Kabel Televisie? De Heinose Kabel Televisie is opgericht in 1985 en heeft televisie gemaakt voor de gemeente Heino tot de oprichting van RTV Raalte.

- Ja, regelmatig.
- Soms, afhankelijk van het onderwerp.
- Nooit, maar ik wist wel dat er uitzendingen waren.
- Heinose Kabel Televisie? Nooit van gehoord.
- Deze vraag is niet relevant (bijv. te jong / woonde nog niet in Lierderholthuis).

11. Zijn er vaste programma's die u volgt op RTV Oost? Zo ja, welke?

| |
|--------|
| Radio: |
|--------|

| |
|------------|
| Televisie: |
|------------|

12. Geef aan of u het met de volgende uitspraken eens of oneens bent.

- 1= helemaal mee eens
- 2= mee eens
- 3= weet niet / geen mening
- 4= mee oneens
- 5= helemaal mee oneens

| | | | | | |
|--|----------|---|------------|---|---|
| | mee eens | | mee oneens | | |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| De muziek die zendpiraten draaien is een goede aanvulling op bestaande radiozenders. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Zendpiraten horen bij het platteland. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Ik vind het belangrijk op de hoogte te zijn van het regionale nieuws. | <input type="radio"/> |
| Geschiedenis en folklore van Salland interesseren me erg. | <input type="radio"/> |
| Ik vond het niet leuk dat Heino met de gemeente Raalte moest fuseren in 2001. | <input type="radio"/> |
| Ik ben nu tevreden met de fusie van de gemeente Heino met de gemeente Raalte. | <input type="radio"/> |

13. Beantwoord de volgende beweringen met Ja of Nee.

| | |
|---|----------|
| Voor het regionale nieuws lees ik de krant. | Ja / Nee |
| Voor het regionale nieuws kijk ik op Internet. | Ja / Nee |
| Voor het regionale nieuws lees ik de Heino Koerier. | Ja / Nee |
| Voor het regionale nieuws luister ik naar radio Oost. | Ja / Nee |
| Voor het regionale nieuws kijk ik naar tv Oost. | Ja / Nee |
| Voor het regionale nieuws luister ik naar radio Raalte. | Ja / Nee |
| Voor het regionale nieuws kijk ik naar tv Raalte. | Ja / Nee |

14. Deze vraag kunt u alleen beantwoorden als u naar RTV Raalte kijkt of luistert!
Geef aan of u het met de volgende uitspraken eens of oneens bent.

- 1= helemaal mee eens
2= mee eens
3= weet niet / geen mening
4= mee oneens
5= helemaal mee oneens

| | mee eens | mee oneens | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Het overbrengen van informatie van het gemeentebestuur is een belangrijke functie van RTV Raalte. | <input type="radio"/> |
| Via RTV Raalte krijg ik een goed beeld van wat er gaande is in de politiek van de gemeente Raalte. | <input type="radio"/> |
| Door RTV Raalte leer ik over geschiedenis en folklore in Salland. | <input type="radio"/> |
| Een belangrijke functie van RTV Raalte is het uitzenden van evenementen in de gemeente (vb. Stöppelhaene, kermis). | <input type="radio"/> |
| Door RTV Raalte weet ik beter wat er gaande is in de gemeente. | <input type="radio"/> |
| Ik vind kijken en luisteren naar RTV Raalte leuk. | <input type="radio"/> |
| Ik vind kijken en luisteren naar RTV Raalte nuttig. | <input type="radio"/> |
| Ik zou radio Raalte niet willen missen. | <input type="radio"/> |
| Ik zou tv Raalte niet willen missen. | <input type="radio"/> |
| Ik vind RTV Raalte een goede aanvulling op krant en huis-aan-huisbladen. | <input type="radio"/> |
| Ik vind het jammer dat de Heino Kabel Televisie indertijd naar Raalte is gegaan. | <input type="radio"/> |

15. Bent u geabonneerd op de Stentor? Ja / Nee

16. Is er nog een andere krant (of andere kranten) waarop u geabonneerd bent?

- Ja, namelijk
- Nee

17. Kunt u aangeven welke van de volgende uitspraken voor u het meest waar is?

- Ik voel me niet verbonden met de streek Salland.
- Ik voel me een beetje verbonden met de streek Salland.
- Ik voel me verbonden met de streek Salland.
- Ik voel me ontzettend verbonden met de streek Salland.
- Anders, namelijk.....

18. Bent u lid van één of meerdere verenigingen of clubs in Lierderholthuis?

- Ja, namelijk.....
- Nee

19. Bent u lid van één of meerdere verenigingen of clubs buiten Lierderholthuis, bijvoorbeeld in Heino of Raalte?

- Ja, namelijk.....
- Nee

20. Bent u nog op een andere manier betrokken bij het dorpsleven?

- Ja, namelijk
- Nee

21. Vindt u het belangrijk betrokken te zijn bij het dorpsleven? Ja / Nee; Waarom? Motiveer uw antwoord.

22. Hebt u naar aanleiding van deze enquête nog opmerkingen of wilt u nog wat kwijt over RTV Raalte dan kan dat hieronder.