"Hispano-Lusophone" Community Media: Identity, Cultural Politics and Difference

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the issue of identity has been the subject of an intensive analysis across different fields and disciplines. Indeed, in an era of accelerated social and technological changes under the phenomenon of globalization, with the rapid internationalization and expansion of urban centres across the world, this is of little surprise. According to Lyotard (2006), these sweeping changes have set a crucial moment in a much longer process of displacement, through which dominant narratives, traditions and structures have progressively lost their historic power. As a part of this social reconfiguration, institutions have dematerialized, while beliefs, traditions and cultural practices have gained flexibility through rapid and frequent changes. In such a context, we witness the advent of a new subject, whose identity is no longer fixed, as well as the development of new forms of inequality, as it all converges to modify the contemporary social and political landscape.

In these terms, Arjun Appadurai (1996) uses the expression "global cultural economy" to describe the myriad of cultural meeting points and flows underpinning this new modern, globalized world. As the author explains, "the new global cultural economy has to be seen as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order that cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing centre-periphery models" (Appadurai, 1996:32). Indeed, the ongoing renegotiation and traversal of traditional borders point towards a multiplicity of new, non-monolithic membership forms: collectivities in which the local and the global, as experiential entities, are intimately intertwined (Featherstone & Lash, 2002). With this in mind, we have operationalized the concept of 'multi-territoriality' as a guide for this book. Such an expression, initially proposed by Haesbaert (1994) but further developed by Augé (1995), Albagli and Maciel (2010), refers to the intensification of multiple territorial re-imaginings and repossessions. In this context, displacement does not mean the abandonment of already established territorial references, but rather the addition of new references, which come together to form a complex matrix of feelings of belonging and ownership, towards a multiplicity of places and spaces.

The intense flow of people and information appears pivotal to this panorama. Hence, the proliferation of 'differences' establishes a strategic space for intervention, which goes beyond and onto a broader, non-universalizing understanding of culture. In this process, the differences and experiences are taken into consideration, creating the basic conditions for societies to be transformed and improved.

One of the most notable consequences of these shifts is the current social reconfiguration, with the consequent surfacing of groups that were previously marginalized. Indeed, these groups find themselves now able to capitalize on new flows of information, communication and expertise. Consequently, novel social categories and relations of belonging are forged, extending both within and across national boundaries (Santos & Rodríguez, 2003). Inspired by the idea of 'territory' as a cultural construct, created, contested and transformed in various ways by media technologies (Canclini, 2001; Appadurai, 2001; Haesbaert, 1994), the works collected in this edition span and explore several of the community media projects, parts of a 'space'[1] named the 'Hispano-Lusophone' sphere. By mapping and exploring the creative and intellectual production in the context of the Hispano-Lusophone imaginary, this project consciously endeavours to disarm and overturn certain cultural and raced hierarchies within the global knowledge production. Its authors come from a large array of professional backgrounds: they have worked intensively to overcome the significant linguistic and geographical barriers to intellectual collaboration. In this respect, the authors draw into critical examination the established frontiers of knowledge production, as well as the main agents and processes that create and legitimate those borders.

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[1] The term 'space' referred hereof and throughout this book is not restricted to its primary semantic and geographical meanings.

Media Participation in the Hispano-Lusophone Imaginary

Within this complex landscape, featuring multiple territories and senses of belonging, the last few decades have seen a considerable empowerment of civil society, directly related to the broader availability of new information and communication technologies (ICTs). In fact, these tools not only offer citizens the access to vaster information, but also provide a new set of distribution channels for their creative products and expressions.

For some time, researchers of both the media and the communication fields have analysed the communicational process based on the compartmentalization of its constitutive elements, namely its producers, texts, receptors, moments of production, specificities of circulation or reception/consumption (Escosteguy, 2007). Indeed, classic studies concerning information reception have often reflected an image of the receptor as a passive subject. In fact, contemporary media and technological tools are already able to create an array of possibilities for individual and collective growth and empowerment. In this sense, Martin-Barbero (1993:61) points out that "we witness today the quest for communitarian and libertarian alternatives, able to even reverse the mostly excluding dimension that technological networks represent to minorities, turning them into potential tools for social and personal enrichment". The citizens' desire to produce their own speech, unfiltered and without intermediates, is one of the reasons for the establishment of such alternatives, fomenting the development of the media as a tool to meet the community's most immediate needs and enable certain forms of expression, education and mobilization, previously non-existent (Peruzzo, 2013). In the same lines, Yúdice (2003) describes the media as a potential citizen's resource, both for reflexive practices and self-management, increasing their active role for the transformation of old modalities of communication and the development of new ones.

An especially interesting feature of the Hispano-Lusophone territories is how its democratic basis has become increasingly grounded on a horizontal, more participative and creative dialogue, precisely through the use of a broader range of media technologies. In this respect, the Brazilian scholar Rosenverck Estrela Santos analyses the hip-hop identities in the northeastern state of Brazil, Maranhão, as he highlights the use of the radio as a means to mobilize the population of the peripheries of the state's capital, São Luís, and hence promote social inclusion on these periurban communities (Chapter 10). Indeed, the hip-hop "maranhense" (from Maranhão, in Brazil) occupies an important public space in these communities, reinforcing the idea that the community participation on the radios is as a key ingredient of any pluralistic media ecology. Another example of the social impact of community media is brought by the Chilean scholar Ximena Póo Figueroa. In both contexts, media can be understood not only as a means to communicate, propagate and interact, but also as a battlefield – a 'symbolic arena' – for the struggle to signify the role of citizenship and what it entails, making sense of the world and the ideas not only from a national level, but also and increasingly with a regional and global perspective. Theses examples demonstrate just some of the ways that media technologies have taken a significant role for the democratization of societies, bringing new voices, perspectives and demands to the front. For this reason, Peruzzo (2013:50) discusses the right of communication as an important citizenship right, claiming that "the pursuit of access to the media as [equal to] the right to freedom of expression, both individually and collectively".

In wider terms, such processes arguably point to the birth of a new political-economic regime, in which the consumer role joins the producer role. Indeed, there has been a resurgence of the word 'prosumer' recently, which was first used by the cultural critic Alvin Toffler in 1980, to describe such a convergence of roles (Kotler, 1986; Tapscott & Williams, 2007). Especially in the context of the "creative economy", the new ICTs offer ostensibly new and productive mechanisms for recycling and updating ideas and outputs. 'Creativity', as defined by Howkins (2001), refers to the individual or group capacity to manipulate symbols and meanings to create something new. It is fostered and advanced not just by the new tools themselves, but also by the proximity and influence of formerly distant cultures and constituencies. The access to ICTs has allowed individuals to

disseminate their creations further afield, reaching potentially global constituencies.[2] Howkins (2001) has noted that this movement, which situates consumers as 'co-creators', effectively weakens the market-domination and the control of large organizations and entities. Accordingly, there is a strong basis on which to claim that we witness the emergence and consolidation of a new form of everyday cultural production and distribution, which is democratic in its essence.

This book explores how, on the one hand, collective action stimulates a growth in collective social and political consciousness, while, on the other hand, it provides a constant and growing source of innovation that challenges the economic asymmetries in capitalist societies. The experiences illuminated in the chapters to follow reinforce the premise that social participation is a central element for the formulation of successful and inclusive public policies in the "Hispano-Lusophone" territory.

By extending their analyses through concepts such as protagonism[3] and social entrepreneurship, the chapters' contributors aim to chart paths and mechanisms to build a more open communication ecosystem, mainly based on horizontal communication, allowing all its participants to be producers of meaning (Martins, 2015). The contributions of this book serve to illuminate how imaginaries are created and recreated, as well as how to amplify dissenting and marginalized voices, by exploring the diverse forms through which civil society narrates itself in the Hispano-Lusophone territory, as well as the ways through which it reinvents and reflects upon itself.

The Structure of this Book

The following chapters elucidate the interfaces and nexus points where the media, cultural identities and citizenship collide and converge to create new practices, understandings and ways of being.
The first part of the book, entitled "Hispanophone Cultures and Community Media Activism", includes texts focusing on the array of alternative communication networks that now interact with the traditional communication spaces. The contributions for this section have focused on the revalorization of minorities' identities through new media outlets, analysing how the media and the market interact and shape the prospects to consolidate inclusive and active citizenship.
The analysis begins with "Youth Movements and Identity in Cuba and Angola", written by the linguist and anthropologist Ana Stela Cunha and the historian Patricio Batsikama. In this chapter, they use ethnographic studies from the two countries in question to explore the intersections between culture, religion and entrepreneurship in each context. The authors show, particularly, how the youth from Luanda (Tocoist Church), Libolo and Havana seek out new mechanisms to protest, for identity construction and for inclusion, namely through certain art forms that are themselves submerged into religious practices. In this context, the countries' experiences show how the civil society is constantly faced against the state, hence the civil society organizations urge to become key players. In these terms, the youth poses a new challenge to the traditional categories, as they seek non-traditional forms of organization, using and mixing religion in their activisms.

The second chapter, "Citizen Participation in Popular, Alternative and Community Radio Stations in Maracaibo, Venezuela", the authors Maria Cristina Useche and Wileidys Artigas argue that the democratic participation in Venezuela has been enhanced over the past ten years by the various media projects created by civilians. Based on survey data, the authors assess the impact of the community radio, particularly in the Maracaibo Municipality, finding that other radio stations have

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[2] The so-called free software movement, which has had some notable developments in Brazil, is another important sign that points towards a potential decentralization at the basis of the creative process, enabled by the use of new technologies. Cf. Albagli & Maciel, 2010.
[3] Protagonism is a concept of Greek origin, designating the "main fighter in a tournament". With its use in literature, but mainly in the humanities, the term now refers to "the actors that shape the actions of a social movement" (Martins, 2015). Protagonism is a concept with a relational meaning, as it can only be understood in relation to the different subjects involved in any given occurrence.

assumed limited responsibilities concerning public policy formulation and problem-solving in the community.

In chapter three, "Media and Creative Industries: Legislation and TV Content Production in Brazil", Othon Jambeiro et analyse how the legislation has addressed the content production for television in Brazil. The author explains that creative industries, including the content industry, are subjects to several constraints (legal, social, cultural and economic), which have historically influenced on the conception, production, and commercialization of audio-visual products. Jambeiro et alii focuses on the Brazilian legislation and its constraints, mainly to the audio-visual content, since there are not yet enough studies about the influence of the legal regimes on the matter. To conduct his analysis, the author reviews the legislation and identifies elements that relate directly to the content production for television. Thus, this review starts with an overview of the Brazilian legislation for television, to be divided in three parts: its legal aspects before the 1988 Constitution; its legal aspects after the 1988 Constitution; and its current legal aspects. Indeed, the legislation assumes a new role after the 1988 Constitution: whereas before it fomented censorship, now it aims to foster the content industry, in the hope of creating a strong and diverse market for the television content production.

In the following chapter, "Five Strategies for a New Model of Community Television: A Proposal Taking into Account Colombian Experience", the author Lizandro Angulo Rincón gives an erudite introduction to community television in Colombia. Rincón highlights a total of 753 community television networks across the country, as he investigates how these systems have evolved to promote opportunities, to democratize the electromagnetic space and to build expressive, organizational and management capacities within the local communities that engage with them.

Chapter five sheds a light on "Digital Networks and Student Movement of 2011 in Chile: Strategies of a Generation That Moved the Public Virtual Space to the Street and to the World". This contribution by Ximena Póo Figueroa aims to show how relatively new digital networks – including Facebook, Twitter and others – have extended the scope, the reach and the impact of Chilean student groups' protests, affording them with a greater influence *vis-à-vis* the State and political parties.

The second part of this book, entitled "Lusophone Cultures and Social Media Communities", focuses on the dimensions of audio-visual practices in the urban peripheries of Lusophone territories, as well as the new contributions of community radios. It highlights certain cultural expressions, from kuduro to hip-hop, showing how they have emerged alongside and developed through the production of the new media. The analysis will extend to other cultural products, developed by the dialogue fomented in cross-cultural contexts.

This section begins with "Blogs and Cultural Memory: Case Studies in Brazil, Portugal and Mozambique", in which Rosa Cabecinhas and Lourdes Macedo reflect on the fact that the wide geographic dispersion of the 'Lusophone' space has hindered systematic studies into how this 'imagined community' is defined. Drawing on research undertaken as part of their research project, 'Identity Narratives and Social Memory', the authors examine the (re)making of the 'Lusophone' identity in cyberspace and how blogs specially contribute to the construction of a transnational cultural memory.

The following chapter, written by Rosana Martins, is entitled "Beyond the Walls: Peripheral Narratives and Audio-visual Practices in the Process of Self-Representation". It explores the political dimensions of audio-visual practices developed in Rio de Janeiro's slums and São Paulo's peripheries. Martins seeks to identify the characteristics, discourses and forms of power that sustain the classification of 'peripheral'. The author demonstrates how the creative practices of peripheral groups can help to pluralise the public field for dialogue, creating opportunities to raise civic consciousness and to develop more inclusive public policies.

In Chapter 8, "Proximity and Local Construction: The Local Radio as a Space of Resilience", Luis Bonixe analyses the local radio journalism practices in Portugal. The author argues that local radio has indeed changed the media landscape in Portugal. In fact, by transmitting news and information directly related to the daily life of Portuguese communities, local radios have helped to enhance ties to the locality, feeding a sense of 'belonging'. According to Bonixe, the emergence of local radios in Portugal was motivated by the desire to create a set of mechanisms that could help citizens to participate in the construction of 'the local'. However, the author questions whether this has been achieved, as he points out some of the obstacles to the accomplishment of this goal.

Furthermore, in "Community Radios in Mozambique: General Trends and Regional Differences in Citizens' Participation", the author Luca Bussotti argues that the community radio represents the main instrument for citizen participation in local public life in this Southern African State. Introduced in the mid-1990s by civil society agencies, backed from abroad, community radios were initially intended to transform the model of political life, still heavily conditioned by the 'One Party' mentality inherited from the Samora Machel's Marxist-Leninist Regime. Drawing on the fieldwork undertaken in Mozambique, this chapter attempts to investigate where the community radio has best succeeded in opening democratic space and why it is so. Bussotti finds that a range of social and economic factors are crucial in order to understand how the community radio is *used* by the community. In fact, in the South of the State, citizens have several other ways to manifest their opinions and, therefore, the use the community radio is mainly for entertainment. Nevertheless, in the Central North region (especially in rural areas), the community radio stations have become the only channel for local public life intervention, with a great role in citizen participation and education.

In Chapter 10, Rosenverck Estrela Santos examines the "Freedom Without Borders: Politics, Media and Culture in Maranhão Hip-Hop". 'Freedom Without Borders' is a youth collective from Liberdade, one of São Luís do Maranhão's most violent and marginalized neighbourhoods. The author looks at the means used by this collectivity to express its wishes for social change, such as the hip-hop, as well as the development of its own alternative media channels, namely the community radio station "Liberdade FM".

In "Luanda and Lisbon: Kuduro and Musicking in the Diaspora", Garth Sheridan situates Kuduro as a musical and cultural product with broad social and political implications. Drawing from ethnographic and practice based on research, the author shows how Kuduro has become constitutive and reflective of the national and transnational identities, in and beyond Angola and Portugal. Sheridan notes that the porous borders and multiple means of exchange between Angola and Portugal are central to the development and the ongoing practice of Kuduro. Moreover, as Angolan national identity has been restructured in the post cold war period, Kuduro has become a key outlet for the expression of such a new identity, also for discussing and resolving the present tensions.

In chapter 12, "The Movies that Speak Portuguese: The Concept of National Cinema, Identity and Resistance", Leandro Mendonça highlights that the concept of national cinema should not be mistaken with the (in)existence of a domestic industry of cinema. The author elaborates on the cinema conception of the mode of production, as he also engages in describing the possible spaces for the cinema spoken in Portuguese. The debate promoted by this author includes the theoretic possibility of the existence of such cinematography, with spaces of resistance and possible spaces of cultural transfers.

In chapter 13, "From Collected to Collective: Strategies for Social and Political Participation Through the Use of Alternative Media in Equatorial Guinea", Ana Lúcia Sá underlines the fact that in Equatorial Guinea the media is controlled by the Nguema Regime. Indeed, the television, radio and the scarce existing print media play to guidelines set by the Government, while all major international events that may influence the population are censored. This chapter analyses multiple

media channels, including blogs and radio stations that have served as a platform for the promotion of fundamental rights, including the right of association and expression. The author also considers the appropriation of spaces on the internet as a strategic move by rights' activists, who are barred from making demonstrations in the traditional public space.

In the volume´s final Chapter, "Dynamics of Community Animation in the Construction of Citizenship: Mobilization, Awareness and Involvement of Local Communities in Urok, a Protected Marine Area in Guinea-Bissau", Miguel de Barros et al reflects on the process of creating the AMPC – Urok, a Community Protected Marine Area. Barros highlights that the Bijagó community of Urok has used a form of a theatre to discuss the daily life and politics for a long time. Indeed, the Bijagó people perform dances and chants in order to sensitize, mobilize and question issues related to the community. Barros adds that the recent establishment of a community radio, called "Fala di Urok" ["Urok's Speech"] has further enhanced a participatory governance. Overall, this chapter explores to what extent these media have been employed in the AMPC process.

Altogether, this collection of essays points to the increased dialogue between researchers in the "Hispano-Lusophone" space, mainly concerning to the identity formation and the impact of alternative and citizen media in deepening democratic processes. The book consciously charts multiple disciplines and professions, with the aim of being inclusive and relevant to a broad variety of actors working within and across increasingly porous borders. It is hoped that the essays in this volume will offer a useful set of reference points for theoretical and practical investigations about the development of "Hispanophone" and "Lusophone" imaginaries, helping the understanding of how actions and discourses of civilians can be, at the same time, subversive and participative within existing power structures.

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PART I

"HISPANOPHONE" CULTURES AND COMMUNITY MEDIA ACTIVISM

CHAPTER 1

Youth Movements and Identity in Cuba and Angola

Ana Stela de Almeida Cunha and Patrício Batsikama

The statement that young people are disassociated from a greater interest in political actions is practically a consensus nowadays. However, these youngsters when identified geographically do steer such premise into another direction. Depending on the type of associations, one tends to conclude exactly the opposite way from the above: youngsters in certain places and the according to several contexts are par excellence (or at least in our stereotypical conceptions) politically engaged. There is no matter about what this definition may represent. Using Angolis and Cuba as examples, and combining these spaces with the concept of youth, ultimately lead us to an idealization about activism, social struggles and collective revindication movements.

This chapter will revisit some of these concepts, such as "youth" and "social movements", through ethnographies in Cuba, between the years 2006 to 2014, based on a two-year residency in the country and systematic returns to the island, in addition to the research conducted during one month in Angola (2013), under the project "Libolo" and returns to the field, between the years of 2013 to 2016. The second author is Angolan, therefore all his notes depart from his theoretical knowledge (as a researcher and teacher at local universities) and empirical knowledge.

The main objective of this text is to portray from experiences, the journeys and creativity of a new movement that has emerged in these two contexts, not only as an alternative to a period of economic stagnation, but also as a political and social way of change. In this sense, the concept "social movement" will be used here beyond any sociological definitions.

We are interested to observe how a number of youngsters or youth groups handle and resize the relationship between social/cultural entrepreneurship and political actions. In another words, how the revindication and activism are conceived by this group. In both contexts, affiliation to religious groups, are emphasized as one of the different ways of activism.

This is a punctual, specific work, which reflections are results of ethnographies and therefore allows us to a much closer look at these two realities. Therefore, it is also true that talking about Angola and Cuba, as a whole, would be too broad and unrealistic. Ethnographies, although continuous, are quite specific and are framed within geographical areas both sides of the Atlantic.

The first ethnography regards a group of youngsters from Libolo, Cuanza Sul Province in the heart of Angola. By tracing the groups' artistic activities, even without an activist relation towards statesmen policies, one clearly sees that such activities largely fit the concept of "communication" as defined by Martin-Barbero:

> "Communication involves cultures, subject, actors, and not only devices and structures; being especially production, not reproduction, what requires us to understand the culture as space for practices in which social relationships acquire mass" (1997, p. 56).

This ethnography was taken under the project "Libolo", coordinated by Marcia S. Oliveira (São Paulo University) and Carlos Figueiredo (Macau University).

A second Angolan ethnography was observed in the city of Luanda and portrays firstly the journey of a young kuduriste, Lil Pasta. As musical performer, he is known as "the Priest of Kuduru" as his first forays on television and at the same time we conducted field research in the local radio and the youngers of the tocoist church ("Igreja de Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo no Mundo"). We especially observed the youth group of such church and its acting both on the local radio as well as in the choruses and inner groups of the church.

In Cuba, ethnographies are geared towards youth groups that produce "reggaeton" but could also (and especially) be defined as religious groups. These are youngsters that belong to African-Cuban religions that mobilize and act in distinct ways according to the social movement.

The relationship between religiosity and social movements in Cuba has been partially explored (i.e. Pérez, 1992; Hearn, 2008) but our intention in this case seems to discover such relationship using ethnography through a dialogue with cultural studies, discussing identities and agency.

This chapter begins with the description of the subjects and their surroundings. Successively, we describe the relationship between academic productions / criticism in regard to youth movements in countries/peripheral sites as observed. As a result, the concept of periphery or the place of production will be discussed. We recognize that, this is not a new discussion within the realm of Cultural Studies (Spivak, 2007; Young, 1995; Bhabha, 1998).[1] I will also try to clarify what "iberolusophony" means, beyond geographical categorizations and its delimitations, through the justification of a theory strictly related to former colonies (especially those of English language and later on, the Lusophone/Iberian ones) towards an approach of broader scope: postcolonial studies reinserted into discussions of national identity, representation, ethnicity, differences and the subalternity in the center of cultural history in the contemporary world. Therefore, we will deal with the relevance of treating two spaces that have close relations since their independence wars: Angola, with its regular and almost continuous presence of Cubans; and later, the presence of Angolans in Cuban schools and universities (especially in the Latin American School of Medicine).

Even if an augmentation of social movements has been observed for three or perhaps four decades in the global South, the literature in this field still concentrates on the analysis of the movements towards North (or West), which has invariably led to analysis derived from those experiences. As such, there is a need for new understandings of ways and the reasons why, communities are mobilized in peripheral axes (Spivak, 2005).

This article focuses also on the ways and on the diversity of mobilization strategies used in the South; in these two spaces specifically (Angola and Cuba countries), as comparative camps of research. We underline also the ways that these movements do not support conventional understandings of interaction between society and State.

The notion of space, territory and borders adopted here will be discussed, then how, in these areas, such movements take place. Further on, our discussion will deal with the agents of these actions. The very concept of youth in these spaces is also debated, bringing out data from ethnographies that support consistent and important findings on the subject (Howana, 2012, among others).

The chapter is concluded with a reflection on the collected data, the actions observed in the mentioned contexts and the eclectic relationship that has served as notes to some theorists such as Amin (1976, 1993) Kothari (1993, 2005) and Mamdani, Mkandawire and Wamba dia Wamba (1993). These notes, guided by a Marxist theory of base (albeit irrelevant for this particular article) serve as evidence to underline the importance of social movements on the transformation of the State, by proposing new ways to think and act.

According to these perspectives, the structural effects of a global neo-liberalism, with emphasis on markets and the transmission of modern technology, seem to be key to the understanding of the

reasons why a social unified resistance has not taken place in States labeled as Third, or even, the so-called Fourth World. Nevertheless, and perhaps paradoxically, in the past decade the role of popular mobilization and social movements has been increasingly seen as central to pressure States and global organizations to reconfigure the socio-economic order, within national boundaries and beyond.

1. Boundaries beyond geography: new world frontiers and borders

At the beginning of this text, the reflection about youth, the "Iberic/Lusophone world" and youth movements from the perspective of ethnographies and the perspective of Cultural Studies is proposed in an already crystallized way. That is to say that we intend to use its very own methodology of anthropology as a way to better understand certain phenomena which hitherto have had a greater reflection by the Cultural Studies.

One of our proposals was re-thinking boundaries and their consequently identities. What "young" means for Angolan people? What it is "to be young" in Cuba? What expectations do we have in relation to these concepts? In case that, inside and outside do not exist anymore in the current world, as postulated by Cultural Studies, where would periphery be located, then?

We intend to discuss some of the mechanisms of this operation which were conventionally called "peripheral culture" going, therefore, against the tenets of the most classical anthropology or traditional historiography; postcolonial theories and peripheral Cultural Studies that could represent the periphery. Moreover, these mechanisms could be periphery and a way to express themselves (or subalterns) since post-colonialism contests this conception of representation, being therefore the underling's own voice, the voice at stake here.

But with margins defined from the center, that is, from values that are the "we" (or framed as such) as opposed to "them" (the excluded ones), citizenship of *established rights*, legitimately regarded as stable and consensual, becomes natural. A citizenship of new *conquered rights* is even justified by circumstances or changing needs. Here we think that a fresh, participatory citizenship can be considered and spoken of. Thus, concepts of *spatiality* and *territoriality* are in constant dialogue with the relations of power and capacities of inclusion and exclusion.

> "Cities are spatialized agglomerations built around an instrumental availability of social power. They are control centers designed to protect and dominate, bringing into play subtle geography limits and constraints" (Soja, 1989, p. 13).

And it is in the city, the space where, as a general rule, the movements that we will discuss here will bloom. In the city, a submission of public spaces is verified. In the city, citizenship should be fostered. Henry Lefevbre presented some rhetorical contributions to this matter (2007, p.32). Young people discover often, within the space of regulation of cities, an opportunity of production of other expressions, for example, the performative expression. Considering the city as predetermined space, structured into streets, sidewalks and with delimiters that frame appropriations; these spaces can, should, and actually are increasingly subverted.

And how one can appropriate a space that is regulated by governments, eventually even dictatorial ones that block all sorts of movements?

Deleuze and Guattari (1994, p. 487) call these striated, grooved, cracked spaces and show us that certain groups make use of these cracks, utilizing them much more than the projection of an intellectual representation. It is a production made of movements, gestures, complicities. The same can be thought of citizenship, a concept / action that can never be claimed, when access to

autonomy is prohibited. So, how do young People from Angola and Cuba exercise this autonomy? How small actions mobilize and build up citizens?

How restrictive spaces (not only public spaces but also private ones, such as the backyards of Angola or the houses and internal spaces in Cuba) meet functions of sociability? How does social marginality find space in these "cracks", proposed by Delueze and Guattari? The answer might come from Homi Bhabha:

> "There is an ever-growing conviction that the affective experience of social marginality - as it emerges in non-canonic cultural forms - transforms our critical strategies. It forces us to face the concept of culture outwardly to art objects or beyond the canonization of the "idea" of aesthetics, to deal with culture as an irregular and incomplete production of meaning and value, often composed of incommensurable demands and practices, developed in the act of social survival" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 240).

From this observation, i.e. the manipulation of concepts such as culture, one understands how fertile these spaces are.

1.1 The silent revolution: daily movements and entrepreneurial activities in this new "space"

Although some authors systematically indicate that forms of non-violent political protest in Africa do not conform to the dominant Western standards that inspired much of the theories dealing with social movements (Wignaraja, 1993; Thompson & Tapscott, 2010; Bayat, 2010), we believe that Social Sciences as a whole, should pay more attention to "word" of the silences of the daily struggles of young people outside formal political channels. Oliver et al (2003, p. 18) point out:

> "There is a need for a mainstream theory that continues to address the geographically and substantively broader empirical base; breaking out of the preoccupation with Anglo-America and Europe and, become truly global in its orientation. This broader base will open new empirical problems that will point to weaknesses in the current theory and lead to the development of new theories."

The social mobilization is, in many respects aimed at achieving substantive citizenship, which yields material gains. However, this is not a suggestion that the body of the social movement theory is irrelevant to experiences in the South, but rather that the initial points for an analysis of the factors which give rise to such collective action and social movements in the South are significantly different, as pointed out by Snow et al (2007):

> "It is important to note that much of the literature on Africa has paid little or no attention to the general debates and theories about social movements, understood as collective groups, acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside institutional channels to challenge or defend existing authority" (Snow et al, 2007, p. 11).

In recent years, young people have passed this subtle penetration of public space, clearly and more openly imposing themselves into the national political scene, questioning and demanding a better future. The youth space in Cuba and Africa, Angola in this case, are still conditioned to factors which effects continue to affect their experiences in the construction of an identity.

With the end of the civil war (1975-2002), Angola experienced a phase of physical and also social reconstruction: The State focused its actions on constructions of new buildings and new cities [so-

called *centralidades*]. Cuba was no different, despite not having lived a civil war. Since the Revolution in 1959, Cuba has gone through recognized times of hardship (not only material, but rather regarding flow and information exchange) and through the so-called "Special Period" (an abrupt economic downturn due to the Soviet collapse and the embargo of relations with North Americans). This has caused an entire generation to grow up under a serious lack of both physical alternatives and informational transparency. For decades the youth in these two contexts, was regarded as dormant.

Studies on youth were dominated by paradigms reflecting on how ideologically this group was represented (without agents, without autonomy) underwent a transformation and the new thinking became a product of different realities, thanks largely to an increasing exposure of television and internet, an open window to the world, that can be accessed by anyone (Postman, 1983).

This *media* exposure, both in Angola and in Cuba, added to the progressive access (albeit restricted, given the specificities of each country, due to most different reasons) to new technologies, gave the youngsters a power they have never had or ever enjoyed before.

Although many youth groups might not, nor wish to live with the prevailing standards of society (Honneth, 1997), it should be noted that conformism is something that scares as much as the possibility of being constricted to "behavioral patterns". Youngsters deny being puppets manipulated by steel wires that translate into youth policy that only intend to "frame" the group. In that way, the fight against "repressions and limitations" flows through the cracks of the system in the form of cultural activities. We will see how it happens in Angola and in Cuba.

2. "Youth" in these spaces: contemporary Angola and timeless Cuba

The concept of youth, widely discussed in sociology (Bourdieu, 1983; Country 1990, 1991, 1996; Giddens, 2001) has, as pointed out by Parents (1990), known two streams: the first, most obvious, is the generational chain, which tries to unite the concept of "youth" to a biological age. The other line of thought, called "classist", ties youth to the reproduction of social classes. In anthropology, however, the concept permeates other issues and has acquired a critical and theoretical increasingly consistent body (Evers, Notermans & Ommering, 2014; Argenti, 2007 Bordonaro, 2011; De Boeck & Honwana, 2005). This period is called "waithood" (Honwana, 2013) and "represents an extended standby period between childhood and adulthood." Thus, "the concept of waithood, or "age of waiting", precisely encodes this extended period of suspension in which the access of young people to adult social life is delayed or denied." (Honwana, 2013, p. 401). Although the term was initially used by Singerman (2007), we will use here the concept proposed by Honwana, since Honwana adopts an aggregated end to agenticity, as verified in our ethnographies that, unlike Singerman, denotes a great passivity on the part of young people.

If before the concept dealt with insignificant subjects without agenticity, a movement with the need on the part of anthropologists considers the presence of the youth and its relationship with cultural production, parental relationships, the medium itself and the environment, has been increasingly observed particularly in Africa, where the *waithood* age constitutes as a long process of negotiation of personal identity and financial independence. Such movement also represents the contradictions of a modernity in which young people's expectations are simultaneously amplified by access to new information technologies and communications. These link them to the world and global culture that are constrained by limited prospects and reduced opportunities within the societies they live.

The concepts of children and youth are defined within relational, cultural and local contexts in which age range and characteristics of whom is to be considered children and youth vary. The population in Angola is quite young, similarly to most parts of Africa that has gone through wars.

In 2003, 85 percent of the population had less than 40 years of age [INE, 2003: 28]. According to data provided by the Wellness Survey Population [INE, 2009: 2], the average age of the Angolan population in 2009, was 15 years of age. As we read these data, the Angolan young population seems to strength the production (economic space) and, in the social terms, that population symbolizes the space of dialogue between World culture and local urgencies (crises). That is why, come up an innovative and entrepreneurial workforce. On the other hand, a young population also brings a certain weakness imposed on productivity, precisely because of its age and lack of experience. The longtime of war is pointed as the cause, as well as the oligarchy verified in Angola after-war: that's why Angola young people begun their interminable *manifestações*, representing the social space of the unhappy Angolan citizens (Batsîkama, 2016, pp. 484-488).

In different African countries, the State's capacity to manage, regulate and monitor local economy is weak. In such circumstances, could a more interventionist State be indeed the agent that would release Africa's youth from an interminable waithood?

The counterpoint to this static (or almost disabling) situation, would be, in operational terms, Cuba: a country that now occupies the 2nd position between Latin America and the Caribbean in the UN HDI data (source: ECLAC - CEPALSTAT Statistics of Latin America and the Caribbean). This data, however, needs to be carefully assessed.

As we know, this chapter focuses on youth movements and therefore on the possibilities of expressions in specific locations. Even with a high HDI for the local reality, the absence of freedom that allows for concrete actions ultimately stifles the country, prompting all the data and figures in this text to matter only as a basis for analyzing the deeper issues involving cultural production and social engagement.

The absence and/or inefficiency of the State in some important areas, both in Angola and Cuba, through public policies that support youth (or the lack there of) ultimately enhances cultural strategies that exist especially through "backyard gatherings" (which in the case of Cuba is reflected by a "religious" conviviality with drums; initiations through music and dance; acting; or any way to intervene that evokes everyday difficulties, reverberating common voices, such as the difficulties of access to a formal labor market or the development of coping strategies linked to the informal labor sector. Angola falls into a similar case. The backyard that receives a *kudurista* and their dance events is the same one that receives the Pentecostal or Christian church that offers many opportunities to young people to express themselves through choirs, bands, theater groups, so forth and so on. This experience is well-known by Tocoist Church: in 1943-1950, the Choir of Kibokolo expressed the emancipation of the African People from the Colonization policy, and in 1975-1983, the INSJCM – Tocoistas voiced against the policy of Marxism-Leninism of MPLA. In front of difficulties, young Tocoists used their *minkunga* (hymns) and *nkembo* (gospel music) to call out for the well-being, after wars.

After wars and dislocations, youth finds itself with an interesting diversity in Angola. In this structure, we encounter socially divided youngsters "on the basis of their interests, their social backgrounds, their perspectives and aspirations" (Parents 1996, p. 26).

For example, a portion of the youngsters completed the military service, a portion took refuge in urban centers in search of safety, and another set of the youth left the country in the quest for better conditions. Christine Méssiant construct the theory on oilcracy (Méssiant, 2009) where the majority of youth are sacrificed. Hodges called this "effect Angola petro-diamond" (Hodges, 2001), *en détriment* of the social growth. In Cuba, even with the absence of a war context (or diamond, oil), the reality is similar.

The youth that experienced a mandatory military service, now mostly demobilized (many of which becoming disabled in the process), are facing rude difficulties to access employment due to the lack

of skills, therefore completely inapt to fulfill any demands of a particular job. These boys and girls survive mainly working informally, acting nevertheless in creative and engaging ways, including social movements that may or may not sustain them economically.

This youth has developed its own action spaces by creating new forms and patterns of living on the margins of structures, attempting to subvert authority and the legal apparatus created by the State. These spaces stimulate creativity; promote opportunities for a focused search of a life style; and, incite a way of staying true to the self. This process is facilitated by social networks like YouTube, Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, as well.

Young people that have taken refuge in urban centers (the dislocated ones), for example in Havana, have the possibility to be part of cultural, economic and political movements that exist besides informality, as their only possible working alternative/access to education is conditioned not only by the constant migratory flows, but also by the lack of a familial support structure. Musical production turned out to be, in these contexts, a form of entertainment and at the same time an enterprise.

3. From kuduro to reggaeton: Atlantic exchanges and youth agentivities

Guided by an ethnography conducted over thirty days in the city of Libolo, Cuanza Sul, Angola, during the month of August 2013 and followed by a field survey in 2015, we tried to understand the broader social context beyond the internal relations of the groups. Methodologically, this implies additional field information with data related to other social orders, seeking interpretations and explanations based on external elements to the particular situation (Rockwell; Ezpeleta, 1989).

The theater group "Njila Yeto" (formerly "Fosfania"), founded in March 2009 in the Calulo village, Province of Cuanza Sul, had as protagonists seven actors who, under the "leadership" of Adilson Sobral Ngola, student of the Catholic School of Libolo, initiated a movement that would transform the local community, opening new perspectives for what we discuss in this chapter: youth, entrepreneurship and the use of new technologies in secularly demarcated spaces.

At first, meetings and acting classes took place on the premises of the Catholic Church, the so-called "recreational afternoons", whose topics were mainly of political character. As an important factor in this movement, it is important to emphasize the role of the church (Catholic, in the Angolan case) in such processes; given that in Cuba, as we shall see, this journey will be through black African-based religions such as Santeria, Palo Monte and even cross Spiritism (i.e. Espírito Santo, 2014; Cunha, 2013; among others).

In 2010, with the presence of the educator Antonio Kituxi, the group's history changed course and had its first major exhibition: the work entitled "Precipitated Love." In the following years, "Schizophrenic Father," "Original Sin" and other works written by this group of young people were performed, contributing to make this, the best theatre group of the municipality of Libolo.

The acting troupe meets weekly at the municipal library for dance rehearsals and performances. They have also already directed a feature-length fiction, with the Angolan civil war as backdrop. The group is responsible for identifying and training new actors, designing and sewing costumes, producing sound effects, capturing and editing images and sound. The group also produces music videos with local kuduristas.

The Catholic Church, where those initial tests of theater and film were performed, also has a local radio station with a number of shows hosted by students. During our stay in Libolo (as a member of the Libolo Project, coordinated by a multidisciplinary team working in Linguistics, History, Anthropology and Geography) we had the opportunity to teach a video workshop with members

of the group Njila Yeto ("Our Way" in Quimbundo). A little ethnography was organized with students of the 3rd year of the local high school, tasking the students with the technical jobs and creative ones, as the development of scripts, editing, etc.

The degree of involvement of the high school students made me reflect on the phrase that begins this text: the expectation we have for certain youth groups, when placed in certain areas. We expected, yes, that young Angolans, who experienced hard years of war with memories still very much alive through bullet-perforated walls in the classrooms and throughout the city, would be boiling with political activism in the most canonical molds.

Not that this expectation hasn't been fulfilled, once the activism as described, is indeed present; but in the face of articulated cultural movements, we found much more than what we expected. In this sense, the concept of periphery is no longer central and the thought of youth as a time of life that primarily translates into curiosity and experimentation seems to be an interesting way of thinking about it, especially where repression is present. In Angola, with the father of Huambo and the mother of Benguela, Lil Pasta, known as "The Priest of Kuduro" is an example of personal movement soaring through these cracks of repression. Lil Pasta presents today a program called "Live Kuduru" in addition to programs on the community TV in Angola, having previously hosted the "Zap Kuduro" in the "Zap Live" channel. Pasta tells us:

> "I am a Christian, Adventist of the 7th Day. I always liked to sing. I sang Christian songs under the influence of my mother. She was a chorister in the church. I started with kuduro in 2003 by influence of friends "Uncle Zurpy ","Big Silver" and "Gabloy". Together, we formed the kuduro group "The Bath Takers". In 2008 we parted ways. I began singing with Paziloy and together we formed "The Unstoppables". Today I am the host of the show " Live Kuduro" and I am a member of the group "The madmen from Viana". We are a trio: Tchubilla, Geniloy and I. I have been through many difficulties. We left Viana to record music. Viana had few quality producers. God opened the doors for me in 2012, when I met a lady called Joana Lousada. We produced things together and she got me to host the "Zap Kuduro" program."

In this journey full of cracks and gaps within a world of repression and spaces of little opportunity, Lil Pasta, as well as the group Yetu Nzila and others, who will be mentioned later, have in common with fellow Cubans the presence of the church (of any denomination).

Uncertainty in the future coupled with such speedy transformation in the current society lead to an urgent need for discussions and an in-depth reflection on the behavior and attitudes of these young people, independently if they are Angolans, Cubans or youngsters from any other peripheral space; as well as the understanding of identities and relationships that have been built within these juvenile experiences.

Authors such as Stuart Hall (1997, 2003, 2002), Paul Gilroy (2001), Hebdige (1979), Canclini (2005) and Jesús Martin-Barbero (1993) portray our current times as a state of transformation in human society, with technological advances but also with antagonisms and inequalities.

Political participation (used here in a broad sense and not restricted to institutions) turns out to be crucial in the process of rediscovery of corporate practices in these countries.[1] Through politics, those left outside may be included in the democratic process; working in the communities they are inserted. Democracy is then "a project of social inclusion and cultural innovation attempting to institute a new democratic sovereignty" (Santos & Avritzer, 2003). As pointed out by Appadurai (2004), commodities, as social elements, can cause people from different cultural backgrounds to relate. Moreover, the contexts in which commodities are appropriated are part of a diverse set of

social arenas and cultural goods. Therefore, Angolan youngsters consume reggaetton produced by Cubans across the Atlantic Ocean. What unites them are these "cultural goods", mentioned by Appadurai (*op. cit.*). Other trips to the interior of Libolo introduced us to other groups who also produce and consume music. Mbanza the Munenga, for example, was initially very shy with our presence.

One of the members of the group was listening in his cell phone to a song that was immediately identified as the same reggaetton we heard so many times while riding in Cuba the *almendrón* (typical car of the 60's that populate the island).

I approached those boys and asked them about the music they were listening to. The youngsters replied that it was from Cuba, brought in by Cuban doctors. My Brazilian Portuguese accent made them laugh as it was the same one they hear while watching Brazilian actresses in Brazilian soap operas broadcasted by the local cable TV. The boys were asked whether they liked that particular type of music and whether the song sounded familiar. They replied affirmatively, in fact, they said that Cuban music "originated" from Congo and Angola.

In ethnomethodology, reflexivity expects that descriptions do not simply describe the thing but, above all, the production of something. They do not merely represent reality; they help creating it (Coulter, 1990). When, for example, ethnomethodologists enhance the reflective nature of a discourse, dualism that opposes the description of the described reality is called into question. Reflexibility implies that any description is a reference to something, but at the same time, part of that same thing. These are social actions and reflexivity was more than ever present in that particular moment.

During my field research in Cuba, the youngsters I met not only produce but also consume different types of music. Reggaetton is the preferred genre for the people who frequent "holy" gatherings. Many create incredible apparatuses for the production of this particular type of music that possess at its core the electronic element.

Albeit very stigmatized, the "reguetoneers" are basically known for the futility of their lyrics, even if this pre-concept has changed a lot lately due to the number of new music genres. Nowadays many santeros, babalawos and paleros not only consume but also produce this genre of music. These groups have in common a social state of atavism originated from the Cuban political reality. The ability to manipulate technology through music is by itself an interesting movement of articulation that involves the religious universe. As much as in Angola, church and religion act in Cuba as articulators of a cultural / social movement that transcends politics in the strict sense. I bring here the ethnography of a small group of young people, consisting of five members, all holy children of the same "padrino" in Lawton. Their names will remain undisclosed, as they fear retaliation at work (some do actually have a job) or punishment within the Party in Cuba.

When the title for this subchapter was conceived, we thought about the possible dialogue between the modernity of the contemporary Angola, and the timelessness of today's Havana. We therefore intend to start a dialogue between ethnographies, based on the binomial tradition/modernity and beyond: how the new information technologies have revolutionized the forms of political and social articulation in this environment. Much less clear than the movements produced by rappers, reguetoneers (Hernandez, 2009) have achieved a popularity that resizes their actions.

As pointed out by Baker (2009), who explores "the challenge of reggaeton's popularity as a dance and musical style in Havana to Cuban cultural and intellectual traditions", this challenge is particularly palatable in the contrast that Cuban officials and intellectuals make between Cuban rap and reggaeton, the former having gain recognition and support by government and its engagement with social and political issues in line with the nation's socialist ideals.

Thus, these movements that act peripherally and not always consciously are reaching an audience that does not necessarily seek radical changes but, through small actions transform their surroundings.

Cubans of this ethnography are youngsters with ages ranging between 16 and 27 years old and are unemployed or have unstable jobs. Some still live with their parents and are into musical productions as way to earn extra money, besides the pleasure to act socially. It is important to notice that, both in Cuba and in Angola, the search for fame, in its various dimensions, is a constant. These young Cubans record, mix and edit in older computers brought in by relatives and friends of the "yuma" (outside). Despite the "embargo", these youngsters have access to all that is new in both American and European music world, in the same way they have access to American channels, TV series, filmography and musical clips. Caribbean and Atlantic exchanges have been intense, though.

Musical creation usually materializes with actions and events that somehow seek to transform the local scene. Libolo's video, theater and dance workshops have created an environment that carries the reflections on youth. Reflections on what is to be young and Angolan, in the current context. Social networks and exchange of experiences, as well as religiosity, were fundamental for this articulation between cultural production and critical reflection on the role they play within the environment where they live. Cuba falls into the same case. Despite the difficulty in maintaining external relations via social networks, exchanges still occur, but in different ways. There is an information market that is constantly fed by the Caribbean / Atlantic connections.

Conclusion

Throughout the and based on ethnographies in Cuba and Angola we tried to present some movements that are anchored in cultural production and often are initially unrelated to political issues in institutional terms. The scope of these actions ends up being much larger and more effective than some institutional actions.

The main vehicle of this production, and probably even the environment that encourages this creativity, is religion in its most distinct manifestations: in Angola, Catholic and Pentecostal churches; in Cuba, the religions of black-African origin.

Especially for the youth, cracks in socially suffocating environments, are critical to promote a kind of social movement that we are not used to see. These are actions that are usually associated with fun and entertainment but have also an important role in the articulations among a stigmatized, repressed youth. This overview helps to understand how people's actions and speeches can at the same time be subversive and participate in existing structures of power.

Bringing these ethnographies, we tried to "understand how people's actions and discourses can at the same time be subversive and participate in existing power structures" (Blanes & Chloé, 2016).

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CHAPTER 2

Citizen Participation in Popular, Alternative and Community Radio Stations in Maracaibo, Venezuela

Maria Cristina Useche and Wileidys Artigas

The Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela (*Asamblea Nacional Constituyente*, National Constituent Assembly, 1999), promotes the impulse to participate in exercising freedom of expression in order to create awareness and construct a plural, diverse and democratic society. The Organic Law for Popular Power, in its Article 259, expresses that:

> "[...] [regarding] the means for participation [...] citizens will be able, in an individual or collective manner, to manifest their approval, rejection, observations, proposals, initiatives, complaints, denunciations and in general, express their will regarding matters of collective interest" (National Constituent Assembly, 2005:70).

Using the aforementioned legal support as a basis, community radios in Venezuela have carried out communal participation actions through updates and changes in their programming, the design of guidelines, information about occurrences and events that originated in the community, presenting relevant complaints as well as support. Likewise, the radio stations shape the community, fostering values of solidarity, fraternity and friendship, among others.

The position expressed in this article reiterates the concept of community radios set forth by Useche and Artigas, who visualise them as:

> "[...] communicational instruments that facilitate the dissemination of community happenings, opinion about diverse moments and situations that affect the regional and national future, as well as the contrasting of ideas within a framework of respect and democracy. Likewise, they are media that support traditional and popular revindications, that is, the idiosyncrasy of communities [...] fomenting values, promoting access to plural communicational spaces that are in a state of permanent change" (2011, p. 3).

Popular, alternative and community radios (PAC) have had a differentiated development in Venezuela. They are media for protest and the expression of the people, in contrast to the goals of commercial radio. They combine native elements of popularity and local, regional and national community.

For the *Asociacion Latinoamericana de Escuelas Radiofonicas* (Latin American Association of Radio Schools or ALER), the popular character of these radios is enhanced by laying claim to a large audience, promoting protagonism and achieving identification with the popular sectors as well as contributing to the strengthening of cultural, productive, social and political practices (ALER, 2001). To describe them as 'alternative' is to make a reference to the consolidation of a radio project that guarantees access to the spoken word for all' that takes into account the priorities and needs of the communities, representing the cultural diversity of the interior without omitting the promotion of necessary social changes.

The community character of radio centers on its contribution to development through democracy, its role in defending human rights and cultural diversity in different areas: local, regional and national. By correlating these three aspects, it can be affirmed that the popular, alternative and community character of these radios guarantees that the community has access to information; it addresses the needs and interests of each community and strengthens the indigenous cultural diversity in each area.

Since the configuration of popular, alternative and community radios, the revolutionary government in Venezuela has given them legal, political and governmental support through the creation of the Regulation for Open Community Sound and Televised Non-Profit Radio Broadcasting for Public Service (Chavez, 2002), as well as a set of laws that complement the actions of community radios and the communities. Among these laws, the following can be mentioned: the Organic Law for Communal Councils (Asamblea Nacional de la Republica Bolivariana de Venezuela, 2009); the Organic Law for Social Accounting and Audit (Asamblea Nacional de la Republica Bolivariana de Venezuela, 2010a); the Organic Law for Public and Popular Planning (Asamblea Nacional de la Republica Bolivariana de Venezuela 2010b) and the Organic Law for Popular Power (Asamblea Nacional de la Republica Bolivariana de Venezuela, 2010c), among others. Likewise, in the National Simon Bolivar Project (Presidencia de la Republica Bolivariana de Venezuela, 2007), policies for community development and the protagonist participation of the people are established through these communicational tools, assisting in the installation, operation and generation of audiovisual or radio content according to the realities of the communities.

Conceptualization of the PAC radios falls under the aegis of democratic humanism. This corresponds to the endogenous development perspective, since, according to Boisier (2005), the efforts made by social subjects to interpret and understand the reality that surrounds them are intended to introduce forms of social regulation in the local environment in order to transform the social system. Therefore, the adaptation levels of individuals to their environment and time are highly relevant to generating new spaces for co-existence and constructing their own mode of sustainable life.

From this perspective, participative democracy is the mechanism to promote citizen participation for all members of the community. It assists in the exercise of autonomy and the practice of freedom for individuals. These individuals recognize their political sovereignty, plurality, the comparison of ideas, respect, popular re-vindications, values and access to communicational spaces, among others, for creating spaces that are socially just and humanistic.

The intention of participative democracy is to bestow on communities the power to decide their own destiny. It also confers opportunities for expression on social subjects whose opinions, desires and aspirations have not transcended to regional or national political spheres or have not received sufficient attention from the traditional mechanisms of representative democracy.

As it will be possible to observe during the development of this work, this transformation is already in process thanks to the efforts of the community radio stations, which have become important media for local information. The radios generate the social energy for participation in communities oriented toward the life and decisions of the neighborhood, the municipality, the state and the nation, which necessarily assist in creating a better life.

Citizen participation has been the pillar of these communications media. According to Cunill (1991), citizen participation varies in terms of the levels and spheres for citizen intervention as well as in the nature of that citizen intervention, through different actions, reflections and relationships among people for solving communal problems. This research will investigate citizen participation as a tool for democratization in the popular, alternative and community radios of the Maracaibo Municipality, Venezuela. For purposes of this study, all of these stations will be called community radios.

The levels and spheres for citizen intervention will be described, as will the nature of the intervention of the communities and whether, from the humanistic perspective of Cunill (1991), this can be seen to strengthen democracy in the municipality. This study worked with a population census in order to approach all the community radios financed by the *Comision Nacional de Telecomunicaciones* (National Telecommunications Commission or CONATEL, 2011), among which are: *La Voz del Pueblo* (The Voice of the People), *Accion* (Action), *Curva Estereo* (Stereo Curve), *Samide Estereo* Stereo Samide), *Vereda Libre* (Free Path), Tropical FM and *Coquivacoa*. The information-collecting technique was the interview. A semi-structured questionnaire was applied to all radio station directors and analysed according to the techniques of Strauss and Corbin (2002). The results of these interviews are outlined in later sections.

Referents for democratization and communicational citizen participation in Venezuela

In regard to democratization, Fernandez (2001) indicates that to democratize means to humanize, since during democratization, social order is achieved progressively and the ever–wider interests of societies are recognized. In this sense, the term democratization is intimately related to citizen participation, when the latter establishes itself as one of the instruments suitable for achieving the aforementioned democratization. Therefore, the more citizen participation is observed in the social processes, the more it will contribute in one way or another to invigorating democratization.

When speaking of citizen participation, it is necessary to clarify that, according to Cunill (1991), it is one of the terms that carries an evaluative load and ought to be explained with regard to the benefits that it generates in society. Cunill also emphasizes that, even though citizen participation arises initially as the result of democratic processes and determines their existence, it ends up constructing itself as a means to substitute bureaucratic administration with a democratic and elective management for public affairs. Thus, it becomes a management tool for democracy.

Cunill (1991) refers to participation as the deepening of democracy in various senses. This includes democratization of the state by leaving paternalism behind, creating defence mechanisms for citizens, strengthening social organizations in order to give them precise responsibilities and liberalizing the productive forces, among others.
This deepening of democracy can be carried out through diverse means. According to Baralt (2004), in a world whose principle emblem is information management, it is impossible not to approach the theme of communications, making regulation of the communicational aspect and the forms and means through which information is disseminated more important each day. Baralt emphasizes that it is not possible to conceive of popular power if there is not an appropriate democratization of communication. He stresses that democratization can be strengthened through alternative means of communication by bestowing one of the greatest powers on the people. In the specific case of Venezuela, these media are called community media and have been on the increase since 2002.

Since this time, such communications media have been inserting themselves into communities across the country. Although there is still a need to improve the current legal foundation for community media, the insertion of new media has been recognized and supported by governmental organizations, such as the *Compañía Anónima Nacional de Telefonos de Venezuela* (National Telephone Company of Venezuela or CANTV). In terms of efforts to democratize communication through social organizations (such as communal councils, community organizations and organizations connected to government institutions), support by CANTV has been notable. Amongst other things, it has offered plans or telephone rates appropriate for the needs of the new media organizations, thus permitting alternative communication to continue its expansion in Venezuela.

Chacon (2007) highlights that the Venezuelan State has demonstrated the democratization of communication since 2000. The State emphasizes communication as a fundamental human right, as

well as freedom of expression and the right to information; it emphasizes social inclusion and the creation of a television model at the service of the public, directed to citizens, not consumers. The State promotes this kind of citizen participation and improves the regimen of concessions, broadening access to alternative and community media.

Much has been said about the new proposal for a law of popular communication, because it places democratization and liberating communication throughout the country directly in the hands of communities, popular power, social movements and diverse forms of popular organization. Regarding this, Aporrea (2012) points out that the new law deals not only with communications media, but with the permanent exercise of communication, including social networks and spokespersons. It broadens the element of democratization towards all developed forms of communication.

Nevertheless, this law has been pending approval since 2011 and as yet, no pronouncement has been made regarding it. Its entry into force would demonstrate government support for the democratization of communication, since it would enlarge the area of action for the radio stations, open them up to greater alternatives for financing and work on the current problem of the radio-electric spectrum[4]. In the proposed law, the problems that radio stations have faced during the last ten years have been set forth. The existing regulation has not been able to adjust itself to these problems related to the struggle for insertion in the communities.

It can be seen that citizen participation is a tool for democratization in community media. Citizen participation acts as a support for the will of the communities in developing their own communications tools. It assists in the endeavor to improve the current regulations and in the continued strengthening of spaces for community development. These are all initiatives that facilitate in the growth of a better organized and more egalitarian society.

Citizen participation in community radios of the maracaibo municipality

To understand information management, it is considered necessary first to clarify for the reader the aspects considered regarding the object under study and second, to contrast these aspects with the collected information. Therefore, the study begins by specifying that citizen participation is a "process through which the citizenry intervenes, individual or collectively, in the decision-making authorities regarding public matters that affect what is political, social or economic" (Cunill, 1991, p. 262). According to Cunill, it is necessary to deal with a) the levels and spheres in which participation takes place and b) the nature of the citizen intervention in public activities and organs.

Regarding the spheres and levels of participation, it should be emphasized that three spheres have been treated, to wit, the political, public management and economic and social control, and each has its own levels of participation. The first sphere refers to activities belonging to government, and Cunill explains its levels as follows:

> "Macro-participation, determines public order in the national area. Intermediate-level participation centres on sectorial or regional public policies, without intervening in the political regime; and micro-participation refers to the direct and frequent political decisions of individuals and small groups, without immediate intermediation from the national area in the local area" (1991, pp. 57-58).

The second sphere, that of public management, is linked with the generation of public goods and services as well as support activities for these; for example, contracts or concessions, among others, approached from the execution phase to evaluation. The levels in this sphere could be consultative,

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[4] Limited space for the inclusion of radio frequencies within a territory. Generally, this space is administered by the state.

detecting when people intervene in an opinionated fashion in public policy planning; another level could be decisive, when the power of decision regarding the organization and/or policy formulation is shared. Or a fiscalizing character could be found, based on the control of public policies by social subjects. The last level, execution of public policy, corresponds only to the government (remit to the political sphere). The third sphere refers to the economic and social control stipulated in the social projects that each radio station executes together with the communal councils.

With regard to the second aspect of participation, citizen intervention may be of a direct or indirect nature. The first occurs without individual or collective mediations, and the second consists of community representatives in matters and interests specific to the communities.

The compiled information made it possible to detect that, in the political sphere, community radios have no relationship with government activities. The actions undertaken by these stations do not determine public order in the national area, so the macro and intermediate participation levels are not present. This could be because the role and the scope of these radio stations have restrictions in economic, legal and political terms and in terms of radio-electric space. This situation clearly shows the non-intervention of citizens in formulating public policies according to the needs and demands of their collectivity. As a result, citizens have no active presence and a lack of interest in the second sphere and public management and, the absence of their participation in those public spaces can be observed.

Nevertheless, continuing with the political sphere, work in micro-participation was in evidence in terms of educating people, regarding which Saul Gonzalez, president of the Radio *La Voz del Pueblo*, expresses that:

> "Today, a workshop for community spokespersons is being given to people coming from different communities, such as Los Puertos de Altagracia, Nueva Independencia, Felipe Pirela, San Agustin, La Pastora, Los Apostoles, and yesterday, together with the Faith and Joy [*Fe y Alegria*] Foundation and the Voice of the People [*La Voz del Pueblo*], 19 certificates were given out in the prison [*La Maxima*] to prisoners who completed the workshop for community spokespersons [...] A spokesperson is someone who takes the responsibility to express and broadcast the good and bad things about his community through radio. He who speaks on the radio must go farther, write letters, and transmit communal struggles to the responsible organization" (Gonzalez, 2011, pers. comm., 25 June).

This expression concurs with the statement by Goma and Font (2001), for whom citizen struggle implies training and with it, commitment and responsibility for widening the space for community action.

In the same vein, Maria Moreno, president of *Radio Accion*, stated that:

> "At the moment, we are working with drugs and the prevention of sexually transmitted diseases and, well, we hope that it works. We have received beautiful testimonials from people we have helped; for example, Neisy Gonzalez and I went to the university and someone there recognized us and asked us to bring back the program "Focused on the Family" that we had suspended, so what we do is more like guidance and people that we do not know see us as an example. So that is where the impact is measured" (Moreno, 2011, pers. comm., 13 June).

The importance of training and education for community radios is clear, not only for those who contribute directly to the output of these communications media, but also for the rest of the community who inherit information and broaden their knowledge. For *Coquivacoa Radio*, Montenegro states that:

> "The role of the radio station is to educate through programming, be guides and educators for the community, since the community should be included, we have the duty to educate people [...] A lot of work is done on values, the homeland and work, and we want to educate integrally on all levels" (Montenegro, 2011, pers. comm., 07 June).

In concordance with these statements by the radios for Useche, Romero and Escalona (2010), these training actions are based on a humanistic perspective and liberating thought. They are founded on the idea that there is an essence to being human, on the need for acquiring capacities to overcome obstacles and have a clear vision of the problems that afflict the community. For Borja (2000), participation performs an educating function, develops the civic awareness of neighbours, reinforces ties of solidarity and makes the notion of general interest more understandable and acceptable.

This participation stimulates the strengthening of social, collective, traditional and native practices in each locality, and therefore, increases the level of individual commitment to the community. Under these circumstances, the importance of investigating the intervening social subjects can be seen.

In the second sphere, that of public management, which concerns the generation of public goods and services by community radios, support activities and the intervention of private citizens in the exercise of public functions are handled. Three levels of participation are distinguishable: the consultative and/or advisory, the executive or decisive and the supervisory. The radio stations have not manifested the intention to be consultants or advisors in the planning or implementation of public policies. This corroborates the weaknesses in macro-participation, as well as weak intervention and commitments on national participation levels.

When one speaks of decisive participation, there is a supposition that decision-making powers dealing with the direction of organizations or the formulation of policies and supervision are shared. Community radios do not intervene with decisive power over the organization or formulation of public policies; therefore, they do not create new forms of daily social organization and participation.

For community radios, supervision through social accounting and audit is of the highest interest, since this is the administrative sphere in which citizens control, watch over and supervise the works, services and social programs carried out in their municipalities through public administration organizations. Justo Montenegro, president of *Radio Coquivacoa,* states that "a note and account are made each year; we submit more notes than accounts" (Montenegro, 2011, pers. comm., 07 June). Likewise, president of *Radio Curva Stereo*, Levi Reyes, explains that:

> "Meetings are held annually, accounts are rendered to CONATEL about what has been done during the year, and through the assembly held with the community, evaluation is made about what has gone wrong or what has gone well, whether the goals proposed at the beginning of the year have been met, because the regulation requires this of us, we have to submit an annual report of our activities. We not only submit the report, which includes the activity we carry out with radio, but also the activity we carry out as a foundation, the social activity; likewise, this is accompanied by photos so that we as a foundation evaluate ourselves" (Reyes, 2011, pers. comm., 06 June).

The implementation of social accounting and audit represents the execution of Article 62 of the National Constitution (*Asamblea Nacional Constituyente*, 1999), which manifests the right to participate in the formation, execution and control of public management for the individual and collective development of the communities. Likewise, performing social accounting demonstrates the interest the radios have that the communities intervene in communicational policy development carried out by the community; that is, in the exercise of participative democracy in and from the communities of these community radios stations.

Regarding the third sphere, which refers to the economic and social control, at the outset of the social project, specifically in the administrative area where the tools for monitoring are identified, community radios exercise a certain participation in the communities in terms of monitoring and evaluating resources; some radios are more related to the communal councils than others. However, the radios have become mediating organizations between the communities and the social organizations that intervene in their development. Work should continue to improve the forms of interchange so as to achieve greater participation through control, assessment and follow-up of actions, in order to avoid delays in project implementation, administrative practices and the activities in which people from the community are involved.

Continuing the development of participation with regard to the direct nature of intervention, all the funded community radios indicated that they have created programs in which children and youth express their opinions and viewpoints – positive or negative – regarding timely topics, such as drugs, family unity and gender-related abuse. For Herrera (2003), the direct participation of the social actors can be for different purposes; for example, to express an opinion, rectify information, denounce a fact or situation, unburden oneself, request information or an opinion or participate in a competition. For this reason, the participative practice of community radios emphasizes the work of expressing opinions and informing while confronting the problems encountered every day.

With regard to the indirect nature of participation, Cunill (1991, p. 60) comments on "the intervention of organizations that act in representation of specific interests, from grassroots organizations of public interest and intermediate interest groups or organizations." In this sense, community radios have acted as representatives for the communities. Ajan Vergara, president of *Radio Tropical*, indicated that:

> "[...] we have worked with primary and secondary schools, community councils; we support during protests and they seek us out. We serve as a bridge between government agencies and the community. For example, with the problems about the metro in Maracaibo, it was the station that maintained balance among the agreements between the parties [community and the metro company]" (Vergara, 2011, pers. comm., 07 June).

One can note that community radios, more than other communications media, also work as coordinating agents, mediating between different types of entities and the community, involving themselves in a conscious and voluntary way in the processes and actions that directly or indirectly affect the community. In this sense, liaison activities with the communities, relations with the communal councils and re-vindicating struggles that strengthen the radio stations (as institutions) and the community were detected. For example, Montenegro expressed that:

> "The station is a useful project and has helped the Popular Education Centre [*Centro de Educacion Popular - CEP*] as a link or liaison with the community, since it was conceived by the community, lands were donated and practically speaking, Santa Rosa de Agua is one family. Almost everyone belongs to the Ortega Moran family, a maximum of two or three families, and these families or the town, since we call it a town, not a neighbourhood, has a strong relationship with the CEP. Note that here there are severe delinquency

problems, but it is very difficult for these to affect the CEP because suddenly this or that delinquent or his family are served by the CEP or receive assistance from the centre, so they look on it with respect" (Montenegro, 2011, pers. comm., 07 June).

The relationships among the social actors who make their living at the community radio stations are established in cooperation among themselves, even though their social and political roles may differ one from the other. This implies recognizing that the connections generated in communities contribute to building alternatives and to strengthening, not only these media, but also other institutions in the commune. The links created with the communities do not impose or necessitate policies, objectives, ways or modes of implementation for the communicational actions undertaken. However, they do support the strengthening of sectorial, neighborhood or social organizations in each community.

Likewise, these radios also indicated that they engage in active efforts to solve health and nutrition problems, as well as other prominent social issues. Regarding this, Ajan Vergara, explains:

"Near the shelter and the boarding school was a squatters' settlement that belonged to the Governor's office and no one knew this. There were bombs from the special brigade; that was horrible. We investigated the legal situation, we interviewed Rosales [Governor of Zulia] and today we have 130 houses contributed by the Governor's office, with direct contributions. It went from a squatters' invasion to villas; this is liberty villa. Of course, it was quite a process to select the persons who wanted to live there, and we became very involved with regard to housing" (Vergara, 2011, pers. comm., 07 June).

Another experience of great effort is explained by Levi Reyes, through sessions:

"[...] this is our daily experience with people; people always come to the activities. We carry out civic sessions, sessions related to nutrition; sometimes we get the people from Mercal to do a day-long session. We carry out low-cost sessions with one community or another, sessions for eyeglasses, health, especially ophthalmological health, with the assistance of the team of doctors from Barrio Adentro ['in the neighbourhood'—a neighbourhood health service], we are able to take ophthalmological sessions to the communities; and in this experience one discovers another problem that exists, people draw near, the ice breaks down and new friendships are made" (Reyes, 2011, pers. comm., 06 June).

Community radio efforts in the organization of day sessions are one form of striving to take care of the deficiencies, needs, interests and collective aspirations in each community. Rauber explains that the "re-vindicative" struggle:

"[...] combines and coordinates the interests, claims and searches, both individual and sectorial, with common objectives [...] creating spaces so that the population understands and accepts the social, political, economic and cultural magnitude and the roots of the problems it confronts" (Rauber, 2011, p. 8).

"Re-vindicative" struggles undertaken by the radios represent in themselves a foundation, they demonstrate the capacity to coordinate and organize to apply pressure. Moreover, they provide a possibility and path through which the people end up projecting their interests, objectives and their communicational projects in the areas where they are working.

Instruments for democratization. The results of citizen participation

The importance of the radios as instruments for democratization lies in their capacity to convert citizens into genuine actors for their own development. This argument is premised on the fact that they will be able to contribute through the radios to the improvement of their condition and in this way, also contribute to public control of government institutions or what has been called social accounting, thereby aiding continual improvement in the performance of state institutions.

In this way, the radios and the citizens would be contributing to what is called participative democracy. According to Marx, the meaning of participative democracy relates to the introduction of forms of direct democracy where this is possible, that is, at the grassroots (Marx, 1972 apud Bou, 2007). It is a new kind of representative system characterized by permanent control of the representatives by those who are represented. Among the elements pointed out by Bou (2007) as fundamentals for the development of participative democracy, the existence of informative media that are free and independent of political and economic power stands out. In this sense, participative democracy is fostered through community radios.

Furthermore, Bou mentions that:

> "[...] in recent years, advances have been made toward democratization and political openness that have helped to generate this type of positive cycle, in which the freedom of the information media and the activism of civil society offer the citizens new ways of participating in political debates and decisions."
> (Bou, 2007, p. 5)

Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that only regular citizen participation guarantees the sovereignty of the collective. Hernandez (2009) indicates that the general will does not annul the specific will of each member, whose purposes could clash. Therefore, bodies should exist that watch out for and guarantee the primacy of general will so that over the longer term, the possibilities of personal wills imposing themselves is reduced. For this reason, participation is important, in this case through community radios, to guarantee fulfilment of the collective will.

After observing the ways in which communities participate through community radios, it can be seen how community collaboration is obtained in one way or another. In the case of stations where less participation is observed, the intention to improve this participation has been noted. Complementarily, in terms of the nature of the intervention, both the direct and indirect forms were noted at the radio stations, suggesting that the communities intervene in the diverse activities they themselves have developed.

When these actions are studied, it can be pointed out that, through community radios, a qualitative leap toward participative democracy has been achieved in terms of information and communication in the communities (see Table 1 below). New ways of relating to the people can be appreciated and indicated empirically, demonstrating that in this municipality, the citizens do not remain totally distant from public matters. This situation has initiated connections and interest in the communities to intervene and take an active part in the activities and decisions that involve their community, municipality or region.

Table 1: Instruments for Democratization According to the Spheres and Nature of the Participation Intervention

Spheres of Participation	Instruments for Democratization
POLITICAL	Although the participation is low, it is a great opportunity to impel community intervention in decisions through social organizations with which relations are established.
GENERATION OF GOODS AND SERVICES	The only participation is through the supervision of radio activities, through administrative reports to the communities, and this can serve as a reference for intervention in public organizations.
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONTROL	Annual rendering of accounts to the communities.
Nature of the Intervention	
DIRECT	The creation of opinion and informative programs by children and youth.
INDIRECT	The radios have functioned as coordination agents with organizations to achieve certain community objectives.

Source: Authors

The participation or democratization instruments identified in Table 1 are the product of a collective process based on democratic values that create popular social awareness and impel liberating communication. Their intention is to "give a voice to all human beings and encourage them to build organizations that are representative and help each human being to identify him or herself as part of a culture, a group, a society or a people" (Alvarez, 2007: 407).

Their praxis emanates from empowerment, co-responsibility and communal social empowerment; that is, from communicational popular power working in favor of collective well-being; and regarding that, from the democratization of information and communication, combining new forms of political and social community action.

These elements exalt community efforts and struggles in defense of their own rights, assisting human beings to exercise influence, develop new collective actions and intervene in local and national public decisions. In this way, community radios are converted into strategic communitarian communicational spaces that not only stimulate the exchange of ideas and strengthen common causes, but also construct convergent, liberating spaces so that people think about and work on their own future.

The identification of these instruments for democratization is good news for communal intervention. They illustrate a small but important step, which indicates that the population's will to take control of the processes that affect its own development has grown. These are definitively efforts in favor of liberation; liberation from the dominant practices of private actors who act only with concern for economic interests without considering the well-being of peoples as a priority.

It can therefore be affirmed that a path of communicational liberation has been initiated, and the implementation of these instruments represents, as Alvarez (2007, p. 111) has stated, 'the creation of the new or of the unforeseeable. It is the origin of the free beloved one that provokes the totality of the world and calls on service'), conceiving service as an alternative praxis that constitutes itself as a liberator for oppressed peoples.

Individualism and the sense of indifference have been left aside, because "[...] the existing tie of solidarity among men who work together to achieve progress, not for individual benefit alone but for the benefit of all" (Prieto, 1977, p. 19) has been understood. A collective effort has begun; it

represents a great change in perspective that demonstrates an awakening of conscience, commitment and labor in the communities to enlarge spaces of intervention for the common good.

However, it is also certain that many situations must yet be overcome. According to Feo La Cruz (2002), some of the persisting problems are the slow decision-making process and the existence of deviations or biases in the participation of sectors that defend their own particular interests. Therefore, participation not only faces the interests of those more organized groups, but also the interests of the population affected directly or indirectly by the decision.

Conclusions

The development of this chapter has shown the spheres and levels of citizen participation undertaken by community radios in the Maracaibo Municipality. With regard to these, some participation levels with no activity were detected, such as that of macro and intermediate participation in the political area; however, micro-participation has been implemented in training the communities. Even though important efforts have been made to train people, these continue to be insufficient and present limitations for generating an impact on the Maracaibo Municipality.

In the sphere dealing with the generation of public goods and services, community participation has been observed through auditing, since consultative, decisive and executive participation are necessary to advance the proposed organizations. Regarding the sphere of economic and social control, a greater impulse is needed in the communities so that participation continues in the decisions that affect them.

Regarding the nature of citizen intervention, both direct and indirect intervention was observed in public matters. This intervention impelled the production of popular democratic movements when the presence of and support by the radio stations in response to the demands and needs of the communities was detected in the area of municipal public management.

The drive evidenced by the community radios has made it possible to observe weaknesses in citizen intervention regarding the formulation of public policies relevant to their needs and demands. Nevertheless, the community radios have assumed limited responsibilities in this area, problem-solving in their communities and changing the stakes for decision-making and control of public policies.

The need can be seen for these media to act as agents to reinforce communicational popular power in the Maracaibo municipality. By taking part in the radios, the community can participate in propelling the democratization process in accord with what is established in the national constitution and the set of laws that drive the popular power of communities.

Citizen participation in community radios has impelled popular democratic movements of civil society through re-vindication struggles carried out using citizen actions in Maracaibo Municipality communities. However, the need still exists to improve these participation processes in the search to consolidate recognition and legitimacy on the part of the communities. In this way, it may be possible to better foment the relation between participative democracy and political emancipation, because initiatives from the people are recognized to co-manage decisions with the political apparatus, which supposes the right to diversity and therefore, to socio-political integration.

The previous statements support the idea that the phase of disassociation between the communities and the Venezuelan State is ending and another phase of pragmatic communication has begun. In this new phase, connections and interactions occur, interposed and superposed on and among social subjects in ways that favor the transition toward new relations of equality and equity.

Conditions have materialized that facilitate citizen intervention in politics and the socialization of the political.

In this chapter, the action of popular communicational power has been presented through community radios. These communications media promote arbitration, conciliation, mediation and other forms of conflict resolution for situations derived directly from exercise of the right to participation and communal coexistence. They work in favor of democracy, liberation and the strengthening and autonomous local development of the people.

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CHAPTER 3

Media and Creative Industries: Legislation and TV Content Production in Brazil

Othon Jambeiro, Fábio Ferreira, Kátia Morais and Natacha Canesso

Introduction

The concept of creative industries has been consolidating since the mid-1990s and has become part of both the academic discussions (among others, Caves, 2000; Howkins, 2001; Cunningham, 2004; Cunningham, 2005; Florida, 2005; Hartley, 2005; Bendassolli, 2009; Flew, 2012; Hartley et al, 2013) and the formulation of public policies in several countries (e.g., Australia, through the Creative Nation; UK, through the Department for Culture, Media & Sport – DCMS; Brazil, through the Creative Brazil Plan and the Creative Economy Secretariat Plan, both from the Ministry of Culture).

Discussions on how to conceptualize creative industries or critics of this formulation have taken shape and are undoubtedly important for understanding the role of creativity in an economy that is more and more based on the symbolic and the immaterial. Although the debate revolves around the possible definitions and contours of the concept, part of this literature, when focusing on the importance of creativity and innovation in today's society, is devoted to the study of the implications of the creative economy for specific sectors of the economy. It is from this that the concept of "creative industries" can lead to new lines of analysis or new theoretical perspectives. An example of this is the article by Jambeiro and Ferreira (2012) about the possible contributions of the political economy of communication to the creative media industries.

This study argues, within these possible lines of analysis, that it is important to investigate how production processes occur in the creative sectors, since understanding them means understanding how products and services are conceived, developed, and marketed. This understanding becomes essential, especially because production is not spontaneous and free of restrictions. On the contrary, it is subject to various constraints, of legal, social, cultural, and economic nature, which set goals for both the creative processes themselves and the productive processes. In the specific case of the media - here considered as covering not only the so-called mass media communication (radio, TV, newspapers, and magazines), but also the cultural vehicles and products that form the so-called cultural industry (publishing houses, phonographic industry, cinema, and video), in the physical and digital formats -, the constraints imposed on them, either through legislation or through economic conditioning, are secular both in terms of the regular operation and the production and delivery of content.

Thus, there are factors of at least four natures - legal, social, cultural, and economic - that influence the processes of media production, and which can be analyzed from the concept of creative industries. Among them, although all are of high relevance, each in its own way, with different agents and implications, those of a legal nature, in addition to being more explicit, are more organized, more formally coercive and imposed by the power of the State. They are also little explored in scholarly works, which have preferred to address the other three groups of factors more frequently.

In this work, we analyze the legal constraints related to content production for the TV industry in Brazil. This analysis is done considering the legislation of the sector from its inception, seeking in it exclusively the factors that directly affect content production. That is to say, in methodological terms, that if a certain legal instrument deals with content production only indirectly, it was not

considered for the purposes of this study. For example, a law article on any technological standard may indirectly affect production, but it is unlikely to become a determinant of the content displayed on a broadcaster. On the other hand, the legislation that establishes content rating - relating the TV schedule and the age of the viewers - was considered, since it focuses directly on the contents created for this industry.

The text is divided into five parts in addition to this introduction. The first outlines an overview of the legal aspects pertaining to TV in Brazil; the second deals with the legal constraints directly incident on production before the 1988 Constitution; the third examines such constraints after the promulgation of the Constitution; the fourth shows how the legal constraints of the audiovisual production process are established today; and the latter presents the conclusions about the analysis conducted in the previous sections.

Legal aspects pertaining to TV in Brazil: overview

The legal constraints for the production of TV content are historically structured in Brazil from the perspective of moral issues, and have always been expressed in laws, decrees, and actions, authorized or not, in order to curb advances beyond what is conceived as accepted by "society". Technological, economic, and organizational issues have only emerged in recent years, following the promulgation of the 1988 Constitution, which prohibited censorship and balanced the so-called social rights (including obligations such as family and child and adolescent protection) with individual rights (including the right to information and access to cultural goods, among others). These changes have made the country closer to modern democracies, have rationalized the constraints on the production of symbolic goods, and have led the state to adopt a new perspective on this production - that of fostering creative processes geared towards information, culture, and communication.

In the case of TV, since the beginning of its operations in 1950, and for more than fifty years, legal measures concerning this medium have prioritized more the structural aspects for the organization of the sector - such as the rules for concession, participation of foreign capital in companies, among others - than more direct actions, norms, and legislation, having as object the production of contents and, consequently, the creative processes involved in this activity. In the first decades, the constraints directly dedicated to production prioritized the establishment of censorship rules for content, sometimes based on the so-called indicative classification made by the Ministry of Justice, sometimes based on the legal or illegal determinations of the military regime.

Throughout the dictatorial period, State actions over the TV industry originated in several bodies, but soon they were concentrated in the Ministry of Communications (MiniCom). This new state body was established in 1967[5] to draft the national policy for telecommunications, broadcasting, and postal services, and to regulate, grant, and monitor broadcasting services. The Ministry, with the collaboration of both the government's and the Federal Police's information agencies, was responsible for regulating the content of the programs and to censor them totally or partially. Even after the end of the dictatorship, the promulgation of a new Constitution, and the general restructuring of telecommunications services, with the creation of the National Telecommunications Agency (Anatel) and the privatization of telephony services, the MiniCom remained as the exclusive regulator of radio and TV services in Brazil.

It was only in 2003, with the inclusion of the audiovisual department as one of the priority areas of activity of the Ministry of Culture (MinC), that there was a significant change in the shape of the sector, particularly regarding content production. Since then, thinking about audiovisuals, and especially TV content, besides involving economic and communication policies, has also become a

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[5] Created by Decree-Law No. 200/1967.

matter of culture, with a nationalist bias, under the responsibility of the MinC. By means of a specific legislation and the insertion, in the State structure, of bodies directed to the application of this new policy, a complete system was created - including publicity and consumption - to foster the production of national contents for the audiovisual industries, including television.

From a historical point of view, the legislation regulating the concession of TV services and its exploitation, dispersed in 80 years, has strong characteristics of continuity, with rare moments in which there is some rupture in the line drawn in 1931[6]. Among the changes in this historical path are the introduction of Pay-TV in the mid-1990s and the creation of the National Cinema Agency (ANCINE) in the early 2000s.

As will be seen in the development of this text, the production of TV content by independent producers had the first great impulse with the approval of the so-called Cable TV Law[7] in 1995, which, in addition to creating channels for public and official use, established a quota of 30% of the channels to be filled by Brazilian audiovisual products. Subsequently, with the creation of ANCINE, came the programs to foster the national production of TV content, which, among other incentives, established mandatory quotas regarding exhibition on Pay-TV channels (cable and satellite).

For a better understanding and considering their insertion in periods formally distinct from the point of view of TV content production, the normative acts examined in this work were divided into legislation before and after the Constitution of 1988. The analysis focuses on what and how the legislation conditions content production, specifically for TV - both open (broadcasting) and paid TV, distributed only to subscribers.

Legal constraints pre-1988 Constitution

The documents that constitute the founding normative frameworks for the TV industry in Brazil, Decrees No. 20047/1931 and 21111/1932[8], precede the very establishment of the medium in the country, which would only happen in 1950. Dating from the provisional government instituted immediately after the 1930 Revolution, both Decrees establish the regulatory framework that will govern all telecommunications services in Brazil, including broadcasting (radio and TV). It was determined that these services were public, and it was up to the State to exploit them directly or through concessions to private companies. Known as trusteeship model, the regulatory framework defined the private sector as the primary operator of the service and, consequently, the State as a policy maker and oversight body (JAMBEIRO, 2000). As for content, in addition to restricting advertising to 10% of the total programming schedule, it was vaguely submitted to "national interest" and "educational purposes", parameters never explained or obeyed in operational terms.

From 1934 onwards, Vargas' provisional government leaves explicit control, by creating, within the framework of the so-called Ministry of Justice and Interior Affairs, the Department of Propaganda and Cultural Diffusion (DPDC), which is the regulatory agency for Culture, Arts, Press, and Broadcasting. Among its functions were: to encourage the cinematographic production in the country (according to the criteria established by the Government), and to classify the films on display. The new body was the embryo of the famous and feared Department of Press and Propaganda (DIP), created in 1939, and directly linked to the Presidential Office[9]. Among the explicit purposes of the DIP were: "to censor the Theater, the Cinema, recreational and sports activities of any nature, radio broadcasting, social and political literature, and the press, observing the penalties provided by Law" (Article 2 of Decree-Law No. 1949 of December 30, 1939).

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[6] Decree No. 20047/1931 regulates the execution of radiocommunication services in the national territory.
[7] Law No. 8977/1995.
[8] Approves the regulation for the execution of radiocommunication services in the national territory.
[9] The DIP was abolished on May 25, 1945, through Decree-Law No. 7582.

When the New State was overcome and the country redemocratized, in 1945, the control almost did not change: Decree-Law No. 20493/1946, which approved the Regulation of the Public Entertainment Censorship Service of the Federal Department of Public Security[10] (SCDP/DFSP), brings, in a good part of its structure, the text *stricto sensu* of Decree-Law No. 1949/1939[11], which had established the rules for supervision of the DIP. That is, although the Brazilian historical moment has become democratic, the institutional apparatuses that regulated the manifestation and diffusion of thoughts remained the same of the dictatorial period.

From 1945, therefore, the Censorship Service could exercise previous control or authorize projections and the execution of artistic and cultural works and performances, including cinema, theater, dance, music, press advertisements, radio, and television. Restrictions on TV appear in subsection XII of the Decree, affecting "television shows" as a whole. It should be noted that the Decree mentions television, a communication vehicle that did not even exist in Brazil and in most countries of the world, and which only arrived in the country five years later, in 1950.

The 1946 Constitution did not change in relation to these constraints. With the military coup in 1964, however, TV was affected by Decree No. 56552/1965[12], which also included restrictions on radio programs. Issued by General President Castelo Branco[13], the Decree created the National Telecommunications Council (Contel) and charged it with censoring the content of programs in broadcasting companies.

The new body considered that the function of systematic censorship, including political censorship, was not in line with those of a collegiate body responsible for formulating policies. Censorship was now a function of the Federal Department of Public Security[14], created in 1944 and attached to the Ministry of Justice, and which already exercised this function regarding artistic spectacles in general. Three years later, in 1967, the military regime promulgated a new Constitution, which established a constraint of broad spectrum and enormous conceptual reach to freedom of speech and, consequently, TV programs: respect for order, good customs, and morality, at the discretion of the government, who conceptualized such precepts.

Only twelve years after the implementation of television in Brazil, Law no. 4117/1962 is published, known as the Brazilian Telecommunications Code (CBT), the main regulatory document of the open TV industry to the present day. The CBT sets out standards for telecommunications services, such as scope, purpose, the role of the State in the supervision and regulation of services, the role of Councils such as Contel, rules of censorship for broadcasting, and others.

At this point, structural constraints that indirectly affect content production are established, from the perspective of the control of broadcasting programs. This law provides, for example: the mandatory minimum of 5% of the programming schedule for news content (Article 38, h); the obligation of 2 hours of daily transmission of free political advertising in the 90 days prior to majority or proportional elections in the country (Article 39); and a maximum of 25% of the programming schedule intended for advertising (Article 124). (Brazil, 1962).

In the scope of the Brazilian Telecommunications Code, in 1965, the military regime explained in a very detailed manner and with specific penalties the moral values to be observed in TV programs. The following were now banned: sensuality, vulgarity, religious and family problems, lack of civic spirit, presentation of successful lies, encouragement of laziness and dishonesty, non-fulfillment of

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[10] The Public Entertainment Censorship Division was abolished in 1988, with the promulgation of the new Constitution.

[11] Provides for the exercise of press and propaganda activity in the national territory and makes other provisions.

[12] Regulates the supervision of broadcasting services, including sounds and images.

[13] President Castelo Branco was the first of the military dictators that Brazil had between 1964 and 1984.

[14] The 1967 Constitution, made by the Military Regime, transformed the body into a Federal Police Department, a name it still holds today.

duties, discouragement of love for the country and the Brazilian people, encouragement of feelings of rivalry, revenge, class struggle, and encouragement of racial and nationalities struggles.

Although the Ministry of Justice was responsible for censorship, given the military characteristics of the government, security and information agencies linked to the Army, Navy, and Aeronautics, in addition to the National Information Service (SNI), acted strongly through direct threats to broadcasters or the veiled or open ban on programs or part thereof. This happened very often when it came to telenovelas, particularly in Rede Globo. According to Straubhaar (1990, p. 238), "the production of TV programs was the outcome of a complicated dialectic between market demands, formal and informal censorship, and managers and writers".

Also, during the military period, the creation of the Ministry of Communications (MiniCom) represents a milestone in the institutionalization of the TV sector in the country. MiniCom incorporates all the functions of the National Telecommunications Council, while assuming the roles of policy maker, regulator, and inspector of all telecommunications services. Only 30 years later, with the enactment of the General Telecommunications Law[15] in 1997, the Ministry ceases to exercise the roles of regulator and inspector, while maintaining that of policy maker. In broadcasting, however, it only cedes the regulation of the electromagnetic spectrum, keeping for itself the concession, the control over contents, and the power of punishment.

More specific issues of broadcasting are presented by Decree-Law No. 236/1967, which complements and modifies the previous Decree-Law and the Brazilian Telecommunications Code. Regarding content production, some points of that document can be highlighted. The first of them, set forth in Article 2, is the exposition of what is understood as an abuse of broadcasting freedom. Actions such as: "a) inciting disobedience to laws or judicial decisions"; "(b) disclosing State secrets or matters prejudicial to national defense"; "(d) making propaganda of war or of processes of subversion of the political and social order"; "l) collaborating in the practice of rebellion, disorder or prohibited manifestations" are pointed out as practices of abuse of freedom, punishable without, however, further clarification on what would characterize each of them (Brazil, 1967).

The non-commercial character of educational television also appears in Decree-Law No. 236/1967. In its Article 13, the document makes clear that "educational television will be used for the dissemination of educational programs, through the transmission of classes, conferences, lectures, and debates". The sole paragraph of the same article expresses the prohibition on the broadcasting of any type of advertisement on such broadcasters, "directly or indirectly, as well as the sponsorship of the transmitted programs, even if no advertisement is made through them" (Brazil, 1967).

The orientation on the production of educational content is reinforced by Law No. 6301/1975, which creates the Brazilian Broadcasting Company (Radiobrás). The company originated as part of the structure of the Ministry of Communications and would bring together the radio and television stations of the Federal Government under one direction. Among its main objectives, Article 1, III, established the production of educational, informative, and recreational contents, without, however, giving more details about what would characterize each of these contents (BRAZIL, 1975). Radiobrás was extinguished with the creation of Brazilian Communication Company (Empresa Brasil de Comunicação - EBC) in 2008.

Legal constraints post-1988 Constitution

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[15] Provides for the organization of telecommunications services, the creation and operation of a regulatory body, and other institutional aspects, pursuant to Constitutional Amendment No. 8 of 1995.

The examination of the legislation on television industries in Brazil, as of the 1988 Constitution, shows a clear direction in the actions of the State for the scope of fostering the production and expansion of the industry, with the modernization and regulation of the Pay-TV system and implementation of the digital system, leaving practically untouched the regulation for open TV. Two ingredients should be considered in this discussion. Firstly, in 1988, the country already had a solid structure of telecommunications and broadcasting. A second point is the strong articulation power and pressure of the large media conglomerates over the National Congress and the Federal Executive structures, which has been able to avoid the wide discussion and approval of norms that could jeopardize the maintenance of the great monopolies and oligopolies in view of demands such as plurality and regionalization of programming (Leal Filho, 2007; Geraldes et al, 2013).

However, a line must be drawn between the first post-redemocratization governments - ranging from the José Sarney Government (1985-1990) to the Fernando Henrique Cardoso (FHC) government (1995-2003), covering a period of fifteen years - and the most recent governments, from president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2011).

The 1988 Constitution devotes five articles to the Social Communication (articles 220 to 224, Chapter V, Title VIII), addressing central questions about the role of the media in the context of a democratic society. There is a clear concern in the Magna Carta to deepen the regulation of the sector, establishing guidelines for hitherto unclear aspects of previous normative acts. Concerning the production of content for TV, the Constitution addresses issues such as: freedom of speech; creation of the Communication Council as an auxiliary body of the National Congress; and production and programming of radio and television stations (Brasil, 1988).

On this last point, the Constitution establishes the following principles to be followed by broadcasters: I - preference for educational, artistic, cultural, and informative purposes; II- promotion of national and regional culture, and stimulation of independent production aimed at its dissemination; III - regionalization of cultural, artistic, and journalistic production; IV- respect for the ethical and social values of the person and the family (Brazil, 1988).

Almost thirty years after the enactment of this document, articles dealing with Social Communication in Brazil have not yet been regulated, although there are dozens of projects in this sense resting on the commissions of the National Congress. Especially on the regionalization of production, broadcasters are mostly against the constitutional device, claiming that the decentralization of production is incompatible with the high quality that the Brazilian TV programs currently demand. For them, only Rio and São Paulo have the economic-financial conditions to maintain and even improve the quality achieved.

It should be noted that the country has always stood out because of the high percentage of nationally produced TV programs. Mainly telenovelas, but also auditorium programs, mini-series, children's and religious programs produced by the broadcasters themselves dominate the programming schedules.

In addition to the Magna Carta, other normative acts post-Constitution address the production of TV content. The issue of racial crimes, for example, is regulated by Law No. 8081/1990[16], which prohibits the practice, induction or incitement of discrimination, or prejudice of race, color, religion, and ethnic or national origin in TV programs. This rigorous law gives the judge the power to suspend a program even before police investigation. And for historical purposes, upon completion of the process, regardless of whether there is conviction, the record of the program cannot be destroyed.

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[16] Provides for the crimes and penalties applicable to discriminatory acts or prejudices of race, color, religion, ethnicity or national origin, practiced by the mass media or by publications of any nature.

Another legal instrument that restricts the content of programs for TV is Ordinance No. 773/1990, of the Ministry of Justice, pursuant to the Constitution (Articles 21 and 220). The measure replaces censorship with the so-called "content rating", valid for both radio and TV programs, as well as for public entertainment in general.

In 2007, the classification criteria were reformulated by the Ministry, with the definition of the appropriate age groups and the schedules in which programs should be exhibited. It is Ordinance No. 1220/2007[17], which defines the process of content rating for television and the like. The document is based on the Statute of the Child and Adolescent (ECA)[18], for the integral protection and fundamental rights inherent to the human being until 18 years of age. In addition to providing guidance on the responsibilities for compliance with the Ordinance, procedures and supervision, it defines a content-related constraint. This is because the regulation focuses on "analyzing the characteristics of the work or audiovisual product; monitoring the content displayed in the programs subject to classification; and content rating" (Brazil, 2007).

Despite legislative updates on content censorship, legal actions for the television industry in the first fifteen years after the promulgation of the 1988 Constitution include, especially, the publication of regulatory acts to regulate the cable TV industry. Decree No. 95744/1988[19], Law No. 8977/1995[20], Rule No. 13/1996[21] (rev. 97), and Decree No. 2206/1997 [22] were created with this purpose.

Decree No. 95744/1988 presents the institutional bases of the Pay-TV market, regulating the operation of the sector. Regarding content production, in the field of "expression of thought", Articles 35-37 state that the contents transmitted will be free of censorship, in addition to recommending punishment for abuse of freedom of expression of thought by the channels, as well as for authorities that prevent or compromise this freedom (Brazil, 1988b).

Subsequently, in 1995, Law No. 8977 was approved, known as the Cable TV Law, which resulted from long negotiations between social movements and owners of Pay-TV broadcasters. This law constitutes an important historical milestone for the national audiovisual production, being responsible for breaking the rule until then followed, of having the programs produced by the broadcaster itself or licensed from foreign producers (Hoineff, 1991).

In addition to reserving channels from all cable TV companies for programs of responsibility of social and institutional entities (universities, organizations of civil society, parliament, municipalities, etc.), the law requires that at least 30% of the available channels are allocated to programs produced by companies not associated or in any way connected to the operator, that is, works of independent production.

The second half of the 1990s also marks the creation of regulatory agencies as part of a state project that is more managerial, during the FHC government. Two of them directly impact the television production process: The National Telecommunications Agency (Anatel), created by Law 9472/1997, and the National Cinema Agency (ANCINE), result of the Provisional Measure No. 2298-1/2001.

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[17] Regulates the provisions of Law No. 8069 of July 13, 1990 (Statute of the Child and Adolescent - ECA), Law 10359 of December 27, 2001, and Decree No. 6061 of March 15, 2007, concerning the content rating procedure for audiovisual works for television and the like.
[18] Law No. 0869 of July 13, 1990.
[19] Approves the Regulation of the Special Service of Pay-Television - PTV.
[20] Provides for the Cable TV Service and other measures.
[21] Details the regulation of the Cable TV Service, based on Law No. 8977 of January 6, 1995, which established the Service, and Decree No. 2206 of April 14, 1997, which regulated it.
[22] Approves the Regulation of the Cable TV Service.

Anatel is responsible for regulating, supervising and granting the telecommunications services in the country, in order to enable the development and modernization of the sector. The Agency reconfigures the position of the State from provider to regulator of services, since it fixes the competition regime for the provision of telecommunications services by the private initiative in place of the exclusive concession for the exploitation of services by state-owned companies. Although it does not act directly in content production, Anatel plays a relevant role in the structural issues of the Pay-TV industry in the country. Open TV is not under the supervision of the Agency, except in the case of the electromagnetic spectrum.

ANCINE, in turn, constitutes a regulatory agency sui generis, since in addition to having a regular function, the audiovisual sector is also responsible for promoting the production and distribution of content. Initially linked to the Ministry of Development, Industry and Foreign Trade, in 2003 it migrated to the structure of the Ministry of Culture.

In general, Provisional Measure No. 2228-1/2001, which created ANCINE, proposes the restructuring of the Brazilian audiovisual market through sectoral policies, development programs, financing funds, and revision of the legislation on contributions. In terms of contents, this PM implemented two programs - PRODECINE and FUNCINES - based on the principles of nationalization, diversity in content and formats, and professionalization, which impacted not only the film industry, but also the television sector (Brazil, 2001).

The national policy for audiovisual production is now conceived as an instrument to promote cultural diversity and the priority of contents in Portuguese. The production chain is organized with the majority participation of Brazilian companies and Brazilian professionals or residents in the country, accounting for two thirds of the total professionals, requiring professionalization of the domestic market. Dialogues and training become essential.

In the context of financing and development, the payment of the Contribution for the Development of the National Cinematographic Industry (CONDECINE) is established as a mechanism to encourage the market, in the sense that the more it affects the processes and increases production, distribution and placement, the higher the fundraising.

The broad project of investment for audiovisual industries in Brazil, managed by ANCINE, is detailed in the Audiovisual Guidelines and Goals Plan (ANCINE, 2013). The document provides for the enhancement of mechanisms to foster production, stimulate independent production, and develop physical and technological structures by 2020, through measures aimed at expanding the productive capacity of the TV, film, and internet markets.

Constraints of the audiovisual production process today

The stimulus to independent production has been highlighted as one of the main actions of the policy for audiovisual promotion headed by ANCINE. The body's work for these purposes is mainly based on the financial resources of the Audiovisual Sector Fund (FSA). ANCINE also works with the Audiovisual Secretariat (SAV) and the program "Brazil of All Screens" ("Brasil de Todas as Telas"), in addition to the Pay-TV Law (Law No. 12485/2011), which has acted as a mechanism to induce the actions of the Agency, imposing to the industry constraints that expand the spaces for national works developed by the independent segment.

The Audiovisual Secretariat was created by Law No. 8490/1992[23], under the previous name of Secretariat for Audiovisual Development, and plays a prominent role in training, inclusive

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[23] Provides for the organization of the Presidency of the Republic and of the Ministries and makes other provisions.

production, regionalization, non-commercial diffusion, democratization of access, and preservation of the Brazilian audiovisual content, in articulation with the guidelines of the Ministry of Culture and the National Plan of Culture.

In 2006, two important documents were approved, one of a technological nature and the other of a financial nature: Decree No. 5820/2006, which provides for the implementation of the Digital TV System (SBTVD-T), including guidelines for transition from analog to digital system; and Law No. 11437/2006[24], establishing the Audiovisual Sector Fund (FSA).

Preliminarily, the constraints of Decree No. 5820/2006 could be considered only "structural", since they presuppose technological innovations. Notwithstanding, the document indicates the possibilities of "high definition digital transmission (HDTV) and standard digital transmission (SDTV); simultaneous digital transmission for fixed, mobile, and portable communication applications; and interactivity". This impacts directly on how to produce content. Moreover, the Union can explore the following channels: Executive Power Channel, Education Channel, Culture Channel and Citizenship Channel ("Canal do Poder Executivo", "Canal de Educação", "Canal de Cultura" and "Canal de Cidadania", respectively), expanding the possibility of producing non-commercial content that meets specific niches and demands of civil society.

The articulation of educational channels around a single structure was consolidated with the creation of the Brazilian Communication Company (EBC), by Law No. 11652/2008[25]. By incorporating the structure of goods and equipment of Radiobrás, EBC, linked to the Social Communication Secretariat of the Presidency of the Republic, it enhances the integration between television, culture, and the independent production market, also serving as a guide for the public policies that involve the sector.

According to its foundations, the Company must "seek excellence in content and languages and develop creative and innovative formats, constituting a center of innovation and talent formation" (BRASIL, 2008). Furthermore, it establishes the Contribution for the Promotion of Public Broadcasting, broadening the dialogue with Anatel and the telecommunications market.

EBC is composed of a system that includes eight public radio channels, one news agency (Agência Brasil) and two TV channels, with TV Brasil being the main information vehicle of the network. In turn, the articulation between the contents developed by Portuguese-speaking countries takes place around TV Brasil Internacional.

Regarding the institutionalization of the promotion of audiovisual production, Law No. 11437/2006, which establishes the Audiovisual Sector Fund (FSA), brings important innovations in relation to previous mechanisms. The main one is the articulation between the stages of the production chain, which responds to an old claim of producers about the lack of spaces of diffusion of the works produced with public resources. In addition, there is a greater budgetary control, since the FSA has a rigid reimbursement system, which did not happen with previous mechanisms of promotion. It is, therefore, a broad program to promote the production and distribution of national content, divided into three main lines: PRODECINE (cinema), PRODAV (TV), and PROINFRA (infrastructure).

The same law that creates the FSA reviews a set of measures for the existing mechanisms of promotion. CONDECINE's resources become part of the National Fund for Culture (FNC), and

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[24] Changes the allocation of revenues from CONDECINE; modifies PM No. 2228-1 of September 6, 2001, and Law No. 8685 of July 20, 1993, extending and instituting mechanisms to promote audiovisual content; and makes other provisions.
[25] Establishes the principles and objectives of public broadcasting services operated by the Executive Branch or granted to entities of its indirect administration; authorizes the Executive Branch to set up the EBC (Empresa Brasil de Comunicação); amends Law No. 5070 of July 7, 1966; and gives other provisions.

part of these resources are now allocated to the financing of television production through the FSA.

The Rouanet Law[26] has been replaced by a mechanism to promote feature films, incorporated into the Audiovisual Law, which is also modified to benefit national production. With the new wording, "there can be a benefit from a 70% (seventy percent) reduction of the tax due, as long as there is investment in the development of projects for the independent production of Brazilian feature films and in the co-production of Brazilian cinematographic and videophonographic works of independent production, of short, medium and feature films, documentaries, telefilms, and miniseries".

Another significant consequence of Law No. 11437/2006 is to encourage the dialogue between Pay-TV programmers and independent producers, stimulating national co-productions. This stimulus is materialized through the appropriation of part of the income tax paid by the national television programmers and the broadcasting companies to be able to display foreign content.

The most important contribution of this Law for audiovisual production, however, was the institution of the Program for Supporting the Development of Brazilian Audiovisual Production (PRODAV), formatted, in terms of structure and purposes, by Decree No. 8281/2014[27]. Its different forms of promotion include professional training and prizes for audiovisual productions and funding agents. In addition, its regulation establishes clear conditions for the production of television content, through rules that include structural and content aspects. In its objectives, it is evident the direction for valorization of the audiovisual production coming from agents outside the structures of the TV stations, that is to say, the independent audiovisual producer. This is further elaborated in Chapter II of the Regulation, which sets out the main objectives of the Program: "to expand the independent production of audiovisual content with technical and artistic quality and diversity of genres, formats, authors, audiences, and regional origins" (ANCINE, 2014, p. 07).

Associated with the promotion of independent production, PRODAV emphasizes important aspects in terms of content production. Some deserve to be highlighted:

- Development of regional production arrangements: PRODAV consists of regional inductors, financing lines, and exclusive public calls for independent production companies located outside the Rio-São Paulo axis, states where the main poles of production and audiovisual distribution of the country are concentrated. In terms of production, it is a proposal that aims to expand the dissemination of content developed from different aesthetic references and perspectives, offering the public contents that can be differentiated in relation to the technical and aesthetic standards displayed by TV stations. The first lines of regionalization were launched in 2014;

- Stimulus to innovation and competitiveness: related to the previous item, the public calls of the FSA/PRODAV notices have stimulated the candidacy of proposals that offer products with innovation in language, format, and technologies. The public calls launched by the Fund foresee, for example, content categories for TV and mobile devices, considering the possibilities of on-demand video systems, besides promoting animation, electronic games, among others;

- Pre-licensing as a requirement for access to the Fund's resources: in the PRODAV lines, independent producers can only compete for the FSA's resources when in possession of a pre-

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[26] Law passed in the early 1990s, establishing a tax incentive policy aimed at making companies and people to individually apply a part of the income tax due on cultural actions. Legal entities can reduce up to 4%, and physical persons up to 6% of the tax.

[27] Establishes guidelines and conditions for the application of resources of the Audiovisual Sectorial Fund in the actions of the Program for Supporting the Development of the Audiovisual Industry (PRODAV), established by Article 4 of Law No. 11437 of December 28, 2006.

licensing agreement with a Brazilian TV broadcaster (open or closed TV). It is a strategy to ensure that works produced with public resources are commercially transmitted, which represents the insertion of independent production in the audiovisual production chain. This is an innovation point in relation to development mechanisms previously created in Brazil. This strategy is performed relatively easily because broadcasters are obliged to include independent national productions in their programming schedules;

- Creative cores: PRODAV has as one of its main objectives the induction to create a creative core for the development of serial and non-serial audiovisual works. The proposal foresees the articulation between medium and large independent producers with small producers for the development of contents through a collaborative and formative process. The first lines of Creative Core were launched by the FSA in 2013 and have been expanded.

Within an articulated policy project, the program "Programa Brasil de Todas as Telas" plays a general role of planning the distribution of the FSA's resources. For this, it works with four axes, among which are the production and diffusion of national contents. The other axes are: project development; qualification and professional training; and the program "Cinema Near You" ("Cinema Perto de Você").

The implementation of the conditions established by the FSA and the PRODAV Regulation has been possible mainly due to the rules imposed by Law No. 12485/2011, Service Law of Conditional Access (SeAC), better known as the Pay-TV Law. This law unifies the legislation of the sector, changing articles of the predecessor Cable TV law. It establishes for Pay-TV channels the obligation to comply with the national screen quota for channels classified as Qualified Space (CEQ)[28]. These channels must complete a minimum of 3 hours and 30 minutes of prime time with national content. At least half of this percentage must be independent production.

According to ANCINE data, in 2015, 148 of the 219 channels in operation on Pay-TV in Brazil were registered as CEQ. Channels entitled "Super Brazilians" are required to display a minimum of 12 hours of independent national programming daily. Currently, four channels fall into this classification: Canal Brasil, Cine Brasil TV, Curta!, and Prime Box.

Another important aspect of the Pay-TV Law in stimulating independent production concerns the prohibition of the same actor to act in the different stages of the audiovisual production chain, composing a structure more complex than the open TV market. With this rule, four categories of agents with direct action in the closed TV market in Brazil are clearly established: producers (who develop content); programmers (who organize the contents into programming schedules); packers (who organize the channels and programmers to be marketed); and distributors (who deliver, transmit packages and subscriptions by electronic means) (BRAZIL, 2011).

Although Law No. 12485/2011 does not directly affect the dynamics of production for broadcasting channels, its effects, in conjunction with the Audiovisual Sector Fund and, especially, PRODAV, have impacted the content production of Brazilian TV industries as a whole, by expanding the spaces for independent audiovisual production.

Finally, Brazil, in addition to having its own legislation, is a signatory of all international copyright agreements. This condition, however, at least as far as audiovisual production is concerned, has been positive, that is, in recent years, there has been no report of non-compliance with this legislation.

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[28] The term refers to Pay-TV channels whose programming is composed mostly of films, series, animations, and documentaries.

Conclusions

The Brazilian audiovisual production, a significant part of what is nowadays called creative industries, has been conditioned by specific legislation, both regarding prohibitions of certain contents and the stimulus to search for new expressions of culture, innovations of language, and creative use of advanced technologies.

Initiated at the same time as the cinema and the broadcasting in the country were organized, such conditions were born linked to an authoritarian vision, aimed much more at controlling than at stimulating creativity. As a child of the dictatorial period initiated by the Revolution of 1930 and that lasted until 1945, the legislation that inspires until today the regulation of the operation of open TV stations, for example, is mainly directed towards technical and economic aspects, relegating in the background cultural issues. Even the so-called Cable TV Law, passed in 1995, although providing a good prospect for national TV production, is not very emphatic about the constitution of genuinely Brazilian producers capable of generating high-quality audiovisual products.

The major landmarks of change will only occur after the promulgation of the 1988 Constitution: first with the so-called Cable TV Law in 1995, and then with the creation of ANCINE in 2001. The Cable TV Law triggered a rich process of independent production, but it has suffered from the absence of an integrated policy of production and consumption of nationally produced audiovisual content. That is, there was the opportunity to create and produce content for the cable channels, but there was no incentive on the part of the state to support this opportunity. This was only corrected as of 2003, with the inclusion of ANCINE in the structure of the Ministry of Culture (MinC). This change has brought this ministry to the regulatory and policy formulation processes for the production and diffusion of audiovisual content and represents a highly significant redirection in the production of TV content throughout the national trajectory. "The pair culture and communication, considered central by the MinC since 2003, is the basis for the construction of comprehensive audiovisual policies articulated with various social actors" (Moreira, Bezerra and Rocha, 2010, p.153).

This economy-communication-culture narrowing that has since been guiding the formulation and implementation of legal measures for TV in Brazil - as part of the actions for the audiovisual sector - in the last thirteen years, shows how certain constraints tend to have a greater impact on the creative processes in TV industries. Unlike the first fifty years of its trajectory in Brazil, marked by the implementation of regulatory measures, the legal constraints directed at national television industries in recent years have been concentrated in the field of the promotion of content production, articulated with the development of infrastructure for the sector. As an example of this articulation can be mentioned the adoption of the HDTV system, implanted in the country in 2006.

In summary, it is evident that the legal aspects are fundamental determinants of the TV content production in Brazil. It is also evident that the evolution of these constraints allowed the country to have a policy of content production no longer predominantly conditioned by censorship, as occurred before the 1988 Constitution, but rather an advanced policy, which, at the same time that it seeks to express the diversity of the national culture, encourages the construction of a national market of audiovisual production with different visions.

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CHAPTER 4

Five Strategies for a New Model of Community Television: A Proposal Based on the Colombian Experience

Lizandro Angulo Rincón

Colombia has led democratic processes through community media, in spite of the great internal problems that it endures, which include political and military conflict, corruption and social inequality. In fact, its third-sector radio and television models have become a point of reference for scholars and political actors around the world, thanks to the fact that they have a legal framework that protects them and encourages them to act as representative channels for social classes. The Colombian community TV experience dates back 30 years, during which time organized communities have appropriated not-for-profit media, and have used it to express their needs and projects and to develop communication and administration skills.

These advances have prompted us to study Colombian community TV - and to a lesser extent community TV in other countries - to discover its strengths and weaknesses, and to determine what its future is in a globalized context, with the greater presence of citizens demanding a more economic, caring, humane order. Embarking on this mission means going over the theoretical grounds and the origins of these systems, created by intellectuals interested in highlighting the relevance of community action in mass media. Scientific research and field work have also been important tools to reach these goals, since they have made it possible for us to gain a more thorough understanding of those who produce and manage community television.

At the end of the journey, we present five strategies for a new model of community television that, based on studies of the Colombian experience, can make for high-quality community audio-visual production and alternative views of human progress.

Background of community television

Sixty years ago, it would have been unthinkable that an organized community could manage, run and produce content for its own television channel. However, advances in technology, involvement by social movements and demand for training in communication and journalism have opened this form of media to control by citizens. We are talking, of course, about community television, which has been called the third, popular, alternative sector, but has ended up adopting the term 'community' because - as has been suggested (Chaparro, 2002) - it most precisely describes the meaning of belonging to all.

If we stop and look at this type of audio-visual medium, we can see that its nature and foundations are different from state TV, private open TV channels and private subscription-based TV channels. Community TV is different from state TV[29] in that, as Dragon (2002) tells us, it is not the pulpit (*púlpito*) from which governments launch propaganda or justify their political action. Nor does it wish to become an octopus (*pulpo*), like commercial stations, which are more interested in concentrating the media in few hands and getting ratings at any cost, for profit. As Dragon

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[29] For Zabeleta *et al.* (1998) community television is similar to state television in that both deal with issues from the public sphere, but community television represents a heterogeneous public sphere, with many agents, and without one dominating group defining what is rational in public opinion. State TV, on the other hand, makes standardized television, using idealized public opinion, which is represented as uniform, homogeneous and rational.

emphasizes, community TV aims to pay attention to local voices and its objective is not to reach a large area or mercilessly fight for viewers, but rather recover the feeling (*pálpito*) of the community, the pulse (*pulso*) of everyday life. The author includes other elements that have shaped the background and nature of community TV and we put them into context, based on our analysis.

Community participation: this type of TV should not be born out of commercial or political interest but rather a need detected in the community. This type of media is, therefore, not imposed on the collective but it is rather the collective that runs the entire process of creation, installation and management. This type of television has real value because it is able to integrate and speak for community concerns and facilitate processes for people to fight for better levels of well-being, like overcoming poverty, political exclusion and cultural dominance. However, our experience shows us that the community tends to take part in different ways: some of its members get involved by producing programs or ethically assessing content, and others merely propose changes to broadcast times or suggest coverage for a particular news story. Only those communities that have reached an advanced level of political maturity make their concepts clear in the production, management and control process.

Local content: what distinguishes community television from commercial television is that it broadcasts local content, developing its own form of expression, that is, a particular way of seeing and recounting facts. That is why community journalists establish committed relationships with the community, which is hard for a commercial station to manage. If community television fills its programming schedules with films, sport and entertainment, it does not include education and cultural work. In our view, its content should be focused on topics related to human development, such as health, education, popular culture, recovering peoples' historical memory, democracy and citizenship, peaceful coexistence, the environment, public spirit and social organization, with active participation by the community, so that the community itself can develop expression and administration skills.

Cultural belonging and language: this medium is committed to creating its own aesthetic, televisual and cultural direction, one that pleases a critical audience and brings improvements to its productions. The important thing is to highlight local culture, as long as this does not mean failing to show others as well. In addition, the essence of its programming should focus on transmitting the values of the area, which should be reflected in its presentation, decoration and the journalists' discourse, without ever reaching tacky or grotesque levels.

Convergence: thanks to technological advances (the internet and digital TV, among others), it does not make sense, nor is it necessary for community television to remain isolated. The elimination of physical barriers allows community television stations to show their achievements and advances to the outside world. We believe that, in order to transcend barriers, these types of television stations need to have discussions with similar organizations and establish links with the many institutions that can bring growth, without losing their participatory nature.

Our research in this area shows us that there is another aspect that makes up the essence of community television and its close relationship with human development. Social economy can be conceived as the creation, strengthening and fostering of human skills in an atmosphere of freedom (Sen, 2000) or the generation of professional, personal, artistic and work opportunities in human beings so that they are recognized and recognize themselves as valuable subjects. Community television applies these principles from two points of view. The first deals with the ability of members of the community to administrate, plan and manage (organizational skills) and to produce content for (communication skills) a TV system of this kind. The second is linked to the ability to have a direct impact on the situation in order to effect social change, by creating content that points out accomplishments in indicators of human development: education, health, culture of citizenship, security and recovering historical memory, among others.

Origins

The exponential growth that community television has seen in Colombia is the product of a silent fight to place the media at the service of citizens. The increase in these types of systems, which have increased from 106 in 2006 to 749 in 2012, can be seen as a victory for technology, as well as some community endeavors and some government desires to make the airwaves more democratic.

The origins of community television, not only Colombia but in the world, and above all in the western world, have to be found at the beginning of what was called the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). This order derived from the MacBride Report in 1976 on experiences with Community Radio Stations[30], in Latin American theorists' academic work dealing with communication and the reactivation of democracy in American countries. The members of the NWICO - which included the Colombia's García Márquez and the Chilean Juan Somavía – helped produce the report, in which they favored an end to communication monopolies and concentration of the media, instead looking to democratically spread ideas and develop the skills of nations in the 'South' to provide better a recording and broadcasting infrastructure (Angulo, 2012).

Jesús Martín-Barbero (1987), like other intellectuals in Latin America, had already claimed the importance of communities in recovering the old forms of solidarity that were found in the shanty towns (*barriadas*) and grass-roots sectors, in his renowned book 'Communication, Culture and Hegemony: From the Media to Mediations'. A later piece, written together by Jesús Martín-Barbero, Germán Rey and Omar Rincón (2000), establishes the criteria needed for public, educational and cultural public television to improve its quality. With the arrival of democracy to most Latin American countries[31] in the 1980s, the state framework was extended to popularly elected leaders and the creation of spaces for free thought. In the same decade, the television stations that had initially belonged to the state and which had become, according to Dragon (2002), the *pulpit* from which governments preached, began to be slowly eroded, and ended up allowing private and community ventures to make their way into the sector.

In Colombia's case, some technological, legal, communicative and sociological reasons can be cited, although it should be made clear that the first experiences appeared in the 1980s with the aim of encouraging alternative channels of communication that promoted participation, identity, harmonious coexistence and reflected community interests. The technological side undoubtedly played a fundamental role too, since it was in the 1980s that Colombia benefitted from the spread of satellites around the world to broadcast information and lower costs for video production equipment. This last factor stimulated television content production by members of the community, who would later be the main producers of programming.

Sociological and communication aspects serve as explanatory factors in the start of community television, in that (1) the channels emerged as places of expression for communities; (2) this situation, in part, came about because of the sudden deterioration of state television, which did not show the real situation of small populations far from the metropolis; (3) satellite dishes - through which the signal is received - became a new strategy for politics in municipalities; (4) businesspeople saw extremely profitable business opportunities in these systems, because they gave them the chance to supply international channels at low cost and (5) media faculties pushed these forms of media so that their graduates would have job opportunities.

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[30] Before the MacBride Report, the experiences of *Radio Sutatenza* in Colombia in 1947 and the *Radios Libres* in Bolivia in 1949 stand out, among others (Dragon, 2001). Afterwards, many community radio practices meant that, according to Alfaro (2000), communication could be turned into a vital organ that collected people's views and initiatives, so they could get to know their own situation and stimulate their actions to produce deep changes in economic, political and social aspects.

[31] According to the United Nations Development Programme (2004), over 30 years ago there were only three democracies in Latin America: Colombia, Costa Rica and Venezuela.

The legal aspects are the result of this background, with the decentralization process in the Colombian government, dating back to the 1980s, and the enactment of the Political Constitution in 1991, which authorized people not only to receive information but also to produce it (Article 20) and created an independent body to control television (Article 76). The result was the formation of the National Television Commission[32], today known as the National Television Authority, ANTV. The Commission issued Agreements 029 on 19 December 1997 and 006 in 1999, which remained in force until Agreements 009 of 24 October 2006 and 002 and 005 of 2007, These later agreements created the legal basis for community TV and, subsequently, established a specific model for operations recognized in the western world.

The Colombian Community Television Model Compared with American and European Models

Zabaleta et al (1998), Chaparro (2002) and Krohling (2003), together with the regulations of the National Telecommunications Commission of Venezuela, Conatel (2002), lead us to deduce that the most developed models of community television are those in Canada (where community TV was born), the United States, Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, the Netherlands and Belgium, since they all have legislation that protects them from the commercial media, which would prefer community initiatives to disappear. This legislation gives them strategies to support themselves financially and establishes mechanisms so that they operate under the standards of democratic participation.

The Canadian model emerged at the end of the 1960s, with the aim of valuing and projecting the cultural identity of the native people in the country (Chaparro, 2002), while the United States model, which emerged at the beginning of the 1970s, sought to speak in favor of free expression (Zabaleta *et al.,* 1998). Both systems, however, share the fact that they oblige cable operators to provide two or three channels for community and public access purposes. Something similar happens in Brazil, in that private cable companies are supposed to provide six channels, one of which should be of a community nature and dedicated for free use by non-governmental and not-for-profit bodies (Krohling, 2003). The Dutch and Belgian models have more state protection, although the physical means of broadcasting is still cable, operated by private companies. The difference between the models found in the United States, Canada, Brazil and Holland and the Colombian model lies in the fact that the latter does not depend on private cable operators to broadcast its content, because the state allows organized communities to have their own system, through which they broadcast supplementary (open, free) channels, encoded channels (that pay royalties) and community channels to their members, who pay to see them. A more detailed summary of how these models work in the world can be found in the following table.

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[32] In 2012, it was turned into the National Television Authority (*Autoridad Nacional de Televisión* - ANTV). This is, therefore, the name we shall use in this article.

Table 1. How community television models work[33]

Model	Year of foundation[34]	Broadcast system	Funding
Canada	1966	Cable operators assign channels for community use.	Government support, and cable operators hand over 5% of their revenue to produce community content.
USA	1971	Cable operators assign a channel for community use.	20% federal funds, donations, institutional contributions and cable operators.
Brazil	1995	Cable operator assigns a channel for community use free of charge.	Contributions from partner bodies, sponsors and service provision.
Venezuela	2001	Open community television.	Contributions, donations or (state) grants and advertising.
Colombia	1996	The community operates its closed cable community system.	The money from its subscribers, advertising and additional services it provides (internet, special broadcasts).
Belgium	1976	Open community television.	Public and local authority support. Advertising.
The Netherlands	1974	Cable operators assign channels for community use, or open community TV.	Public funds. They can spread to cable TV, online press and services provided by other forms of technology.

The advantage of community TV in Colombia is that the communities (1) take on the entire process of production, administration, and control of the television system and (2) they receive monthly or bimonthly payments to buy equipment, pay employees and journalists - with which reporters receive a relatively decent salary and do not need to rely on advertising campaigns and public funds - and for handing over economic contributions to the national TV fund, which is used to finance the country's public television (see figure 1).[35]

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[33] Cf. Angulo, 2012.

[34] We used the year in which the first known experience of community television started or the year in which the law regulating community television services was enacted.
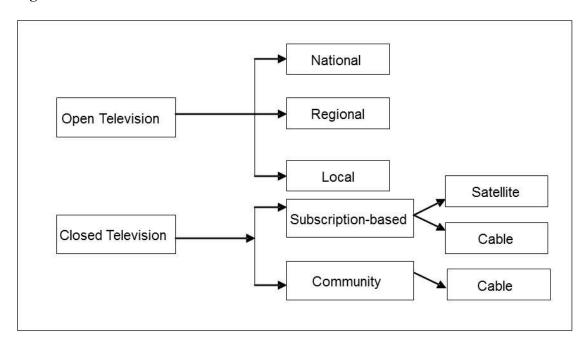
[35] Cf. Figure 1 in this chapter.

Figure 1. Structure of the Colombian television service[36]

In this figure, we can see that community TV is supplied in closed form, via cable, to subscribers who can pay a monthly or two-monthly fee. This is, precisely, one of the differences compared with local television that is broadcast openly and can be received free of charge. What is different about paid television, compared with community television, is that the former has wider coverage, which can extend to a country, region, etc., and offers more added services, and the subscribers pay a higher charge for it. Agreement 009 which entered into force in 2006[37] is the code that currently regulates community TV in Colombia and it leaves a different mark. The Agreement establishes how the system should work, based on the following items:

Definition and types of content: Community television is defined as a closed, not-for-profit TV service provided by organized communities, which aims to satisfy education, leisure and culture needs, with a focus on producing social and community-based content.
Coverage: Community television coverage is put in place over unified geographical areas, such as condominiums, residential complexes, sets of neighborhoods, neighboring rural communities in the same area or municipalities that are linked by relationships of mutual solidarity and cooperation, for which cable systems are used so that the signal reaches its target group. The Agreement also indicates that the coverage of a community operator cannot be more than 15,000 members. Nevertheless, the Board of Directors of the National Television Authority (ANTV) may authorize a higher number of users depending on special circumstances related to social, community and public interest uses.

Community participation: This type of television is developed in a participatory framework, within which members of the community can choose and be chosen, using democratic methods. Furthermore, organized communities should have accountability procedures, since there is an overriding common interest in providing the service.

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[36] Cf. Foundation for Higher Education and Development, 2005.
[37] Effectively, this code merges Agreements 029 of 1997 and 006 of 1999, which regulated not-for-profit TV services, with legislation on the distribution of supplementary frequencies (Angulo, 2012).

Not-for-profit status: No-one may make a profit by providing an organized community television service.

Granting licenses: The ANTV grants a single license to organized communities that broadcast national, regional or local frequencies on open television, and that receive and broadcast supplementary frequencies and broadcast their own productions, in accordance with what is laid down by the Agreement. Furthermore, they may broadcast up to seven (7) encoded signals, as long as they inform the National TV Authority in good time and comply with the minimum amount of in-house production. The code stipulates that organized communities who have valid licenses granted according to Agreements 006 of 1996[38] and 006 of 1999, shall keep their licenses and do not need to submit a new application for a license or approval for the proposed in-house production.

In-house programme production: The organized communities are obliged to make in-house production and the number of hours for it depends on the number of members the community operator has, and the number of encoded channels it broadcasts, so: (1) organised communities with coverage reported to the ANTV of less than or equal to 2,000 members, 1 hour of in-house production per week; (2) organized communities with a coverage of more than 2,000 members but fewer than 8,000 members, 2 hours of in-house production per work, and half an hour more per week for each encoded frequency it broadcasts; (3) organized communities with a coverage of more than 8,000 members, 2 hours of in-house production per week, and 1 extra hour for each 1,000 members above this number, with half an hour of additional production per week for each encoded signal it broadcasts up to a total of 10.5 hours each week.

Determining contributions and amounts: The ordinary contributions by members cannot be more than 0.0368[39] times the minimum monthly salary in force. Also, the money raised by this means, as well as going to the ANTV, should be reinvested in improving the television service. Both codes also determine that a free television service may be provided to public bodies, institutions that work with education or family well-being, and not-for-profit organizations in their coverage area.

Compensation payments: It is stipulated that compensation payments of 7% of gross monthly revenue[40] should be made to the National Television Authority, varying 1% for each encoded channel broadcast. If there are no encoded channels, then 1% of revenue should be paid anyway.

Prohibitions: Community television stations are prohibited from, among other actions: (1) interrupting supplementary or encoded signals with commercials broadcast from Colombian territory or with in-house programming, unless it is a special broadcast ordered by the national government; (2) broadcasting, using a character generator, civic messages under any conditions other than those established in Article 17 of the Agreement or attempting to convert viewers, either politically or religiously, with these messages; (3) broadcasting programmes with pornographic content or programmes that ignore the provisions of Agreement 017 of 1997, or the rules which add to or modify them, which contain violent and sexual content, or which ignore the principles and objectives of the television service.

Marketing: Community television may also raise funds through advertising and this is governed by the same parameters as open television, that is, by Agreements 2 of 2003 and 1 of 2005, which establish, among other provisions, that information about one or several products, names, brands or services can be shown, with a duration of more than three minutes for each half an hour of television programme, on all public service channels shown on open, national, regional or local television.

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[38] This Agreement regulated the provision of supplementary frequency services.

[39] This is worth more or less 9 American dollars or 6 euros per month. This is the maximum amount that members can pay for ordinary contributions.

[40] This money, together with the private national TV contributions and subscription TV contributions, funds public television in Colombia.

Value-added services: Agreement 009 of 2006 authorizes community television license holders to use the network to provide value-added and ICT services - internet, for example - provided that they are operated within the law.

The spirit of the Agreement is coherent - at least in theory - with what Dragon (2006, 2007) states, in that (1) it preserves and develops participation and dialogue in community media and (2) it achieves social sustainability, that is, it encourages the audience not only in terms of quantity but also in terms of the quality of its commitment; its institutional sustainability, which involves having a legal framework that regulates and establishes national policies directed at guaranteeing the existence and advancement of community audio-visual organizations; and its economic sustainability, which entails creating sources of funds from payments made by the community to watch it, voluntary contributions of money and work and/or finding advertisers.

After looking at its formal operations, it is worth asking what has happened in the practice of community TV in Colombia beyond the attempt to regulate with Agreement 009 of 2006. In other words, are these community media outlets really participatory, not-for-profit and self-sustaining? What does their future hold? What opportunities and threats lie in the years ahead? Next, we will examine these questions.

The debate about the future of Colombian community TV

The way community TV is run in Colombia varies, since in some departments, like Santander, Antioquia and North Santander[41], there has been significant work to try to bring democracy to the airwaves, to boost community participation in the entire process of managing and producing the programme schedule and efficiently administrating the economic resources from member payments and advertising, as well as providing extra services (internet and special broadcasts[42]). In other areas, economic and content production instability is the rule, due to the weakness that communities and civic and social movements have in appropriating these systems. It is also common for some people to be in charge of operating them, following strictly economic criteria, so that they may lose their 'not-for-profit' nature and, sometimes, they use politics to influence public decisions on local regulations.

Another important matter is the content of the programmes. Our research has indicated that the content is not normally what might be considered alternative or challenging discourse. This is in part because of the Colombian political and military conflict and the lack of institutional guarantees that impede the practice of free and independent journalism. Instead, the content commonly includes topics linked to recovering historical memory, recording political and cultural events, supporting social campaigns and creating an area to convey claims and community projects. Some of the stations do not make timely reports on their programming, revenue or the number of members, which makes it difficult for the National Television Authority to monitor them as they should.

This situation, added to the interest shown by multinational capital in appropriating local markets, has led the national government to present a proposed piece of legislation to amend Agreement 009 of 2006 that, in our view, is damaging to community TV's interests.[43] This is based on the fact that Article 14 limits the signal coverage to one commune or group of neighborhoods and will not allow

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[41] This does not mean that there have not been positive experiences in other departments. There are some examples, but fewer of them. The word 'department' is the same as 'autonomous community' in Spain or 'state' in the United States.

[42] An important achievement made in 2012 was the authorization to broadcast some Colombian Professional Football games, an exclusive right that a few years ago was only held by the multinational *Claro*, owned by Carlos Slim, a telecommunications millionaire. Cf. Major Division of Colombian Football, 2012.

[43] The observations on this proposed legislation can be found on the National Television Authority website. Cf. National Television Authority, 2012.

it to reach the entire municipality, which means reducing the number of members to a maximum of 6,000, whereas Agreement 009 of 2006 establishes that there could be up to 15,000. The option given in the proposed reform is for stations to bid for a license that allows them to cover a larger geographical area, but as a subscription-based TV station[44], which detracts from its community, not-for-profit nature.

Additionally, it makes it compulsory for them to renew their operating license every ten years (Article 7), even if they have been granted a license indefinitely, as established by Agreement 009 of 2006, so their right to legal security is weakened in comparison to many Colombian and foreign investors.

Another affront to community television stations is found in Article 17 of the proposed reform legislation, referring to 'compensation payments'. The National Television Authority (ANTV) currently demands that these systems pay 7% of their gross monthly revenue, based on 1% for each encoded channel broadcast, but with the amendments foreseen, contributions to the authority would become 'the result of multiplying the number of members by a monthly per member tariff of $1,202.55, to be adjusted based on inflation each year.' Economic contributions also increase, as they should give 10% of their monthly gross revenue from advertising to the ANTV. It is clear that with these contributions, it is intended that community TV stations' incomes are significantly reduced[45] for finding encoded channels and for acquiring the infrastructure, equipment and human resources that are fundamental to producing programmes.[46]

What can be deduced from all this is that there is a desire to legislate in favor of subscription TV stations, whose sponsors hope that community television disappears so that they can take hold of the market left behind in the wake of restrictions imposed by the national government in the new Agreement. In fact, subscription-based TV had already demanded that community TV stations be banned from broadcasting encoded channels, which are usually better quality and which – together with local programming and value-added services – entice new members.

We studied community television in Colombia from 2004 until 2012, using different types of quantitative (analyzing content and surveys) and qualitative (in-depth interviews and observational field work) methods. With this research, we intend to show the academic and policy communities the steps forward and steps back that have taken place in the Colombian model, so that this diagnosis can be the base for creating policies that support community TV, protecting it from transnational capital and giving it guidelines to operate in keeping with current social challenges, such as globalization, the influence of information and communication technologies (ICTs), and the emergence of renewed social activism. The following section will briefly present some aspects related to the method of the study and its main results.

Community TV in Colombia: steps forwards and steps backwards

The study was carried out in two stages: in 2004-2008 and in 2010-2012. In both stages, different variables were measured and linked to three objectives: (1) finding out if Colombian community television had an alternative, participatory nature, which spoke using its own language, as suggested by the academics cited here; (2) identifying whether this type of media complies with Agreement

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[44] However, to access subscription-based TV status, they will have to compete with transnational subscription TV networks, such as DirecTV and Claro, under unequal economic and administrative conditions.

[45] The option left by the ANTV to avoid diminishing revenue is to increase the rate that TV viewers have to pay each month or two-month period. This is detrimental for the TV viewers because they have to pay more to watch community channels and for the channels themselves because it makes them less competitive compared to subscription-based TV.

[46] It is worth noting that the proposed reform obliges stations to increase in-house programme production to 4 hours per week in the first two years of operation, and 14 hours per week following that, which means greater investment in infrastructure, staff and equipment.

009 of 2006 from the National Television Authority, in terms of producing in-house programmes focused on education and culture and (3) determining if this type of media really helps to develop its communities and if it has created any organizational and communication skills.

In the 2004-2008 period[47], we were interested in understanding what types of programme dominated schedules. The cultural type was produced most often (43.2%), and includes education, scientific production, art and popular culture. This high percentage suggests that these stations comply, partly, with what is laid down in Agreement 009 of 2006 by creating spaces aimed at education and culture. However, we believe, as do Martín-Barbero, Rey and Rincón (2000), that the educational and cultural focus should not be limited to producing programmes of those types. That focus should rather be transversal to all programming, its sphere of expression, regardless of whether the content is about music, information, etc. Following that train of thought, we can also find relevant figures about information programmes (news, magazine programmes, interviews), which are so called because, according to Zabaleta (2005), they deal with news and reports, dialogue-based programmes such as interviews and debates, and mixed programmes that include both of these genres. In fact, these types have significant numbers: magazines (14.4%), interview programmes (9.6%) and news (7.2%). This trend has been present since 1998, according to Rodríguez (1998).

But according to what journalistic and organizational criteria are those programmes produced? Observational field work and interviews carried out lead us to conclude that the skills to produce them are there, because they are broadcast regularly and show improvements in their technical structure, in spite of the limitations in teams and qualified personnel. Nonetheless, much of their content is produced following successful national and regional television models and the stations do not explore a new expression of their own to see and relate facts. Furthermore, the daily information agenda seems to be defined by whatever is broadcast on local radio.

We also analyzed segments of news programmes, magazines and interview programmes to discover what the themes, journalistic genres, values and countervalues were present, both in terms of journalism and human development, as well as determining the protagonists who appeared most often. These things call attention to the most representative topics, politics (41,.4%) and culture (26.8%), but if we look further at how politics is presented, we find that government issues dominate (28.9% of the segments studied), more than community issues (17.9%), implying that official and state sources take priority over community voices. Culture is distributed evenly among the topics of art (5.8%), education (12.6%) and the human environment (8.4%).

Another aspect we studied was the influence of journalistic genres on the existence of values and countervalues governing journalism and human development. The percentages related to journalism genres are shown in the following table.

Table 2. Journalisme genres in information programmes[48]

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[47] This research covered the production, programming and audience sections of 10 community TV stations to understand the programme's genre. We also used four of them to determine topics, sub-topics, journalistic genres, values and countervalues, both of journalism and human development, and the protagonists of features on information programmes: news, magazines and interview programmes. It is also important to note that in 2006, the year in which many samples were taken, stratified by month and using systematic random sampling, there were only 106 television stations of this type in Colombia. In the production sector, methods like in-the-field observation were used; in the programming area, content was analyzed; in the audience area, surveys were carried out (Angulo, 2008).

[48] Cf. Angulo, 2008.

	report	news	interview	survey	edit-orial	TV class	chronicle	review	comment	other	total
News	4.5%	79.5%	5.0%	0.7%	2.4%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	3.1%	4.1%	100%
Magazine	7.0%	29.6%	16.9%	15.5%	0.0%	5.6%	11.3%	1.4%	2.8%	9.9%	100%
Interview prg.	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100%
Average Community TV	4.7%	68.9%	11.1%	2.7%	1.9%	0.8%	1.9%	0.2%	2.9%	4.7%	100%

Everything seems to indicate that the high prevalence of news (68.9%) within the information genre can influence the presence of journalistic countervalues[49] as well as general matters, superficiality (22.4%), unidirectionality (19.1%) and partiality (7.8%) and human development countervalues, such as exclusion (39%), injustice (6.4%) and war (6.1%). This is due to the short amount of time dedicated to news, which does not allow stories to be dealt with in depth, and the absence of contrasting sources, an essential principal of high-quality journalism. It is presumed that greater presence of journalistic values could be achieved (analysis, contextualization, etc.) and better human development values (participation, justice, etc.) reached in information programmes by using a flexible structure of informative segments; a balance between information, opinion and education; and more participation by sources and a greater variety of topics.

This means, of course, that genres like interviews (11.1%), reports (4.7%) and chronicles (1.9%), all of which are interpreting genres that allow for breadth of detail, commentaries (2.9%) and surveys (2.7%), both in the opinion category, and TV classes[50], in the education genre, increase their presence. To achieve this, community TV needs more training for its journalists and leaders, more time, more economic resources and equipment, and improvements in the organization of its work. Similarly, the high percentage of the exclusion countervalue (39%) may have an influence on the low proportion of on-screen appearances by children (1.6%), young people (13%), the elderly (4.2%) and women (29.2%). In contrast, men (45.1%) and adults (74%) are the most visible in information programme sections.

Through these studies, we have discovered that magazines are the programme genre that, thanks to its flexibility and the way it deals with information, can best help form high-quality community television and journalism. To support this idea, we include the following data.[51]

Table 3. Strengths of community magazine programmes[52]

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[49] When we define the 'countervalues' category, we are referring to the segments of information programmes that compromise high-quality journalism or achievement of human development indicators.
[50] We recorded the educational genre on television (TV classes and courses for TV) based on studies by Cebrián (2003).
[51] Cf. Table 3 in this chapter.
[52] Cf. Angulo, 2008.

	topic		journalism genre			Journalism countervalue	Human dev. countervalue	gender	age
	politics	culture	news	TV class	report	Partiality	Exclusion	women	adult
News	46.8%	17.9%	79.5%	0.0%	4.5%	8.8%	38.4%	20.1%	84.1%
Magazine	14.1%	74.6%	29.6%	5.6%	7.0%	2.8%	35.9%	42.9%	57%
Interview prg.	29.2%	41.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0	4.2%	66.7%	34.8%	87%

What this shows is that magazine programmes, although they do not include the newness and immediacy of news programmes or the depth of interview programmes, lend themselves to positive values in the way they deal with information that come close to the nature of community television stations and focus on human development. There is, for example, a tendency towards culture topics (74.6%) rather than politics (14.1%) - as happens in other programme genres - they have more reports (7%) than news programmes (4.5%), the journalism countervalue percentages for partiality (2.8%) and exclusion (35.9%) are lower than those for news and interview programmes, and they take care to ensure that women have more on-screen presence (42.9%). This leads us to believe that the magazine format could be adequate for the principles of community TV because it is more inclusive in terms of topics, people, journalism values and human development. Moreover, the sections usually last longer, and include more community voices, and reveal a calmer journalism, as suggested by Just, Levine and Regan (2001).

Another aspect dealt with in the research was the audience. A relationship was found between the high frequency of news programmes (68.9%) and the concepts mentioned by viewers as the main contributions that community TV makes to their area. Their contribution focuses on information, since 45.8% of people stated that it contributed to community development by keeping it informed about the situation in the local area and the community and that it delivered useful information (14.6%). Perhaps a greater presence of interpretation, opinion and education genres, and a greater commitment to producing the values of human development in the different types of information programmes would mean that areas such as appeals to free expression, criticism and debate (14.6%), providing education (2.1%), establishing dialogues to resolve conflict (0%) and supporting safety and citizenship awareness programmes (2.1%) would have higher percentages than those shown here.

In the 2010-2012[53] period, other variables linked to the number of channels, hours of stable programming, number of permanent, direct workers and their remuneration, and difficulties in content production were also measured. As regards the first variable, the number of encoded channels, most broadcast between 41 and 50 (20%), 61 and 70 (20%) or 70 and 80 (20%), which implies that they have the equipment necessary to receive and broadcast a range of content to their members. The number of systems offering between 31 and 40 (16.7%) and 51 and 60 (16.7%) is also high. However, there are differences surrounding the number of encoded channels. These systems mostly broadcast seven encoded channels (66.7%), the maximum number allowed. Others broadcast four (10%) or six (10%). It is worth noting that the National Television Authority allows operators to choose the genres of encoded channel (sport, education, film...), which are the channels most in demand by viewers for their quality. Another result that justifies community TV's inclusion on the Colombian airwaves is content production. All the evidence shows that 20 years of

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[53] To gain the results, 30 surveys were performed in Sabaneta, a municipality close to Medellín, where the IV Festival of Community Television was held, organised by Comutv in September 2011. 120 stations of this type attended this event, of which 30 were surveyed. Cf. Cooperativa Multiactiva de Televisión Comunitaria, n.d.

experience have produced results, in that 100% of these stations create and broadcast content that includes participation, in some cases, by members of the community and educational, cultural and social institutions. Nevertheless, 20% do not do so regularly, that is, they only do so occasionally, respecting dates and times of the schedule, due to (1) a lack of maturity in the community to carry out audio-visual projects in a planned, organized and democratic way; (2) the need for a core group of permanent, paid journalists and equipment that can endure long-lasting work; (3) the loss of the community, not-for-profit emphasis, which is encouraged by businesspeople who run these television networks in order to make money, replacing the community and offering only supplementary and encoded channels (on some occasions they use the community channel); (4) the lack of plans for training by the ANTV for content production and managing community TV stations.

In spite of these weaknesses, community television stations strive to schedule more time for local content over the week. In this context, 59.3% produce more than six hours per week, 11.4% six hours, 11.1% four and 7.4% two. However, the number of hours varies depending on the number of members it has (as Article 17 of Agreement 009 of 2006 states), the organization and the quality of equipment that they have. Another measurable variable is the difficulty in producing in-house content. In that area, the representatives of community television stations indicate that the main difficulty is a lack of support from the ANTV (16.7%) because the body does not monitor its administration processes or improvements in the station's production and management. This is followed by a lack of economic resources (15.9%) and a lack of sponsors (15.2%), replies that imply that the resources they receive each month or every two months from users and advertising are not enough.[54]

It also interested us to see how many people work permanently and directly on producing programmes (journalists, editors, directors, and camera operators). Under this point, the results are more significant: between two and three people (56.6%) or between four and five (20%). Other systems showed one person, five or six people, seven or eight and more than eight, although there were fewer of them. Adding these values together, the 30 systems surveyed show a total of 112 people with production roles, and if we project that across the other 749 systems registered with the ANTV, community TV would create 2796 employees of this type, without considering related positions such as secretaries, fitters, managers and indirect jobs.

But what are their pay conditions and what training to they have?

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[54] This is another argument against the proposed reform that, precisely, aims to reduce the revenue of community TV stations, since they will be obliged to increase the number of hours of in-house programming and economic contributions to ANTV.

Table 4. Remuneration and personnel training[55]

Wage				
Minimum wage	More than minimum	Volunteers	Bonuses	Through advertising sold
52.7%	34.8%	2.7%	6.3%	3.6%
Training				
Secondary education...(1)		University studies...(2)		Technical studies...(3)
46.4%		41.1%		12.5%

(1) Secondary education courses/diplomas, experience in journalism; (2) with university and/or technical studies in journalism; (3) with technical/technological or university studies in other areas.

We can see that of those who work directly and permanently in these systems, 46.6% are people with secondary education or experience in journalism, 41.4% have university and/or technical studies in journalism and 12.5% have technical/technological studies in other areas. These studies imply that staff with technical, technological and university studies in journalism and other areas are linked to community TV production (both reach a total of 53.6%), although there is still a significant proportion of people who have fewer qualifications, that is, only secondary level education or journalism courses. Furthermore, of these workers, 52.7% earn minimum wage, with all the benefits established by law (600,000 Colombian pesos, €250 or US$332), 34.8% earn more than minimum wage but less than twice the minimum wage in force and 2.7% do not earn any money because they work on a voluntary basis. 6.3% only receive bonuses - less than minimum wage - and 6.3% receive payments for advertising they sell to local business and institutions.[56] We can see from this information that 87.5% earn a salary with the benefits laid down by law, and this is possible because the closed community TV system (with paying subscribers) provides economic resources each month to improve their infrastructure, buy equipment and pay staff.

Five strategies for a new model of community television

We propose a community television model that, by using five linked strategies, creates 'almost ideal' operations for this type of media, in accordance with new world challenges: globalization, influence of information and communication technology, the emergence of renewed social activism that fights for the environment, the creation of a more caring and eco-social economic and communication model (Chaparro, 2009), pacifism, gender equality and democratic participation, among other demands.

Usually, the models - as we have seen - are legal, i.e., they deal with what community television channels can and cannot do, where their signals come from, what type of content they can show and how many members can receive their services. However, the model proposed here intends for the systems to create alternatives to make high-quality community TV and journalism and to promote development with a human face.

Although these five strategies - participation, strategic alliances, programming, human development and projection arise from studying community TV in Colombia, we believe that they are universal and can, therefore, be applied to community media in other nations.

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[55] Cf. Angulo, 2012.

[56] This practice works against journalists' independence, since often they refrain from reporting controversial facts about local businesses and institutions from whom they have received money for advertising.
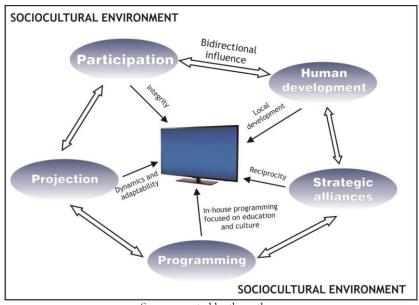
Figure 2. Five strategies for a new model of community TV

Source: created by the authors

The participation strategy is involved in the very nature of community TV, as Dragon has pointed out (2002). It means that this type of media is not imposed on the community, but it is rather the community itself that creates it so that it can speak on behalf of community needs and projects. Nevertheless, active intervention by citizens usually varies a lot in intensity and at different levels. Our proposal, therefore, is for participation to take into account stages for access, active intervention, self-management and training (Berrigan, 1981; Angulo, 2008), so that communities can carry out the entire process on their own.

Access is a stage related to the community's opportunity to get closer to information and communication systems, freely and spontaneously. This stage has to do with the options that the community has to (1) watch and listen to the programmes it wants to, selected from a wide range of areas that meet its information, education and entertainment needs; (2) request that programmes are broadcast at the times that best suit it. Yet, it means that there must be (1) productive and constant interaction between the producers and the community in defining content, so that the community may propose topics and discuss community problems and projects; (2) direct participation by the public in broadcasting the programmes, as well as in technical production or by giving opinions as guests; (3) the right to make comments, suggestions and criticisms in person or using other channels such as telephone calls, letters, etc.

Active intervention operates on three levels: in organizing or making decisions, in creating and producing television and in planning. In terms of organizing or making decisions, the community participates in managing, administering, funding and monitoring community television organizations and in controlling content, schedules and audio-visual, economic and human resources by democratically electing community committees or councils. In terms of creating and producing television, it is intended that there are opportunities without restrictions for the community to create and produce programmes, and that the station has the facilities, resources and audio-visual technical means to do so. In terms of planning, participation carries with it the right for the community to help define administration and communication plans.

Self-management is an advanced way of participating that involves the community having the chance and the ability to manage all types of resources (economic, technological, consultancy, etc.)

by establishing strategic alliances with different institutions, without compromising the philosophy and nature of public service. Training refers to the right to access professional help in order to perform programme production and creation duties, as well as monitoring, planning and self-management.

The programming strategy means mostly producing local content and maintaining focus on education and culture (Martín-Barbero; Rey & Rincón, 2000). Producing local content involves a particular way of seeing and conveying the facts that aims to encourage democracy and citizenship, to conserve and preserve the environment, to strengthen community organization, to recover peoples' historical memory, to resolve conflict, to preserve health and encourage a healthy lifestyle and healthy habits for children and young people, among others. The educational and cultural focus is understood as the code of expression that guides all programme production, not only as simple segments limited by schedules, dates and modules in which educational and cultural information is broadcast. The cultural elements are understood as (1) recovering and strengthening individual and collective values that are developed using social interaction mechanisms; (2) reflecting those values when producing television, for example, in the set decoration, without being tacky; (3) cultivating an area to create public feeling and recognition of a community with its own identity, while respecting ethnic and cultural diversity and plurality. The educational side has a wide role in community television, although it essentially aims to help train citizens and to develop autonomous, critical and proactive human beings.

The strategic alliances strategy suggests that community television can establish strategic alliances with civil society and a variety of institutions that can channel and find solutions for the community's needs and expectations in political, economic and cultural issues.

This strategy is relevant if we bear in mind that the media can only become an effective tool to bring about social change if it is accompanied by changes in the country's political, economic and social structure, harmoniously linked with a variety of projects. In other words, the isolated work of one type of media has limited impact if it is not combined with other resources. To achieve reciprocal contributions between institutions and civic movements, two conditions are needed: establishing cooperation relationships, not imposing, and encouraging commitment from agents for planning, actions and results.

The human development strategy refers to the fact that community television operates within the general framework of human development, as we mentioned in the theoretical grounds, but given its nature, philosophy and coverage, it dedicates all its efforts to promoting and strengthening local development, by creating programmes and television content that encourages skills for the community to spearhead structural changes for the common good. In other words, community TV is inspired by the principles of human development, but because its sphere of activity is restricted to one region or area, it acts fundamentally to promote and achieve local development, which is understood as a process that allows communities to lead their own development by making use of their potential and institutional, human, economic and cultural resources (Boisier, 2005).

The projection strategy means that these systems can guarantee their survival and development by becoming nationally and internationally known through the use of ICTs. With the help of ICTs, especially the internet and digital radio and television, community television can (1) let the outside get to know its programming, projects and audio-visual and community achievements, so that they can leave anonymity and geographical isolation behind; (2) make contact with other organizations to carry out collaborative work to exchange ideas and resources and create a new type of knowledge; (3) make use of types of interactivity made available by ICTs to strengthen the comprehensive participation element of the community; (4) use its network to provide value-added services and ICT services in accordance with legal requirements.

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CHAPTER 5

Digital Networks and the 2011 Student Movement in Chile: Strategies of a generation that moved the virtual public space to the street and to the world

Ximena Póo Figueroa

The 2011 student movement was successful in focusing the world's attention on the profound inequalities that exist in Chile. That year, university students, continuing the legacy of the movement led by secondary students in 2006, demanded a more fair and equitable society, coordinating throughout the country to demand significant reforms to the educational system as the foundation for building a society with greater equality. Distrustful of traditional political processes, the movement had a significant presence on the Internet, where networks were knit together to take to the streets, criticise the government and members of Congress, and raise awareness of these issues in a society in which daily life is subject to a free-market system. This article explores the strategies used by the students and examines how their leaders value social media as a public space that is free of the hegemonic influence of the traditional communications media, which is viewed as an agent of the powers against which the students are struggling. The year 2011 is analysed as a time in which the students fought to establish the basis of a long-term debate that requires fairly urgent responses. That year, social media—Facebook, Twitter, e-mail and other channels—generated actions that had an impact on mass media, the state apparatus, political parties and particularly on a citizenry open to hearing more voices through digital media.

On collective action, revolt and movement

The student revolt of 2011 in Chile revealed discontent that had often been hidden in classrooms and ignored by the mass media. This was a discontent that politicians and their institutions—political parties, the Congress, the state—had ignored during the years following Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship (1973-1989). Chile's representative democracy was installed beneath the shadow of fear and neoliberalism in Chile, within an entire social, political, cultural and economic fabric that ultimately transferred this erosion to the generations that followed.

Thus in 2006 high school students, organising through social forums in political establishments and student assemblies with direct participation, began the first of many demonstrations against an inequitable system that places education at the mercy of a predatory free market, a system in which the state provides subsidies but no guarantees, where education is perceived and materialised as a privilege and not a right. In 2006, Chile's secondary students took to the streets, shutting down their schools.

For months, they locked the gates to their schools, demanding drastic changes in the education law inherited from the dictatorship, and which to this day no democratic government has had sufficient will to radically and structurally change. This was baptized the 'Penguin Revolution' (alluding to the navy-blue uniform and white shirt worn by students in Chile, particularly in public and partially subsidized schools) by the mass media.

That year, another major revolt began to develop. With no resolution of the educational issue in Chile — the State, through the Education Ministry, serves as the oversight body but public education is provided by municipalities, while public universities receive a basic, minimal level of

financing — in 2011 university and secondary school students again began protesting, demanding a definitive solution. What they sought was an end to scholarships and profit-making (school operators and owners of private universities were not reinvesting a significant percentage of profits in their own educational institutions, as required by law), as well as reform of structural deficiencies in a system that urgently requires change to guarantee minimal social welfare, a goal that thus far Chile has not sought in terms of its political and social organization.

Against this background, collective action gave way to a social movement that has been maintained over time and has brought together diverse social stakeholders driven by a single objective: structural change, even constitutional change (several sectors of the left and center-left are now demanding a constitutional assembly to replace the current authoritarian, top-down constitution, the spirit of which was inherited from 20th century dictatorships). This collective action has been forged without the support of the traditional communications media which, as in much of Latin America, represent strategic business interests, are conservative on moral issues and follow a neoliberal logic in economic terms.

This collective action results from what Tarrow has called the first—but not necessarily required—step from collective action to social movement, of which it is part. In Chile, the students' actions transformed into a social movement with a larger scope, sustained over time, with a common purpose and supported by a significant portion of society (receiving more than 80% approval, according to various state and private surveys). It is certain, then, that:

> "Collective action emerges in response to changes in political opportunities and constraints, and its participants respond to a variety of incentives: material and ideological, partisan and group-based, long-standing and episodic. Those who possess unlimited resources to take collective action, even if sporadically, take advantage of these opportunities through known repertoires of action. When these actions are based on dense social networks and connective structures and draw on consensual or action-oriented cultural frames, they can sustain challenges to powerful opponents" (Tarrow, 1997, p. 33).

Social media — as connective structures — were fundamental in reinforcing relationships and the programs proposed, enabling dialogue between those at the grassroots level and the movement's heterogeneous leadership. This spectrum ranges from members of political parties such as the Communist Party (with the visibility of Camila Vallejo, president of the student federation of the Universidad de Chile and spokesperson for the national university student federation) to free-thinker and anarchist action groups, as well as those not part of any particular political group but who, supporting 'the cause', march in the streets when necessary, responding to the call for 'social transformation'. Whether of low, medium or high intensity, the desire to transform society into one that is 'more fair and equitable' (the slogan used) is widespread, as evidenced by banners stating, for example: 'And Pinochet's education will fall', 'Education is a right, not a privilege', 'Down with profit', 'No more students indebted for life', 'Open and free universities now'. The call resonates broadly because everyone has had to save for a few scholarships, pay for their education within a public system, which in practice is a mixed system based on the existence of an entrepreneurial agent who is responsible for his or her own destiny and expects nothing from the state or from the social solidarity it oversees. This agent, however, advocates for greater participation in democracy, ranging from his or her daily activities to becoming an active agent within a democratic framework referred to as 'low intensity'.

> "The most common forms of participation in recent times in Chile are informative, consultative and instrumental. Today's challenges require that public policies be proposed in a more integral manner, in order to articulate the diverse demands of civil society. This necessity arises fundamentally because the issue of citizen participation has been the great 'debt' of the Concertación

[political coalition] and its governments, in terms of its responsibility for the persisting civic deficit in our democracy. For example, while a significant portion of the 'authoritarian enclaves' that characterized the Chilean constitutional architecture were removed, bringing the possibility of opening spaces for participation, this was diluted throughout the successive governments [of the *Concertación*]. Civic participation was relegated to a second tier in the political design of the return to democracy, even in a government that publicly acknowledged that it was a task that was still pending" (Paredes, 2011, p. 487).

According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), education in Chile "is influenced by an ideology that gives undue importance to market mechanisms to improve teaching and learning […] [and seems to be] consciously structured by social class" (OCDE, 2004: 290, 277). In 2001, the students made their first impact with the *mochilazo* (the backpack movement), but in 2006 there was a marked difference:

> "During the national school strikes of May 30 and June 5, 2006, it is estimated that almost one million students participated. The high school students were also supported by middle-school students, the Colegio de Profesores (teachers' association), diverse parent organizations and the national federation of university students (CONFECH). Moreover, various public opinion surveys at the time revealed that the level of public support for the movement's demands fluctuated between 83% (Center for Public Policy, Universidad del Desarrollo) and 87% (Survey Center, La Tercera newspaper). The movement succeeded in redefining the political agenda of President Bachelet's government, which had not planned to make reforms to the educational system and in fact did not acknowledge the existence of a structural crisis in the system. The secondary student movement, therefore, became the most important process in which a social stakeholder influenced educational policy in Chile after the dictatorship" (González et al, 2008, p. 2).

By 2011, the university student movement had taken centre stage, and the secondary students re-organized using a formula for participation that was more heavily based on direct democracy. By 2011, the students 'were here to stay', in the words of Francisco Figueroa of *Izquierda Autónoma*, a journalism student and vice president of the student federation of the Universidad de Chile, who is now running for a seat in the Chamber of Deputies. 'Here to stay' refers to the goal of sustaining the social movement to promote structural transformations. This aim had not been expressed in Chile since the election of Salvador Allende in 1971, although it was clearly different from that time. Allende's democratic election, which took place in a context of significant political polarization, signified the triumph of socialist structures over the programme of the right, which then began pressuring for the military coup of 1973.

From the Internet to the street and back

The media industry model in Chile promotes and accepts market concentration and in general, the owners of the country's major media outlets are also the owners of mining companies, banks, retail companies, and others. In addition, journalists have little or no voice in the management of these media outlets, and journalism unions have little power to influence programming or editorial decisions.

Thus, the traditional media that dominates the market includes the following groups, divided by ownership:

- Written press: *El Mercurio, Las Últimas Noticias*, *La Segunda* (all part of the *El Mercurio* conglomerate); *La Tercera* (owned by the business congolomerate *Consorcio Periodístico* de

Chile, or *Copesa*). Both groups concentrate close to 100% of the written press in daily circulation in Chile.
- Radio (stations that are largely informative): ADN Radio (owned by Prisa, a Spanish company*), Radio Cooperativa*, and *Radio Bío Bío.*
- Broadcast television: *Canal 13, Chilevisión, Mega* (all privately owned); *Televisión Nacional de Chile* (public but required to be self-sustaining, such that in practice it acts like a private company, both in terms of its business strategy and programming).

Each of these media outlets has a digital presence that reproduces the editorial line, content and information framework of the traditional models. This background is necessary for understanding that while the student movement that grew out of the 2006 and 2011 demonstrations encountered some sympathetic journalists in the traditional media, the strategy of both leaders and grassroots participants was directed at independent media outlets. They also created new channels to energise their announcements and debates and expand their social networks through digital platforms built spontaneously or by students, journalists or journalism students, particularly the intellectuals and academics who supported the collective actions from the beginning.

It is important to remember Tarrow's thesis, when he identifies the tension between traditional media and social movements, even after they move beyond the news that started with the collective action. The author states:

> "Both existing cultural frameworks and the role of the media constrain the formation of movements. Nevertheless, new movements are continuously built, and the most successful ones transcend the cultural frames of their societies, and in some cases, lead to revolution. This is not due to consensual mobilization or media influence, but to the collective action process" (Tarrow, 1997, p. 169).

That action process is related to a repertoire of tactics through which digital activism in Chile boomed in 2011, with diverse experiences that responded to citizen demands in structural areas related to inequality, territorial decentralization, the environment, energy, housing, health care and education. The analysis that follows is based on an exploration of the following types of social media, their process of production, circulation and valuation by student leaders who continue to be important social and political actors:
a) Media emerging from within the student movement.
b) Alternatives to the dominant, traditional and concentrated media.

These two categories ultimately constitute a significant network in terms of concentrating efforts to consolidate the repertoire of action, like cells that are dispersed but connected around a common purpose (similar to guerrilla war tactics), where the city is the network, as is the street, the public tribunal of the Congress, and university and high school classrooms. In this scenario, all of these contribute in some way to a digital activism aimed at generating a new polis, a new city with expanded rights, where major political projects are directly linked—at least on a discursive level—with the larger goal, now a public goal that does not just belong to the students, for a basic education that promotes equality, dignity and equity.

In this sense, I agree with Boltanski and Chiapello (2002) when they present in 'The New Spirit of Capitalism', a new way of making the city, the 'projective city' that requires norms and the 'civic city' that renews forms and foundations of doing politics and understanding the public will. For example, the student movement has triggered related discourses as equally valuable demands: the need to forge a new constitution through a representative and participatory constitutional assembly; the need to develop a new public health care system based on a stronger state role; the need to develop cultural platforms that promote cultural industries, where the focus is on citizens rather than consumers. In other words, the public demands an end to representations, the existence of a

state as guarantor rather than subsidiser, a regulated economy that is not given over to an unfettered neoliberalism.

However, it is a myth to believe that social media themselves are capable of generating critical awareness; rather, what occurs is that their narratives are transferred over to the narratives of norms, pushing existing institutions to support social transformation. According to the 'network metaphor' of Boltanski and Chiapello, this activism has required mediation agents that help establish connections like a complex and dense 'node' so that these connections have a tangible or 'real' reference and not simply a virtual one. These mediation agents who trigger actions are not generally the protagonists or leaders of those actions. Thus, it is often very difficult to distinguish experts or leaders of the movements, because they are social or political actors who participate in the public sphere as a subject who "drives life, meaning, autonomy" (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2002: 187).

The 'protest cycle' (Tarrow, 1997) that started in Chile in 2006 and whose maximum expression was seen in 2011 is, therefore, interesting in terms of uses of the network and alternative media on digital platforms as the expression of mediation agents. What is interesting about this cycle is that it is possible now to track its motivations, expressions, protagonists, actions, and projections, and to draw a map showing the paths from collective action to a dense movement. Following Tarrow, we can say that this social movement, structured by the student movement (because it convokes and affects all of society) responds to a 'protest cycle', defined as:

> "A phase of heightened conflict and confrontation in the social system, which includes a rapid diffusion of collection action from the more mobilized sectors to less mobilized ones; an acceleration in the rhythm of innovation in forms of confrontation; new or transformed frames for collective action; a combination of organized and unorganized participation; intensified interactions between dissidents and authorities which can end in reform, repression, and sometimes revolution" (1997, pp. 263-264).

In fact, the 'protest cycle' of 2011 gave way in 2012 and 2013 to an interaction 'between dissidents and authorities' that led to a series of negotiations that on the one hand, resulted in the pullback of protest tactics and on the other hand, the use of strategies, previously discarded by many student leaders, for working within a political-institutional framework. New movements began to emerge, something like a new left separate from the traditional political parties (the Communist and Socialist parties, for example) and the discredited New Left with its social democracy agenda.

Thus, two groups arose —which in 2013 are fielding candidates for congressional elections that will occur later this year—with a focus that is different from what is being offered by leftist parties. The two groups, *Revolución Democrática* (Democratic Revolution) and *Izquierda Autónoma* (Autonomist Left) are the result of the student movement. There are also others of a lesser density, which are generally linked to anarchist groups and still have a significant impact in networks and on the street. These groups did however create ties between their 'confrontation repertoire' (Tilly, 2009), building bridges between macrostructures and microprocesses (Auyero, 1993).

Media that emerged from the student movement

Among the most important social media to emerge from the 2011 student movement are some that continue to function and are likely to continue into the future, given their political aim and the online impact they have generated (through Facebook and Twitter) by strengthening their digital activism. These are:
   a) Coneschile.blogspot.com
   b) Movilizatechile.cl

c) Cineducacion.cl
d) Aces-chile.cl

a) This is the web site created by National Coordinator of Secondary Students (*Coordinadora Nacional de Estudiantes Secundarios*, or CONES). The site's peak was in 2011 (the last entry was posted in late 2011) although CONES still maintains its influence through messages on Facebook, Youtube and Twitter. It is still interactive, although its virality is primarily focused on reporting on street activities and meetings, as a channel for making announcements.

b) This site continues to feature an activist-reflective content architecture, created by students and professionals who define themselves as non-partisan leftist independents. The focus of the *Movilízate Chile*! web site is to frame the news it gathers from or communicates to the student movement. One of its essential areas of focus is the right to education. The site is housed by the server of the student federation of the Universidad de Chile (the largest public university in the country). The web site features an agenda of demands, editorials, news and videos and generates interactivity through multiple platforms (Facebook, Twitter, Google+). The site contains an excellent archive of news and documents. It serves as a site for dissemination of information and reflection on the student movement and promotes analysis and encourages the continuity of actions as well as their political strength.

c) Created to generate public debate on videos that were uploaded by anyone who had filmed the student movement, this site seeks to generate full interactivity. It is one of the few sites that describes its mission and team: Taking and active and committed role in this cross-cutting movement, we have created a collective audiovisual platform that serves as a space for information, creation and public debate. Our main inspiration is the May 1968 movement, when amidst the student protests, a group of French filmmakers—among them Godard, Marker, Resnais and Garrell—took their cameras and went out to the streets to document events. They made short audiovisual works, called 'cinétracts', that were shown in theaters, plazas, streets and community centers. Like them, we also support the student demands, offering a collective and kaleidoscopic perspective on what is happening; unlike them, we want to take advantage of what the Internet offers and the ease of access to cameras to make an open call to the general population and not just to professional film-makers. Therefore, although we have received support from many well-known directors such as Patricio Guzmán, Gael García Bernal, Pablo Larraín, Ignacio Agüero, Willem Dafoe and Cristián Jiménez, our aim is to open a public window in which no one viewpoint is more important than any other. They define their work as collective and also have channels on Youtube, Facebook and Twitter.

d) This is the most radical of the organizations, with a sense of direct democracy, promoting radical changes without cooption of its members by the political parties. Under a system that uses spokespersons (one emblematic spokesperson is the student Eloisa González) rather than leaders, the Coordinating Assembly of Secondary Students (*Asamblea Coordinadora de Estudiantes Secundarios de Chile*) brings together large numbers of students throughout the country, mobilizes actions and has a strong voice in negotiations with the government, where it works with other organizations such as CONFECH. ACES viralizes its content, with followers on Facebook and Twitter, uploads documents (by-laws, minutes, press releases), promotes territorial decentralization (it covers assemblies throughout Chile), uploads photos and videos and invites visitors to participate interactively on a site that, while meager in terms of resources, reflects a radical stance that has become well-known through key actions (such as members chaining themselves to the doors of the court building, or taking over schools).

Alternatives to the dominant, traditional and concentrated media

In Chile, there are few media outlets that serve as an alternative to the dominant, traditional outlets providing national coverage. Nevertheless, there is demand for other types of information and critical writing that supports a citizen-based agenda. Those that continue are alternative media outlets focusing on the student movement but also covering other topics. An example is *Rebelión*[57], which acts as a node for generating content and critical opinions, where even the staging—in a still unconsolidated process—seeks to reconcile its political mission with quality information. This study includes the following web sites:

a) Sentidoscomunes.cl
b) Mapuexpress.cl
c) Elciudadano.cl
d) Eldesconcierto.cl

a) The *Sentidos Comunes* web site contains ideas, actions and proposals. To become an active user of this web site, you have to fill out an online form linked to Facebook. Unlike the other sites, this one requires that its active users follow certain publication and content rules. Its frame of action encompasses all social movements in Chile, including environmental and indigenous movements. It has focused on the scope of the student movement, generating news, publishing news from other media, uploading reports, columns, videos, dossiers and special reports (it has created many graphics and has a newsletter service). It is an influential media actor, despite the scarcity of resources. This is because it has successfully put forth agendas that are parallel to those of the traditional media. *Sentidos Comunes* defines itself as an independent communications media that reports on the challenges of society and today's democracy from a youth perspective, through the use of information, audiovisual content and graphic resources, and making use of social media. The goal of *Sentidos Comunes* is to communicate and simultaneously contribute to public debate and discussion. *Sentidos Comunes* also has a national platform made up of individuals whose goal is to radicalize democracy in Chile. This platform, because it is open and public, provides the tools necessary to generate and organize real political action throughout the country. The objective is that through *Sentidos Comunes*, the thousands of citizen and political aspirations that exist today—like never before—will find an answer.

b) *Mapuexpress* is a digital communications medium from the Araucanía Region of Chile, center of the conflict between the Chilean state and the Mapuche people who, organized in communities, are struggling for their right to ancestral lands and the restoration of their rights as an indigenous people. Despite that fact that it is focused on indigenous rights, since 2011 the web site has placed special attention on other types of social movements, particularly the student movement. The voices of leaders, testimonies related to financing for higher education and research on public policy are part of its agenda.

c) *El Ciudadano* can be purchased in both digital and paper versions. It is important to mention this because the journalists who operate it provide their readers with an agenda centered around citizen demands and the approach to each topic considers how the information will affect the construction of a citizenry that is better positioned in relation to institutions and groups of power.

d) *El Desconcierto*. This medium is well-known for its journalistic quality and the investigative rigor of each of its reports. There is a need to systematize information capital, and one can observe a critical road map that addresses diverse topics including the student movement

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[57] Cf Rebelión, (n.d).

which has enabled this medium to become a central part of the alternative media. Interviews, stories, reports, columns, and photo galleries are some of the journalistic genres employed. The newspaper has reached the streets and the kiosks; in other words, it is the only one that has taken the reverse path, as a digital medium that began printing a paper edition in 2013. The web site has a section for video images and viralises its content through Facebook and Twitter.

These media outlets are examples of how it is possible to build an agenda that convokes citizen power. They are financed by advertising and by maintaining production costs at a minimum. But that is a double-edge sword, as its production system depends on journalists, photographs, designers, and programmers with low salaries and high workloads in terms of the density and quality of their content.

Movement leaders and peripheral media/networks that have taken center stage: to trust or not

For the student leaders (secondary and university) who since 2011 have played an essential role in pushing the social movement beyond the classrooms, networks and media that are outside the dominant industry have become important allies in energizing the movement and expanding it to the public sphere, both national and even international. The movement's leaders strongly value these networks and media.

"The alternative communications media, social networks and others in the same line have served as a tool for energizing the actions of the social movements. This because they have provided democratic spaces for obtaining information, sharing opinions and organizing. I value their transcendent informational value, allowing us to address important topics. For example, for the 2011 mobilization they explained the depth of the problems with the Chilean educational system, with broad analyses. They were able to explain to the people what the issues were through explanatory videos and calls for marches that were massive" (Godinez, 2013, pers. comm., 25 May).[58]

This assessment supported by the idea of participation and interactivity is related to the idea that to talk about the media is to talk about civic responsibility and the state, a state built 'from the ground up' that requires diverse voices and a robust democracy.

"As is well-known, in Chile, since the start of the long transition to democracy, the plurality of the media has suffered a constant decline, in large part due to the state's decision not to finance independent media outlets that do not belong to the large business conglomerates through placement of government advertising. Thus, these funds, in a clear and arbitrary way, have instead been allocated to COPESA and El Mercurio in terms of the written press and the largest radio conglomerates. Regarding television, in addition to the demise of the university channels forced to sell out by the self-financing mandate to which they were condemned, the situation of the main state channel (TVN) is the victim of the same logic. The market has run rampant in all areas, such that profit comes before content, leaving a subtle but clear space for an overarching editorial line that is complacent in relation to the political, economic and social model inherited from the civil-military dictatorship. Although during those years there were some efforts to expand the field and engage in a war of ideas (7+7, El Ciudadano, El Desconcierto, Radio Nuevo Mundo, etc.), the market

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logic has been infallible against every one of those alternatives to the hegemonic perspective that was imposed through blood and fire in the 1970s and 1980s. This perspective was then consolidated in the new democracy, one that is exclusionary and anti-popular, and which mistrusts its own citizens" (Boric, 2012, pers. comm., 25 April).[59]

The 2011 student movement provided hope for structural changes, with respect to which there has been a sense of need for the media to change along with the times. In other words, the demand is that the media not only focus on providing oversight and challenging the hegemonic powers but that it be capable of investigating beyond accusations and turning a critical eye to its own actions as the creator of social representations, and therefore the conveyor of stereotypes that affect not only daily life but the social reproduction of certain cultures and territories.

"This is a time of uncertainty in Chile. An uncomfortable discontent exists in households, educational establishments and workplaces in the face of increasing subjection of more aspects of our lives to the designs of the market and the deaf ear of politicians who seem uninterested in anything but maintaining the status quo. But in the cracks of discontent, fresh expressions of hope and the will to change are sprouting. A mobilized citizenry portends the decline of the neoliberal myth and resignation. One of the main allies of the old reality is the practically monopolistic control of the mass media by big business. Citizens have turned to new information technologies and social media to create new meaning, put forth issues and promote initiatives. The student movement and mobilized citizens use the alternative media to build new shared meaning, provide information about what the powers want to keep quiet and coordinate actions of vital importance to the building of a social movement. Necessity generates creativity: this is the new Chile replacing the Chile of old" (Figueroa, 2013, pers. comm., 15 April).[60]

The 'creativity generated by necessity' aims to rectify the lack of social capital that has prevailed since the dictatorship and during the year of transition toward a fuller democracy (mainly the 1990s). Creativity has been measured not only on the streets but also in the questioning of politicians and their top-down policies, both within and outside of institutional frameworks. In fact, politicians themselves have begun to feel another need: to measure, analyse and reflect on discussions in the social media and in these types of media that represent 'non-official' voices.

"In this context, the explosion of social media has constituted an important front that is advancing in the battle for democratization of access to information, and has also contributed to recovering diverse perspectives that Chilean journalism had reduced to a minimum during the 1990s. Media outlets such as El Dínamo, Ciper, El Mostrador, blogs such as Red Seca, Daño Estructural, Sentidos Comunes, and the massive reach in recent years of Twitter, Facebook and Tumbler have been the spearheads of an increasingly demanding society seeking alternative perspectives to the information from the mass media" (Boric, 2012, pers. comm., 25 April).

"The dynamism is reflected in the rapidity with which an idea is put forth or simply in organizing actions such as pot-banging protests (*cacerolazos*) or urban interventions. There is no doubt that that this information we have access to is

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[59] Gabriel Boric is president of the student federation of the Universidad de Chile.
[60] Francisco Figueroa is vice president of the student federation of Universidad de Chile.

democratic and shows how one sector of the population or society together can take on issues that the traditional media won't touch or simply distort by reducing them to banalities. And based on these characteristics, I believe that they play a role in the development of current social movements, because there is no doubt that the construction of politics continues to grow in local and organizational spaces for discussion at all levels of the population. Social media helps create bridges for connecting, coordinating, giving visibility to ideas, proposals and opinions so they move with greater fluidity" (Godinez, 2013, pers. comm., 25 May).

Thus, there is trust in the citizen networks and media created by journalists in harmony with these citizens' voices that have come to play a central role. In others words, the peripheral voices in the traditional media in relation to social, political and cultural events have become central voices/stories/narratives/discourses on social media platforms.

"The digital media, including online newspapers, radio stations, TV (that is, formal media with journalists and editors), and social media (Facebook, Twitter, Whatsapp) have become powerful tools for breaking through the information barrier. This has enabled us to report (for example, repression, but also specific situations in schools such as serious problems of infrastructure, internal repression, etc.); put forth and disseminate opinion (first about the movement, education policies, but also on the national political scene); make contact with other movements (for example with supporters in Freirina, Aysén, etc., where social actions have taken place); and finally, to coordinate" (González, 2013, pers. comm., 20 May).[61]

According to the student leaders, learning about the media and their production systems has become essential for understanding the public space as a central space for inter-class dialogue, something which rarely occurs in the traditional media. Political communication becomes increasingly dense as bridges are built among activists, intellectuals, journalists, and politicians, and this produces alliances founded on promoting a stronger democracy rather than on cronyism. They value the fact that often news disseminated in social media 'jumps' to the traditional media when it becomes clear that the 'official version' has saturated the news agenda that for most of the traditional media, is the same.

"All of this has a cost; social media, or access to them, is not free. But social media is the place where many get information. Most students don't read newspapers and few watch TV news shows. So social media is a powerful space. It is often our space, the only one where we can inform, share positions and decisions, and make agreements. In addition, the existence of digital media has enabled us to participate in media with less censorship and where we have greater certainty that our voices resonate, at least for some. This is very important in a country of duopolies (political, commercial and also informational). I have the impression that often our voices move from the electronic media, from the social media, to the traditional media. That's what journalists call creating a 'news agenda'. We have learned a lot about it. We've developed strategies, learned to create spots, etc." (González, 2013, pers. comm., 20 May).

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[61] González is spokesperson of the Coordinating Assembly of Secondary Students in Chile – ACES.

Final Reflections

Developing a media agenda, known as 'agenda setting' or determining what will be talked about, discussed and decided, is a strategy that the communications media uses every day as part of its news production and content architecture. The aim is to accommodate, invigorate, and expand senses of the social reality based on how we manage our lives and individual and community destinies in the context of modern state and market forms.

Both the traditional media linked to the larger cultural industry and the alternative media are building an agenda. This is important for understanding that their stories will constitute narratives that carry one or many discourses regarding the paths traveled by society based on certain interests and not on others. This dispute over the meaning and materiality of experience has been evident in Chile in recent years. Since 2006, the successive collective actions carried out by students for educational rights have been key to triggering other types of actions that, if viewed as a spiral, have been perceived and recognized as a social movement that peaked in 2011: public schools shut down for more than six months, massive demonstrations took place in the streets and an entire country paid attention to a structural issue that since that time has been front and centre in the communications media and the social media.

The expression of that social movement, particularly the student movement, found sympathetic channels in the digital media that, by promoting interactivity, ultimately promoted an agenda setting that was different from the one put forward by the traditional media. This agenda was, and continues to be, built by citizens and journalists who, although allied together, have been able to make room for voices that were peripheral for the mass media but central on other platforms. This dynamism feeds into and feeds from the collective actions forged within the movement and implies a more horizontal relationship—although not cronyism—among journalists, citizens, political leaders and spokespersons of the movement. Although this relationship is not without its tensions, what is highly valued by all is the capacity for mutual trust that is achieved.

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PART II

"LUSOPHONE" CULTURES AND SOCIAL MEDIA COMMUNITIES

Ana Stela de Almeida Cunha, Miguel de Barros, Rosana Martins (Eds.)

CHAPTER 6

Cyberspace and cultural memory: case studies in Brazil, Portugal and Mozambique[62]

Rosa Cabecinhas, Isabel Macedo and Lourdes Macedo

Introduction

The recent explosion of the social media, the intensification and diversification of migration flows, and the increasing interconnectivity of the world entail countless challenges for the research on human and social sciences, in general, and communication sciences, in particular.

To deal with the increasing complexities of these fields of research we need to be able to triangulate methodologies to reach more nuanced descriptions and interpretations of these realities. The intensification of the globalization process goes along with the maintenance of old divides and gaps, which keep on shaping our lives, sometimes in subtle but very powerful ways. Making sense of the complex and changing environment around us is a very demanding task that requires problematization of 'old' and 'new' dichotomies frequently convened, both in social thought and in scientific models (Cabecinhas & Abadia, 2013).

During the last decade there was a huge development in the research about the mediated social networks and the interplay between media, migration, identity, and memory has become a fertile domain of interdisciplinary studies. Yet, an integrative and broadest approach about these issues is still missing. With this project of research, we intend to develop an integrative model on the meanings of transnational identities, having the Lusophone identity as a case study. This is a multi-disciplinary, multi-method and cross-cultural project. The team[63] includes researchers from different disciplinary fields (communication sciences, social psychology, cultural anthropology, sociology and political science). The project aims to analyse the (re)construction of Lusophone identities through online and offline social interactions among Portuguese language speakers. How do globalization and the advancements in the information and communication technologies reconfigure the 'Lusophone' narratives? And how do they reconfigure migratory experiences? What are the various meanings of lusophony and how are they constructed? How do such meanings contribute to shaping present relationships among individuals from the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP)[64]? How are the meanings of Lusophony shaped by one's social position (in terms of nationality, ethnicity, generation, gender) and Diaspora experiences?

As Lusophone geography comprehends four continents, it makes particularly difficult the

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[64] The Community of Portuguese Language Speaking Countries (CPLP) is the intergovernmental organization for cooperation among nations where Portuguese is an official language. At the time of data collection, it included eight countries: Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, East Timor, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, and São Tomé and Príncipe. Today it includes also Equatorial Guinea. http://www.cplp.org/

production of systematic studies on how this 'imagined community' defines itself and on how others define it. Recent developments in Internet dissemination, especially within some CPLP countries (though rates are still low by Western standards) set the conditions for conducting this research.

To study the meanings of Lusophony is therefore an opportunity to give 'voice' to traditionally silenced groups, and to learn about the multiple 'versions' on the history linking those countries. In light of this, the project envisages to understand and discuss the social representations (Moscovici, 1988) that frame both the daily life of those who live and interact in the 'Lusophone space', and the narratives that give sense to this 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1983).

We also intend to study the on-going identity narratives, looking for that matter at the individual's multi-layered identities (national, ethnic, linguistic, etc.). Social identities are always dynamic and contingent of variable intensity. This means they are never consensual but instead necessarily contested and deconstructed. We see social identities as procedural, since they gather or disperse senses of belonging shaped by asymmetrical social positions, with profound impacts on how people perceive themselves and the 'Others' (e.g., Cabecinhas & Amâncio, 1999; Deschamps et al, 2005). Those complex processes are sustained by various narratives and symbols that groups and individuals invoke, contest and reconfigure permanently.

Narratives are privileged instruments for the symbolic confrontations that give sense both to social relations and to the world itself. They are also characters of signification that individuals and groups mobilize in the process of social (re)reproduction. Unequal in their mobilizing power, narratives are structured by and structuring of social reality. Our purpose is to emphasise both the fluidity and dissent present in the narratives that structure the identity experience. Thus, we will focus attention on the processes of everyday talk and in computer mediated communication, against more formal and institutionalized forms, such as newspapers, magazines or schoolbooks. 'Flows' and 'intersections' are key-ideas in the project. Although migratory, financial and cultural flows, among others, depend very much on political decisions and institutional understandings, our analysis will instead focus on the narratives that informal social networks produce.

The project comprises four methodological axes: analyses of 'virtual' narratives in the Lusophone cyberspace; analyses of oral narratives of people with migration experiences using auto-biographic semi-structured interviews; analyses of identity negotiations in cross-cultural contexts using focus groups; analyses of the interplay among identity patterns, mediated social networks and social memory, through a cross-cultural survey. This is a research on social memory, understood here as fragmented memory, consolidated by bonds of belonging, and a battlefield (Cunha, 2006). This memory, as social representation, produces and is produced by interpersonal communication and social practices. It is in this space resulting from the intersection of these dimensions that this project is located.

In this paper we focus only on the first axis of this program of research: the analyses of 'virtual' identity narratives in the Lusophone cyberspace. Before presenting and discussing some of the empirical results, we will briefly present the theoretical background and the context of the research.

Cyberspace, migration, identity and cultural memory

Appadurai (1997) argues that in the centre of global interactions is today the tension between cultural homogeneity and heterogeneity. Electronic mediation has altered substantially the Diaspora public spheres (Cunningham et al, 2000). Internet flexibility and openness offer infinite opportunities the individual in terms of freedom of expression, providing emancipation opportunities (Lévy, 2003). Still, Internet is also a space where conflicts among 'communities' can be exacerbated. According to Castells (1997: 470), identity is becoming the main 'source of meaning in a historical period characterized by widespread de-structuring of organizations, de-legitimation of

institutions, fading away of major social movements, and ephemeral cultural expressions'. At the same time, Internet can help immigrants to nurture their Diaspora and preserve their cultural heritage. Mediated social networks can provide a sense of home and tools for collective action (e.g. Tynes, 2007; Cerqueira, Ribeiro & Cabecinhas, 2009).

Traditional conceptualizations of identity tend to be primarily related to notions such as sameness, stability, and continuity, rather than to the idea of in-progress project in a continuous and complex process of change. Recent theoretical approaches recognize how contemporary national and transnational identity narratives require hybrid multilayered configurations (Cabecinhas & Abadia, 2013; Straubhaar, 2009).

Clary-Lemon (2010) states that research on identity carried out by some authors (e.g. Ricoeur, 1992; Martin, 1995; Hall, 1994) can be summarized in three dimensions. Identity is a discursive construction often revealed in the stories people tells about themselves or others, as well as recounted memories of the past. Identities are always temporary; they are constantly changing, and must be understood in relation with the other. Cultural and national identities are fragmented internally and externally, resulting from the process of negotiation of different perspectives about the similarity and difference.

The stories we tell, and those we listen to, define who we are and who are the 'others'. They also shape interpersonal, intergroup, and intercultural relationships. In a world undergoing accelerated mutation and shifting power relations, representational fields are increasingly heterogeneous (Cabecinhas & Cunha, 2008). In that sense, multiple voices and cultural logics take part in the process of knowledge and worldview constructions. Therefore, our lives are composed of many overlapping and often conflicting stories. These stories are shared in everyday conversations, and disseminated through cultural products (e.g., social media, cinema, television, advertising, music, festivals, museums, books, legislation, and monuments). They simultaneously influence and are influenced by the interplay between historical legacies, economic demands, and national and international politics.

In the scope of this research program, we analysed identity narratives in the so-called 'Lusophone space' - a highly heterogeneous and disperse geo-linguist community across Europe, Africa, Asia and the Americas (Davis, Straubhaar, & Ferin, Martins, 2015).

How national groups represent their own history is of paramount importance in the definition of their identity. The rebuilding of history in each nation is always a comparative process, since the history of every national group embraces relationships with other groups. Each group's interpretation of the past determines its positioning in the present and its strategies for the future. These strategies define relationships within and among groups in a dynamic process that may balance between stability or change, resilience or adjustment, the definition of new borders or their weakening (Cabecinhas, Lima & Chaves, 2006).

Memory is not an individual phenomenon but a social one (Candau, 1998; Halbwachs, [1950] 1997; Laurens, 2002). People can only remember things that are mediated by communication in their respective social groups, i.e., what they can accommodate in their existing social schemes or frames of reference. Collective memory nurtures group identity, presents justifications for groups' actions and enables collective mobilization (Licata, Klein & Gely, 2007).

Cultural memory (Assmann, 2008) is a continuous process of remembrance and forgetfulness, in which individuals and groups reconfigure their relationship with the past and position themselves in relation to the emergent and established places of memory. The dynamics of cultural memory in the Lusophone public sphere can only be fully understood if we take into account not only social factors, but also economic and power asymmetries, as well as cultural and media frames of memory.

Culture objectifies memories that have proven to be important to the group; it encodes these memories into stories, preserves them in this way, and makes it possible for new members to share group history (Liu & Hilton, 2005). Some authors suggest that social representations are organized through narrative templates (Laszlo, 2003, 2008). Their schematic nature is produced by repeated use of standard narrative forms produced by, for instance, history curricula in schools, monuments, and the mass media. It also guides people's perceptions of their group identity (Wertsch, 2002).

The 'Lusophone world': an imagined community?

As mentioned before, the so-called 'Lusophone world' is a highly heterogeneous and dispersed geo-linguist community. At the time of data collection (2010-2012) it included eight countries, one in Europe (Portugal), one in South America (Brazil), one in Asia (East Timor), and five in Africa (Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and São Tomé and Príncipe).

During the second half of the twentieth century, the relationships among the Portuguese-speaking countries were marked by numerous conflicts, tensions and reconfigurations. The colonial/liberation war (1961-1974) felt painful memories, which were for a long time erased from the Portuguese public sphere. The Carnation Revolution of 1974[65] lead to a decolonization process, which was the latest one undertaken by an European country.

After gaining their independence, the so-called Portuguese-speaking African Countries (PALOP) have undergone profound political and social changes. Angola and Mozambique faced long civil wars and Guinea-Bissau has undergone several internal conflicts and coup d'états. The extremely low level of education and living conditions during colonial period strongly conditioned their social and political development after independence. Nowadays these countries, with exception of Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe, are still characterized by very low levels of human development, despite the progress registered on the last decade (Human Development Reports, 2016.

Nowadays, four decades after the Carnation Revolution and the end of the colonial/liberation war, the Lusophone rhetoric in Portugal assumes frequently the form of 'imperial nostalgia' (Martins, 2006; Carvalho & Cabecinhas, 2013), giving room to conflicts and misunderstandings. These conflicts unleash tense debates on everyday discourse, including in cyberspace (Cabecinhas, 2010; Macedo, Martins & Macedo, 2010).

The Lusophone bonds follow now new guidelines. The colonial relationship has been allegedly replaced by a post-colonial relationship, set on 'cooperation' and 'solidarity' values, aiming at 'expanding and enhancing the Portuguese language' and preserving 'a historical link and a shared patrimony were resulting from centuries of common experiences' as proposed in the Constitutive Declaration of the Community of Portuguese Language Speaking Countries (CPLP) 66 of 17th July 1996.

Based on the assumption that identity is formed and, at the same time, expressed through relations of power (Dolby, 2006), it is important to consider the present-day transformations in the so-called 'Lusophone world' and its consequences in interpersonal and international relations. For example, the asymmetric relationship developed between Portugal and the Portuguese-speaking African countries was fed, for a long time, by the migratory flows that led Angolans, Cape-Verdeans, Guineans, Mozambicans and people from São Tomé and Príncipe. Vala et al (2008, p. 298) argued that the "relations between receiving societies and immigrants is influenced by the representations

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[65] The Carnation Revolution was a peaceful revolution that ended 48 years of dictatorial regime in Portugal and triggered the decolonization process, which culminated with the independence of the Guinea-Bissau (1973, recognized by Portugal in 1974), Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, São Tomé e Príncipe, and East Timor in 1975. However East Timor was almost immediately occupied by Indonesia and only re-gained the independence in 2002.

that receiving societies build regarding their own history, namely their colonial past". In Portugal, for instance, 'black' people are still considered 'foreigners', regardless of their nationality and their efforts to be perceived as citizens on equal terms (Cabecinhas, 2002, 2010; Carvalhais, 2007).

More recently, we witness a 'reverse' migration flow, with many Portuguese searching for a job opportunity on former Portuguese colonies, due to the huge financial crisis in Portugal. These new dynamics and changes in power relations deserve further research.

Most of the Portuguese speaking countries, cultures and citizens are located in the South hemisphere, traditionally represented as economic and politically 'less developed' than the North (Macedo et al, 2013). One of the most remarkable gaps in the contemporaneous world is the digital divide. According to Dahlberg:

> "There are also inequalities in cyberspace interaction […]. These inequalities can be linked to, and in turn reinforce, exclusions from the web. Access restrictions mean that net interaction is dominated by those in any society with the resources to connect: generally white, middle-class, men" (1998, p. 77).

Furthermore, millions of Lusophone citizens do not have access to the Internet not only because of poor technological infrastructures in their countries, but also because of their social condition that led them to digital illiteracy (Macedo, Martins & Macedo, 2010).

In this research we focus the attention on Internet research methods, departing from the cyberspace narratives shared by a linguistic community. With an estimated total of two hundred and fifty four million speakers in 2011, Portuguese is the official language in eight countries, on four continents, and the spoken language in many minority communities in other nations worldwide.

According to the Internet World Stats/Usage and Population Statistics (n.d.), Portuguese is the sixth most spoken language in the world, and the fifth most represented in the Internet in number of user. Portugal is the best-positioned Lusophone country in terms of number of Internet users, with 50.7% of the population accessing this communication technology. However, in terms of the total number of users, Brazil is better represented with almost 80 million of citizens communicating in the Portuguese language in the Internet, despite its lower Internet penetration (38.9%).
Among the Lusophone countries, East Timor has the lowest percentage of Internet penetration (0,2%). Guinea-Bissau (2,3%), Mozambique (4,2%), and Angola (5,6%), present also very low percentages of Internet penetration. Comparatively, the percentage of Internet penetration in Cape Verde (28.8%) and São Tomé and Príncipe (17.3%) is higher than expected. As observed by Macedo *et al.* (2013), the insularity of these two countries, both with huge diasporas in Europe and North America, contribute to increasing the Internet number of users. For these insular citizens the Internet is not only for a window to observe the world, but also a cheaper way to communicate with their relatives and friends living abroad. Therefore, it is important not to forget the relevant contributions of the Portuguese speaking diasporas to the Lusophone communication on the Internet, as well as their role in the (re)making of hybrid identity narratives (Macedo et al, 2013).

Taken into account that language is one of the main elements of culture (Warnier, 2003) and one of the main codes of communication (Watzlawick, Beavin & Cabral, 2010), it is relevant to study how a geographically disperse community of cultures, united by a common language, (re)create identity narratives in cyberspace.

Lusophone cyberspace cartography and case studies: methodological options

As noted by Barlow (2008), blogs are a cultural phenomenon as they represent much more than a technological possibility. The author observes that blogs allow citizens to express their own ideas

with no previous editorial selection. In this communication ecosystem emerges a great citizen power that escapes to media elites' authority. For instance, Cross (2011) recognizes that creative and talented people, who have never had an opportunity to be heard, gain a place in mass culture while their ideas and their dreams were broadcasted in the blogosphere.

Another advantage of blogosphere is its interaction possibility as observed by Coady (2011). In fact, blogosphere's dynamics encourages information consumers to become also information producers. Rosenberg (2009) argues that all these reasons quickly made the blogosphere to win sympathy of more people than the expected for the blogs' first enthusiasts. According to Dahlberg:

> "cyberspace enables all citizens to be heard and treated equally. Social hierarchies
> and power relations are said to be under cut by the 'blindness' of cyberspace to
> identity, allowing people to interact as if they were equals" (1998, p. 72).

This enthusiastic idea sometimes leads to an underestimation of the pervasive effects of the divide digital, which prevent significant parcels of the world population to have an active voice in the cyberspace.

As remarked by Macedo et al (2013, p. 119), "cyberspace as a study object entails remarkable challenges to researchers, especially because it is an immaterial and highly changeable environment."

The questions addressed in the first axis of the program of research where the following: How is 'Lusophony' constructed in the cyberspace? How are virtual sociability networks established among Portuguese language speakers? How are national narratives constructed in the virtual sphere? How important are virtual networks for the Portuguese language Diaspora?

Our empirical approach to study the Lusophone cyberspace included two main steps. The first one was to chart the map of non-institutional Lusophone political and social websites and weblogs from all Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP). The following step relates to the selection and development of a series of case studies on the 'virtual' Lusophone networks.

The first step covered all eight countries. Due to the vastness of the questions to be analysed and to the huge geographic dispersion, we have decided to reduce costs inherent to the following step, by selecting three countries for the comparative analyses: Portugal (Europe), Brazil (South America) and Mozambique (Africa). These countries were selected because they represent the former colonizer and two ex-colonies, with very different socio-economic and regional contexts and human development indexes. Brazil is rising as a global economic power (member of G20) while Mozambique is one of the poorest countries in the world.

In the scope of the first step – Lusophone cyberspace cartography – we searched for all non-institutional Lusophone political and social websites and weblogs in all CPLP space. In order to identify this sites and blogs, was included in search engines (eg. Google, Sapo) a set of keywords related to the themes of the project: Lusophony, memory, historical and cultural relations, colonialism, diaspora, migration, social networks, the Portuguese language, identity and cultural diversity. These keywords were introduced simultaneously with the names of the countries that constitute the CPLP.

To complete the cartography, it was necessary to create categories according to the websites and weblogs origins, themes and styles. At a further stage the identified websites and weblogs were allocated into those categories, describing each one and analysing their contents. The most important websites and weblogs on 'Lusophone' issues were analysed, resulting in a cartography with 350 identified sites and blogs (Macedo, Martins & Macedo, 2010).

After making a general cartography of the Lusophone cyberspace (step 1), it was done a selection of fifteen sites and blogs on Lusophone issues for case studies (step 2): five from Brazil, five from Mozambique and five from Portugal (Macedo, Martins & Cabecinhas, 2011).

To prepare this work, a specific 'case study' guide was created to help the analysis of the selected sites and blogs in regard to their authors, readers and discussants' profiles, their thematic approaches and their constituted sociability networks.

Authors' profiles: by analysing the selected sites and blogs broadsheet, were collected important data such as the starting year and the author's demographic profile (age, gender, occupation, interests and others…). It was also important to make semi-structured interviews with these authors. Our goal was to improve our knowledge on the authors' profiles, to collect their opinion about who interacts in the site/blog, as well as their own Lusophony representations.

Readers and discussants' profiles: Through the various traffic quantifying systems – installed in most of them –, was possible to analyse all statistical information related to the popularity of the selected sites and blogs (quantification of the number of visits or consulted pages) or the readers' profile in terms of their location (by country).

Thematic approaches: Using the content analysis method, were studied the focused themes, the way as these themes were discussed (objectivity, depth, critical view) and the main information sources (through other blogs or online newspapers hyperlinks).

Sociability networks: United around common interests, many website and weblog authors put hyperlinks to their preferred sites and blogs, trying to shift the reader's attention towards other opinions and comments. It was important to study, in this virtual communicating context of Portuguese language, how sociability networks are structured, specifically between Brazilian, Mozambican and Portuguese authors.

As mentioned before, the first step of the research process was to establish the Lusophone cyberspace cartography. One of the enduring problems of Internet research is how map out the universe of blogs, web pages, etc. in one's area of interest. It became a great methodological challenge because of the Internet's unpredictable dynamics. Everyday there are new blogs and sites online, and some blogs and sites disappear. As Robinson (2001, p. 713) note "Internet data can be ephemeral. A site may be present one day and gone the next. Sites are sometimes closed down or consolidated into other sites". Schneider and Kirsten (2004, p. 115) also remind that, "The nature of the web […] is a unique mixture of the ephemeral and the permanent".

In order to deal with the ephemeral nature of the Internet blogs and sites, it was defined a period of time for the cartography to be prepared: from July to September 2010. First, all non-institutional blogs and sites that had a theme directly or indirectly linked to Lusophone issues were identified in cyberspace in order to build and to circumscribe the research *corpus*. Second, the identified blogs and sites' activity was monitored within these months. Third, these blogs and sites links were ordered into categorized tables by countries and by specific sub-issues. Finally, this information was organized with the help of a graph-visualization software called Ucinet in order to find the networks among the *corpus* of blogs and sites. These networks are represented in graphics as cartography's 'constellations'. The cartography obtained with these research tools only represents a fragment, a kind of snapshot at a particular period of time. It is interesting to verify that Diminescu (2012) methodological steps of mapping e-diasporas confirm this approach to cyberspace cartographies.

The research team recognized that this cartography could become quickly outdated. For example, two of the blogs of the cartography, selected for in-depth case studies, became sites and two other blogs were closed down[67].

The second step of this research about Lusophone narratives in cyberspace was to do in-depth case studies of fifteen selected blogs and sites from Brazil, Mozambique and Portugal. For this work, it was proposed an approach including texts and images' content analyses, statistical analyses of the visits and an interview with the author, or the main author, of each blog or site. This approach seemed a good way of doing the case studies because this formula was tested in an exploratory study (Macedo, 2009), and it had worked quite well. To do this, a cyberspace narrative analysis protocol was developed in order to select the posts and the images in each blog or site to be analysed, within the period of time initially defined.

However, another methodological challenge was immediately found: the blogs and sites contents have a huge diversity of forms (text, images, videos, comments, etc.) and ways and time to be fed. Each blog or site is quite distinctive and there are no rules to perform content production. This experience seems to confirm the assertion of Stanton and Rogelberg (2001, p. 214) when they observed: "A great deal of methodological research is needed to truly understand how to design and interpret data collected from the Internet and intranets". Schneider and Kirsten (2004, p. 116) also note that "Web-based media require new methods of analysing form and content, along with processes and patterns of production, distribution, usage and interpretation". Consequently, we realized that is impossible to establish a universal protocol to do content analyses in Internet and the previous cyberspace narrative analysis protocol was discarded.

The solution was to do specific content analyses for each blog or site. The selection of posts and images within a period of time was also rejected, because it was found that sometimes the most interesting posts and images were not within this interval. In order to answer this challenge, diachronic and synchronic content analyses were done, with the examination of all the contents in general and of the most commented posts and images in particular.

The case studies of the fifteen blogs and sites also supposed, as it was anticipated, statistical analysis to study the quantity, the origin and the duration of the visits to each blog or site selected in this research. Fortunately, the researchers understood very early that including frequent and long visits to the selected blogs and sites to study their contents, inflated some statistics in each one of them: the number of visitors, the visitors' origin and the visit average time, e.g.. It was important to remember that this observation probably would have changed the object behaviour, namely in those blogs and sites less visited. The Heisenberg's uncertainty principle, which demonstrated us that the observation act is enough to modify the observed object's behaviour, especially if the object is small (Barrow, 2005), was present in this research. Consequently, the researchers took it as a valid methodological concern.

To reduce the subjectivity imposed by the researchers' observations in the statistic analysis, all the blogs and sites contents were recorded. This solution brought two benefits to the research: on one hand, it avoided the frequent visits to the blogs and sites; and, on the other hand, it gave the reassurance that researchers will always have the contents even if the blog was shut down. This procedure was suggested by Robinson (2001, p. 713): "All narrative data obtained from the Internet should be retained either in a file or as a printed copy. This will ensure that the data are available for further analysis or audit". In fact, this option allowed the researchers to analyse unreservedly the blogs and sites' contents with no apprehension of increasing the effects of the Heisenberg uncertainty principle or of losing web access to the research data (Macedo et al, 2013).

According to the case study guidelines, it was necessary to interview authors of the selected blogs and sites to better understand some characteristics of these study objects. However, the exploratory

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[67] For an in-depth discussion of the methodological challenges faced during the research see Macedo et al, 2013.

studies (Macedo, 2009) demonstrated the influence of the interview on the way contents were produced in blogs and sites after the contact. Actually, it is impossible to do an interview without influencing the interviewee's way of thinking. The research relationship is, firstly, a 'social relationship' and therefore exerts effects on the results obtained and on the social actors involved. In this sense, the researcher cannot forget that, when s/he observes a given reality, s/he is also influenced by it. As the 'lens' that we use for this observation is permeated by our previous experiences and our own representations, also the 'lens' of who is observed is loaded with the meanings of her/his culture. This is an old and a well-know methodological issue. However, what is significant in this research experience is to observe the reproducibility of this influence effect in the cyberspace environment. In fact, some contents posted by the bloggers, after the interview, were clearly influenced by the researcher interview or, which is more remarkable, were about the interview as itself. It would be possible to accept this as a benefit as the Anglo-Saxon ethnographers did since the late 1960's (Mattelart & Mattelart, 2002). The reflexivity, proposed by Garfinkel (1967), conceptualises the dialectical relationship between the action and the context. In other words, the reflexivity is to understand that the context influences the action content and the action also contributes to the progressively developed sense of the context. So, the result of the researcher action gives meaning to her/his research practices. By examining relationships in cyberspace among people, places, practices and things, the Internet researcher is producing a part of the research context as noted by Sterne (1999). Following this line of thought, Jones observed:

> "Scholars studying the Internet must be reflexive, for (at least) two reasons. First, we have all, scholar and citizen alike, become savvy media consumers […] The second reason […] is that the Internet is both embedded in academic life and owes much of its existence and conceptualisation to academia […] The research process is no less part of the ongoing construction of individual and collective reality than is the Internet – and discourse within it and external to it. Framed that way, it is possible to consider the nature of research as a meaning-making process, as a version of reality […]" (1999, pp. 8-11).

The interviews with the bloggers were done taking into account the reflexivity of this action, knowing that the interview would probably influence the future contents of the blogs.

Results

In this section we will present briefly the results concerning the Lusophone cyberspace cartography analysis; the content analysis of interviews with the authors of blogs selected for case studies and to the blogs contents - five blogs from Brazil, five from Mozambique, and five from Portugal. Special attention will be given to the bloggers representations on the concept of Lusophony. Furthermore, preliminary results will be presented regarding the social networks established within the three studied blogospheres.

1   Lusophone Cyberspace Cartography

As proposed in the first axis of this program of research, it was developed a Lusophone cyberspace cartography with 350 identified sites and blogs (Macedo, Martins & Macedo, 2010). This sites/blogs were created between 1998 and 2010, with the majority being updated in 2010, the year we collected the data concerning the cartography.

With regard to thematic analysis of blogs, most of them discuss political and social issues, with reflections that allow analysing the social representations and individual opinions about the present situation of their country. There are a wide variety of themes when analysing the contents of

blogs/sites. However, most of these themes are related with social, political and cultural issues. The theme Society/News is the one that incorporates a greater number of sites/blogs (46.8%). This means that a large majority of sites/blogs analysed discuss current issues (clashes, social problems, political dynamics, etc.). A large segment of the examined blogs/sites have more generalist posts. These blogs were also integrated in the thematic category Society/News. In Lusophone cyberspace a variety of social networks and forums allow contact and sharing opinions and experiences on the social, economic and political reality lived in some CPLP countries. In this sense, the themes in most blogs/websites are those related to Society/News (163 blogs), Politics (62 blogs), Lusophony (29 blogs) and Culture (24 blogs).

With regard to the authors of blogs/sites, no information was gathered about the profession, since this data rarely appears in the author's profile. Nevertheless, most of the authors that refer their professional activities are working in the fields of journalism, literature, economics and education. There are also spaces created by students, particularly college students. Many of the authors of the websites/blogs do not provide their contacts in profile, thus to obtain these data it was essential to thorough research.

Most of the examined blogs/websites were written exclusively in Portuguese language (88,7%). However, 5,2% used other language(s) in addition to the Portuguese. Cape Verde is the country that presents the largest number of blogs/websites written in other languages besides the Portuguese (Creole, English, Italian). In East Timor, there was a variety of blogs/websites developed in Tetum and Portuguese, 2%.

2   Representations of Lusophony: interviews and blogs content analysis

As mentioned before, the second step was to conducted in-depth case studies of fifteen selected blogs and sites from the selected country: five in Brazil, five in Mozambique, and five in Portugal. In each country we conducted an in-depth interview with the blogger responsible for the edition of each selected blog, and we proceed to an analysis of the blog content.

The subsample of Brazilian blogs presents diverse representations concerning Lusophony. The explicit expression of an understanding of what Lusophony should be appears only in one of the blogs: *Lusofonia Horizontal* (Horizontal Lusophony)[68]. In this blog, the author's texts convey the idea of a postcolonial Lusophony, as a shared, equal or horizontal construction, among citizens who express themselves in Portuguese language. The author presents the Lusophony as a desirable and possible project, corresponding to a kind of brotherhood of Portuguese speaking peoples, transcending national borders.

In the remaining four blogs, the issue of Lusophony is addressed indirectly, i.e., published posts do not refer specifically to issues related to the understanding of the authors on this 'imagined' community, but rather questions associated to history and cultural heritage, as well as current international relations among Portuguese speaking peoples. For example, there were several posts on the life and work of Father António Vieira (considered the first Luso-Brazilian intellectual); on the alleged Portuguese Christopher Columbus; on international aid of Brazil to Portuguese-speaking African countries; and on aspects of Brazilian culture inherited from the Portuguese culture (Macedo, Martins & Cabecinhas, 2011).

During the interviews, three of the Brazilian bloggers mentioned they do not believe in Lusophony as a cultural project, resulting from the desire to share a common identity among people of Portuguese language. The other two bloggers found Lusophony as a legitimate idea, nevertheless with the necessity to be reworked. According to the author of *Lusofonia Horizontal*, interviewed for

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[68] http://lusofoniahorizontal.blogspot.com/

this research[69], this is because there still remains a strong ideological charge associated with the idea of Lusophony: in large part, this is an extension of the idea of Portugueseness, which cannot be accepted by those looking for an open and horizontal cultural system, interconnected with other systems, where Portugal does not play the central role. The author of the site *Cultura Brasil - Portugal* (Brazil – Portugal Culture), in an interview to this research[70], conceives Lusophony as a result of multiple cultural exchanges between the citizens of the Portuguese-speaking countries. It is interesting to note that recently the author has changed the name of the site to *Cultura Brasil-Europa* (Culture Brazil-Europe), possibly to attract more Brazilians readers, since the site is still written in Portuguese.

All Brazilian bloggers admit there is a 'mutual ignorance' among the different Lusophone countries. For this reason, they seek, through their publications, to create 'tools for a better understanding' among Lusophone peoples. For one of the bloggers, the Lusophony is a false question because he thinks the issue of Brazilian identity in terms of South America and not in terms of its links with the Portuguese colonial heritage. For him, identity is constructed from proximity and affinity, especially geographical and cultural.

Two authors consider that written their blogs or websites in Portuguese language brings advantages, such as cultural sharing with other Portuguese-speaking citizens and many followers around the world. However, the other three consider that there are limits. The same authors admit that if their blogs were written in English or Spanish they could have many more followers. One of these interlocutors admitted that the ideal would be to publish a bilingual blog. However, all note that the Portuguese is one of the most spoken languages in the world, although it is a language without international recognition.

In general, the authors report that Brazil's blogosphere is uneven and in many countries of Portuguese language internet has a weak coverage and few people have access. Nevertheless, all admit that Lusophone blogosphere have many quality blogs, including those from the countries where the technological infrastructure restricts the creation of the authors (Macedo, Martins & Cabecinhas, 2011).

Lusophony and Lusophone identity are concepts that make little sense to the authors of Mozambican blogs. This positioning was evident in both, the analysis of these blogs content and in the interviews with the authors.

Among the five Mozambican blogs studied, four of them - dedicated to the country and/or mozambicanity - refer to Lusophony in an indirect way. A post with reference to a Mozambican citizen infected with H1N1, in Lisbon, during the Lusophone Games; a text that reflect on the 122 years of the city of Maputo, with references to the architecture of the colonial period, or a publication on the meeting of CPLP economists in Maputo are examples of how the issue of Lusophony is treated indirectly by Mozambican bloggers.

In the *Ma-Schamba* blog, written by a Portuguese citizen resident in Mozambique, Lusophony is a concept to avoid. Having written a great succession of posts in which stands radically opposed to this concept, the author of the blog plays a critical style when in an interview said 'the construction of Lusophony is bullshit', 'is intellectual garbage'[71]. His speech (whether written or oral) underlies the understanding of the Lusophone project associated with a Lusocentric misconception, therefore to him it is an unnecessary and even dangerous term.

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[69] Interview with Daniel Cunha, author of *Lusofonia Horizontal*, São Paulo (Brazil), January 11th, 2011.
[70] Interview with Edna Quadros, author of Cultura Brasil – Portugal, Lisbon (Portugal), January 19th, 2011.
[71] Interview with José Pimentel Teixeira, author of *Ma-Schamba*, Maputo (Mozambique), January 24th, 2011.

The author of *B'andhla* refers in an interview[72]:
> "the reaction I got with Lusophony […] all relationships are actually power relations, but the symbology that I particularly would assign to this relationship, Lusophony still contains elements of coloniality [...]."

The author continues his reflection saying[73]:
> "is not something I would say that I am identify with, I may identify with the denial, the denial of this abstract entity that is politically constructed, obviously with a political purpose, to maintain a completely extemporaneous legacy [...] [Still on Lusophony, the author concludes] There is a political project, a neocolonial project, that conveys the cover of multiculturalism and whose discursive anchor, whose description language is the Lusophony."

In his speech the blogger denounces the Lusocentric misconception of Lusophony, a perspective that understand the Portuguese language as an instrument of power and domination.

The other Mozambican bloggers admit they do not think on Lusophone issues because, as one of them mentioned, "in practice they translate into nothing"[74]. This observation is reinforced by another author which emphasizes that Lusophony does not exist, and the other Portuguese-speaking countries are not interested in Mozambique. Economic interests make them to focus their attention on Angola.

About the fact that their blogs are written in Portuguese, one of the authors argues that it does not bring more readers and followers, because it readers are exclusively Mozambicans, especially those in the Diaspora. Further the blogger refer that the Mozambican blogosphere does not matter to other Portuguese-speaking citizens, since they are unaware of the country reality.

With a different opinion, three of the bloggers consider that by their blogs being written in Portuguese allows them to interact with other Portuguese-speaking citizens, including Brazilian and Portuguese with interest in Africa. One author refers that when accessing a Cape Verdean blog he could not read it because it was written in Creole. On one hand, it seemed interesting for the preservation of the local language, on the other hand, the author realized the scope of the Portuguese language and how it can bring its speakers to cyberspace. Indeed, one of these authors admits that his blog would have more impact if it were written in English or French.

Interestingly, none of the Mozambicans bloggers considers the possibility of writing in the various local languages, even those who have chosen a name inspired by African languages to their blog.

Finally, the case studies conducted with Portuguese blogs revealed speeches, experiences and opinions with a more favourable positioning concerning Lusophony, although the approaches are very diverse among the five blogs studied.

The blog *Etnias – O bisturí da Sociedade* (Ethnicities - The scalpel of Society)[75], presents two distinct series related with Lusophony: (i) information published on the Lusophone countries (geography, demography, economy, etc...); (ii) 'The Death of the Portuguese Language', connected with the effects of Orthographic Agreement among the Portuguese Speaking Countries. In an interview happened on 20th April 2011, in Lisbon, the author of this blog says that these are the most visited series by her followers, possibly due to the mutual ignorance that exists among Lusophone countries.

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[72] Interview with Patrício Langa, author of *B'andhla*, Maputo (Mozambique), January 25th, 2011.
[73] *Idem.*
[74] Interview with Egídio Vaz, author of *Contrapeso 3.0*, Maputo (Mozambique), January 20th, 2011.
[75] http://max-etnias.blogspot.com/

The blog *Alto Hama*[76] dedicated several posts to current political and economic situation in Angola, relating it often with Portugal and the other Portuguese-speaking countries.

Reflections on the possibilities of a different Portugal - a Portugal able to build bridges with other people and other cultures -, is the dominant theme of the blog *Outro Portugal* (Another Portugal)[77].

In this selection of blogs for conducting case studies, was integrated a blog whose main theme is the memory of the colonial war in Africa, *Luís Graça e Camaradas da Guiné* (Luís Graça and Guinea Comrades)[78]. In this blog, dedicated to this conflict in Guinea-Bissau, the author and his collaborators offer a variety of information's on Guinea's colonial period (memories of war, military charts, maps, etc...); on current Guinea (especially about the reality of the country); and on the meetings of former combatants.

Buala[79], the site studied, with posts placed daily, has several texts that problematize the concept of Lusophony and various other aspects of the Lusophone culture(s), particularly in Africa.

The meanings of the Lusophony conveyed by the discourse of the Portuguese bloggers are clearly more favourable than those revealed by Brazilian and Mozambican bloggers. For one of the Portuguese bloggers, Paulo Borges, author of *Outro Portugal*, Lusophony corresponds to an 'armillary vision' of the world, a vision in which Portugal and the other Portuguese-speaking countries can form bridges or links, connecting different peoples and cultures[80].

Another interviewee, Marta Lança, author of *Buala*, conceives Lusophony as the knowledge of the singularities of each Portuguese-speaking country and not as a homogeneous culture. According to her, it is on the differences that make sense to find the Lusophone identity and build the Lusophone community[81].

The author of one of the blogs studied, Max Coutinho from *Etnias*, states that "one should not be ashamed or hide colonialism because the bad side of this period of history has passed [What remains, she said] […] is good: the multiculture"[82]. Hence, the same author, admit that one of her goals is to foster, in her readers, the proud to be Lusophone. This understanding is near to the myth of Lusotropicalism and the belief in an allegedly especial Portuguese aptitude for the multiculturalism.

All interviewees assume that they seek, through their communication devices on the web, to raise awareness regarding the Lusophone identity. However, one of the bloggers warns that Lusophony mean little to the new generations, stating that, in the Portuguese case, young people are increasingly oriented to Europe.

Portuguese authors admit that social memory is one of the central themes when they are editing web content. According to one of the bloggers, Luís Graça from *Luís Graça & Camaradas da Guiné blog*, this approach is important "especially for African countries, since they have a very fragmented memory of their past"[83]. Another author, Marta Lança, states that it is crucial to appeal to the memory of contemporary African history if we intend to understand the Portuguese-speaking African countries. Preserve and disseminate Lusophone cultural heritage is one of the goals of the

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[76] http://altohama.blogspot.com/
[77] http://umoutroportugal.blogspot.com/
[78] http://blogueforanadaevaotres.blogspot.com/
[79] http://www.buala.org/
[80] Interview with Paulo Borges, author of *Outro Portugal*, Lisbon (Portugal), April 19th, 2011.

[81] Interview with Marta Lança, author of *Buala*, Lisbon (Portugal), April 18th, 2011.
[82] Interview with Max Coutinho, author of *Etnias*, Lisbon (Portugal), April 20th, 2011.
[83] Interview with Luís Graça, author of *Luís Graça & Camaradas da Guiné*, Lisbon (Portugal), April 19th, 2011.

other bloggers, Paulo Borges, who believes in the importance of 'render this memory present and project it into the future'.

These authors consider that the Portuguese language is important in the dissemination of their ideas, justifying their opinion with the high number of Portuguese speakers around the world. However, two of the interviewees, Marta Lança and Luís Graça, reported that the demographics of the Portuguese language are overestimated, since most of the citizens of African countries whose official language is Portuguese do not master it. Still, they consider that the Portuguese language has a large global and far-reaching audience.

Luís Graça admit, however, that it would be interesting to publish also texts in English and French on their blogs in order to reach more people. Another blogger, Max Coutinho, who began to have a blog in English, refers to having created a blog in Portuguese in respect for her followers, resulting in an increase in the number of Portuguese-speaking readers. Meanwhile, another interviewee, Marta Lança, believes that producers of web content in Portuguese still did not realize the extent that this may have "because they do not remember that their texts may be read outside their country"[84]. In general, these authors consider the Portuguese language as a language of cohesion, culture and globalization.

All interlocutors mentioned also that they have followers and/or collaborators on other Portuguese-speaking countries, allowing them to strengthen ties with these people through the blogosphere. Incidentally, one of the bloggers, Orlando Castro, says his goal is to make a 'meeting point' available to Lusophone citizens[85]. One of the bloggers interviewed, Marta Lança, note that this type of relationship enhances job opportunities in the Portuguese-speaking world, including invitations to participate in conferences and exhibitions. Another blogger, Paulo Borges, goes even further, opining that cyberspace is a sort of realization of the myth of the 'Fifth Empire', where a cultural community with Lusophone roots extends to a planetary level. In a statement this author said: "In addition to being Portuguese, Brazilians, Angolans, and Mozambicans, we are also Lusophone peoples and live the Lusophony in this virtual space"[86]. In the view of this blogger, the fragmented geographic Lusophone space becomes a unified space in the cyberspace.

Portuguese bloggers, in general, revealed a positive opinion on the quality of content that is accessible on Lusophone blogosphere. One of the authors, Orlando Castro, even consider that this is 'active, dynamic and critical', taking the place left open by traditional media regarding the discussion of issues of interest to citizens[87]. Of course, these authors consider there is also lower quality material, including nationalist, nostalgic, and prejudiced contents.

One of the authors, Max Coutinho, state that this is more common in Portugal since the access to the blogosphere is more democratized. In other countries, with stronger digital divide, only elites publish on blogs, so that the material placed there turns out to be more selected (for a more detailed discussion of this issue see Macedo et al, 2011).

3   Social Networks

With the aim to examine the established networks among bloggers of the established cartography, the following stage was the study of social relations among bloggers in the context of the Brazilian, Mozambican and Portuguese blogospheres (see Macedo, Macedo & Cabecinhas, 2014).

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[84] Interview with Marta Lança, author of *Buala*, Lisbon (Portugal), April 18th, 2011.
[85] Interview with Orlando Castro, author of *Alto Hama*, Matosinhos (Portugal), March 22th, 2011.
[86] Interview with Paulo Borges, author of *Outro Portugal*, Lisbon (Portugal), April 19th, 2011.
[87] Interview with Orlando Castro, author of *Alto Hama*, Matosinhos (Portugal), March 22th, 2011.

The goal of social network analysis is to detect effects of networks on individuals and groups, realizing the impact of a given network structure on actors and groups and explain their behaviour through the networks in which they move. Indeed, through the choices they make on how to interact with others arise different types of networks.

Starting from these premises, we first develop a database for each blogosphere, of the three selected countries. Each blog in this blogospheres was encoded (eg. A1, A2, A3). Then, on each blog was collected the list of links that the author selected to be displayed, usually on the right side bar of the blog. From this information, we list the various blogs (eg. A1 connects to A2 and A3; A2 connects to A1, etc…). After analysing the list of links, using the program UCINET (Software Package for Social Network Analysis), such information was inserted in the program (0 - no relation, 1 - relation). This software includes a tool for network visualization, NetDraw, which we used to present the established networks within each blogosphere. In addition, were signalized in the graphs the blogs selected for case studies, in order to illustrate its position within the blogosphere.

The analysis of the three blogospheres must be based on the real context to which we refer. For example, the Brazilian blogosphere is quite dispersed, organizing themselves into small groups, reflecting the size of the country and of the blogosphere. Indeed, although our database included more than sixty Brazilian blogs, only half of them actually maintain relationships in the cyberspace. The immensity of the Brazilian blogosphere explains, for example, the fact that this network comprises only one of the blogs selected for case study - the blog *Trezentos* (Three Hundred)[88].

Regarding the Mozambican blogosphere, bloggers consider it a cohesive virtual space, accessed by an elite. In fact, the more recent development of the blogosphere, and the internet limitations access (except in some urban areas), determines that most accesses are performed during the work period. In this case the analysis of the interviews allows complementing this discussion, since they indicates that some bloggers have personal meetings, and know each other. These findings are even clearer when we look at who comments on blogs, the same elite who have their own blogs. In this case, all the blogs selected for the case study are part of this network and three of these blogs are still in the core of this network, revealing places of power and influence: *Ximbitane*[89]; *Rabiscando Moçambique* (Scribbling Mozambique)[90] and *Contrapeso 3.0* (Counterbalance 3.0).

The social networks in the case of Portuguese blogosphere have some similarities with the Mozambican blogosphere, however with more dense interconnections. The blogs selected for case study are not integrated in this network, which is related to the fact that we have undertaken a pre-selection according to the themes of the research project, which are not the most debated subjects in the Portuguese blogosphere. As discussed earlier, the most debated topics in the Portuguese blogosphere are those related to Society/News and Politics. With regard to the more central and powered blogs in this network, blogs with access to information and consequently with more distribution ability, are those who are also spaces of political intervention, often connected with political parties.

This research on sociability networks was presented (Macedo et al, 2014), in a more in-depth way, illustrating graphically the digital networks established among Portuguese-speaking bloggers, deepening and complementing the ongoing research.

Closing remarks

Despite the extreme importance of the Internet as a communication technology in the global world, there is a long way to go on the research of cyberspace narratives. As a consequence, the literature on this subject research methodology is not enough to allow an indisputable research design. As argued by Schneider and Kirsten (2004, p. 119), "The emergence of the Internet, and especially the

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[88] http://www.trezentos.blog.br/

[89] http://ximbitane.blogspot.com/

[90] http://basiliomuhate.blogspot.com/

web, has challenged scholars conducting research to both adapt familiar methods and develop innovative approaches that account for the unique aspects of the web".

The dynamics of Internet are very unpredictable; consequently, the Internet is an environment that easily generates methodological traps. Surely, Internet has much more methodological difficulties than those described in this research experience. What researchers have to do is to transform these methodological difficulties into methodological challenges. Although, it is important to recognize that the methodological approach reported in this paper is only one of the many different ways to face the described challenges.

In this paper we reported the methodological approach and some results concerning our program of research on the Lusophone cyberspace, including: (i) contributions to the Lusophone cyberspace cartography, (ii) the case studies in three Lusophone countries, with in-depth analyses of five blogs in each country and interviews with the respective bloggers, and (iii) preliminary results on the cyberspace social networks in the Lusophone cyberspace.

Concerning the contributions to a cyberspace cartography, this analysis revealed that the 'virtual' space reflects many of the characteristics of the 'real' space: this virtual space appears as a place for sharing anxieties among bloggers and between these and other voices that reveal similar concerns, creating a virtual identity, product of their relationship in cyberspace (Mitra, 2008).

The results of the case studies conducted in Brazil, Mozambique, and Portugal, show that the meanings attributed to Lusophony are very different in the blogs of these three countries. In Mozambican blogs the Lusophony concept is actively contested. Brazilian blogs have the most diverse and diffuse positioning regarding this issue. In general, the Brazilian respondents identify themselves with a South American identity while conceiving the Lusophony as an open system interconnected with other linguistic and cultural systems.

Mozambicans and Brazilians bloggers interviewed are sceptical about the size and scope of the Portuguese language in the world, revealing that its use has limits in the cyberspace. In the perspective of these bloggers, writing in English, Spanish or French, it would allow them to get a greater number of collaborators and followers, giving greater projection to their texts.

Unsurprisingly, the Portuguese blogs are does that feature more favourable representations of the Lusophony. Portuguese bloggers discourses convey conceptions ranging from a 'multicultural community' in line with the myth of a 'Fifth Empire', in which a cultural community with Lusophone roots is seen as promoting mutual understanding between people across the globe (Macedo et al, 2010).

It is important to go further with this research, doing an in-depth analysis on the representations of Lusophony disseminated in cyberspace, looking to understand how these different representations affect the cultural memory and the current lives of the citizens who express themselves in Portuguese language. Moreover, an in-depth study of digital social networks will enable a more comprehensive, critical and integrated analysis of the Lusophone Cyberspace.

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Blogs and sites

Blog or site	Blogger	Link
Alto Hama	Orlando Castro	http://altohama.blogspot.com/
B'andhla	Patricio Langa	http://circulodesociologia.blogspot.com/
Buala	Marta Lança	http://buala.org
Contrapeso 3.0	Egídio Vaz	http://ideiasdemocambique.blogspot.com/
Cultura Brasil/Europa	Edna Quadros	http://quadros-cultura.com/tag/lusofonia/
Etnias: o bisturí da sociedade	Max Coutinho	http://max-etnias.blogspot.com
Luís Graça e Camaradas da Guiné	Luís Graça	http://blogueforanadaevaotres.blogspot.con
Lusofonia Horizontal	Daniel Cunha	http://lusofoniahorizontal.blogspot.com/
Ma-schamba	José P. Teixeira	http://www.ma-schamba.com/
Outro Portugal	Paulo Borges	http://umoutroportugal.blogspot.com/
Rabiscando Moçambique	Basílio Muhate	http://basiliomuhate.blogspot.com/
Revista da Lusofonia	João Alves Neves	http://joaoalvesdasneves.blogspot.com/
Todos os fogos o fogo	Mauricio Santoro	http://todososfogos.blogspot.com/
Trezentos	Sérgio Silveira	http://www.trezentos.blog.br/
Ximbitane	Ximbitane	http://ximbitane.blogspot.com/

CHAPTER 7

Beyond the Walls: Peripheral Narratives and Audiovisual Practices as Processes of Self-Representation

Rosana Martins

This chapter aims to analyse theoretical articulations around the concepts of representation, visibility and social recognition, in order to examine the so-called *'cinema de periferia'* [cinema of the periphery], its modes of production and dissemination. It seeks to show how and why the conquest and re-appropriation of space is important in terms of giving visibility to peripheral groups. Such groups emerge in a social situation that is often characterised by range of uncertainties. They are frequently segregated from the metropolis which serves as a centre for the dissemination and consumption of 'cultural imaginaries' (Canclini, 1996).

The focus in this chapter is on the collective performances of peripheral groups. It is argued that their acts can rescue the public sphere as a plural field of dialogue, creating spaces where a certain autonomy of action flourishes against the shackles of contemporary capitalistic society. It is through collective action that these peripheral actors create diverse communities, foment novel identities and social bonds. It is through working together that they develop the ability to think anew. These groups present themselves as dynamic agents, producers of claims and demands, and not merely as reproducers of the roles assigned to them by social class or predetermined by processes of history.

This piece of research sits between the epistemological fields of communications, cultural studies and social science. It is an attempt to understand the hybrid character of communication, emphasising its polyphonic nature and plurality.

Marginalised Representativeness

The peripheries are understood as the spaces that surround other locations that are considered 'central'; where assumptions regarding the area of socio-territorial exclusion are formed. The periphery is almost always associated with the idea of conflict. This is especially true from the moment it begins to incorporate the values of an overlapping urban territory. According to Teresa Caldeira's book City of Walls (2000), segregation is as much as a social phenomenon as a spatial one; and the rules that organise the urban space are conveyed through the issues of social difference and separation.

Kowarick (1982, 2000) emphasises that rather than speaking about the periphery, we should be using the collective form, peripheries, to emphasise the diversity within. In urban geographies, peripheries denote geographical distance from the centre; commonly home to the poor, needy and underprivileged in terms of public services and basic infrastructure. Although diverse indeed, the peripheries may well be characterised by their irregular and bumpy streets; their lack of services such as street lighting, asphalt, sanitation, transportation, healthcare and education. Yet, often one forgets to register, that the peripheries are also social spaces, zones for art production and for cultural-political intervention.

In this sense, when we talk about centre and periphery, we are talking not only about spaces that are measurable in size, socioeconomic conditions and infrastructure, but also about the construction of social representations - for example, the visibility generated by the mainstream

media about peripheries: spaces often characterised by chaos and violence; areas filled by criminality; places plagued by an absence of legal guarantees and governed by their own laws. Therefore, stereotypes are created through the reproduction of a matrix that reduces the peripheries to poverty, to crime and violence, as if these were the identifying marks of what is on the fringes of civilisation, citizenship and institutional legality.

According to Bonduki and Rolnik (1982), peripheries emerge with the shortage of affordable popular housing, linked to the expansion of the low-income population. The authors highlight the indiscriminate use of the term, from a geographical perspective, as the distance from the centre; and, from a sociological perspective, as the configuration of spaces of reproduction of a labour force related to poverty, lack of prestige; and, by extension, invisibility. They seek to formulate a more precise definition, conceptualising peripheries as the 'portions of the territory of the city that house different brackets of low income' (Rolnik & Bonduki 1982: 147). These differentials correspond to differences in location, physical conditions and the levels of investment made in plots of land.

By defining peripheries based on the low differential income of a recently urbanised
plot and according to low levels of investment in services and urban infrastructure, Raquel Ronik and Nabil Bonduki (Nakano, 2002) draw a parallel to macro-segregation. Here, they refer to differential access to urban land as a commodity, a feature of capitalist urbanisation, whose benefits are only seen by those who boast a higher buying power. In this sense, we can say that the concept of macro-segregation is interchangeable with that of social exclusion which also features limited access to services and programmes of urban improvement

We also can say that the city integrates metanarratives: the complexity of the process of urbanisation; the role of typically capitalist agents of the State in its various instances; the expanded reproduction of capital; the movements that occupy areas also producing a real city that presents itself with social, spatial, economic and sociospatial inequalities. 'The Right to the City', one of the masterpieces of Henry Lefebvre (1969), is a fundamental reference for urban scholarship and thought on cities. His various works express an understanding of production, consumption, distribution of space, the inequality 'of' and 'in' the town. Lefebvre assists our attempts to understand the metanarrative (metaphilosophy) of the urban, in its multiple dimensions. The right to the city represents above all the possibility of transforming our daily lives, in a way that every citizen can actually live and fully participate in the space where he or she lives.
Cities have been often presented as places of concentrated wealth and tragedy, as the work of the collective effort that results in profit for the few. Such imbalances are drawn up in maps of social inequality. We can say then, that in a society whose principles are drawn by the workings of the market, social exclusion is in itself a violence provoked by the social structure that reflects the everyday, through its deprivation of access to material, symbolic and sociopolitical goods for the lower classes. Stressing poverty as an inevitable and natural occurrence, it is possible to draw attention to marketized relations of power and rhetoric that feed public policies in ways which perpetuate inequality and social incivility. Social exclusion is anchored to the imaginary that maintains poverty as a mark of inferiority, and places individuals at the mercy of public philanthropy; it indicates a social system in crisis (Paoli & Telles, 2000).

From the nineties onwards, several television and film productions sought to redevelop the peripheral space as a privileged focus of attention (Hamburger, 2007). In the first instance, peripheries were portrayed as spaces apart from the city, where the State had limited control. In these representations, residents were seen as mere objects of actions, readings and visions. They were denied the status of protagonists and actors in their own lives. However, a new trend that brings to the public light other experiences has emerged too; an approach that invokes more positive discourses associated with ideas of cultural diversity, spirit of community, creativity and solidarity as opposed to violence, inequality, crime and exclusion (even if these aspects may still be present). To take an example one can look to the movie, *Antonia*, directed by Tata Amaral (2009).

This film is set in Vila Brasilândia, a suburb of São Paulo, where four girls who work as backing vocalists start their own rap group called *Antonia*. Initially it seems like a good plan but the girls' dreams of making a living from their music soon clashes with their experience of poverty, violence and male chauvinism. The struggle to be heard and to make ends meet soon jeopardises their friendship. Director Tata Amaral offers a poetic look into difficult issues, including violence, racism, and sexism in contemporary Brazil as she projects the vibrant and uplifting tale of four female rappers struggling to make a name whilst performing in the suburbs of the city of São Paulo. *Antonia*, however, is not a film about vulnerable women in a harsh society. On the contrary, the girls are models of assertiveness and perseverance and eventually it seems like all their efforts might pay off. Featuring four genuine Brazilian R&B and hiphop stars in the lead roles - individuals essentially playing themselves in a story about their own lives - *Antonia* is filled with energy, great music and an irrepressible spirit of accomplishment. With great performance and relaxed but controlled direction, this is not a candy-coated motivational vehicle but a piece of solid dramatic cinema.

Based on examples like the movie *Antonia*, an issue to be discussed is the rethinking of the peripheries from the point of view of cultural practices. Communication, as stated by Martin-Barbero (1997b), is a matter of cultures, subjects, actors, and not only devices and structures; it is a matter of production, not only reproduction. It is from this perspective that it is possible to highlight three essential points for understanding communication and culture: sociability, ritualism and technicality. Understanding culture as a space for social practices is to understand these practices as the spaces where social relations acquire concreteness.

In recent years, urban violence and criminality were immediately associated with peripheries and poverty (Valladares, 2005), either by the mainstream media or the speech of middle and upper classes. However, young residents of the peripheries have created responses to this discourse. Through art and creative production, initiatives have emerged that prompt a rethinking of the public space, citizenship, public policies and the political role of governmental organisations. With the explosion of the hip hop movement in the nineties, the peripheries began to be seen by many youngsters with a greater sense of pride. The 'peripheral aesthetic' even caused interest amongst young people from the middle and upper classes. With the music of Racionais MC's, for example, the southern part of São Paulo gained popularity and recognition amongst young people, arousing curiosity in those who did not know it and pride in its residents. (Martins, 2005; Novaes, 2006).

In the same period, it is important to highlight the new possibilities brought on by technological advances. For instance, peripheral youths gained access to equipment for image capture and the purchase of cameras became a possibility, propelling the production of local films.

It is worth noting, however, the strong presence of workshops that were actively targeting this group, many of which derived from non-governmental organisations such as, *Kinoforum* and *Ação Educativa* in São Paulo. Later, in the mid-2000s, independent peripheral groups began to emerge, and from 2005, there was an increase in the level of film production, with virtually no 'incentives' from NGOs (Leite, 2006). Currently, many areas considered as 'peripheral' have their own established channels of communication, such as their own film festivals and short film productions.

At the end of the twentieth century a real 'technological revolution' took place, due to advancements in the fields of telecommunications and informatics bringing new possibilities for communication and information dissemination. The set of so-called 'cultural industries' (radio, film, television, print) began an unprecedented technological mutation, with digitalisation delineating a new informational and communicational landscape.

The use of new telecommunication technologies in the past two decades has evolved through three distinct stages. Castells describes 'the automation of tasks, experiences of using it and the reconfiguration of applications' (1999, p. 50). In the first two stages, the progress of technological

innovation was based on *using it* in order to learn. In the third stage, users learned the technology by *making it*, which eventually resulted in the reconfiguration of networks and discovery of new applications. It is possible to talk about a move from the 'global village' to the 'society of information or knowledge' and especially, the 'network society', with its utopias and aporias (featuring collective intelligence, autonomy, democratisation of culture, virtual reality ...).

The feedback loop between the introduction of a new technology, its uses and developments in new fields, becomes much faster in the new technological paradigm. Consequently, the diffusion of technology infinitely amplifies its power, as users appropriate and redefine it. We can say that through the audiovisual tool a new praxis has emerged in the peripheries that involves a wider set of agents, including the population itself.

> "Individuals construct representations about their own social structure and social cleavages, and it is in the frame of the categories offered by these representations that they self-position and develop networks of relations [...]" (Vala & Monteiro, 2004, p. 495).

Attempts to explain the world and social objects can be described in terms of social representations, manifest in the speeches and actions of individuals. To represent does not mean merely to reproduce or duplicate, it means much more than that - it means rebuilding. For Moscovici (1978), to represent is to participate actively in the construction of the society and, above all, in the construction of self.

In this sense, audiovisuals produced in peripheral spaces create a whole new picture of society through the reprocessing of communicative flows, whereby society narrates, reflects and reinvents itself. In the same way, it is important that perspectives and discourses that are systematically made invisible make themselves publicly clear.

Hannah Arendt (2009) claims that human beings interact with each other through speech and action. In another words, it is through speech and action that human beings differ and get to know one another. If the agent reveals himself through speech and through action, the agent reveals himself to others, as well. He reveals himself to those who are positioned in front of him as spectators. He reveals himself as his own very spectator. We are very close to the idea that all spectators are the actors of their own stories and vice-versa. In the absence of this idea, communication or self-manifestation through action and speech would be impossible.

> "[...] Action and speech need to be surrounded by others as much as creation needs to be surrounded by nature [...]. Creation is surrounded by the world and is in perennial contact with it. Action and speech are surrounded by the web of acts and words of other men and are also in permanent contact with it" (Arendt, 2009, p. 201).

In Hannah Arendt's thought, politics appears to re-humanise the world through words, speech and actions that arise with the act of sharing, with the ability to distinguish the world with clarity. Also, Hannah Arendt is a very important reference here, in terms of the emphasis that she puts on the public space and how that must be defended as a space of freedom from political pressures and private interests.

The struggle for self-representation in Brazil's peripheral zones is accompanied by the search for a public visibility. It implies the use of strategies of 'argumentative opposition' to defend collective interests. In this sense, it can also be perceived as part of a struggle for social recognition (Honneth, 1996).

The importance of acting together, where power rises, is understood here as a resource generated by the capacity of members of a political community to agree to a common course of action. This is how humans manifest themselves to each other, not as mere physical objects, but as libertarian

men. Thus, the appropriation of media and audiovisual languages by peripheral groups reinforces a narrative of self-representation.

In the writings of Stuart Hall (1997), the concept of representation appears in the field of communication as an expressive form that feeds the recursive cycle through which society and individuals build themselves up mutually and permanently. Hence, audiovisuals from the peripheries contribute to the pluralisation of the public sphere and; above all, the rise of new expressive possibilities for different perspectives to circulate in society.

The understanding of communication processes, especially with regards to the field of reception studies, has made significant contributions to the field of communication studies and therefore also offers much to Cultural Studies. It offers a framework that emphasises the active character of society and helps to build a picture of how humans send and receive information within a complex milieu. The focus thus shifts to the social mediations that can occur through communication, and how they can provide a challenge to dominant forms of knowledge. It is from this perspective that it is possible to reframe the role of media in society, enabling us to understand the two as co-constitutive.

Modalities of intermediation, cultural and identitarian practices

Jardim Ângela is a neighbourhood in the extreme south of the city of São Paulo. A place that was once known as the Triangle of Death because of the high rate of homicide, Jardim Ângela gave birth to a cultural and political movement that aimed to fill the existing gap between the periphery and institutional power. The 'CineBecos' project was initiated in 2005 by a group of young people who edited the local newspaper *Becos e Vielas* Gradually, in addition to the newspaper, other initiatives appeared such as the production of a Cine Journal, short films and in partnership with other artists and collectives in the city. These initiatives provide a form of representation and voice for peripheral youth.

Cinebecos' screenings started in an informal way, with equipment and space borrowed from schools and friends. At the beginning of 2006, the group was able to implement a project supported by *Valorização de Iniciativas Culturais da Prefeitura* (Valorisation of the Cultural Initiatives of City Hall or VAI), which enabled many groups and independent centres in São Paulo to raise funds for their own projects. It also allowed the group to purchase some equipment and expand its exhibits, in addition to promoting road shows. It must be noted that programs such as VAI and *Pontos de Cultura* (Culture Points), for example, gave a fresh perspective on cultural policies in different parts of the country, working to encourage and foster projects related to everyday practices and their diverse compositions.

CineBecos films and exhibitions have dealt with varied themes. Some films have been played for more than a year and have been followed by public discussions and debate. Building creative partnerships in the region has also become one of the goals of the collective, which has sought to maintain a permanent space for the non-commercial dissemination of audiovisual productions. In this way the group gives priority to independent directors and collectives from all around Brazil, allowing for greater reflection on the representation of the periphery in the media. They also facilitate in the construction and dissemination of new images and ideas about the periphery.

CineBecos hold their projections in the 'alleyways' of the region, showing films that range from national classics to videos produced right there in the periphery. The project is coordinated by Rogério Pixote, a multimedia student who was increasingly dissatisfied with approaches to cinema in the periphery. In particular, he was critical of practices of representation which often naturalised social inequalities and denied any possibility of recognition for the social subjects that inhabit these spaces.

The image of violence in the peripheries, cultivated from the inside out, tends to take a secondary role in *CineBecos*. The belief in the power of social change through art gives further strength to these cultural producers, who, committed to their origins, reveal that a bigger urge to 'scream' is only just starting to happen.

Another example worth mentioning is the project *Cinescadão*, created in 2007 by Flávio Galvão, a resident of the northern area of São Paulo. *Cinescadão* received monetary support from a small supermarket in the region. In 2009, it won an award from the governmental national fund in the category of hip hop and communication. With the value of the money prize added to other jobs undertaken by the group and personal money from the members, the group was able to purchase a house on the hills of Jardim Peri, where the head office of *Cinescadão* is based.

Cinescadão can be thought of as an artistic manifestation which first made its name on the stairway of the Jardim Peri hill, to the north of São Paulo. Here, rap and audiovisual productions were staged in the open air, with the audience settled on the cement stairs of the hill- a passing place of local residents. Yet, according to Galvão the divergent energies of the performers and artists made it hard to run joint projects here. Moreover, whilst *Cinescadão* has attempted to embrace the child audience, Galvão explains that this has not had much impact, since the poor conditions of the area made it challenging for families to attend for lengthy productions.

In conversation via email on July 8, 2014, Flávio Galvão reported that there were several reasons for the 'cooling' (decline/end) of the outdoor activities of the *Cinescadão:* some members of the group had become evangelicals; one resident who had initially welcomed them into the *Cinescadão* had died; two further supportive residents moved out (including one that had provided the window and wall of his house for a display). However, the primary factor was a kind of "internal dispute" over prestige and power. When a newcomer to the association presented a project that would have TIM funding, it caused discomfort among other members and was rejected, leading to a division in the group and hence the cessation of some of its activities. Moreover, according to Galvão, since the group began to function as an association registered with *the Cadastro Nacional da Pessoa Jurídica* (National Register of Legal Entities or CNPJ), it has encountered bureaucratic and legal hurdles that limit its activities.

Nonetheless, *Cinescadão* was recently selected by the Ministry of Culture of Brazil to act as Point of Culture. One of the goals of the group is the renovation and the construction of a movie house in Cinescadão, plus a community radio station in partnership with the group CA.GE.BE (short for Each Genius of the Alley) – a Brazilian rap group, founded in the city of São Paulo and formed by Cezar Accent, Shirley Green House and DJ Paulinho.

It should be said that the project served as the flagship for communication and dissemination of videos in the Paulista capital, being linked to *Fabicine, A Fantatisca Fabrica de Cinema* (The Fantastic Manufacturing of Cinema), an independent group of people that seek to establish a dialogue between the cinema and the community, using film as a political and instrumental tool for local discussions.

> "The initial dream of *Cinescadão* was to create an alternative strategy of communication within the northern region; the need to have an audiovisual production, that never reaches the general population for several reasons. We live in a structural straitjacket, which is the form and commercial structure of the exhibition. There are a few movie theatres in São Paulo, and these rooms are not enough, especially for large audiovisual productions in the country" (Galvão, 2013, pers. comm., 02 May).

It is important to stress that such groups play a very important role in the democratisation of information in the periphery and in the exercise of rethinking the practice of citizenship. Their acts both increase the number of information channels and they create new issuers of that information. Their actions thus constitute a part of an educational process, not only through broadcasted content, but also through the direct involvement of people 'doing communication'.

Alberto Melucci (1985) focuses his analysis on the relationships that are developed at a micro level through the collective action of individuals. This is a largely psychosocial approach. In this approach, collective action is seen as the agglomerate of several types of conflicts that arise as a result of the behaviour of actors in a social system. Here, the audiovisuals of the peripheral groups are action systems, complex networks where different levels and meanings of social action are communicated. Hence, attention is called to a group of young art-and-culture makers whose practices establish new positions and bear evidence of the construction of peripheral meanings by those who actually live in the periphery.

There is a discourse that marks the existence of a specific type of peripheral production ('audiovisual popular', 'popular centres of audiovisual training', 'peripheral productions'), in the audiovisual field. Therefore, aiming towards the ideal of a plural and above all, diverse periphery, Galvão (of *Cinescadão*) warns about the dangers of labelling the brand as 'peripheral' or 'made in the periphery'.

> "It's complicated to entitle it periphery cinema because it happens in the periphery, and the simple fact that happens in the periphery would be enough for us to say that it is something attached to the periphery, from the periphery only. The man of the periphery, the human being, is linked to the city as a whole, to the knowledge of the city, the exchanges, relationships, material exchanges [...]" (Galvão, 2013, pers. comm., 02 May).

It becomes clear that new aesthetic practices are emerging and laying claim to the social reality; new conceptions about how to register images, new constitutions of audiences, and new markets for the distribution of creative production. From this perspective, the spaces developed by peripheral groups present themselves as crucial opportunities for proposals, discussions and negotiations which are eventually amplified into the larger sphere of the public arena.

In this context it is necessary to mention the non-governmental organisation, *Central Única das Favelas* (Central Union of Slums) - or CUFA – which originated at the base of the Cidade de Deus slum in the western area of the city of Rio de Janeiro. CUFA gradually became one of the largest cultural centres in the country CUFA was founded in 1998 by residents of several slums in Rio de Janeiro and most of its founders were African Brazilians originally emerging from the hip hop movement. Among them, some names that stand out are the Nega Gizza MV Bill and Celso Athayde (considered one of the most important producers of "street culture" in Brazil), who together emerged as key spokespersons for the residents of Rio de Janeiro's slums, denouncing and fighting social injustice. Collectively, they produced and directed the documentary '*Falcão – Meninos do Tráfico*' (Falcão, the boys from the drug trafficking) (2006), and the books '*Falcão: mulheres e o tráfico*' (Falcão, women and trafficking") (2007). In partnership with Luiz Eduardo Soares, they wrote the book entitled '*Cabeça de Porco*' (Pig Head), launched in 2005 by *Objetiva* Publishing.

> "we always realised that our story was told through the eyes of others, the story of the slum, the story of African Brazilians, told through another point of view, an outsider point of view, and we realised that we had to change this thing in Brazil, that we had no record of our experience, our history. So from there we started to record everything we did, our actions, our meetings [...] We have the opportunity to leave something for the future, to register this moment of our history [...] we do care to participate, always signalling politicians and politics in

> Brazil, bringing them ideas and proposals, thinking about a project and offering it from the point of view of the slum, saying what we want, we are more prepared today, today we want to be heard, we knock at the door and ask [...]" (Gizza, 2013, pers. comm., 29 April).

These voices from the periphery designate the traditional mediators of culture moving from the 'objects' to the subjects of discourse, contributing to a renewal of the political, and to stronger speeches against racism, police violence and poverty.

Team CUFA is largely composed, by young graduates from training and professionalising workshops from the bases of the institution and originating from the most disadvantaged layers of society CUFA has five operative bases in the city of Rio de Janeiro: CUFA Cidade de Deus, CUFA Viaduct Madureira, CUFA Pedra do Sapo, CUFA Acari and CUFA Manguinhos. Also, the 'CUFA flame' is lit in all twenty-seven states of Brazil and the organisation develops projects in education, environment, culture and sports. MV Bill, another founding member of CUFA is a rapper, a documentary maker, a writer and a social activist, who often assists the Brazilian government in its social development projects. Notably, since 2009, CUFA has started to develop branches and social projects in several other countries, including Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Chile, Germany, Haiti, Hungary, Italy, Spain and in the USA.

CUFA Cidade de Deus (or CUFA-CDD) was the first unit of CUFA in Brazil and is therefore considered the "headquarters" of the NGO. Added to this, there is the fact that Cidade de Deus is the place of birth and residence one of the founders of the organisation, the rapper MV Bill.

The unit in the Cidade de Deus (City of God) was chosen as an observation laboratory due to the fact that its workshops encompassed various cultural activities. The he inclusive actions of CUFA are what gives the organisation's work legitimacy (the workshops are free for everybody in the community). The Audiovisual Centre is one such space for inclusivity. The centre was established in 2004 as the *Curso de Audiovisual* - CAV (Audiovisual Course) and its activities were initiated with a masterclass taught by the Brazilian film director Carlos Diegues. As a part of his arrangement with CAV, Diegues offers internships at his Film Production Company *Luz Mágica* (Magic Light). Some students have been selected to take advantage of this opportunity.

The audiovisual course, which takes place on Saturdays, is composed of lectures by a renowned group of Brazilian filmmakers: Joel Zito, João M. Salles, Eduardo Coutinho, Silvio Tendler, and other masters such as Julio César Tavares, José Carlos Avellar, Ivana Bentes, Luiz Erlanger, Rafael Dragaud, Jorge Coutinho, Consuelo Lins, Felipe Muanis, Angela Sander. The course also has cooperation from the Escola de Comunicação da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (School of Communication of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro or ECO).

Due to its successes, CAV has been on the cover of the cultural section of the renowned newspaper *O Globo*, where it was described as a facilitator of Brazilian 'audiovisual literacy' – short films are produced, documentary or fictional, technical and artistic capabilities can be experimented with, besides participation in the circuit of film festivals and establishing contacts for entering the audiovisual labour market. Tailored to the transformation and expansion of occupational and personal skills, the course promotes inclusion in the labour market and contributes in a decisive way to raising the self-esteem of young people, aiming to include youngsters from disadvantaged layers of society, turning them into multipliers of knowledge – protagonists in the film of their own history.

> "And the most beautiful is to show people from the slums that they could have access to it, we could play with it, with the audiovisual, we could work with it, make money, we could do our ideology of life [...] it was a thought that has been maturing together, CUFA and the guys from the slum, people from outside

> wanted to participate in Madureira, when we started the course [...]" (Gizza, 2013, pers. comm., 29 April).

These spaces are endowed with great power in that they encourage the common recognition of common problems, promoting with them new forms of socialisation and transformational strategies. Therefore, when looking to increase the voice and legitimacy of the work already being performed by CUFA Rio's audiovisual team, the TV show *Aglomerado* premieres as a cultural, entertainment and informative show, that is the fruit of TV Brasil and the *Central Unica das Favelas - CUFA* (Central Union of Slums). Presented by social activists, rapper MV Bill and rapper Nega Gizza, the show takes place under the viaduct Negrão Lima in Madureira, a suburb of Rio de Janeiro and headquarters of CUFA – Rio. The show, which airs on Saturdays, aims to open a channel for information and actions that take place within the streets of the suburbs.

Another experience that has emerged from this process of dialogue between CUFA and the audiovisual is the film production company CUFA Films. CUFA films has amongst its personnel, former graduates from CUFA audiovisual. It seeks a wider audience beyond the community.

> "Protagonism is our brand. CUFA Films are not only about the community, it will be interacting with many other professionals. Because we believe that the biggest and richest way to produce knowledge, is sharing it" (CUFA Filmes, n.d.).

Therefore, media can be considered as a place for the dissemination of discourse legitimising these socio-cultural movements, providing bases of action, and highlighting the political dimension of social recognition.

According to Evelina Dagnino (2000), this perspective is part of a 'new notion of citizenship' that germinated in the eighties and extended itself to the present Day. This civic redefinition has close relation with the trajectory of the 'new social movements' in that it centres on the right to differentiate oneself. In this sense, the 'new social movements' (from a less egalitarian perspective and more linked to the acceptance of diversity) are in charge of 'extending the scope of citizenship' and the expansion of public arenas. In other words, these 'active social subjects', or 'emerging civil society' (Telles, 1994), can and should participate in the 'invention of a new society', that has effective access in the 'system setting'. To Dagnino, this should be the ambition of a 'bottom up' citizenship (Dagnino, 2000), through which a new political reality can emerge.

How do the peripheries see the world? How do the peripheries see the peripheries? And, after all, which peripheries are we talking about?

The *Núcleo de Comunicação Alternativa* - NCA (Centre for Alternative Communication) is composed by alumni of *Kinoforum* Workshops and the NGO *Ação Educativa*, it is a group of professionals working in different areas of social media. Formed in 2005 in the southern part of São Paulo, the group works with the objective of promoting popular communication, using tools of the media as a means of expressing thoughts and producing of urban interventions. Dedicated to language research and to the enhancement of a critical point of view, the group uses video as its main tool, experimenting with the medium to disseminate cultural materials over the Web.

In the beginning, the desire for the formation of the *Núcleo de Comunicação Alternativa* (Centre for Alternative Communication) was linked to the desire to be heard; to propose a unique point of view and to escape the stereotyped imagery built around the periphery and its residents.

> "The popular video needs to be understood with this social-popular function, our service, the people giving visibility to what goes overlooked by the

mainstream media. The technology needs to fulfil a social function. It cannot fall into this trend of capitalist technology nor transform ourselves into its hostages. The technology of digital image must mediate popular experiences. It has to help, without being noticed. Fulfil the role and go. Disappear" (Facundes, 2010, p. 6).

The access to new technologies and the ease with which one can film, record, produce sounds and images and distribute them at low cost in very remote peripheral communities, creates new 'public spaces', and it also helps to build a societal awareness that communication is a fundamental right of the citizen. It is possible to cite various examples here. *'Bem Morar'* was an NCA project conducted with children from an area undergoing evictions under the auspices of the programme *'Defesa das Águas'* in Grajaú. In this video, impressions about living in the neighbourhood were recorded during a workshop. Another type of work to consider is video-poetry captured with a cellphone camera, such as *'Cidade na sua mão'* which appears on the website, *Catraca Livre*. Also worth highlighting is the magazine produced by NCA, which consists of articles and texts about the production of popular video today and its confluences with historical experiences. From 2009, the magazine was collaboratively produced with the *Coletivo de Vídeo Popular de São Paulo* (Group of Video Popular São Paulo). Via the group's blog, it is possible to access to all back issues of the magazine as portable documents files (pdfs).

Another important project initiated by the group is the *Festival de Várzea,* performed on the streets. The festival utilises the public space as a place for leisure, meeting and discussing politics, encouraging constant dialogue with and between local people. The first festival took place in the lowland fields of Grajaú, with exhibitions in various areas of the region, as well as street plays, public courts and cultural associations. Besides the programme of exhibitions and games, during the eight days of the festival the public can also enjoy various artistic performances such as concerts, graffiti, plays, soirees and samba circles. This is a festival that differs from conventional models, hence, the *Festival de Cinema de Várzea* occurs every four years.

Other than that, since 2007, the group has promoted the project *Videoteca Popular* (Popular Video Library) which over the course of five years, has accrued a collection of over 900 titles, among DVDs and rare VHS. This space is dedicated to the dissemination of educational videographic content, independent film and art-cinema. It regularly offers to lend out its specialised collection for free and organises regular screenings through the *Cine-Clube Sacola de Imagens* every second Friday of the month. For two consecutive years the project has received an award from VAI. It has also received the Ponto de Mídia Livre (Point of Free Media) award twice.

Although financial support and partnerships are sought (through funding from public resources available through governmental institutions, foundations, national and international companies), these groups work under the aegis of production made 'in the periphery'. The claim of these groups is therefore the very possibility of representation of the 'periphery', a representation that is owned and modelled by those who live there. Here, the belonging 'to' the periphery differs from simply living in it, as it involves a deeper sense of belonging and identity.

It is important to reflect also, on the matter of identity, as the bond that unites the peripheral audiovisual groups, a movement that in its social practices can simultaneously work on self-esteem through awareness building and also through the exercise of citizenship. The participation of the citizen in a social environment is what defines citizenship. It may also be added that the issue of citizenship should be linked to the participation of the social actor and the diversity of its interests. Civic protagonism is understood within the ambit of social care and education as "[...] the creative actuation, constructive and supportive of the youth, in the solution of problems in the community and broader social life" (Da Costa, 2000: 22).

The peripheral audiovisual groups draw a clear definition of the public sphere, as a space where citizens have free access, discursively and argumentatively, in their ability to act in multiple and shared ways. This happens through the exchange of words and the capacity to judge openly based on a policy that does not only clarify, but constantly seeks out new enlightenment. In this vision, they are the subjects of their own history, moving together to exchange experiences.

> "From the southern zone of São Paulo a scream echoes ... And it goes in pilgrimage among freaks who are thirsty for justice as we are, from the top of the hills, the ideal is screamed through images, texts, sounds ... the image as a scream, the sound as a movement, the text, tactile; our audiovisual senses keep critically reading this globalised world that propagates and spreads through the media ... We will scream through art, since changes have no standard nor model, all actions unite when the ideal is the same, whether they are artistic or not. Because like that, we will not die for this JUSTITHIRST, we will seek the source, we will dig wells with cameras and pens, raising the earth with projectors, calling more freaks (or just finding them), re-connecting us! In digging more wells, the discovery of water, the natural memory of human life that flows from the heart of the earth renewing the hope for better days" (Núcleo de Comunicação Alternativa (Centre for Communication Aternativa, n.d.).

In a world filled with ambivalences and with big cities seen as centres of diffusion and consumption of cultural imagery, the repercussion through the manipulation of images and the excesses of meanings become very noticeable in the environment. The commercial aspect gains importance and enchants the youth. This youth establishes, therefore, itself as the protagonist of the majority market myths: effective and imaginary consumers (Morin, 1996). The indefinite-self demands for an identity that has always been pursued, but never attained. It holds itself anxious onto small signs of self-expression provided publicly in this so called 'liquid' life (Bauman, 2000).

The 'I' is relational and mobile, continuously redefining itself as a response to a rapid and social dynamic that is permeated by a multitude of information. This information compartmentalises our analysis of reality. To be a subject to Morin (1998) is to put oneself in the centre of one's own world. It is to take the place of the self, opened to the understanding of the multiplicity of languages and the producing relations of social identities.

Active in disseminating information and programming, each peripheral audiovisual group seeks, in its own way, to give emphasis to the need for a corresponding relationship between sender and receiver. They try to feature transparency in the narrative. This, in turn, intersects with the view of Pierre Bourdieu (1998) when he states that the great problem of the press and television is no longer so much what they are able to show, but what they can still omit and hide. It should be noted that in the field of media culture, that abstraction finds its fulfilment in an information model characterised by the semiotic structure of domination (Baudrillard, 1998). That structure replaces the real for another real built up as part of the essential rationality of simulation. Such productive effort is replaced by the codes of hyper-reality, or rather, by the dispersion of the value system founded on the illusion of originality.

This means the same as the death of the real, where nothing else represents true or false, where reality begins to be just a concept in which human subjectivity becomes a useless set of functions in front of the immediacy of things in brought to us by virtue of globalised information. From another point of view, however, many theorists are resuming the critical discourse designed to intensify the movement of cultural flows to demonstrate an undeniable existence. An existence in which the trend towards the globalisation of culture does not result in the homogenisation of the planet, but in a world that becomes increasingly mestizo or hybridised.

Massimo Canevacci (2000) uses the concepts of hybridisation and interbreeding to explore the combination and recycling of international cultural flows through local cultures. Thus, against the linear power of universalising historical narratives, there is syncretism: territory marked by crossings between extraterritorial flows. Not only ethnicities, but also lifestyles, worldviews and aesthetic sensibilities that are hybridised. In such a vision, symbols are determined by multiple cultural trends that fragment and re-formulate the whole code.

Arjun Appadurai, cited by Roland Robertson (1997), believes that the instruments of homogenisation brought about by globalisation (armaments, advertising techniques, the hegemony of certain languages, fashion) are actually absorbed by political and local cultural economies, only to be repatriated in the urban fabric as heterogeneous dialogues where the nation-state plays an ever more delicate role.

It is necessary to explore the relevance of processes of hegemony and resistance in order to think about how identities may be constructed through relations of continuity, rupture and hybridisation among global and local systems, traditional and modern ones, that emerge intertwined. Moreover, the current complexity of cultural phenomena requires the analysis of identities as processes of negotiation, 'in the sense that they are hybrid, ductile and multicultural' (Canclini, 1996, p. 151). Subjectivity is engendered in the social and at all times, it has reciprocal relations of mutual constitution.

As Jesus Martin-Barbero's work indicates, the questions of identity, subjectivity and hybridity are among the principle concerns for Latin American Cultural Studies. The study of communication should rest not only on technical specifications, but crucially also on the place where communication resides in the field of culture. He claims that, 'communication became to us more like a mediation issue, it became a matter of culture; therefore, we not only recognise it, but re-acknowledge it' (Barbero, 1997a, p. 32). The subject, once a mere decoder for the producer of the communicative process is now a mediator too. Organised segments of the population who have been routinely subjected to conditions of subordination and are now able to become protagonists through alternative forms of communication such as those discussed here. The exhibitions and audiovisual productions in peripheral spaces tend to involve the active, horizontal and democratic participation of citizens; shared experiences, autonomous creations and local identification. Above all else, these are committed forms of communication with the interests of the 'peripheries' in mind.

Final Considerations

It is necessary to recognize the peripheral groups considered above as agents that are transforming local realities. The involvement of peripheral youngsters in social and cultural movements contributes to the strengthening of civil society, since it facilitates popular organisation and participation in decisions taken by the State. In this way the relationship between citizenship and equality is strengthened.

The study presented here: a) revealed how these peripheral groups find and express solutions to various conflicts in everyday life through creative acts b) identified projects and actions that seek to formalise these problem solving activities; c) examined how lasting relationships have been established with peripheral youths in these projects; and, d) described and categorised the forms of collective and creative action in order to bolster understanding about how such activities feed into youth empowerment in the peripheries.

This piece of research seeks to encourage further discussion around issues relating to culture, education, uses of media by peripheral youth in civil society, cultural policy, the affirmation of diversity, and the spread of supportive and cooperative values. Thus, this piece of work seeks to

overcome the problem of young people and their ideas being underrepresented in training and policy. It advocates on their behalf for their rights of access to education, communication, health, social inclusion, employment, leisure time, social spaces and personal relationships.

The diversity of these groups reflects the different needs that affect their quality of life. The way that individuals conduct their activities promotes their emerging interests and ultimately contributes to the strengthening of a relationship that is rooted around the entire community's common values. Participation has a positive impact. It is only through such critical, active and creative acts that people will dare to dream and experiment. In so doing, they usher in a transformation of their lived realities and build a new critical consciousness.

The profusion of such alternative networks of community communication presents an overlooked but important space for interaction and sociability. It promotes the extensive exchange of experiences between different cultures and social groups, to the extent that the dialogue with the city transcends established spatial borders. Thus, the practice of participation has two interrelated dimensions: the political and the pedagogical. The political dimension relates to rights and empowerment. Meanwhile, as a part of the process, individuals also learn about the conditions of their reality, their history and their life; they do so independently of a formal education.

The existence of these peripheral collectives and the political impact that they are capable of producing through their creative projects, invites a revision of dominant policy thought in Brazil. In particular it prompts re-evaluation of the rules of procedure and public policies directed toward the younger residents of the suburbs of major urban centres of Brazil.

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CHAPTER 8

Proximity and Local Construction: The Local Radio as a Space of Resilience

Luis Bonixe

Introduction

Local radio has changed the media landscape in Portugal in many ways. One of its major contributions was to bring together media and citizens and to contribute to the promotion of identity in the communities where they operate. Local radio broadcasts news and information directly related to the daily lives of communities, creating a sense of sharing and participation, strengthening ties and promoting two-way communication flows. The emergence of local radio in Portugal was spurred by the goal of creating a set of mechanisms that could help citizens to participate in the construction of the local.

However, the path taken by the local radio stations in Portugal has led to a very complex scenario such that in some cases the initial goal has been abandoned. Indeed, a local market exiguous has failed to attract investment, the small size of most local broadcasting companies and the public policies adopted have led many radios to move away from the communities and to transform into musical radio stations.

Portuguese local radio is suffering a difficult phase of affirmation. On one hand, the sector continues to register interesting movements, for example at the level of property ownership. However, the entry of other media groups has led to policies that do not favor strategies to bring local radio to the communities in which the stations are located. Moreover, Portuguese law has facilitated these same practices, since it is possible for a local radio to change their programming to an only-musical schedule with relative ease, which means that in many cases journalistic projects are abandoned, thus depriving communities of local news. In this article, I reflect on the crisis affecting the very concept of local radio in Portugal, from a theoretical framework that argues that local radios should be characterized by proximity to the communities in which they operate, to the extent that proximity enhances the prospects for public discussion of local issues. The inability to continue to achieve this goal is, in our view, a danger to democracy itself, impoverishing the public space.

Localness as a media construction

For the sociologist Manuel Castells (2003), local communities are important spaces for the construction of alternative interpretations to the extent that the identities that are generated there come into intersection with other sources of meaning and social recognition. Localness is seen as the environment in which people socialize and interact, creating ties and social networks among neighbors. The sharing and identification of common issues among agents in the local space has a dimension that should not be minimized, particularly in the context of a global culture. Radio, and particularly local radio, has thus an important role to play.

The movement to create local radios that spread across Europe in the late 50s is deeply rooted in the awareness that some sectors of the population could share their opinions and points of view and others could not (Eco, 1981). This is something that cannot be dissociated from the political, social and cultural post-war transformations in Europe, as well as from the popular protests led by

several social groups, such as environmentalists, and avant-gardists against the monopoly of the European governments in the media sector (Starkey, 2011a; Flichy, 1982).

This liberation movement (or rather movements, as it took several forms depending on the specificities of each country) aimed to give a voice to marginalized social, cultural and political movements. Local radio stations became   a way to escape the monopoly of big economic groups that gained increasingly more control over the media (Dominguez, 1997; Crisell, 1994). Local broadcasters, such as local radios, provide an alternative to standardized national media discourse. Local radio stations have become many communities' way to have access to the media without having to pay for information.

The Radio has benefited from local radio stations, which have enabled it to reinvent itself as a medium, reinforcing its role as a vehicle for the expression of political, social and cultural views. There are many examples, such as the so-called 'movement' in Italy which incorporated several radio stations in order to disseminate left-wing ideals (Rodrigo & Ruiz-Collantes, 1982) or the *radio vert* in France, called like that for their role in the defense of the environment. Depending on the country, local radio has served in some cases as a vehicle for social and political struggles and, in other cases, "just for the pleasure of practicing radio" (Cazenave, 1984, p. 82).

In the Portuguese case, radio was in its early stages, focused on localism, but in the 1970's it also dedicated some attention to the contestation of the duopoly Government/Church property. This was when the first pirate radios started to emerge in Portugal. The movement that pushed for liberalization of the radio in Portugal centered on peoples' desire to relate with the media space, which was almost always geographically and thematically rooted in major cities such as Lisbon and Porto, focused mostly on the great national issues.

Also, in this case, it is necessary to take into account the political and social conditions which existed in Portugal after nearly five decades of dictatorship that ended with the 1974 Revolution. In the post-dictatorship context, local radio stations should be seen as an important mode of expression of identity and political will. I found a similar scenario in Spain. Manuel Chaparro Escudero has referred to the volunteer nature of the phenomenon, stressing that, in Spain, local broadcasters have derived from groups of citizens that have been committed to taking an active part in the construction of democracy (Escudero, 1998). This identity was built by the radio stations as they made sure to include the names of the communities they broadcasted for in their names. A few examples are: Radio Portalegre, Rádio Voz de Almada (Voice of Almada) or Radio Antena Minho (a region in the north of Portugal).
The clear connection between local radio stations and their communities was a distinguishing factor in their early days. Local radio stations aimed to put an end to the government's centralism, building their identity from the delimitation of the territory.

The ideas of community and sharing the same physical space are relevant here as affirmation and even as a commercial strategy on behalf of local broadcasting enterprises. The local is perceived as the territory of proximity that connects radios to their listeners.

The radio and localism

Portuguese scholar, Adriano Duarte Rodrigues, compares the radio to a clock ticking to the beat of our daily lives (Maia, 1995), which also guides us in our daily lives. The connection between the individuals and the radio results in a certain degree of emotion, affection and sense of sharing (Crisell, 1994). The technological transformations which increased access to the radio and the emotions symbolically brought by the advent of voice on the radio have helped the radio to continue to be part of our lives.

Because of its characteristics, local radio is the exponent of this communicative relationship. David Hendy believes that the radio has in itself 'an aura of democracy'. The author tells us that this aura results from the combination of three factors. Firstly, the kind of language that is used gives out the idea of plurality as the listeners can be both receivers and producers of information. Secondly, radio is more affordable when compared to other media like television, for example. David Hendy points out that:

> "This makes radio, at least in theory, the medium of the more marginalized and disenfranchised sections of the community, as much as of the large corporation or the state: community and neighborhood stations, pirates, 'free-radio' stations and various forms of clandestine radio, are phenomena with only very rare parallels in the global ecology of television" (2000, p. 196).

This view, which focuses on the local and emphasizes the radio as a tool for empowerment and identity construction is followed by other authors. Rafael Roncagliolo (1993 apud Escudero, 1998) believes that local radio stations' proximity reshapes and changes the existing order of things. This is the type of communication that relates to the individual horizontally, not vertically.

A report by Ofcom about Small-scale radio compares the relationship of the individuals with their local and community radio stations. One of the findings of the study emphasizes the relationship of proximity and identity that listeners have with their local radio station. "So, it is not just about what small-scale stations broadcast, but what they represent to their communities that make them so special to their listeners" (OFCOM, 2011, p. 22). The same study compares the views of the listeners on the local radio and on national radio broadcast. Listeners report that they feel affection for their local radio, a feeling that they do not have for other radio stations. This affection does not necessarily result from permanent listening, but from the sense of belonging that local radio stations provide them. Local radio stations have created the conditions for the revival of a regional identity, which is perceptible through the sense of belonging that listeners feel towards the radio stations in their areas, a reality that is observed mostly in areas where national broadcasters do not have a strong impact. Patrice Flichy (1981) stresses that local radio stations serve a social purpose that benefits the community in terms of the renewal of life into local initiatives. According to this point of view, local radio stations provide the community with a better knowledge of itself.

Proximity and localism as specialization

Local radio stations are thus associated with proximity, which can be reinforced through several areas of local radio broadcastings, such as local micro-information, local identity and quirky entertainment (OFCOM, 2011). Therefore, I will explore the matter of proximity associated with localism, assuming that this is ground for journalistic specialization.

This hypothesis is strongly associated with the geographical scope of the radio. I believe that the territorialization is a crucial for the promotion of proximity and journalistic specialization. Proximity to the territory over which the journalistic action is performed promotes expertise, since it suggests a deeper knowledge and familiarity. Editorial decisions taken by journalists derive from interpretive scenarios that are based to "a significant degree, upon local knowledge" (Kirby, 1989 apud Hood, 2010, p. 153). The practice of outsourcing undertaken by some radio stations (which means local news produced in a different place from where local radio is focused) raises numerous issues, as explained by Lee Hood:

> "Outsourced news implies an important question in this regard: To what extent do news producers outside a local area have the local knowledge to contribute to the collective local discourse? Conversely, does a lack of local knowledge lead to different decisions about what to include in local news broadcasts?" (2010, p. 153).

Spanish scholar, Bernardo Diaz Nosty (1997), also advocates proximity journalism involving territorial specialization by suggesting that local and regional media are also geographically specialized media. In his view, the radio stations should focus on strategies that reinforce this specialization. Only then can they come up with the spaces, values and discourses that target and match their specific audience. Technological progress too, should be used to bring radios closer to their local communities. Nosty stresses that if radios are brought closer to their target audience, they are better enabled to promote the values of citizenship and democracy. Building and preserving the collective memory of a specific region depends on adopting programming strategies that relate to the audience in that region. Local media must adapt to the region they seek to cover. Importantly, "Moving away from its objectives means digging the hole of self-destruction" (Nosty, 1997, p. 164).

Local radio stations thus represent a medium that focus on people, incorporating the social drives of their communities in the realization of a program schedule where local tradition and history are emphasized through the practice of proximity journalism. Local micro-information provision is thought to be a service exclusive to the small radios, mainly due to their level of expertise. It is thought to be the sort of information that larger radio stations disregard and, therefore, an important element for attracting listeners to local radio (OFCOM, 2010). Andy Crisell argues:

> "[that local radio contributed to change news information, since that medium]
> has developed a whole new *stratum* of news, in that it can cover events which
> are not only very recent but *ephemeral* [That means events such as] [...] the
> blockage of a motorway by an accident or the presence of fog at a local airport"
> (1994, p. 124).

It makes perfect sense that the local territory is the main area of intervention for local radio journalists. They can on the one hand highlight the uniqueness of the local environment and, on the other hand, they can contextualize information and 'outside' events, taking their audience into account. When the subject is local news, it should not be forgotten that such information "has always played an important role in the way a city and region understand its problems, its opportunities, and its sense of local identity". This point is underlined by the Pew Project for the Excellence of Journalism (PEJ), (2004). Local radio has an important role to play in this particular question.

The kind of journalism that is practiced in the local media acts as a promoter of an alternative discourse that will materialize in a unique way of perceiving the world. Local and regional media constitute very interesting way of preserving and promoting the values and collective memory of the community in which they operate. The proximity between the news producers and their recipients can provide a more effective channel for communicating events, contextualizing, informating and placing it within existing frames of reference. Yet, local journalism also adds to a collective awareness of a common public space and acts as a vehicle for the transmission of values associated with good citizenship.

Local radio journalism emerges as a defining agenda-setter and sets the difference between local and nationwide media. Local journalism, particularly on local radio, according to Chantler and Harris, offers a way of standing out in a competitive market. They sustain that today's marketism requires that radio become more 'ear-catching' than ever. "Localness and local news are essential tools for this task" (1997, p. 3).

To Elsa Moreno (2002), the kind of journalism that is practiced on local radio stations has some features that set it apart from other kinds of media. The Spanish author stresses out that it is a constant appeal to the community's identity and in turn this helps reinforce the broadcaster's cultural identity and social presence amongst its audience. In Moreno's opinion, the news on local radio stations has the following features: proximity and public service; nature of the broadcaster and identity; daily monitoring of current events, maintenance of the local nature of the community to which it is addressed; proximity to the listeners.

Anatomy of local radio stations in Portugal

The media sector in Portugal is deeply marked by its historical context and by nearly five decades of dictatorship that the country experienced, ending only in 1974. Until the Revolution put an end to the dictatorial regime, there was only one television station in Portugal owned by the state. There were several newspapers and three national radio stations: National Radio, controlled power, the *Rádio Renascença* (Renaissance Radio), owned by the Catholic Church and the *Rádio Clube Português* (Portuguese Radio Club), which was privately owned. After the Revolution of 1974, a process of radio nationalization began, with the exception of *Radio Renascença* which continued to belong to the Catholic Church. Arboledas and Bonet considered that this was a singular process in the European context:

> "when countries such as Italy or France began to break up their audiovisual monopolies the Portuguese revolutionary governments began the inverse process: they nationalized the most significant communications media within their proposal to build a 'People's democracy" (2013, p. 211).

Thus, in the 1980s, until the legalization of local radio stations in 1988, Portuguese radio was characterized by a duopoly between the government and the Church (Bonixe, 2003; 2010; Azevedo, 2001).

The appearance of local radios in Portugal was preceded by an eleven-year period during which hundreds of pirate radios appeared all over the country, broadcasting without a license. This period can be divided into two phases. The first one, which dates from 1977 to 1984, is characterized by the appearance of small radio broadcasters in stairwells and by the amateurism of those who worked there. Rather than creating a solid foundation for a radio, the people responsible for these radio broadcasts intended to arouse public opinion for a movement that was emerging throughout Europe. In fact, the main goal of the first local radio projects in Portugal was to gain relevance amongst the population, thus obtaining the kind of popular support that would exert greater pressure on the political power in order to liberalize the sector. In the second phase, between 1985 and 1988, there were several projects with some dimension. During this time, some local radios were integrated in media companies that were already established in the in Portuguese market. Some local radio stations in this period became employers by including professionals and journalists in their staff. They aimed not only the affirmation of an idea, but also the legalization of local broadcasting in Portugal.

In countries such as Italy, France and Spain, the movements which aimed to license pirate radio stations had already seen repercussions. In Portugal, these movements were contributing pressure for those in power to legalize local radios. The Portuguese post-revolution context was important in this process. The first pirate radio station, named *Rádio Juventude* (Youth Radio), is believed to have been created around Lisbon three years after the Revolution of 1974, and the very names of the radio stations showed the irreverent nature of the phenomenon, for instance, *Rádio Delírio* (Radio Delirium), *Rádio Caos* (Radio Chaos), *Rádio Livre* (Radio Free) and *Rádio Porta Aberta* (Radio Open Door) emphasized the audacity and libertarian impulse of the post-revolution generation.

The first broadcasts of pirate radio stations tended to project their intention to go against the dominant conventions. The objective was to give voice to the local communities who would not normally appear in the national news on the radio.

The fast multiplication of the new pirate radio stations, the creation of a number of international agreements that transformed the face of European broadcasting and also the changes regarding the freedom of speech in Portugal after the end of the dictatorial regime, led to the increasingly evident need to update the legal framework for the broadcasting service in Portugal, which was still regulated by a 1933 law in the mid-70s. The year 1988 marks an important milestone for the

Portuguese radio with the promulgation of the Law 87/88 of 30 July in order to legalize local radio stations in Portugal. This law has ended a complex process that was initiated in 1977, the year, as we saw before, that *Rádio Juventude*, the first pirate radio in Portugal, started broadcasting. Most local radio stations were created by individual initiative or by small groups of people, usually related to electrical engineering, whose technical knowledge allowed them to easily assemble and remove the antennas, thus escaping control by the state.

Contrary to what was expected, the legalization of local radio stations in Portugal, which occurred with the publication of the 1988 law, has not brought peace to the sector but quite the contrary. With legalization, came to the top several problems that would complicate the live of Portuguese local radio in the years following.

Indeed, with the end of the period of euphoria that swept the country from north to south, culminating in the much desired legalization of pirate stations, the complex process of managing these projects began. The distribution of the authorizations for broadcasting created, itself, a clear gap between the coast and the interior, which was exacerbated in the first three to four years after some local radios in the interior closed. This had perverse effects, since it was in the interior (where media alternatives were scarcer) that local radios were needed the most. Nonetheless, the first five years (or sooner, in some cases) laid bare the structural and financial weaknesses of most local radio stations. Portuguese scholar, Mário Mesquita sums up the period immediately following the legalization of pirate radio stations:

> "From 1990 to 1993 there are numerous changes in this sector. Local radio stations that close, that associate with others, which are sold to radically alter its initial programme, finally, the local radio station is far from finding its stability point" (1994, p. 400).

In this context, it is possible to identify three different occurrences between 1989 and 1994. In the first one, local radio stations did not broadcast due to lack of resources, despite being licensed to do so. This is a situation that occurred particularly in the interior. The second was characterized by the sale of some parts of the programming schedule or even the entire programming schedule to religious movements that in just a few years, managed to gain ownership of a significant number of stations from the north to the south of Portugal. Finally, there was a process of cannibalization with the creation of radio chains, in which stations with greater resources, in an attempt to cover the whole territory, signed agreements with local radio stations for the right to rebroadcast their programming. This strategy has also proved to be of benefit to local stations with fewer resources, as their programming schedules began to be filled, something that, otherwise, would not be possible due to lack of resources. However, if on the one hand the effects were positive, on the other, they also contributed to distance local radios from their communities.

A difficult context for the survival of local radio

The development of local media companies in Portugal has not been an easy task. The reasons for these persistent setbacks crisis are of a cultural, social and, most of all, economic nature. Portugal has a very specific geographic profile with clear asymmetries between the coast and the interior and, therefore, different levels of acceleration and economic development between regions. Media organizations in Portugal operate in a highly segmented context, which means that there is no room for a great number of companies to operate in these markets (Faustino, 2000).

Local radio stations are therefore limited. Projects were approved in several of the country's municipalities in order to have two or three stations working and sharing the same meager advertising market. The consequences were the closing of some of the radio stations, selling others to larger radio stations or just changing to less costly programming formats, such as music ones, neglecting the newscasts.

Moreover, illiteracy as a result of poor investment in training and education, as well as the fragility of the local and regional media are symptomatic of a country whose regional newspaper companies are not fulfilling their true potential. Levels of illiteracy then feed into the development of the local and regional press in Portugal. (Carvalho et al, 2010).

These factors have hindered the development of smaller media companies located in economically disadvantaged areas of the country. The authors of a report on the impact of the subsidy given by the Portuguese State to the local and regional media (Carvalho et al, 2010), stress that the regional and local press, including local radios, shows some dependence on government subsidies, particularly through the Portuguese Office for Media, local authorities, churches and private entities that take advantage of their potential as media.

The modernization of regional and local publishing projects necessarily involves safeguarding the independence of these powers in relation to political, religious powers, and especially in relation to the suitability of safeguarding local power. The same study highlights the structural and organizational difficulties of local broadcasting companies in Portugal by exposing the existence of a high percentage (87%) of micro businesses, that is, companies whose turnover does not exceed 2 million euros and that employ less than 10 people. There is also a low percentage (13%) of small businesses, whose turnover is less than or equal to 10 million euros and the number of employees is less than 50.

The *Associação de Rádios de Inspiração Cristã* (Association of Radios of Christian Inspiration or ARIC), which is the association that represents the Portuguese Catholic radios, also outlines in 2013 a pessimistic scenario for local broadcasting in Portugal. According to ARIC's study about the costs of the local radios associated, 80% of broadcasters "indicate breaks in economic performance and also that radios are decreasing costs in key areas of the organization such as human resources" (2013, n.p.). The study also shows that the number of local radio stations whose economic growth dropped increased between 2012 and 2013.

This had implications at various levels, especially in the radio stations human resources area, as the paper notes. "In terms of quantification of staff, in 2012 a reduction of employees by 24 workers was already anticipated. Now, this figure amounts to 45 people." (ARIC, 2013, n.p).

A closer look at the existing journalistic projects on local radio station in Portugal allows us to identify the consequences of some of the weaknesses mentioned above. In the local radio stations that proliferate across the country there are, even today, a great number of newsrooms with scarce human and technical resources and this has a considerable effect on news production. In 2003, based on a study of four local radio stations in the Setúbal peninsula, to the south of Lisbon, it was found in these newsrooms that between 1 and 4 journalists worked (Bonixe, 2003). Almost a decade later, it seems that little has changed as it is possible to judge the data collected in the study on the impact of government incentives to the local media. This study shows that most of the local radio stations in Portugal analyzed have only a few employees in the service, a circumstance that reflects their vulnerability. The study shows that Portuguese local radios have, on average, in their service between 1-3 or between 4-6 employees (Carvalho et al, 2010).

A survey with a sample of 28 journalists from local radio stations in Portugal (Bonixe, 2013) states that the journalists work in small newsrooms where the number of reporters oscillates between 1 and 4. Although the majority of respondents have a university degree, most of them do not earn more than 650 euros per month, which is slightly above the national minimum wage. According to the same survey, the journalists confessed that their greatest concern regarding their radio station's editorial policy is the small opportunities to do news reports from the field, which is, in part, due to the lack of staff in newsrooms.

Some local radio stations have conducted experiments in the past in order to capitalize on existing human resources. An example is the creation in 1997 of the Regional Information Network, which consisted of eight radio stations in the districts of Bragança and Vila Real, in the interior of Portugal. In 1999, the radio stations *Clube de Sintra* (Sintra Club) and *Radio Clube de Cascais* (Cascais Radio Club) followed suit. It was these radio stations' intention to create a metropolitan network of radios in Lisbon, according to which, twice a day, one of the two radios would broadcast an extended newscast produced by the two radio stations. In this way, they could reach a wider audience and the money from advertising, before and after the news, would go to both radio stations. Some local radios in the Baixo Alentejo, in the south, (Rádio Sines [Sines Radio], Miróbriga, Santiago do Cacém, as examples) sporadically worked together broadening the news coverage of the events in the region. However, this has been an unusual practice in newsrooms (Santos, 2008).

Concentration, localness and local news

I have seen throughout this article that the phenomenon of local radios has radically altered the landscape of the media in Portugal. It has contributed, in many cases, to the affirmation of a local identity, creating spaces for debate and discussion of public issues. Local radio stations have also contributed to the formation of collective memory and to the pluralism of information. Important too was their contribution to the practice of journalism in Portugal, as noted in this study about journalists in Portugal: "The number of radio professionals doubled from 1988 to 1989 [...] it should be noted that the period from 1987 to 1991 corresponds to the phase of legalizing formerly radios Pirate" (Rebelo, 2011, pp. 69-70).

However, at the beginning of the second decade of this century, in the Portuguese case, there are indicators that may be cause for concern about the future of journalism on local radio stations. We are currently witnessing the emergence of a setting shaped by policies and business strategies that, in accordance to the legislative plan, have been increasing radios' detachment from their objectives of promotion and creation of spaces for discourse and collective memory in the communities where they operate.

Annually, the Portuguese Regulator for Media receives several requests to change local radio ownership (ERC, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011) which suggests the highly dynamic business movements in this sector. Many of these changes are driven by the acquisition of small local stations in various locations around the country by media groups with greater power. The phenomenon began to have implications in the Lisbon metropolitan area, where local radio stations were acquired by media groups for the unique purpose of creating a new radio, usually musical, so that they could broadcast to Lisbon, where the advertising market is larger. The problem is that those media groups are not presenting local news on the local radio.

This is something that should be analyzed, since ensuring localism in the focus of local radios is also an international concern". For example, the 2004 annual report of the Project for Excellence in Journalism (PEJ), (2004) reported that in the American case the available data pointed to a growing number of radio stations that were disregarding their local nature.

As Gloria Tristani (1998) suggests, a concentration of local radio stations in the same economic group jeopardizes the coverage of local news topics, local programming, the ability to serve as a space for local voices and the concentration of local radio stations in the same owner group inevitably leads to the concentration of the services themselves which promotes the detachment from the communities taking the American example into consideration (Hood, 2010). However, Guy Starkey sustains that "of greater significance to audiences than who owns a radio station may be the nature of the content and how much it appears to be unlike content produced for other

people in other communities" (2011b, p. 85). That means that less local news is not necessarily a consequence of ownership.

In Portugal, there are two dimensions of the phenomenon to be noted. Firstly, strong economic groups have helped to keep several local radio stations in Portugal afloat, contributing, investment for advertising for example. Secondly, the concentration of radio stations within the same economic group has compromised the objective of these local radios in ensuring localness.

In Portugal, the landscape is not uniform. In the regions around the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto several local stations are owned by a few owner groups. However, in the interior the phenomenon appears not to be too relevant, despite the fact that in 2013 Media Capital, the major radio group operating in Portugal acquired nine local radios in various locations around the country in order to rebroadcast music radios, such as Star FM or M80.

The Portuguese case has shown that proximity to local communities is not related to local radio's property ownership. In fact, the acquisition of local radios by major media groups has caused a reduction of local news content in programming.

The Portuguese case has, moreover, another peculiarity, which is the number of local radio stations that, taking advantage of favorable legislation, have asked the competent authorities to change their projects, from general to thematic programming. According to the Portuguese media regulator in 2011, there were a total of 29 licensed thematic radio stations (see Table 1) and 25 of them were classified as music radio stations and only four of them news radio stations.

Table 1 – Thematic local radio in Portugal in 2006 – 2011

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Musical radio	18	16	18	19	19	25
News radio	4	5	4	4	4	4

Source: *Gabinete para os Meios de Comunicação Social* [Portuguese Office for Media], (2013) and ERC (2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011).

In other words, local radio stations, motivated by economic difficulties which make it difficult to hire journalists, are abandoning their informative component and distancing themselves from the communities where they operate. They often turn to musical content because music radios are not required to broadcast daily newscasts. In the 2010 report of the *Entidade Reguladora da Comunicação* [Portuguese Regulator for Media], (ERC), this concern was expressed in relation to requests for programming changes that were made by the broadcasters. The report says:

> "[...] There was, in 2010, a trend that begins to settle on the national radio scene, between local radios, in the sense of changing the respective radio projects in order to adapt to pre-existing models, already recognized or recognizable by the audience […]" (2012, p. 23).

The number of requests for programming changes gained a new momentum in 2010 with the new law for the sector. Therefore, in June 2012, less than two years after the adoption of the new law, the press reported that the Portuguese Media Regulator had approved 10 requests for programming changes (Meios & Publicidade, 2012).

This data brought about concerns even within the regulatory authority. In fact, the ERC itself, following the programming change requests, was forced to issue in 2012 a Recommendation on the promotion of news diversity on the radio. In the Recommendation, the ERC expressed a concern

about the pluralism of information on the Portuguese local radio stations, motivated by the fact that the current law no longer provides for radio restrictions for changes to local radio programming. This led to many local organizations choosing to change their radios to musical programming, thereby abdicating from a more informative model. A key reason for this change is that a musical radio implies less cost, since journalistic expenses are no longer necessary. Of course, this development puts into question two founding principles of local radio. Firstly, the diversity and pluralism of the content broadcasted and, secondly, the proximity to the communities where the stations are located. This problem is being felt especially in the Portuguese cities where there is only one local radio that now is broadcasting only music programming. Those cities are being deprived local news.

Conclusion

Local radio changed Portuguese radio journalism, especially for the high number of broadcasters operating today - more than three hundred. It contributed, initially, to the development of proximity journalism, incorporating the small affairs of local populations in radio programming, and giving voice to those often forgotten by the leading radio stations with national coverage. Thanks to this movement, radio stations that stood out in the information field emerged. TSF, one of the most important radio-news in Portugal, is the most relevant example.

Local radio stations turned out to be practical schools for true radio journalism, scattered throughout the country. It was through these local radio stations that several eminent journalists - who later would work in major national newsrooms, not only in the radio but also in television and the press - started practicing journalism.

In regard to the Portuguese case, which has been discussed in this article, local radio journalism has been specific and distinct from other kinds of information and has always provided an argument to justify its very existence. Local radio stations emerge in the Portuguese context as relevant generators of a collective discourse that promotes localness and preserves the collective memory.
Local radio stations have ontological conditions that are favorable to the pursuit of such goals. These radios have a close connection with the listeners either through the kind of language that is used or through their portability. The local dimension of these radios is the meaning of their existence. However, as I have tried to demonstrate, there are factors that disrupt what would be the normal course of a local radio station. Some laws discussed herein create favorable conditions for a detachment from localness, creating conditions for the big companies to adopt strategies whose priority is not the local communities.

The financial (mostly struggling companies) and organizational (in many cases with small radio lacking in human and material resources) dimensions of the problem should not be forgotten.

For historical and conceptual reasons, it is not possible to separate the local radio from the idea of proximity and it is with this understanding in mind that public policies for the radio sector should be adopted, considering the challenges that the 21st century poses for the media in general and radio in particular. The idea I follow in this text reaffirms the local radio as symbolic space for the symbolic exchange between the individuals from a community and it puts emphasis on the specificity of the localness in journalistic terms. Therefore, it is necessary to invest in local radio stations by creating conditions for professionals, especially journalists, to do their work based on a direct experience of the territory or locale, which is, in this context, the key to knowledge and understanding. Such recuperation will be impossible to achieve without the adoption of public policies that seek more effective regulation of the sector.

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CHAPTER 9

Community Radios and Local Government in Mozambique: General Trends and Regional Differences in Citizen's Participation

Luca Bussotti and Mário Moisés da Fonseca

This chapter critically analyses the role of community radio stations in Mozambique, mainly in terms of its relationship with local political powers. As in the vast majority of African countries, Mozambique's community radio stations play a significant role in spreading democracy and enabling more effective participation in civic and public life in different communities - most of which are rural, although some are urban - mainly those far from the capital, Maputo.

Radio as a medium is still the most widespread in the world (Mytton, 1999; Rønning, 2009): today, 2.5 million people hold a radio receiver and only 1.3 million have a television set. There are around 20,000 broadcasters with more than 2 billion listeners and access is constantly expanding. In the poorest countries, as defined according to the World Bank (Ravallion, 1998), radio is extremely effective. It is considered "the prime electronic medium of the poor because it leaps the barriers of isolation and illiteracy, and it is the most affordable electronic medium to broadcast and receive in" (Frazer & Restrepo-Estrada, 2001, p. 6). In the poor countries, 75% of households have access to a radio.

The requirements for a radio station to be considered a community radio station are widely accepted: it is thought that they should have a maximum signal of 25 watts; an antenna no taller than 30 metres and should, above all, be managed by representatives of the community (Peruzzo, 1998). The radio's relationship with the community is absolutely fundamental. The radio must be seen to mediate and engage with the community's problems, crisis points and its social, cultural and economic characteristics. In the case of community radio, is normally a previously formed local association that puts the radio station into action. It is not by chance that the first basic condition for a community radio to be formed is a "sense of internal cohesion and community consciousness" (Frazer & Restrepo-Estrada, 2001, p. 6).

This is particularly important in Africa and for the country in question here, Mozambique. In Latin America and Europe, a solid associativist tradition and conducive political arrangements contributed to the creation of community radios. The first two arose in Colombia (1947) and in Bolivia (1950), respectively: their key feature was the bottom-up process of constitution and management.

In the first case, Radio Sutatenza followed shortly thereafter by the emergence of a strong miners' radio in Bolivia. In 1950 the first community radio station began broadcasting in the United States whilst, in South Africa, the history of the community radio stations' is strongly related to the fight against apartheid. During the 1960s and 1970s, community radios spread as they took on an important role as a medium through which to express political contention in the context of great ideological battles. In Latin America they emerged against the dictatorial regimes that dominated almost every country at the time; in Europe and the west in general, they sought to combat out-dated mentalities that the "official" political and cultural world failed to move past. The '68 movements (May in France, spreading throughout Europe; the Afro-American demonstrations in the United States and, later, the first demonstrations by other "minorities", such as homosexuals, environmentalists, and so on) certainly gave a great boost to the advances of free community radio

stations, giving them an associative power and signalling them as symbols of the search for greater freedom, social justice and the dismantling of power (Frazer & Restrepo-Estrada, 2002). In truth, the first "alternative" radio broadcasters in Europe were the pirate radio stations that managed to break the public monopoly, "stealing" the frequencies that were still available at the time.

As it is possible to argue in all the cases mentioned above, the emergence of a community radio has, as its previous condition, the constitution of associative forms of the local community.

In the African context, community radios did not emerge as early as in the case of Latin and North America and European ones and they did not emerge "from below". Completely free forms of expression came very late; at first, because of colonisation and later, because of the choice made by many African states to embrace single party and frequently Marxist-Leninist regimes. In other cases, among the most important on the continent (Rhodesia and, most of all, South Africa and even Namibia, subjected to military occupation by its powerful neighbour), because they adopted racist policies. In both cases, they had intolerant attitudes towards any kind of freedom of expression, and so community radio stations only began to spread in the 1980s and 1990s, with the great financial boost given by international organisations like the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Until today, the characteristics of African community radio stations remain quite different from all the others. This point will be explored in more detail in the following section.

The right to access information, established in article 19 of the International Declaration of Human Rights has only been guaranteed thus far, by legislative provisions in five African countries, including Zimbabwe, whose political and media pluralism leaves much to be desired (Da Mota Paula, 2010, p. 5). The latest Reporters Without Borders report shows, that the African continent continues to face some rather serious challenges in relation to press freedom. Several African countries rank towards the very bottom of the list (Eritrea at 179; Sudan at 170; Somalia at 164) and several others have fallen down the ranks. For example, Djibouti is ranked at 159, down 49 places and Angola, where "many journalists were arrested during protests in September", has been downgraded to 132. Meanwhile, Uganda is placed 139, having fallen 43 places and Malawi stands at 146, having fallen 67 places. The latter is mainly due to events surrounding protests that took place in September, during which "Malawi's journalists were treated like demonstrators": it means that their work was not recognized, and Malawian Government did not distinguish between them and demonstrators; all both had to be considered as "enemies" (Reporters Without Borders, 2012). Nevertheless, some states have demonstrated swift improvements. Cape Verde holds 9th position in the world ranking and is defined as "a healthy democracy and model of good governance", whilst Namibia is in 20th place and Mali is in 25th. Additionally, there have been great advances in Niger, which has risen 75 places to 29th place, Mauritania and Mozambique which hold 67th and 66th place respectively (Reporters Without Borders, 2012).

It is clear from these figures that press censorship is an ongoing challenge for many countries on the continent. Moreover, the resistance encountered when the first community radio stations in Africa opened was so enormous that, until now, those actors and community leaders who manage the stations tend to report difficulties with both central and local political authorities.

On the African continent, the spread of community radio stations was noteworthy and quick, despite arriving late on the scene and displaying characteristics that were distinct from those typical in the western world and Latin America. An approximate calculation tells us that in Africa, not including South Africa, for every 100,000 residents, 20,000 listen to community radio programmes, which means that in practically every household there is at least one person who follows the programming of these broadcasters. These people work, in turn, as disseminators of information among friends and family (Da Costa, 2012).

The African Charter on Broadcasting defines a community radio station as

> "[…] broadcasting which is for, by and about the community, whose ownership and management is representative of the community, which pursues a social development agenda, and which is non-profit […]" (African Charter on Broadcasting, 2001, p. 2).

If radio in general is still the most widespread medium in Africa, community radio is a phenomenon that saw enormous expansion from the 1990s onwards, when the press began to be subjected to fewer controls and freedom of information spread in African countries. In 1988, there were only ten independent radio stations in Sub-Saharan African countries (Girard, 2003). Recent research shows that, in a sample of 17 African countries, local radio broadcasters increased between 2000 and 2006 by around 360%, whereas community radio broadcasters increased 1,386% (Myers, 2008). *How did this phenomenon come about?* and above all, *what was the cultural basis for it?* The aim here is to understand whether African community radio stations had the same inspiration as those in the rest of the world when they emerged, or if they followed a different path and logic.

In the effort to shed some light on these questions, this chapter is composed of three parts. The first deals with the emergence of community radio broadcasters in Africa; the second discusses the panorama of community radio stations in Mozambique, starting with the debate surrounding their emergence. Thirdly, the actions of Mozambican community radio stations are explored in some detail as we present an assessment of the relationships they hold with local political power, which, in our view, still represents the most critical element of Mozambican democracy at this level. The chapter will end with some conclusions.

Community radio broadcasters in Africa: emergence and characteristics

As mentioned above, the emergence of community radio stations in Africa has followed a path that is quite different from what happened in Latin America, the United States and in Europe. The difficulties were much greater, since here the local communities "needed to develop a sense of community, as well as learn more about improved agricultural practices, health, and so on" (Frazer & Restrepo-Estrada, 2001, p. 16). It is true that some attempts were made throughout the 1970s and 1980s but it is also important to remember that these attempts failed because of the obstacles created by the national governments who were reluctant to open up a free space for communication.

In 1974, for example, a first attempt was made in Ghana to open a community radio broadcaster by the Dangme. The authorities however, stopped this attempt from going ahead and it was not until the 1980s that a broadcaster of that type was actually set up in the whole of Africa. Most of all, there needed to be a UNESCO initiative that, together with DANIDA, launched a support programme for communities that wished to open a community radio broadcaster. This took place in 1980. In this time, Africa became subject to a series of measures under the auspices of Structural Adjustment Programmes promoted by World Bank and International Monetary Fund in order to save the economic and financial situation and budgets of many African States. Besides this financial part, these programmes previewed the adhesion to the liberal model of democracy: one of its pillars was the freedom of expression and of information, together with the opening of free and transparent elections. So, in such a new context, UNESCO established a dialogue with the Economic Commission for Africa on local radio broadcasting to encourage the implementation of a rather complex programme, starting from the assumption interaction between listeners and community radios operators is a pivotal principle in order to promote democracy and participation among local African communities. Since there was no radio broadcasting system at national level on the African continent, nor a common language to reach rural population (which at the time made up around 80% of the population as a whole), it was necessary to think about a decentralised

programme, although one that was still under state control. In summary, rather than installing true community radio stations, we could talk about efforts to decentralise state information, without the typical characteristics of a community broadcaster.

Therefore, UNESCO's account is very interesting, particularly when it recalls that, "these governments with fully state-controlled broadcasting were extremely reluctant to allow any electronic media to operate independently. This made it difficult for community media initiatives to get started" (Frazer & Restrepo-Estrada, 2001, p. 12). It was only several years later that governments began to open up more in this respect, although this development has not been confirmed in the report produced by UNESCO.

Even when they accepted this challenge, African governments continued to find strong resistance: Kenya, for example, gave the green light in 1982, allowing the first African community radio station to be founded in Homa Bay, with investment totalling around 25,000 USD in equipment from UNESCO. Broadcasts were given in the local language, Luo: that is why, two and a half years later, the government ordered that the broadcaster be closed "for it was said to be working contrary to the official policy of making Swahili and English the national languages" (Frazer & Restrepo-Estrada, 2001, p. 15). In spite of the sudden intervention, the experience served to show that it was possible for a community radio broadcaster to work in Africa.

In short, the context was still not primed for community radio stations to open and spread in Africa at the beginning of the 1980s. It was, then, necessary to wait until the institutional and political framework changed at the beginning of the 1990s, bringing a deep shift in approaches to free information.

In almost all African states, this was a time of constitutional alterations and immediately afterwards, new press, radio and information laws emerged. In Mali, in 1991, after 23 years of military dictatorship, a democratic regime was introduced. With the support of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the government decided to systematically use communication for the purpose of development. The Bamako conference in 1993 on Freedom for African Radios was of great importance. Quickly, thanks to the boost from this process of freeing communication, around 60 broadcasters appeared in Africa, with much more solid bases than in the 1980s.

This process, where it took place, exhibited two rather different approaches. On the one hand, as stated, specific laws were approved for the freedom of information. On the other, in the rare successful cases, this was accompanied by the creation of an independent authority, whose aim and responsibility was to control and monitor the quality of broadcasts and, above all, the relationship of radio stations with political, central and local authorities.

In Ghana for example, where the first attempt to open a community radio broadcaster had taken place after the constitutional changes in 1993 and 1995, the Ghana Frequency Registration and Control Board (GFRCB) was approved. Meanwhile, in South Africa, in 1993, an independent authority was formed, the Independent Broadcasting Authority, consisting of a board of 7 experts who were supposed to monitor the authorities' compliance with the law and freedom of expression and of the press.

The issue that still needs to be considered, is the following: *do the many community radio stations found in Africa have full freedom of expression?*

A full enquiry and lengthy response to this question is unfortunately outside of the scope of this chapter. However, it is possible to highlight the following: African states, particularly those that experienced a single-party regime, remain fearful of "giving up" control of community radio stations, and often they look to these broadcasters to "consolidate their power" (Frazer &

Restrepo-Estrada, 2001). This is even truer in states where legislation does not stipulate any independent authority that can limit the abuse by local authorities against the organisers of those broadcasters. This is the case with Mozambique, as discussed in the following section.

Community radio stations in Mozambique: constraints in a "vertical" emergence

The most recent data on community radios in Mozambique say that there are approximately 100 local stations in the country: 46 of them are associated to FORCOM (Community Radios Forum); 35 to ICS (Social Media Institute); and, about 20 without any kind of association (FORCOM, 2012; Gabinete de Informação Pública, 2011). It means that over a 15-year period, Mozambique registered the emergence of more than one hundred local and community radio stations. It is the most significant phenomenon occurred in this country in the media field since the obtaining of its independence.

Before approaching the issue relative to the birth of non-profit radios in Mozambique, it is better to clarify a conceptual distinction: there is not a consensus on what ought to be considered as a simply local radio station, in comparison with a community station. The reason for this divergence is not only of formal kind, it also involves the nature and management of a certain radio station, with direct implications in the search for national and international financial aid. In general, as Benilde Nhalivio, Executive Director of Forcom, states, the radios belonging to ICS should to be considered as simply local stations, since they depend on a public institution and do not have any of the basic features of community radios, such as the involvement of local people in the management of the station, the bi-directional flow of information between radio and audience and the clear propensity to privilege the monitoring of local authorities activities (interview with Benilde Nhalivilio, Executive Director of Forcom. Matola, Mozambique, August 20, 2013).

This divergence has influenced the Mozambican debate on how and why community radio emerged in Mozambique. On the one hand, we find those who argue that the origins of the radio stations must be sought in the Collective Listening Centres (later transformed into Media Centres), established by the Samora Machel regime at the end of the 1970s, with the help of the Brazilian Suarez de Maia. This view is held by Felisberto Tinga, former director of the GABINFO (State Information Office), and it has been widely discussed and criticised by Mota Paula (Da Mota Paula, 2010). The director of the Journalism course at ECA/UEM (School of Communication and Arts at the Eduardo Mondlane University) shares this opinion and even in his most recent study, briefly recalls technical arrangements through which this experience was performed at the time; in other words, through a system of loudspeakers and involving the community (Nkula, 2010b). In contrast, Tomás Vieira Mário supports the opposite view. He believes that the first broadcasts, dating back to the end of the 1970s, cannot be considered "community" broadcasts, since they sought only to spread government strategies, mainly in terms of rural collectivisation, and the community itself did not have an active role. It is possible to say that these are "local" but not "community" broadcasts, and definitely not community radio broadcasters (Da Mota Paula, 2010). UNICEF's evaluation in 1980, performed by Armand and Michéle Mattelart, confirms the "vertical" nature of the system, although with significant participation by the population (Alves, 2005). Those centres reached a considerable number, between 50 and 100 throughout the country. The civil war, however, helped to destroy a large number of them.

The emergence of community radio in Mozambique arose from a change in political climate and the deep review of the constitution in 1990, which introduced democracy to the country for the first time, paving the way for a multi-party system. In 1991, the Press Law was approved, which implemented the new constitutional principles in a more practical way, although nothing is specifically included for community communication. In 1992, the signing of the Rome Accords marked the end of a "16-year civil war" between Renamo and Frelimo, and in 1994 the first free general elections took place.

In the press, the first independent weeklies appeared. In the beginning, everything was focused on the written press. "MediaFax" (1992) and, immediately afterwards (1994), "Savana", represented significant experiences, both from the point of view of the media, and in terms of strengthening Mozambican democracy in general.

It is useful to highlight, then, that the two opinions recorded on the emergence of community radio stations in Mozambique lead to the same conclusion: that, at different times, they were created according to a top-down approach, "pushing" the population towards more active and direct participation. In the middle of the 1990s, two basic tendencies developed to facilitate this type of communication. In 1995 the Instituto de Comunicação Social, or ICS (the Media Institute) started to create "its" community radio stations, starting with Radio Xai-Xai, whilst in 1995, an agreement was signed between the UNDP and the Mozambican government. In 1998, UNESCO and the UNDP began to implement that agreement, named "Strengthening Democracy and Governance through Media Development (1998-2006)", which was implemented in two steps or waves, "Wave one" and "Wave two". The object of these waves was to open three and then another eight community radio stations (Da Mota Paula, 2010).

Right from the start, two large groups appeared in Mozambique's community radio stations. Those belonging to the ICS group, whose main partner is IBIS, a Danish NGO, and those arising from the Media Project, which is funded and managed by the United Nations. Among the first group, "community involvement [...] is scarce, and is restricted to improving facilities, which helps give the idea that the radio station belongs to the ICS" (Alves, 2005, p. 66). In an interview, an adviser to the "Radio Infantil" (Children's Radio) project by IBIS in Alto Molócuè, said that he believes that integration with the community did not exist before or after the installation of radio and he confirmed the "top-down", "centralist" philosophy of the project. Furthermore, ICS follow up is "almost nil" and there is not, to this day, a date for community radio stations to break away from the ICS. In this case, it is the state that funds the broadcasters, which are generally controlled through district administrators or other key figures from local institutions (Alves, 2005). There were continuous clashes between the ICS and IBIS about several issues, but the main point of disagreement was the fact that it could not be only the state, with its different ramifications, controlling information, even at local level. This reveals the completely different ideas about the role of the media, civil society and of democracy itself which exist between the two main partners of this programme, which has led to more than a few difficulties.

In terms of the second group, as Sadique (2001) clearly explains, community radio stations had a different background, depending on the places where they were set up. For example, of the first three cases (those belonging to "Wave one"), Cuamba, Homoine and Chimoio, only the capital of the province of Manica had the necessary pre-conditions for starting a community radio station, since an NGO called GESOM, from the area of communication for development - founded autonomously and locally - had already been present. In the other cases, the donors and promoters of the initiative had first to request that an association be created, which would be called upon to form the broadcaster. This first step was called "social mobilisation" (Sadique, 2001).

As well as these two larger groups, one more was formed in the Mozambican context in the post-war period. Religious radio stations (at first, only Catholic), such as Radio Maria, Radio Pax (Beira) and Radio Encontro (Napula) were concentrated in the country's main urban centres. In spite of serious doubts about the "community" nature of such radio stations, most of them (such as Radio Pax) belong to FORCOM. At the same time, the ten Catholic Radios present in the country are part of another kind of organization, the Associação dos Rádios Católicos (Rønning, 2009).

FORCOM emerged in 2004, with the aim of bringing together, under a single association, all of the community radio broadcasters in the country. Initially, FORCOM was able to bring together 42 local broadcasters, under an agreement with the ICS, according to which all Mozambican community radio stations would join the new organisation. Later, however, because of political

differences, the ICS brought the local public broadcasters together again, and their independence in relation to power was "quite limited, while those who belonged to FORCOM aimed to carry out more investigative, aggressive journalism, and even harshly criticised, when necessary, the local authorities" (Tembe, 2013, pers. comm., 12 March).[91]

In accordance with Benilde Nhalivio, the separation between ICS and FORCOM was "natural", because of the different philosophy of the two organizations, as explained above. There is no documentation in relation to this process, since it was made gradually and "informally". So, when the radios stations belonging to ICS noted that, as they hoped, they could not lead the movement of Mozambican community radios as a whole, the decision was to return the previous situation, with a clear separation between the two groups.

A first set of conclusions which may be drawn about the emergence of community radio stations in Mozambique is thus:

> a. Their origin has to be placed in the 1990s, and the idea that there was anything similar to community radio stations at the time of Samora Machel should be dismissed;
> b. Because of that, Mozambican community radio stations mostly did not arise spontaneously, and needed massive external intervention, either from international NGOs, United Nations agencies or the government itself;
> c. In terms of the associations that represent them, FORCOM has been freer, whereas the ICS reproduces, largely speaking, the government line.

Community radio stations versus local authorities

The history of freedom of expression in post-conflict Mozambique (that is, from 1992 onwards) has not yet been written, just as systematic studies on the inherent theme of relationships between the press and political power are missing (De Vasconcelos, 1996; Saúte, 1996; Rocha, 2000; Namburete, 2003). For this reason, it is important to highlight the following characteristics, which will allow us to place the specific issue of community radio broadcasters in a wider context.

The first point deals with the legal framework in which the principle of press freedom ought to be interpreted. The Mozambican Constitution guarantees freedom of the press and freedom of expression (article 48), in a very clear form. The specific Press Law (Law no. 18/1991) also reflects this basic philosophy (article 52), although with some legislative limitations, referring to other regulations, namely article 41 of the Constitution (on the honour and respectability of a person's good name), articles 407 and 410 of the Penal Code, and article 42 of Law 18/1991 itself. The lack of regulation for other salient aspects, starting with a law on radio broadcasting, also constitutes a significant legal obstruction. Along the years, the way in which political power has been approaching the legal questions has changed. The last law against the right to information has been approved recently, in 2012. This is Law 16/2012 on the Public Probity, whose points hurt this fundamental right. In particular, the article 69 states that (point 1) it is not permitted the divulgation of the incomes, as of material as of financial kind, of the "public servant". The offender can be punished with a sentence that varies from three days to six months of prison, plus a fine. In the case in which the article published in the paper was anonymous, the President of the board, together with all the other members of this organism, can be punished as a responsible for the article (point 3). Using to these legal means, Mozambican institutions have frequently been tried in order to stop the investigative activity of local journalists. The most famous example of this tendency was in 2008 when the former Prime Minister, Luísa Diogo was the object of a report realized by the weekly newspaper, "Zambeze". The goal was to show that Luísa Diogo had acquired Portuguese nationality, through her marriage with Albano Silva, a famous Portuguese

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[91] António Tembe is a journalist at Radio Moçambique, Maputo.

lawyer. In accordance with Mozambican law, dual citizenship is disallowed. Thus, the implication was the loss of Mozambican citizenship. The reaction of the Prime Minister was very strong: the case was brought to Court, with the heavy accusation that the news source had threatened state security. The Court of the Urban District Number 1 of Maputo, 3th Section, in August, the 29th of 2008, condemned Fernando Veloso (director), Luís Nhachote (vice-editor), and Alvarito de Carvalho (journalist), of "Zambeze", to a suspended penalty of 6 months.

Secondly, the stance of politicians, law and order enforcement bodies and the public institutions in general, is generally reluctant when it not openly threatening, towards freedom of information and communication. The directors of the two main Mozambican daily papers, Rogério Sitoe from the public paper "Notícias" (who was fired in August 2013, allegedly because of his coverage of the recent conflicts between the Governmental army and soldiers of the National Resistance of Mozambique – RENAMO – in Sofala Province), and Jeremias Langa from the independent "O País", have confirmed - although to a different degree - this background, and regret the fact that institutions are still not duly prepared for adequate, transparent communication with the press (interviews made in Maputo, August 2012).

In this scenario - and this is the starting point for our analysis - the role of community radio broadcasters becomes fundamental in allowing those who do not have access to a television and, even more so, to newspapers (i.e., the vast majority of the Mozambican population) to have access to essential news about what is happening in the world, with particular emphasis on the local area. This is generally done - or should be done - using a participatory type of approach in which the citizens help, in associations or individually, to analyse the community's problems, sometimes even helping in the task of "controlling" public authorities.

As mentioned before, freedom of the press in Mozambique is at a fairly average level compared with the rest of the world. In 2009-2010, the country was in 82nd place, and in 2010-2011 it went down to 98th, mainly because of death threats received by the journalist Salomão Moyana by those who supported Renamo, the largest opposition party. In 2011-2012, Mozambique rose 32 places, occupying 66th place, thanks above all to the spread of several independent weeklies, which brought it to 5th place among the countries of southern Africa.

If it is true that, over the years, even at this level, the threats to journalists have been reduced (MISA-Mozambique, 2010), it is important to highlight a fact that may have escaped official statistics: that "as one leaves the city of Maputo, the country's capital, we can see the presence of some clear signs of fear in journalist circles, due to the lack of respect that some politicians have for freedom of the press" (MISA-Mozambique, 2007, p. 68). Together with Zambia, Mozambique is, the Southern African country where the most community radio broadcasters face closure due to the increase in controls on the sector by local governments (Frades, 2012). This would confirm that the "democratic distance" between what happens in the capital and what happens outside it is very significant, and that above all in local areas, the fora for political debate tend to spark particularly fierce disputes with local journalists.

Based on these findings, we shall now try to highlight some of the conflicted relationships between broadcasters and local powers, looking to find some possible models for those kinds of confrontation. Briefly, these relationships are:

- Obstacles to the normal process of transmitting information and critical reflection about the world around it, due to a climate of "political intimidation outside the national capital, which often leads to reprisals" (MISA-Mozambique, 2007, pp. 8-9). This results in an attitude on the part of journalists that can be defined as "self-censorship". An example: one of the more important measures taken recently by President Guebuza was dedicating 7 million meticais to each district to encourage local development (MPD, 2009; Sande, 2011). This measure piqued many people's interest and, in several cases, initiated rumours that

those resources were poorly managed by local leaders, especially district leaders. Nevertheless, the culture of intimidation created meant that "journalists from community radio stations did not report anything about the matter because of the fear outside Maputo" (MISA-Mozambique, 2007, p. 68). After only a year, the first cases of arbitrariness in the management of those funds were reported, showing how large the loss could be for the state if the controlling actions by local radio broadcasters were made impossible due to the authorities' stances. These situations have been recurrent, above all in relation to the conditioning of freedom of the press for community radio stations belonging to the ICS. This is because, since they are public, "district governors and/or the first district secretaries for the party in power, Frelimo, insist on controlling [...] the work of community media, which is particularly worrying" (MISA-Mozambique, 2010, p. 18);

- *A posteriori* threats: these may occur when a journalist breaks a story on air, critically dealing with issues related to the management of a public facility. The "measures" taken in these cases by local authorities may be different, but they are all extremely strong, from threats to "invite" the journalist to meet with the representatives of local governments or the party in power, to controlling by the police and imprisonment, in cases which are considered to be more serious. In the case of the latter, this usually happens without any evidence and the accused journalist is kept in the cells completely unaccountably. This was the case for broadcasters in Mutarara, Milange and Catandica (Henriques, 2010). Specifically, in 2006, three journalists at Radio Catandica (Mainca) were arrested, by an order issued by judge José Abede, accused of "defamation" and were imprisoned for a week (Mário, 2006); between January and February 2009, Felismino Jamissone, a producer at the community radio station in Mecanhelas (Niassa), was detained because of criticism he made against the local police, and he remained incarcerated for a month, after which he was freed because of a lack of evidence: the case was closed definitively on 4 April 2009.

- Obstructions to carrying out reports: in such cases, the abuse of power - by the authorities and by private bodies, normally those that are business-related - occurs during the coverage of an event, almost always openly and violently. For example, in April 2008, the television and Mocimboa da Prais community radio journalist, Pedro Rafael, was obstructed from covering a rally by Eneas Comiche, based upon claims of a security threat. The local administrator's bodyguard pulled off the journalist's recorder, making it impossible for him to continue any kind of coverage (MISA-Mozambique, 2010). A very similar experience was had by the journalist Rosário Bento, from the Grimba community radio station, in Montepuez, who "saw, while fully performing his working duties, his recorder destroyed by the director of the Mpingo company" (MISA-Mozambique, 2010, p. 16), who did not want his workers' strike to be covered.

- "Preventative" measures: these appear when local powers "invite" journalists from certain community radio stations, usually those considered "dangerous", and suggest how they ought to deal with certain matters or cover specific events. These meetings (or requests for meetings) always take place before the piece of news goes out and, therefore, before it is made public. For example, the journalists from Radio Catandica were advised to make a report on the use of miniskirts in schools, which was considered a relevant and ethically unacceptable subject. This time, the broadcaster decided not to make a report, since it would have been "inconvenient". The journalist had to cover the fact according to the point of view of the local authority who had solicited his intervention. So, the option taken was silence, in order to avoid confrontation with the local government. In this case, the lack of information reveals a way to defend the autonomy of the radio. However, in the case of Radio Gesom (Manica), one of the oldest and best respected community broadcasters in the country, those who ran it stated that the municipal authority intended to seize total prior control over all its work. In protest, the journalists decided to "report everything that was news", clashing with the local authority, which in several situations

declared to them, "you are ours", implying that the radio should respond directly to the municipal authority instead of to the community (Bussotti & Nkula, 2010). Here we can cite the example of the journalist Lázaro António, a reporter for the Alto Molócuè community radio (Zambézia), who received "a strange invitation" from the first secretary of Frelimo. António had visited the first secretary's headquarters to hear, in advance, the party's opinion on a matter he wished to cover. He refused to accept the invitation, and, in retribution, the Frelimo secretary made a request to the broadcaster's management that the journalist be expelled.

- Closure of the broadcaster: this is the most drastic measure, and it is used quite frequently by local Mozambican authorities. This action normally shows collusion between several institutions: the district or municipal council, depending on the case in question, the police and, sometimes, the decentralised prosecutors, always accompanied by silence from the central authorities. Generally, it is the district administrator or leader of the municipal authority who takes the initiative, and it always happens for political reasons, though usually disguised with statements of formal or legal grounds. When the police receive orders "from above", they go ahead and act according to them, closing the "inconvenient" radio station's facilities. That is generally the end of the case, unless the broadcaster is able to reopen, thanks to intervention by an external organisation, such as FORCOM. Here we wish to recall two more recent examples, which took place over little more than a month, at the end of 2012:

> Firstly, on 12 October 2012, the leader of the municipal authority of Manica, Moguene Materisso Candieiro, took the initiative to order the closure of the headquarters of Radio Macequece and sent agents from the municipal police and civil protection police, in a clear abuse of authority. In fact, enquiries on the ground made by FORCOM did not show any indications that the broadcaster had violated any Mozambican laws, as recognised in the press release issued by MISA-Mozambique (Mário, 2012). According to a report by the newspaper "@Verdade", Candieiro ordered the police to "bar the doors and remain at the site to stop any attempts made by anyone to enter, including the directors themselves" (Editorial, 2012). After listening to FORCOM representatives, who had made their way to the site, the politician stated that he was only satisfying the desire of community leaders and the broadcasters' founders, who did not agree with the management criteria. Sources gathered by FORCOM revealed, right from the start, that the basic motto on the ground was "Frelimo did it, Frelimo does it," a comment made by the community leader of the 4º Congresso neighbourhood, Manuel Tomo, one of Candieiro's representatives. This propagandistic phrase means that Frelimo was responsible for great events in the recent history of Mozambique and that this party continues to be the main protagonist in the political scene, "doing" the present and the future of this country. Meanwhile, the district police commander in Manica, Anito Machava, confirmed that the command from the leader of the municipal council intended to "contain a supposed demonstration that put order in danger at the site." Nevertheless, Commander Machava, who had in the meantime implemented the order, was faced with the situation that there was no demonstration taking place, nor was there any danger to public order. Finally, the listeners declared the closure "political and baseless." Radio Macequece was reopened three days after it was closed, only thanks to direct intervention by FORCOM and also MISA-Mozambique, showing how the road to democracy and freedom of expression lies untrodden in many areas far from the capital Maputo.

> A second example, from November 2012 is that of the Planalto de Furancungo community radio station in Tete, which was closed by order of the district administrator of Macanga, Alexandre Faite. The broadcaster remained closed for 5

days and once again was only reopened after FORCOM intervened. Although action was taken by the district administrator to gain support from the population, the people remained on the side of the radio organisers. Vasco Fernando Captone, the broadcaster's coordinator, claims that the radio was closed because its journalists and operators were not members of the party in power - Frelimo. According to him, the fact not to belong to Frelimo was sufficient to provoke the strong reaction of the local administrator, who considered all people who were not a part of Frelimo party to be "enemies". In contrast, the administrator stated that the broadcaster had been closed because of poor management and failure to comply with the rules that should guide the work of a community radio station (Chekwa, 2012). The radio station was closed for 5 days, in a clear abuse of authority. Following the episode, the president of FORCOM, Jerónimo, said that they would take the administrator Faite to court for overriding the basic rules of freedom of expression, as stated in the Constitution and the press law itself.

If in some cases community radios face serious problems with local power, in others it is possible to note an opposing scenario.

Between the prevalent tendencies, it is possible to observe that the mechanism of self-censorship continues to characterize a large part of community radios activities. It is true especially for the radio broadcasters belonging to the ICS, due to their "institutional" propensity. This means that the news content that they broadcast does not go against local authorities, since the station's approach to it was "agreed" beforehand.

However, there may be cases where the community broadcasters are part of FORCOM but, even so, have excellent relations with local powers. This is not, of course, negative, if it is due to a mutual acknowledgement that each has a rightful role and place in the arena of public debate. Yet, this type of situation is extremely rare, and, in fact, our research shows at least two examples where the good relations between the two sides were due to factors different from those mentioned above. In the first case, Rádio Catandica (in Manica Province) experienced many difficulties before establishing a relationship based on a mutual respect with local public authorities. The latter had to be formed and informed by FORCOM on how to deal with journalists and primed on the basic principles of the Mozambican Press Law so as to accept Catandica Community Radio as a partner instead of as an enemy (Interview with Benilde Nhalivilio, Matola, Mozambique, August 20, 2013).

The other example is represented by Radio Dondo (Sofala), where the radio organisers are mostly people working for or who used to work for the local municipal authority. They are largely activists for the Frelimo and they therefore seek to keep an unaggressive and extremely respectful attitude towards the policies implemented by the institutions. As the president of FORCOM, João Jerónimo, says, in the case of Radio Dondo, "political power always tries to lure journalists from the community radio station away so they can work as press officers" (Nkula, 2010a: 25). In this case, then, the political powers do not even need to intervene to shape a specific attitude in the radio station's journalism; in sharing the same ideas, the broadcaster avoids clashing with the public authorities, favouring a relationship with them rather than the relationship it should have with the community. As an extreme measure, FORCOM decided to cut the financial aid to Rádio Dondo in the area of local governance monitoring, privileging other ten community radio stations which had showed less bias in favour of the local institutions and the Frelimo party (Interview with Benilde Nhalivilio, Matola, Mozambique, August 20, 2013).

Finally, religious community radio stations, generally Catholic in inspiration, usually keep good (or neutral) relations with the local authorities, as a result of two circumstances. Firstly, the topics dealt with are, in the vast majority of cases, religious or ethical/social in nature, and rarely political. Secondly, they are always "overseen" by the church (whichever it may be), making it difficult for the authorities to clash with them lest they risk starting a case that could reach national proportions.

One example could be Radio Esperança in Lichinga, which is property of the Evangelical Church of the Assembly of God. The account by Ernesto Saul Nhapanze below helps to build a clearer picture of the type of relationship normally established with the local authorities by these types of stations, as well as how the local authorities can intervene to stop any "field invasions" by the religious broadcaster.

> "The radio station's relationship with political authorities is good. We have never had any problems with the political authorities. The only incident was the recent arrival of a strange woman who the station believes belongs to the SISE (State Information and Security Service). The station links this visit to a project that it began to run recently, called "Lichinga in Focus", which aims to encourage citizens who live in the city and district of Lichinga to participate in socio-economic and political development process in the region, through radio programmes for citizenship education. The project also intends to encourage participatory accounts, planning and governance. As part of this project, the radio station made a survey of the problems affecting the population and publicised the results" (Nhapanze, 2013, pers. comm., 6 February).

The first fact that stands out is that, generally speaking, relations are "good". However, when the broadcaster begins to really "get to work", the situation changes. Since it is not convenient to directly attack the broadcaster, more sophisticated methods are used: one of which is described by Nhapanze, and another of which was closing the radio station for six months, due to the lack of a licence, while the legal situation was corrected. Curiously, this initiative coincided with a "turn" in the broadcaster's programming.

One of the rare studies of audience, realized by FORCOM (FORCOM, 2012), considers a survey of 766 people and highlights that the majority of the hearers (19,9%) prefer news programs to all the others. At the same time, 29,1% of the survey participated actively in the broadcasting programs. This data reveals a growing interest in the involvement of people in political debates on local issues, promoted by community radio stations.

The standpoint and actions of local and national agents at the time of the "crises"

An attempt to categorise the conflicted relationship between community broadcasters and local authorities has been the main point of this article. However, to gain a clearer idea of the situation, one element is still missing: identifying the explicit standpoint and actions of the different local actors at times of "crisis". Fore a simpler view, we shall present this briefly:
a. Local authorities: as we have seen, these actors often behave as though community radio stations belonged to them and may intend to exercise absolute power over them;
b. Police: these actors perform their actions uncritically, without ever questioning the orders that come from local political powers, even in cases where they do not have any legal basis;
c. Community radio organisers: as we have seen, in critical situations, their attitude tends to be resolution and decision, and they do not give in to provocation and abuse from the authorities and, where possible, they do try to create coordinated actions with FORCOM;
d. FORCOM: usually intervenes in "volatile" cases and seeks to understand the situation on the ground by speaking to the different parties involved so that a quick, viable solution is reached. This is exactly what happened in the two cases above in which community radio stations were closed. In these instances, FORCOM acted with respect for the law and in an oversight capacity. When necessary FORCOM is able to provide legal support to community radio journalists, thanks to the financial aid coming from IBIS and MASC (Civil Society Movement Action).
e. MISA-Mozambique: the role of MISA, in theory, is not intervening in conflicts between local authorities and community broadcasters. However, in the case of Radio Macequece for example, MISA did intervene, working to restore legality and immediately reopen the broadcaster, in

conjunction with the efforts of FORCOM. In 2013, MISA-Mozambique entered a phase of great difficulty and until today, it remains inoperative;

f. Community: despite, the fact that local communities are largely unable to provide financial support or management, they still usually participate - usually by telephone - in programmes broadcast on community radio stations, which is considered to be important for their freedom of expression and right to information (Henriques, 2010). This is why, at a time of "crisis" (for example, in two of the cases in which broadcasters were closed), they tend to take a point of view clearly in favour of "their" radio stations and against the abuse of local government members. This is the most important sign that community radio stations are a common asset, and will always be difficult to silence by the authorities;

g. The ICS (the Media Institute) and CSCS (the Higher Media Council): these two central bodies of the Mozambican state appear to have no clear role in times of "crisis". In the first case, the radio stations belonging to ICS - as shown in the previous point - rarely clash with local authorities, because of the mechanisms of pre-emptive censorship and even more so, self-censorship, which result in a good formal relationship between the two bodies. In the case of the CSCS, it may suffice to report a declaration by its president, Armindo Ngunga, who believes that "the closures of the Macequece and Furancungo community radio stations were interpreted incorrectly. It was not the local government that made these incorrect interpretations," so defending the local government position against community radios (Macanandze, 2012).

This brief reflection on the dynamics that take hold when clashes occur between local government and community radio stations shows how local political culture is still linked to governing models that are hardly democratic, in that information control is one of the central components of exercising power. On the other hand, there is momentum created by several social actors (the community radio stations themselves, FORCOM, MISA-Mozambique, independent newspapers, the communities involved) which leaves hope that a more democratic and tolerant political culture will spread in Mozambique, especially at local level. What seems to be right is that the impact of local broadcasters is greater and greater in Mozambican society and is, as a result, a compulsory component for those who wish to carry out significant action at local level, whether political or economic.

Final thoughts

By way of conclusion, we have some questions that may serve as a guide for future research.

The research presented here brought up many questions and doubts, too. Within a context that deals with the continuous development of the relationship, at local level, between political power and community radio stations, there are real knots that are waiting to be untied.

The deficit in democratic political culture at the local level is the first element to underline. Locally, we observed a level of intolerance, ignorance and abuse of power which lead us to wonder about the effective transition of Mozambique towards democracy, especially outside Maputo. is probably right when he states that Mozambique represents one of the best examples of an authoritarian democracy (Rønning, 2009). This culture of intolerance is not propagated only by local public authorities, but the opposition political groups too, especially Renamo, whose representatives have already threatened community radio journalists. This problem is compound by the reactions of the police who refuse to discuss the orders from the political authorities, even when they clearly have no justification. This background shows a lack of both democratic spirit and of a culture of legality.

This is true mainly in the Centre and in the North of the country. As we have seen, the "crises" took place in Niassa, Zambézia, Tete, Nampula, Manica, Sofala and never involved southern regions. Here, the central power continues to have a strong influence at the local level, with some provinces completely dominated by Frelimo, such as Gaza, where it is possible to find just one

community radio associated to FORCOM. The programming of community radio stations in the south are focused more on broadcasting music and entertainment, so they are less hard-hitting than those in the centre and many of those in the north (CEPKA, 2008).

The other great sub-division at the heart of Mozambique community radio stations has not only to do with the "geographical factor", but also whether a station belongs to a particular group. The "volatile" cases reported are all related to broadcasters that are members of FORCOM; none of the confrontations took place with those belonging to the ICS. There could be, once again, many explanations, although the most likely - according to the material available at the moment - is that the mechanisms of self-censorship work better at the radio stations belonging to the latter group, whereas in the first group, journalists attempt to find the facts and the truth more often. The religious radio stations are in the middle, in that even though some of them belong to FORCOM, they are unlikely to clash with local power, either because of the type of programmes they broadcast, or because their main affiliation is to the church (normally, but not always, the Catholic Church), a fact which acts as a brake to possible abuse by the authorities.

The main thing missing in the movement towards a better and more mature form of democracy and pluralism, is the central government, which rarely intervenes in these disputes, showing a certain amount of "cynicism" and indifference. In this sense, "letting events run their course" suggests a certain (indirect) "complicity" with those representatives of local institutions who practise the abuse, since it does nothing but remain quiet. Moreover, when someone does intervene (such as in the case of the president of the CSCS, Armindo Ngunga), the arguments aim to "justify" the abuse of state's own rules by local powers. This allows us to see that, even at central level, there is still a long way to go to reach more authentic model of pluralism.

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CHAPTER 10

Freedom Without Borders: Politics, Media and Culture in Maranhão Hip-Hop

Rosenverck Estrela Santos

The Hip-Hop of Maranhão and their political and cultural activities

The hip-hop in Maranhão have in the movement *Quilombo Urbano* the main reference. The *Quilombo Urbano* is an organization of black young and poor people, founded in 1992 that develops different kinds of activities, of political and cultural nature in the neighborhoods of peripheral areas of São Luis - Capital of the state of Maranhão/Brazil. Their main purpose, says Dias (2002) is raise the self-esteem of the black and poor population, as well as to undertake a resocialization of young people involved in crime, awakening the critic consciousness about themselves.

The hip hop arrived in São Luis at this some time, the early 1980s, and via culture industries other Brazilian cities. By the video clips, movies, arrived in vinyl records and magazines, young people had their first experience with hip-hop, according to Dias (2002), watching movies like 'Flash Dance', 'Break Street' and 'Beat Street' in the old Monte Castelo cinema the years of 1983/1984. In addition to the Michel Jackson TV performances, the youth was interested in a dance style that later was known as Break, an American dance style.

A process like this occurred in São Paulo the break had, including the appearing of successful group like Black Junior's that made performances in TV shows. This time is known in Hip hop as a 'Break Fever', because this dance could be seen in the opening of TV *Globo* soap operas, TV shows, video clips, videos of artists like Lionel Richie, Malcolm McLaren, among others. In this context, the Hip Hop became expanded in São Luis, via break, during all the 80s decade rising (Break Fever) and then ebb.

Flag of the hip hop movement *Quilombo Urbano* during the Periphery March realized in São Luís, Maranhão.
Source: Personal Archive - Rosenverck Estrela Santos

The '*Quilombo Urbano*' have using the hip hop culture (break, graffiti, rap) and their direct action with the poor communities, to discuss and minimize the problems coming from the environment, This way the precursors of the hip hop movement search for the São Luis public squares. The hip hop in São Luis considering the social urban context, configure as an option of political a cultural

resistance of the Black poor youth, once the political party and other organization are for from this desire of change and creativity of this youth.

The search and valorization of the public environment as the street, the neighborhood, the periphery can be understood as an opposition to the segregationism and the privatization ways of the urban environment. According to Lamartine Silva, one of the coordinators of the Hip Hop movement *'Quilombo Urbano'*, in an interview to the *'Zumbido'* newspaper, of the Black Culture Center of Maranhão (CNN) in September 1999, living in São Luis periphery to the Black and poor youth represents a grave situation. According to Lamartine:

> "there are in the young people an enormous emptiness caused by racial self-esteem absence by the involvement with drugs [...] by the uncommitment and disappear with the politic problems of the country. All this urge them on to a misdirected rebelliousness" (Zumbido, 1999, p. 8).

As seen in these words from the *Quilombo Urbano* coordinator a concern with the destructive options and misdirected that the São Luis´s youth made feasible when they confront the oppression problems and social inequality.

Nevertheless, conscious about what attitude the hip hop should practice in this youth, Lamartine says:

> "In this way, can be noticed a creativity and a desire of change that con fill this emptiness. The hip hop movement starts live option and alternative, once some structures like parties, for example, does not do anything about the desire of change and the creativity of this youth" (Zumbido, 1999, p. 8).

The Hip Hop in Maranhão hadn't organization in the beginning. However, when they experienced ways of remaining among the social and cultural inequalities, this youth showed a way far from violence, as well as they started the background for future constitution of the social identity and political propositions for the society.

When they search for the squares of São Luis, the hip hop had access to the place where happen the main political manifestations by social movements, student movements, the black movements and political parties in the city of São Luis. They couldn't be immune to this speech and the claim of these groups therefore, the experience on the squares and street could make possible an deepness of the social consciousness and a need coming from the young people of search for their social rights.

Freire Says:

> "The discriminated culture does a resistance ideology by the fight experience, sometimes explain about behavior ways, sometime peaceable, sometime rebel, sometime more less indiscriminated violent, sometimes criticized for a recreation of the world" (1997, p. 31).

This way can be approved that the birth of the break, the grafitti and the hip hop in São Luis is associated, as in other parts of the world, that not just by the culture industries influence, but the economic-social and cultural problems lived for the marginalized classes in the urban environment.

We're not saying that the 80's decade exist a conscious feeling of the social revindication from the Maranhão youth, but will come in the 90's with the reaction of the hip hop organized movement *'Quilombo Urbano"*.
However, the break proliferation and then the organization of the *'Quilombo Urbano'*, make in a

search for the cultural alternatives and after, politics, to the inequality and social hierarchy produced and fortified in the Brazilian urban environment, mainly in the peripheral areas.

> "The life in the periphery impose an existence marked by the routine, with grave limitations to leisure activities, that can be caused by the infra-structure of the cities, and also by a less of money. A fact, this youth have just fun possibilities of fun, of practicing sports and use, generally their creativity" (Abramovay et al, 1999, p. 49).

As says Abramovay et al (1999), living in the periphery impose social- economic restrictions and leisure that produce destructive ways as assault, drugs and formation of pitch gangs. This social phenomenon makes the tension bigger, like violence, and is a consequence of a strong urbanization of the Brazilian cities that live a process, where the public spaces are fun and to the poor people and in their places are build the as private clubs, shopping mall, closed condos etc. protected by electronic equipment, armed sentinel and other equipments and other ways to keep away the low-income population.

As says Caldeira (2000), Brazilian cities, having as reference São Paulo, pass for a process where this new pattern of social and urban segregation is the privatization of the public space. In this context, the organize hip hop movement *Quilombo Urbano* is born by a politic- cultural light against the illness of these marginalized groups of the São Luis peripheries.

Among other developed activities can be detached the hip hop festivals that in the year of 2014 will have the 26st edition. Characterized by presentations of the hip hop culture by the '*Quilombo Urbano*' and other organizations as well as independent groups, and also invited reggae artists, rock, afro groups and movements and groups from other states. The festivals were created to guarantee a space for the communication and media to new hip hop groups, because the space in media was always few for this movement.

Different from other festivals, is not a competition and doesn't have rewards. It's just a space for concerts, for the hip hop art in all of the aspects: dance, music, visual art. The first festival happened in 1991 and the most recent happened in November 2013. Until now happened 25 hip hop festivals in many cultural spaces and public squares of the city. The firsts happened in 1991 and 1992 as was called Rap Festivals, which name can characterize the importance of this musical style when the movement began. Remember that the *Quilombo Urbano* birth was officially in November 1992, that could grow up a major consciousness about the necessary articulation between the three elements of the hip hop culture. Since 1993 the festivals started being called hip hop Festivals.

The Festivals have a great importance for the hip hop from Maranhão history, since by then the *Quilombo Urbano* made more organic contacts with other hip-hop organizations on the country. Analyzing the festivals can be seen a change in the political orientation of the movement in Maranhão. It can be seen, for example, for the sponsorship, for the names of rap groups, break and graffiti participant, for the expansion function of the festival and the themes to be worked. The first was more bound to leisure and presentation of the concerts. Since the third festival, the themes and activities were more politicized.

In addition to the festivals, the *Quilombo Urbano* develop projects as '*Ruas alternativas e Periferia Urgente*' (Alternative Streets and Urgent Periphery)', started in 90's decade, that aim is outspread the hip hop in São Luis peripheries, as well as realize cultural activities, sportive, educational and leisure, to the youth involved by crime and drugs. Inside these projects was created the '*Cine-Rua*' that brings the cinema to the periphery and to stimulate the discussion about the democratization in media. The Project Urgent Periphery was developed by the Popular Community Diffusion Association (ADCP) an organization that involve many social movements that goal is the democratisation of media in Maranhão.

Among these projects of *Quilombo Urbano* have as action the creation of 'posses' and their respective activities. The *posses* are local associations that waves with three elements of Hip Hop-break, rap, graffiti - and have as goal promote themselves, as well as to develop social and politic projects with the community that they are realized. This way, the "Posses" realize educational activities, politic-social and organizational in many poor neighborhoods in Brazil.

> "The posses are not just a space to youth people to produce art, but to support themselves. In front of this disorganization of the traditional institution, as family and the failure of social programs, the posses, in the youth of the hip hop as a built family, where the youth can discuss their problems and promote alternatives in art" (Silva, 1999, p. 27).

The posses work as " Culture Circle" in his words there affirm that the culture circles need: Centers that common people can discuss their problems, but also organize actions of collective interests.

The posses in Brazilian hip-hop are circles that groups of graffiti, break and people from the same neighborhood to discuss their problems and organize to solve them. Are also spaces where happen the improvement of the artistical sense as from collective auditions in Hip Hop concerts, but above all is an organized to seminars, lecture series, study groups about activities realized in the neighborhoods. The posses work as any free space or conquered like schools, squares, community associations, Mother's Club, sport field or as own location. There is not a pattern of activities on meetings. Each posse define in what days will work and the actions. Once again is enhanced the similarity with the purpose of the culture circle of Paulo Freire, as we can see in his words.

> "It is a different school, where not have a teacher, or student, either a lesson in the traditional sense. The culture circle is not a center to share knowledge, but a place that a group of friends: a classroom, a living room, or a tree's shadow, or a small house built by the community-that exist to discuss about work practice, about the bed and national reality [...]" (Freire, 1982, pp. 145-146).

The integrants of the *posse Cidade Olímpica em Legítima Defesa* doing graffiti in the headquarters of the organization.
Source: Personal Arquive - Rosenverck Estrela Santos

We aren't saying that the hip hop was inspired by Freire to build the posses, but just comparing to help us comprehend the objectives and the ways of organization of many Brazilian hip-hop groups, and to situate the pedagogic importance of the posses in the same ways of the culture circles, as we can see in their activities.

The posses are considered for many researchers from the hip hop movement as the most organized answer to the immediate need of the poor community as well as a fundamental space to the politization and formation of poor, black youth people connected by rap break and graffiti.

During their 25 years of existence, the *Quilombo Urbano* organized many posses for the poor neighborhoods of São Luis that we can detach *Denúncia de Rua* (Street Report), *Comuna de Palmares* (Palmares Commune), *Parlamento do Gueto* (Guetto Parliament), *Família Armada da Periferia* (Armed Family of the Periphery), *Revolução das Ruas* (Street Revolution), *Liberdade Sem Fronteira* (Freedom without Borders) and *Cidade Olímpica em Legítima Defesa* (Cidade Olimpica in True Defense) and Bancada *Hip Hop (*Hip Hop Bench*)*. All this posses during the existence of hip hop from Maranhão realized activities coordinated by *Quilombo Urbano*. Same with the Projects 'Alternative Streets' and 'Urgent Periphery', as we already said, and the discussion about local problems of the community with the youth. Mini-courses, studies about drugs, racism, machismo, socialism, reading books of Clóvis de Moura, Joel Rufino dos Santos, Florestan Fernandes, Malcon X, Trotsky, Leñin, and discussions about films as Menace II Society, Panther, Boys in the Hood, New Jack City, Quest of Fire, Germinal was always part of the formation of the youth involved with *Quilombo Urbano*. All these activities are the result of them has given to the movement of political and cultural activities in other countries as France, for example.

The hip hop movement for the democratization of media and production of information

The hip hop movement for the democratization of media and the production of the information. The *Quilombo Urbano* has been conducting actions that make a reflection about the stereotypes produced by social institutions like churches, schools and media, that give to the periphery youth an incapacity for the affirmative ways of leisure and culture. The media still reinforce:

> "the status quo of the black inside the Brazilian society, that he sometimes is recognized as a servant, docile or bandit. It's a manicheist view, built from the Brazilian racial speech. It's like if the power, by media, not allow other view about the black people" (Ferreira, 2004, p. 24).

The first steps in hip hop at São Luis, in this sense, wasn't easy, as says Costa:

> "the identity of the youngsters called "normal" has been built by a great investment by media, representing a certain American pattern of youth [...] In turn, that groups called "strange", and out of order, are despised because they represent a threat to the existent social order" (2005, p. 15).

For this reason, reggae sympathizers, punkers, rappers, breakers are frequently target for discrimination by media. In this way, the hip hop in São Luis wasn't immune, at least in the beginning, to the stereotyping associated to the movement to violence and crime. Unfortunately, we associate this fact to the persecution suffered by funk in Rio de Janeiro related by Herschmann, as we can make ours his question:

> "when part of society and the public safety agency call for the interdiction of the funk parties, or when stigmatize the funk sympathizer in mass media, what we combat really: the funk or the social segment that take as important way of social expression?" (2005, p. 52).

In this sense, was prohibited the break circles in many parties in the city and many public performances in São Luis squares was interrupted by the police. It can by identify something like this to the funk in Rio and the reggae in São Luis. However, existed and will exist by media and public organizations a ambiguity to the artistic expressions produced by marginalized sector. By one side, exist prejudice and discrimination by the other, there's a need to inform people about new way of ant and expressions born by popular classes, searching for more knowledge about themselves. The media interest happens by the insertion of this manifestation for the rich classes this happened with the funk and reggae in Rio and Maranhão respectively.

For this reason, in 1999 the *Quilombo Urbano* created the *Periafricania Produções*, to promote cultural events, to organise and build alternative ways to the communication with the periphery youth. For an example, the program '*Voz da Perifa*' (Periphery Voice) in the community radio Conquista FM, which for many years was the only space to diffuse hip hop in São Luis, Maranhão.

In this conception, this is one of the purposes for the creation of a rap[92] program in a community radio in a poor neighborhood of São Luis, the *Quilombo Urbano* can be manifested in this way:

> "the community and radio broadcast are inseparable binomial of the democratization process of communication, knowledge, socialization and fight for the citizenship in the Brazilian society [...] This youth that sometimes canalize the energy to crime, find in hip hop an instrument to awake the wisdom goddess that exist in all humans. Today we have teachers, community leaders, website columnists, fanzines, songwriters, community service provider, posses coordinator, etc." (Periafricania Produções, 2004, p. 2).[93]

According to the young people that are part of the hip hop movement in Maranhão, a program of rap in a community radio is more than a program of music, because open possibility to the youth to organize, make discussions, and search for the solution of day by day problems. According to this purpose, to this youth:

> "the majority of media have, in a hypocrite and irresponsible, the power to judge and blame our youth as a judge without heart that sentence an accused without witness or lawyer. In other hand, is denied realize or support some initiatives that can change the reality of those who find themselves in a world without way and without future" (Periafricana Produções, 2004, p. 3).

So, as can be observed, there is not a natural separation and diametrically opposite between art and politics. Reinforce this idea is interesting for the part of the society that keep cultural and economic privileges. To us, art and politics are in hip hop forming an organic body, not always harmonic. This way, the initiative of the *Quilombo Urbano* in create programs in community radios, means above all, believe in the strengthening of the relations between culture and politics, since can be observed a clean distance of the majority in media with the politicized culture.

The hip hop, as can be seen in this reflection, has as characteristics two aspects: the artistic and politic.
In view of this question, can be devised the hip hop as a politic-cultural movement that can make possible, since their politic-organizative and cultural actions an educational and cultural transforming practice to substantiate in a critic lecture and conscious about the reality, in the valorization of a fight history and resistance of the black population, as well as the constitution of

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[92] The name of the program would be Periphery alive because reminds the process of diffusion and production of information in real time by the periphery youth.
[93] This text makes part of a radio program proposition to the community radio Discovering the knowledge. It was a community radio in a poor neighborhood in the capital controlled by the neighbors' association of the neighborhood.

alternative ways of organization and information diffusion, aiming the improvement of the immediate social-economic conditions.

As says Abramovay et al:

> "this youth react to the exclusion searching for alternatives of sociability feature is the changing of the own stigma in identity element and the ostensible and violent use of this as way to earning respect" (1999, pp. 143- 144).

Another important point to be analyzed, this way, are the diffusion ways of the hip hop from Maranhão. The reggae has many radio and TV programs controlled, in great part by the sound system owners. The reggae, since the strengthening became a profitable business venture, generating entrepreneurs, the reggae magnates, specialized in realization of events and concerts of this rhythm, contributing for the expansion.

The hip hop in São Luís, in the contrary, was always controlled by youngsters before being artists or entrepreneurs, as already analyzed, considered themselves as militants and this, in some way, built obstacles to the increasing at any price. The concern with the polarization and the messages to be spread was constantly present including in parties. So, the only two radio programs, specialized in rap, presented by the great radio station was extinct by the political tone on the presentations.

Without a doubt, the absence of the radio programs of big audience and the politisation process of the movement contributed for the scarcity of spaces where would have the possibility to listen and know the hip hop. With this the great appeal of the reggae and funk, both for the media, also contributed for this scenario in Maranhão. However, in the contrary of the reggae and funk, in São Luís Always existed more *break* groups, graffiti and rap singing in Portuguese, with own lyrics and doing live concerts.

However, the hip hop Movement always searched for ways to diffuse this manifestation for the peripheries of the city. So, in 2006, the *Quilombo Urbano* among other hip-hop organizations of the capital started the formation of the Metropolitan Forum of hip hop, aiming actions and discuss questions about the movement reality in Maranhão. The beginning happened by the I Metropolitan Seminary of hip hop in October 2006, having the notice of the meeting expressed by the brochure given by the movements:

> "The motto always was "we need ourselves". But unfortunately, in the last years, the State, the media, and the capitalism market have been using and de-politicise the national hip hop to transform in a commodity of the richest stores. To react to this situation, we are inviting you to participate of the 1º Metropolitan Seminary of hip hop [...]" (Fórum Metropolitano de Hip Hop, 2006, p. 1).

The first great activity of the Metropolitan Forum was the organization of the 'I Periphery March' happened in November 2006 and had approximately 300 youngsters from the periphery in a march for the downtown of the capital. Another event realized as an act – concert in Deodoro square against the criminalization of the hip hop and the periphery youth occurred in June 2007 by the divulged of a journalistic presentation of the Reporter Record, that suggest the link between violence and hip hop.

According to the presentation, the diffusion of rap with the aggressive lyrics, slangs, and dirty words would be encouraging the youth to crime. The Metropolitan Forum also realized a manifest in front of TV Cidade a TV station of TV Record in São Luís, Maranhão, by this presentation.
The relation with media, with the government, as well as the process of increasing of the international record industry about the main names of the national rap has been providing discussions in Brazilian hip hop. Would it ceasing to be a critic street movement, and become a

commodity, without politic or social content? The governments have chosen to institutionalize the hip-hop, and therefore reduce the critics to the repressive power of the state. The TV and radio stations despite the clichéd view about the movement, have open space and required from Hip Hop artists as Marcelo D2, MV Bill, or Gabriel O Pensador, a softening of the lyrics in exchange of the divulgation, closing in other hand space to more critic groups and undermining the real sense of the hip hop movement?

These questions have been discussed currently in Brazilian hip-hop in discussion forums at internet and national meetings aimed to outline these questions. In Maranhão the de-politisation and commodification subject about the movement has been an evident concern of the organizers of the forum a this can be seen, also in the elected themes to the discussion between the movements, namely: "the hip-hop relation with the market and media" and "the relation with the government: revolution or reform?".

Indeed, this is a recurrent theme in almost all of the Brazilian hip-hop. As an evidence, the text entitled: from politic to entertainment: tensions between media and hip hop wrote by Bezerra and Rocha. According these authors:

> "Bearing in mind the media Power, this relation become ambiguous, as emphasized. For the hip-hop members, being in media is enter in a system responsible by the capitalism, that promote the social exclusion and inequalities so fighted by the movement. In other hand, the hip-hop use the media to claim the fight against the prejudice, the oppression and the inequalities" (2010, p. 75).

The youngsters involved with *Quilombo Urbano* build, this way a critic to the dominant ideology and to the mechanisms of diffusion and reproduction of their ideas. The media as one of these mechanisms is not immune to critics of the hip hop. In the first *Quilombo Urbano* newsletter can be found a text that strengthens what have been said.

> "Can we be able to reverse this situation so unfavorable? Of course! However unfortunately many of our brothers did not discovered yet the enormous black potential that have inside us. The reason is the big alienation and misinformation that the victims are men, women and children" (Informativo Quilombo Urbano, 1992, p. 3).

The black population besides the misery that have been lived, says the newspaper story, are not able to mobilize due the alienation and misinformation which are submitted by the school and media. In this way, that the politic-cultural activities and educational of Quilombo Urbano has been contributed to the formation of the ethnic - racial identity and alternative communication practice of the black and poor youth population of São Luís.

Education, culture and communication in the formation of the ethnic - racial identity of the youth in hip-hop.

By means of their actions, the youth involved with hip hop from Maranhão have been built a positive view about themselves and redeem with values with a history of resistance and fight, different from stigmatized view about the history of the black population in brazil, as also about these youngsters, usually related to marginalization, naughtiness, with a lack of interest by the studies and without any perspective.

It can be observed in the *Quilombo Urbano* newsletter:

> "To complement, millions and millions of blacks are daily contaminated by the TV virus. In the TV shows is given to the black the most ridiculous characters, of subordinate, drugged, maid of white people, terrible example for the brothers that watch, and inconsequentially think that black born to being eternally subordinated of white people. For these reasons the *Quilombo Urbano* came to say to you enough in all this two all those people who despise that we are able to build our own future. That's it brother! Believe in you! Say no to drugs! Do not violate your body! Study! Self-evaluate yourself! So: Consider yourself as a true Black!" (Informativo Quilombo Urbano, 1992, p. 3).

It can be seen, the objectives proposed by hip hop from Maranhão, are: Serve as an instrument of information and communication that brings consciousness of the reality which live a majority of the black and poor population. As well as rap to grafitti, also are attributed functions of information, communication, education and protest. In this sense, exist in hip hop a constant discussion about the participation of governments and politic parties. As well as the relation with the music industry, the media, the institutional apparatus. This is a complex and diffuse movement that has been carried out thought a segment of the marginalized and excluded population in an unstructured context and violence, but it has been searching ways and instruments to spread this voice for the spaces of the city.

Political formation organized by the posse "Liberdade Sem Fronteiras" in the community radio Liberdade FM.
Source: personal archive - Rosenverck Estrela Santos

For this organizative practice, and politic cultural, this movement develops resistance ways and intervention in the reality that fight with the dominant classes, as well as against the values built by history, by this class and their media. Thus, by means of an alternative communication contribute to the formation of learning and knowledge about themes before denied or misunderstood, by the dominant media, referent to black population that has been enabled the constitution of an ethnic racial identity and about a critic consciousness by the black and poor population of São Luís, Maranhão and provided a mobilization against the hegemony.

As have been seen, the hip-hop was created by young black people and poor that lived in metropolis and in the middle of segregation process, social and urban. Beyond of dance and shaking hips, the literal sense of the word hip hop, this manifestation was created as a leisure possibility, political resistance to a big part of many people in many countries, including Brazil. In Maranhão, in the peripherization of São Luís, and the poverty increase, mainly in 90's decade, the hip hop was being used as a resistance instrument, search for sociability and production of information of part of the youth. As from 1992, with the creation of *Quilombo Urbano*, while social movement by hip hop, from the discussions, lyrics, grafitti, manifestations, newsletters, among other developed activities, actions in the capital of Maranhão, using an alternative production of communication, that intend enable a new society, where the equality prevails, and the discrimination disappear. In a segment marked by marginalization and inferiorisation, the hip hop becomes a counterpoint used by a self- affirmation search and a search of information.

The youth involved with hip hop as in Brazil and United States realized that they could be more, that the values and stigmas, as well as the inequal reality, could be changed. The hip-hop appear as a possibility of self-affirmation, valorization and political organization of the black youth and poor living in the peripheric neighborhoods of the metropolis in the middle of a context of urban chaos and urban inequalities.

Abramovay et al draws the attention to:

> "[...] the existence of innovative alternatives – as of the rappers – that the elaboration and report of violence and the exclusion become part of the own process of social identity building of the youngsters and a relevant element of the own" (1999, p. 144).

In Maranhão this become by the creation of the hip hop movement *Quilombo Urbano*, that by many artistical and political activities, that materialized in alternative ways of communication, built an ethnic-racial identity, and a critic consciousness to make a relation with the immediate sense of the specific fight, economic and racial, with the general fights. In ethnic racial case, by the rescue of the historical and cultural referential of black matrix, the youth of hip hop could build their identities, denied or stigmatized, and consolidate a starting point suitable and necessary to the mobilization (Munanga, 1999). As says Abramovay et al:

> "this youth react to the exclusion searching for alternatives of sociability feature is the changing of the own stigma in identity element and the ostensible and violent use of this as way to earning respect" (1999, pp. 143- 144).

This is important if considered some authors (Abramo, 1994; Abramovay,1999; Herschmann, 2005), who discuss and analyze the Brazilian youth, specially from the 90's decade, as a 'dystopic' youth, in other words, without purpose of transformation of the reality or without reference in relation to the class struggle. The perception of the reality lived in periphery would be described for this youth in an apocalyptic way. The misery, the violence, the family problems would be amplified, and the future should be the jail or the death (Abramo, 1994).

As says Herschmann:

> "The recent young groups have been characterized by an intense search in leisure, against a day by day that can be announced as mediocre and unsatisfactory. They seem to assume the fact that they don't have e are not able to produce big changing projects and the true action just can assume the perplexity, report the present and submit to test the actual projects" (2005, pp. 58-59).

In the hip-hop movement lose the sense in addition to develop the fight about racial questions and report the violent present and inequal point the way to behold another fair society with equality. In this sense the Hip Hop movement have in the line of thought an utopic dimension in the direction given by Freire (2001), of a project that need the organization an intervention in the reality to be implemented an not abstract though dislocated to the living reality.

Interfere in reality and have a critic attitude however this isn't exclusivity of the Hip Hop from Maranhão as has been proved many research in Brazil (Tella, 2000; Silva, 1998; Felix, 2005) has been stimulated the self-esteem , the report of the oppressor reality and a need of change more them image apocalyptic in the place that they live the hip hop youth have been searching a lecture that for one side point to misery violence and drugs in other hand there are workers, fun, fraternize and better future in general there isn't in hip hop and idyllic view romantized either apocalyptic of the periphery on the contrary is a place to problems difficulties and lack of conditions to live however in the same time is a place of brave people courageous and worthy of being valued. Is evident that exist the outlaw and drugs dealer but to the hip hop they didn't born this way. Was the difficult conditions and the wrong choices that they getting for this way. There isn't antinomy right or wrong, heaven of hell. The people in periphery live a hard social-economic situation and they need to do options. The choice of way to follow is a constant in the artistic production and in the speech of the militants in hip hop movement.

The consequence of this attitude is an establishment of conflict with the hegemonic construction of the society imaginary. That always treated this youth the neighborhood as areas where are the more dangerous segment of the society. Where the violence is the main way of social expression. This way can be emphasized the opinion of Freire (1997) according the class struggle can't be seen just as a conflict between workers and bourgeoisie, but many ways of resistance by the popular classes.

The hip hop organized movement of Maranhão *Quilombo Urbano"* having all the considerations to be understandable this work, as an organization that organize immediate fights, locals and specific with general fights, and by the popular education and communications practice and alternative affirmation, have made possible the constitution of ethnic-racial identity, starting point to the mobilization, also as critical consciousness, where the day by day lecture is realized in a reflexive way to break through the unfair reality, inequal and build a egalitarian society to achieve the aimed , the analyzed movement made alliances in the state and nationals with other sectors of the civil society as professors trade unionnist with left political parties central trade union landless movement, black movement and other hip hop institutions Etc.

The national level of organization that the *Quilombo Urbano'* is involved sign that there isn't a local or regional movement, but have a constant concern with the nationals and the social fights that is far to the specific fight the hip hop in immediate or the artistic , 'Quilombo Urbano" the social movement has triyed combine the local fights with the nationals and this result is a deepening the political position as consequences in the educational practice, in the communications ways, in the building of an ethnic-racial identity and the improvement of practice consciousness that was decisive.

With effect is reinforced from now the interview given by Lamartine Silva to the specialized newspaper *'Estação Hip Hop'* a 2001 in São Paulo as: a politic view in hip hop and shows the goals, the politic relations to establish and the ways to the action, that the *'Quilombo Urbano'* believed being the function of hip-hop movement.

Let's see what it says:

> "We think that the hip hop movement has acting in popular fights. We cannot hide that these popular fights are also the periphery fights. If we say that we are the periphery voice, we have to act together. This action should be realized this way:

we form many kernels. The people may think that is a too big thing, but it's not difficult to be done because already exist in North and Norwest of the country for example. In Maranhão, Piauí, Ceará and Rondônia we already realize activities together. For example, if it is having a Landless Movement march in these states, we have the duty and obligation of join [...] It's necessary that the periphery people make a revolution" (Luz, 2001, p. 10).

This way the hip hop movement in question maybe possible the valorization of this youth as human being, as people that can change the reality as historic subject. Freire (1997, 2005 sad that the education can't do everything, but can do something paraphrasing this author, can be sad: If hip hop can't do everything and really can't, something its makes possible mentioning Tella (2000: 218), because the hip hop in rap for this author, "In addition to can be a possibility of professionalization of the artistic career, it can be presented as an important element to re-build the self- esteem, in the possibility and the perspective of a better future".

Silva observes that:

"If we succumb to the hegemonic view that is not more possible make big transformations in social order, maybe we have to resign us to the present barbarism. But if we think from now on the rapper poetic, in the dimension of the urban holocaust, and what does it means in the drams lived by the periphery youth, maybe can be impossible living in a "war zone" without the utopic search, of a "magic peace formula". For this we can say that the hip hop cannot stop" (1998, p. 253).

The hip hop can make the black and poor youth to organize being conscious mobilize to change the reality, also can be just away to leisure and fun without, as haven't in many places in the country. In '*Quilombo Urbano'* case as the organizative character the first possibility that have in their speech, the songs, the graffities, the actions reflections and ways of communication.

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CHAPTER 11

Luanda and Lisbon: *Kuduro* and Musicking in the Diaspora

Garth Sheridan

This chapter will discuss the development and ongoing practices of *kuduro* in two major Portuguese-speaking cities; Luanda, Angola and Lisbon, Portugal. *Kuduro* is a hybrid music and dance form, beginning as fragments drawn from African, Caribbean, European and North American traditions, evolving through Angolan national experience to become a distinct genre. Developed by middle class youths in Luanda during the 1990s, in the midst of the Angolan Civil War (1975-2002), *kuduro* has since become Angola's primary cultural product at home and internationally. This chapter will situate the genre and associated activities within a global post-colonial context, discussing cultural flow between Luanda and Lisbon, leading to related discussion of social relations and the roles of production and communication technologies in the genre's history.

Angola endured two successive wars, resulting from processes of decolonization and Cold War politics. These wars fractured previous ways of living and displaced much of the population, urbanizing Angola's population and establishing diaspora communities throughout Europe. The increasing global movement of Angolans, and a shift away from political alignment with Cuba from the 1980s introduced technologies to Angola that facilitated the production of electronic music and accelerated cultural exchange between geographically separate communities. Eventually these processes and technologies would come to open the potential for appropriation of *kuduro* by artists and record labels with little connection to the originating communities. In this light, *kuduro* is seen to exist on three separate, but interrelated platforms, Angola, Portugal and 'the global dance floor' (Alisch & Seigert, 2011). This distinction reflects both the physical and geographic dislocation and the different role and spaces for the music in each community. This chapter will particularly focus on the relationship between Portuguese and Angolan musical communities.

The Civil War resulted in the internal displacement of over four million people in the period between independence from Portugal in 1975 and a ceasefire resulting from the death of opposition leader Jonas Savimbi in 2002. Throughout the war many refugees moved beyond Angola's borders, to neighbouring Democratic Republic of Congo and Namibia, and many further on to Portugal. A large Angolan community was established in Lisbon's north-western suburbs, alongside immigrants from Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Sao Tome and Príncipe and Mozambique. Immigration to Portugal from Angola continued and expanded after the civil war until recent years as changing economic situations and relaxation of immigration laws have facilitated an increase of citizens living between the two countries simultaneously for work, study or to maintain family links. This has increased capacity for the diaspora community to stay in touch with contemporary trends despite limited Internet availability in Angola or their individual ability to travel regularly.

Kuduro is part of a strong tradition within the history of Angolan popular music, in which music is a platform for negotiating and reflecting the character of national identity. As the anti-colonial movement developed in the 1950s, the music scene within the *musseques* (informal suburbs surrounding Luanda) was politically vibrant and active, considered to be an autonomous space, or a 'provisional nation' (Moorman 2004, p. 264). Artists such as Ngola Ritmos were simultaneously at the forefront of the development of *semba* (a term used to refer to the breadth of traditional rhythms and genres reinvigorated and popularized in urban Luanda from the 1950s) while deeply involved in colonial resistance politics. Indeed, the clubhouses in Luanda's *musseques* that *semba* took

form in also became the central space in which the debate over the nature of the resistance movement took place.

Elements of the military, government and influential members of the business sector fund many musical projects. The government exerts control over all levels of media, including the country's news agency, national newspaper, public and private television stations, and private newspapers. The lack of openness in the media and limited access to the finances and equipment needed to produce and promote high quality, large-scale releases in Luanda, mean that patronage can be key to an artist's success. Artists including Bruno M, Titica and Cabo Snoop have drawn criticism for working alongside the government, being seen to uncritically flatter the MPLA, or to adopt nationalist iconography and symbolism, and populist lyrical themes. One Angolan filmmaker argued that Titica's 'music only serves to keep people stupid and applaud the MPLA, which basically sponsors her' (Ahrens, 2012). A more complicated version of Angolan national identity is offered by artists who appropriate and subvert national symbols, Moorman (2008a) and Krug (2011) have shown the role of patronage and critique in the rapid rise and fall of Dog Murras' music career. Contradictions between the problematic reality of state support and oppositional, populist imagery used by artists is often ignored or played down.

The duo Os Namayer, comprised of Principe Ouro Negro and Presidente Gasoline, have chosen names that refer to Angola's oil production, and position them as captains of industry. Inherent in these names is an implied critique of the current lack of redistribution of the income derived from the mining industry. Their recent successes and inclusion in international touring group of musicians and dancers, Os Kuduristas reflect a trend toward containment and sanctioning of critique. As Minister for Culture, Boaventura Cardoso opened dialogue with *kuduristas*, saying, "I do not share the idea of purely and simply marginalising the *kuduristas*, what I ask is that we must show the youths the right way, so that they do good and positive things for the Angolan culture" (Angop, 2007: n.p.). The subsequent involvement of the government and other well-connected elements within Angolan society in the *kuduro* industry suggest that this guiding hand has become standard practice.

More than a political phenomenon, *kuduro* is a lived personal and collective experience. Music and dance in this sense can be considered apart from realities of daily life, potentially creating utopian visions that can connect with disaffected communities (Brown, 2010). Brown particularly explores the relationship between body and music, highlighting gendered differences in dance and suggesting that *kuduro* dance functions as a "celebration of the broken body" (Brown, 2010:141). *Kuduro* dance has developed its own nuanced physical language and movement system.[94] The interpretive nature of the semiotics of dance has allowed it to become a medium for discussing the impacts of the civil war and ongoing violence and injustice that are absent in *kuduro* lyrics. Alisch and Seigert argue that "engaging in these practices on a non-verbal level allows for negotiating topics that may otherwise be impossible to discuss" (2013, p. 52). In the Portuguese context, dance also serves multiple functions. Dance is an integral part of story-telling that is central to the Batida stage show. For Pupilos do Kuduro it is the vehicle for performing celebratory narratives of youth. In both cases, deep knowledge and prodigious skill renders dance a performance of Angolaness, and positions the performers as authentic interlocutors of the form.

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[94] For further detail on *kuduro* dance, cf Harlig (2010) and Os Kuduristas (2012).

The Development of *Kuduro*

Fig. 1: Presidente Gasolina, Tony Amado, Prince Ouro Negro at KIC, Luanda (Photo courtesy of Frederick Moehn)

The development of *kuduro* is generally presented as a linear narrative by its originators, contemporary practitioners, listeners and the media. Here I will present, expand and critically evaluate this story. Angolan popular imagination conceives of three generations of *kuduro* practitioners, subsequently referred to as *kuduristas*. Sebem, Tony Amado and Virgillio Fire are seen to represent the first generation; Dog Murras, Fofando and Puto Lilas the second and Presidente Gasolina and Prince Ouro Negro the contemporary generation. The stylistic differences evident between each generation reflect technological and cultural shifts both within Angola and globally.

Through the 1980s, clubs in central Luanda such as Pandemónio played a selection of *kizomba* and *zouk*[95], in addition to house, techno and pop music from Europe and North America. This generation of middle class Angolans had substantially increased international mobility, making occasional journeys between Europe and Angola. These trips were often undertaken to avoid the conflict at home, while taking opportunity to study in Portuguese schools and universities. These youth gained exposure to new music and returned to Angola with tapes and new digital music technologies. As Luandans gained access to keyboards and sequencers that were central to the production of electronic music, they began creating localized interpretations of the music that filled the downtown clubs.

These initial compositions featured sparse arrangements centred on the repetition of short riffs and percussive patterns. This was in keeping with loop-based methods employed by the techno, house and electro tracks these were to blend with, but also a product of technological constraints such as limited sampler memory and lack of access to multi-track recording facilities. The tracks used elements of Caribbean and local rhythms overlaid with techno beats and became known as *batidas*. Although the use of purely electronic sounds is commonplace within many house and techno

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[95] Kizomba and the Angolan zouk are two slow, sensual genres influenced by merengue and semba.

derived genres, producers of the time suggest that the relative expense and difficulty in obtaining acoustic instruments and recording technologies, such as microphones and mixing desks, also contributed to their absence in *batida*.

The narrative of *kuduro*'s development becomes somewhat more contested from this point. Key DJs, producers, singers and dancers disagree over their role in the genre's origination. In an interview on the 25th of May 2012, Tony Amado described going to events in the late 1980s and early 90s dancing to *batida*, and developing his own unique style. Amado drew inspiration from local carnival dances, Michael Jackson and from watching *Kickboxer* (1989), an action film in which Jean Claude van Damme, negotiates a hyper-masculinized border between violence and artistry, Amado cites one particular one scene which transforms from dance to fight.[96] This inspiration developed the basis of language from which an extensive repertoire of dance moves was to develop.

At a similar time, Sebem, then DJ for Radio Luanda was performing live at larger scale parties, as a means to add energy to the performance, call attention to individual tracks, and personalize the performance. Drawing on his background in radio Sebem began to chat over predominantly instrumental tracks in Portuguese. This had wider implications than Sebem's own performances. This performance style brought forth the individual personality of the DJ and vocalist, positioning the performer as central, rather than as an unidentifiable, disembodied person playing music. In adding vocals in this way Sebem is credited as helping the genre take the final steps towards being *kuduro*.

Debate over people's roles in the origin of *kuduro* as a musical and dance style has been a key feature of the discourse surrounding the genre since its emergence. Disagreement over authority and ownership of *kuduro* has been central to the argument, or '*bife*', between Sebem and Tony Amado that commenced soon after their collaboration on tracks including *Jacobina* in 1996. Sebem particularly has made bife a central component of his image, his time as host of television show *Sempre a Subir* (2009) centered on real and fictitious arguments between *kuduristas* from across the country, such as that between Bruno M and Nagrelha. Discussion with Amado frequently returns to his defining role in the genre, and alleged untruths spread by Sebem, whose interpretation is contrary, 'Tony Amado only exists because there is Sebem. *Kuduro* exists only because I'm still in Kuduro. The day I pack up and say I will not sing *kuduro, kuduro* dies in Angola' (Sebem, 2013: n.p.).

Amado and Sebem agree that the dance style, as innovated by Amado predates *kuduro* as a musical form. The name for the dance is a combination of a creolized version of the Portuguese words, '*cú*' for ass, and '*duro*' for hard. However, as Moorman (2008b) highlights, the name *kuduro* maintains a dual meaning. In Kimbundu language 'ku' indicates location, therefore the term *kuduro* also translates to 'in a hard place'. The rise of the genre in the wake of a destructive and fragmentary war, during a period of national reconstructions suggests a deeper, layered resonance for the name. The development of *kuduro* dance moves that open a non-verbal dialogue about themes of trauma and bodily disfigurement reinforce the connections between hard bodies, hard places and hard times.

Though the rhythmic composition of *kuduro* has changed over time, a number of typical rhythmic motifs have emerged, some of which recall the genre's primary influences. From techno, a hard kick plays on each downbeat with an additional hit often featured in the last bar of the measure. The snare plays a *soca* styled rhythm, with a clap accentuating the off beats and typically hi-hat will also follow the *soca* rhythm. Further percussion pulses complement this basic kick, snare and hi-hat structure, giving *kuduro* its unique rhythm and allowing for a wide range of variants. The preset drum kits from FL Studio are common to many *kuduro* productions, these kits tend to be equalized and distorted to gain an individual character, while reverberation and delay is kept to a minimum.

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[96] For further discussion of *Kickboxer* and *kuduro*. Cf Galliano (2007); Almeida (2009); Seigert (2009).

Recent producers have moved away from these presets resulting in increased production values and a wider palette of sounds.

Returning to the early vocal stylings of Sebem, a strong parallel to the performance style, known as toasting, developed by Jamaican artists such as U-Roy is evident. U-Roy chatted over instrumentals in Patois, a highly creolized English, much as *kuduro* often uses *Calão*, Luanda's local dialect. This minimal style of MCing, in which elements of the track and atmosphere of the party are highlighted, is common not only in dancehall but other genres that were to inform early *kuduro* producers. As rave culture developed in the UK, the involvement of Jamaican diaspora communities, and links to sound system culture led to the incorporation of elements of these sounds in rave and break beat hardcore. The use of accenting vocals and toasting was incorporated. These events spread to Portugal, and young Angolans living in Lisbon attended and were influenced by these contemporary forms. In developing this style of vocal performance, early *kuduristas* adapted a transnational, perhaps 'Black Atlantian' (Gilroy, 1993; Goodman, 2009) practice, and in using *Calão* localized the practice and contextualized it within Angolan and lusophontraditions.

The use of short vocal phrases in this early stage of *kuduro* also had a technological impetus. *Kuduro* at this point was frequently recorded direct from the output of sequencing keyboards, into the input of a tape recorder or on-board computer soundcard. The available keyboards and samplers had limited memory, which restricted the individual sample length to only a few seconds. Accordingly, the use of short vocal clips became the norm, with longer vocal passages relatively rare in the first generation of *kuduro*. Some artists, however, had access to studios where such recording was possible, for instance Tony Amado recalls recording his first album in Boston and New York. Multi-tack recording was out of the reach of most performers, few had the ability to travel internationally for the purpose of music production, and with *kuduro* still on the fringes of cultural production, access to state owned radio stations was not possible.

Soon, personal computers were being used to compose *kuduro*, and were more readily available and affordable than equipment purely for music making. Fruity Loops became the favoured sequencer due to its relative simplicity, availability of the pirated version and low processor requirements. The release of version four in 2003, saw the retitling of the software to FL Studio, and the incorporation of audio tracks, which allowed the recording of longer audio sequences. In effect, this democratized the production of vocal recording for *kuduristas*. It was now possible to use Fruity Loops, the computer's on-board soundcard and a basic microphone to record, edit and process vocals. This is in part responsible for the explosion of more vocal based styles of *kuduro* from 2004, which is still the predominant style in 2013. The default drum kits and synthesizers included with FL Studio have also become widely used and added a degree of cohesion to the sound palette chosen by producers. Although some producers have used other software packages such as Cubase or Logic, Fruity Loops remains the predominant platform for beat makers.

Contemporary Luanda

Fig. 2: MC Sacerdote at Circuito Fechado Studio, Luanda. (Photo courtesy of Frederick Moehn)

The packaging of *kuduro* for global audiences presents an image of *kuduro* as coming straight from the ghetto and Luanda as synonymous with ghetto. This glosses over a number of the contexts in which *kuduro* operates within Angolan cultural and political systems. Contemporary Angola, much like the 1990s, is typified by gross wealth inequality and centralized power. Ownership of the majority of resources is concentrated in the hands of a small minority including members of the dos Santos family, elites attached to the ruling *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, or MPLA) and a further minority of associated business partners. In contrast, the majority of population lives in poverty, surviving on less than US two dollars a day, with a sizable portion in duress, unable to afford adequate housing and nutrition. Currently, *kuduro* is popular across social classes and prominent *kuduro* singers, producers and dancers have their roots across the spectrum. Class background has not excluded individuals or groups from the impacts of the civil war, and a degree of shared experience exists.

Imagery from the *musseques* features prominently in promotional material for *kuduro*. This situates these neighbourhoods at the centre of cultural production and invests them with authority and authenticity. Local and international artists draw on this cultural capital, regardless of their position relative to Angola's class system, global power structures or cultural and physical connections to the *musseques*. Presidente Gasolina, has spoken of a need for *kuduristas* to be pure and true, and to base their music in lived experience. Analogous to 'keeping it real' (Terkourafi 2010:329) in hip hop, the value placed on remaining true to oneself is common among the contemporary generation of *kuduristas*. The gritty edge to the image and lyrics of Os Lambas reflects their coming up in Sambizanga, a reality reinforced by the untimely death of vocalist Amizade.[97] Similarly, the success

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[97] Amizade was allegedly killed at the hands of police, following a disputed charge for assault.

of Titica, a transgender performer in a Catholic country where homosexuality is illegal, suggests that presenting real lived experience is more important than reflecting the listeners own values back at them.

Coréon Dú represents a more complicated version of authenticity and lived experience. Son of President José Eduardo dos Santos, Dú holds interests in Da Banda Entertainment and is closely linked with his sister, Isabella dos Santos' television station TPA2. His projects, Os Kuduristas and I Love Kuduro have a broad global reach and operate with marketing and production values that suggest substantial investment. In spite of this, Dú maintains that his background has had no impact on his career (Tsioulcas, 2012). Rather than presenting a version of *kuduro* that falls back on ghetto motifs, the marketing surrounding Os Kuduristas offers a more diverse range of imagery that is both cosmopolitan, yet uniquely and identifiably Angolan. On the website landing page (Os Kuduristas, 2012), the skyline of Luanda, kids in the city, *candongueiros* (blue and white taxis known as *candongueiros),* an exclusive hotel, generic club photos and the *musseques* are all presented equally. These images position Luanda as a city of the world, presenting an idealized conception of the city, where class distinctions become irrelevant and *kuduro* is the leveler. Here, we see the requisite realness; as Dú is presenting the lived experience of both Angolaness and experiences facilitated by his position in society. In this, *kuduro,* Angolan national imagery and identity become further intertwined, presenting a picture of post-colonial and post civil war calmness and equality.

Fig. 3: Dama Ida performing at 12 Anos da Carreira de Fofandó, Luanda (Photo by Garth Sheridan)

As has been previously mentioned, there are a number of performance spaces for *kuduro* within Luanda. From the streets of the *musseques*, through to car parks of the malls in the new estates, young people dance *kuduro*. These impromptu musical events occur outside any industry that surrounds *kuduro*. Often, such moments do not even require a stereo to play the music, the rhythms

are memorized, and dance moves are both learned and instinctive. In these moments, class distinctions that underpin much of life in contemporary Angola seem less prevalent. As the youth age, differences in how and where *kuduro* can be consumed emerge. Local neighbourhood dances, such as those shown in Gonçalves and Liberdade's documentary *Luanda, a Fabrica da Musica* (2009) are common. At a basic level, these events may involve a haphazard array of power generators, amplifiers and speaker bins, fed a mixture of *kuduro, tarraxinha* and *kizomba* by computers and CD players, with live vocalists performing over the DJ's selection. A more involved set up may also include a stage, larger, more professional sound equipment and require a cover charge. At events such as these, MCs perform and hone their craft and each neighbourhood develops local favourite performers. For the next generation of *kuduristas* it is in these spaces and from these performers that the inspiration to perform is drawn.

For those able to afford more formal events, there are clubs downtown. These include a number of mid-level clubs, such as Elinga Teatro, which operate with relaxed door policies, attracting local and foreign clientele. Such clubs likely organize *kuduro* events amongst the breadth of events throughout the week. Further out of the centre operates Kasta, a club whose desirability and exclusivity, in the form of stringent door policies and exceptionally high door and drinks prices make it what Grazian (2011) would call Angola's hottest club, where attendees are willing to queue for hours in the hope to pass the door person's 'curatorial' (Moore, 2013, p. 68) gaze. Kasta hosts many international performers, and many nights will see the more prominent *kuduristas* performing in multi genre line-ups. A number of larger annual festivals, such as the local leg of I Love Kuduro, have emerged that feature a mixture of local *kuduro*, and international performers of hip hop, R'n'B and pop. These festivals, with tickets exceeding US$100 are priced at a point where the majority of Luandans are excluded from attending.

Looking Back

Kuduro has been shown to have developed with influence from a range of genres, referencing elements from each and weaving them together into a fresh sound. This has developed, picked up new influences and in turn influenced the production of other styles within Angola and elsewhere. The generation that created *batida* took disparate elements and using the available technologies found ways to fuse them to create the energy desired. In this period, producers were not trying to make something wholly new, but trying to make techno, to copy something from Europe or America, within the Angolan context. MC Sacerdote suggested in an interview 01 June 2012, that these early producers were attempting the impossible, that as a result of the different experiences, lifestyles and different forms of energy; everything would come out sounding different and "more Angolan". Through the gradual divergence from the initial impetus of replication and localization, the Angolan sounds came, over time to be distinct from these earlier genres.

Now producers look to *kuduro*, seeing the range of possibilities that exist within the form. Over time *kuduro* has been more or less, about the beat; it has become more or less melodic and featured vocals as snippets, sampled, chopped and rearranged, or longer lyrical verses. *Kuduro* from the earlier years was much closer to techno, with its accompanying lower tempo of somewhere around 130bpm. As the genre has developed its own history, the tempo settled on 140bpm to the extent that Os Lambas' producer, Guerito, suggests that "if it is not a tempo of 140, then it's not the actual kuduro" (Guerito, 2013, pers. comm., 30 May). Younger producers have commented that considered retrospectively, the music of the generation of Sebem and Amado cannot really be considered as *kuduro*, that this music is still a little too closely integrated with techno, the kick and the claps, without the important snare rhythms, frequent edits and hyper energy. In this way of thinking, the likes of Bruno de Castro and Os Lambas finalized the development of the genre. Within this scope, there is room for the poetics and rhyming of Bruno, and the intensity and aggression of Nagrelha, but with beats composed at 140bpm and featuring the hallmarks of the genre, the tunes of this second wave hold true as a more authentic *kuduro*. Now, rather than

referencing its antecedent genres, *kuduro* has become more Angolan than anything else, and compositions more directly reference earlier and contemporary *kuduro.*

The development of *Kuduro* in Lisbon

The flow of culture between Portugal and Angola was never a one-way route but music, dance, literature and art travelled with migrants, spreading culture as they moved. Through the 1960s and 70s artists such as Rui Mingas, Vum Vum and Bonga spent time living and performing in Portugal. As *batida* and then *kuduro* took form, young Angolans travelling to Lisbon carried cassette tapes with recordings of the developing genre. These were quickly duplicated and shared, and pirate copies could soon be found for sale at street side markets and vendors across the city. Early recordings quickly became popular within the Angolan community, and were being played at family gatherings, barbeques and weddings.

Fig. 4: DJ Marfox and Pupilos do Kuduro performing at Metro 54, Amsterdam (Photo by Garth Sheridan)

During the late 1990s, Pedro Cardoso began collecting *kuduro* tapes, purchased from ad hoc markets at Praça de Espanha in central Lisbon, particularly following the works of DJ Mourinho and Keweba. As he developed a collection, he began performing these recordings amongst other styles at weddings, baptisms and house parties, initially off tape decks, but switching to CDs as they replaced cassette tape imports. Cardoso adopted the moniker NK and began playing shows in African clubs downtown and in Belas. The clubs played a wide variety of styles from across Africa and the diaspora, reflecting the Pan African make-up of the clubs. In 2001, NK began producing *kuduro* on his home computer using Fruity Loops, just as file sharing was increasing in prominence. Internet access in Portugal was widespread and instant messaging, particularly MSN Messenger, was popular. NK's first *kuduro* track sampled the default 'message received' sound from MSN messenger, and users on the network quickly shared the track. In an interview July 12, 2012, Cardoso posited technological advancements such as the rapidly increasing quality of mediums and ease with which they were duplicated as central to the development of *kuduro* in Lisbon, adding that

this also facilitated their rapid dissemination and inspired some of Lisbon's musicians to begin producing the genre.

This inspiration led Cardoso to form DJs di Guetto with DJ Marfox, DJ Nervoso, DJ Pausas and DJ Fofuxo. DJs di Guetto started performing together at parties across Lisbon, presenting music imported from Angola alongside their own productions. Between 2002 and 2005 DJs di Guetto and other DJs and collectives in Lisbon played *kuduro,* at African clubs such as the now defunct Mussulo as well as clubs frequented by European Portuguese and tourists downtown. However, at this time few other DJs were producing and performing their own compositions. Crowds were content listening to Angolan produced *kuduro* along the *tarraxinha, kizomba,* reggae and *zouk. DJs di Guetto Vol, 1* (V/A, 2006) was released in 2006 and reflected the previous three years' productions. The style of this two-disc album stays quite similar to Angolan *kuduro* and *tarranxinha* from the period. The vocal snippets tend to be short in length, the composition is driven by the rhythm section, particularly the kick drum. The production aesthetic maintains the lo-fi, distorted qualities typical of Angolan productions of the era, allowing their own productions to be worked into DJ sets without disruption, creating a dialogue between the musical output of Lisbon and Luanda.

A Return to Hybridity

In 2006, Buraka Som Sistema emerged with a distinctly new take on electronic dance music. *Kuduro* was one of the guiding genres, but the form had been further hybridized, with the incorporation of more UK derived bass music sounds, such as elements of dubstep, breakbeat and grime. The re-imagining of the genre brought bass lines forward, pushed sub-bass frequencies and reduced the centrality of the vocalist. While their recordings feature some Angolan rhythms, the production aesthetic fits in line with the "hardcore continuum" (Reynolds, 2008, p. 522) as much as it does with *kuduro.* This new, hybridized *kuduro* became considered a distinct sub-genre, referred to as *kuduro progressivo* (progressive *kuduro*). The *kuduro progressivo* style has been adopted by a number of acts and Buraka Som Sistema's own Enchufada is the main label associated with the style. Describing the genre as progressive seems out of line with other genres utilizing the adjective 'progressive' such as progressive house or progressive trance, where more stylistic commonalities are present. These genres draw inspiration from progressive rock and feature extended movements, atmospherics and complex arrangements, which give compositions a sense of ongoing, slow forward motion. For progressive *kuduro*, the use seems different, as if in the process of reimaging the genre and reassembling it outer nationally, the genre has been improved upon and moved forward.

The sound is most clearly defined by the 'Hard Ass' (Enchufada, n.d.) releases and parties, which repackage *kuduro* for European and global consumption. This happens through the Anglicization of the genre evident in the use of the literal English translation and less use of Portuguese vocals, and the reworking of the music to fit the aesthetics of a wider club culture though incorporation of elements of newer European genres and production techniques. Discussing the studio method for reinterpreting pre-existing Angolan tracks for a Buraka Som Sistema performance, producer and DJ, Branko, describes filtering out the low end, layering a new kick drum, and re-working the track structure. Branko reveals that this is done to remove distortion and make the transition between Angolan and Buraka Som Sistema tracks more cohesive (Steyels, 2012). This not only removes the intended artifacts from MP3 compression, but also makes substantial stylistic and aesthetic changes to the original compositions. The composition of Buraka Som Sistema's own tracks uses rhythmic and melodic motifs common to *kuduro*, but redesign the sound palette and adjust the arrangement to suit club DJs. Through these processes on tracks of their own and others, sounds are polished, groove is morphed, tempo is shifted and the musical meaning of the form is transformed.

Buraka Som Sistema's distinctly European take on *kuduro* has drawn criticism as "a self-congratulatory exercise in postcolonial appropriation" (Miller, 2010, n.p.). Buraka Som Sistema

themselves however, present the music as a response to being raised in racially integrated Lisbon during 1980s and 90s, where playground equality trumped any structural inequalities (Steyels, 2012), a notion supported by the cosmopolitan makeup of the band. Miller's assessment disregards the input of long-standing diaspora communities to the cultural and political life of Lisbon, the backgrounds of individuals within the group and the history of cultural contact. However, in diminishing the importance of political considerations, the band glosses over the long history of Portuguese colonialism, recent *lusotropicalismo* and a wider colonial context in which the cultural industries still operate. Miller's critique and the reaction of Buraka Som Sistema to such criticisms, creates a false dichotomy, which downplays intricacies of postcolonial politics involved in Portuguese manifestations of *kuduro*. Succumbing to further hybridization, *kuduro progressivo* becomes a conversation between colonial stakeholders in the first generation to be born after Angolan independence. Drawing on White's assessment of the role of music in globalization (White, 2012), *kuduro* can be seen not only as a manifestation of postcolonial processes and dynamics but it is the very terrain on which coloniality is articulated.

The style that Buraka Som Sistema pioneered found favour within Lisbon's clubs and beyond. As their records were released, the progressive sound quickly spread globally, through the blogosphere, the DJ community, and eventually major label releases. As well as spreading the Lisbon sound, this created an international interest in Angolan *kuduro*. This reinforces traditional lines of coloniality, as the formal distribution channels that saw Buraka Som Sistema achieve high sales and win MTV awards did not exist for Angolan artists. Internet access in Angola was severely limited; CDs encoded to MP3 and uploaded in Portugal were distributed globally through peer-to-peer networks, message boards and forums excluding labels and artists from potential revenue streams. Options have subsequently become available for Angolan acts, labels such as Akwaaba have released licensed compilations such as *Akwaaba Sem Transporte* (Akwaaba Music, 2009), and more recently labels including LS Produções have sought direct distribution through digital outlets such as iTunes. Individual artists and labels also distribute through Soundcloud and Bandcamp, although such platforms tend toward free or 'pay as you feel' models. A key benefit of free models is increased performance revenue. Given difficulties associated with touring, these models provide little economic reward.

Some Lisbon based artists have taken a different path and created sounds that are neither *kuduro progessivo*, nor recreating more typically Angolan styles. Among these is the group Batida, founded by DJ, producer and documentary maker, Pedro Coquenão aka DJ Mpula. Originally from Huambo in central Angola, Coquenão moved to Lisbon as a child and in 2002 Coquenão became involved in the collective Radio Fazuma, promoting and presenting African music and reggae in Portugal. In 2007 he approached the national station, Antena 3 and Lisbon's RDP Africa, pitching a show featuring contemporary urban African and diaspora music such as *kwaito*, funk *carioca* and *kuduro*, subsequently called Batida. For the show, Coquenão made edits of some *kuduro* tracks and moving against the trend toward synthesizers incorporated elements of older Angolan tracks sampled from the Valentim de Carvalho archives. As these developed into full compositions the possibility of a larger project emerged. Coquenão teamed up with Lisbon based Angolan hip hop MCs, Ikonoklasta and Bob da Range Sense and producer Beat Laden to develop tracks. Travelling to Luanda, Coquenão and Ikonoklasta linked up with political hip hop artist MCK and Circuito Fechado's Sacerdote and Dama Ivone. Samples for the first album *Batida* (Soundway, n.d.) were taken from *É Dreda Ser Angolano* (2010), a documentary Ikonoklasta and Coquenão produced collaboratively on a previous trip to Luanda.

Fig. 5: Batida performing at Bons Sons Festival 17 August 2012 (Photo by Garth Sheridan)

Batida draw on all the genres played on the radio show, the range of Angolan music, particularly *semba* and some folk rhythms, and add a political aesthetic taking cues from punk and Public Enemy era hip hop. Batida's music intricately and intimately link the streets and *quintais*[98] of Luanda and Lisbon, through the mixture of old and new they play with the nostalgia of their own and older generations. The transnational processes that created the album and the resulting intergenerational sounds nod toward relationships and family stretched between the two countries. The music also repackages Angolan musical history for international audiences that may be unfamiliar not just with *kuduro*, but *kizomba*, Angolan *zouk*. The sampling of retired soldiers from both the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) from *É Dreda Ser Angolano* renders audible the connections of opposition and hope between the politics of the semba era and the conscious *kuduro* and hip hop of the featured contemporary vocalist-activists. The activism of artists involved in the project, documented in *Angola: Birth of a Movement* (2012), reveals further links between the politics and culture of Angolans living at home and in Portugal.

The economic and social realities that divide Luanda's *kuduro* scenes also exist in Portugal, with both countries sharing significant class stratification and claims of corruption within government and business. Portugal has been in recession since 2008, and at writing in April 2013, has a youth unemployment rate of 38.3% (YCharts, 2013). Much like in Luanda, *kuduro* in Lisbon has a level of popularity across class and race barriers, both within the city centre and in the suburbs. A large Angolan community exists in the western suburbs, particularly surrounding Amadora, Queluz and Belas. An amount of *kuduro* production is prevalent in this area, but live events are likely to be held more centrally, in areas downtown or the port district. Clubs in the Bairro Alto district tend to

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[98] A *quintal* is a courtyard attached to the home, common for family gatherings and barbecues.

operate without cover charges and incorporate *kuduro* within a range of genres most nights. Others, such as Galeria Ze dos Bois organize regular *kuduro* nights, with more underground appeal. Larger scale clubs like Music Box host *kuduro* shows, such as DJ Marfox's *Noite Principe*, and charge a moderate entrance fee, whilst operating with a relaxed door policy. More exclusive clubs, such as Lux where Enchufada host the *Hard Ass Sessions*, maintain more exclusive door policies and door fees tend to be higher, but present *kuduro* with high production values and tend to focus more on *kuduro progressivo*, positioning it within a breadth of global club sounds. *Kuduro* is also a feature at many of the day and camping festivals that happen each summer. Through summer months, festivals run that target a range of markets and have widely varying attendance fees, some are specifically dedicated to African music, and may feature Angolan performers, while others feature local headliners like Batida and Buraka Som Sistema amongst a line-up of folk, pop and rock music.

Luanda on Lisbon

An awareness of the popularity of *kuduro* in Portugal, and of Portuguese *kuduro* acts is evident in Luanda. The collaboration of local and international acts has raised awareness of what is occurring internationally as did Sebem's interview with Lisbon's Os Makongo on TPA2's *Sempre a Subir* (Custodio, 2009). The available clip shows Sebem stirring *bife* between Os Makongo and Buraka Som Sistema, but the playful attitude and Petty's guest appearance on *Yah!* (Buraka Som Sistema, 2006), suggest otherwise. In presenting Os Makongo in this way, Sebem presents Lisbon's *kuduro* in a manner that paralleled the local scene and attitudes, potentially contextualizing and legitimizing Portuguese *kuduro* in local practices. There is little to suggest that any international *kuduro* has traction in Angola, and it would be uncommon to hear Lisbon's sound on the street, in a *candongueiro*, a house or a club.

Although there is little market for such Portuguese *kuduro* in Angola, an awareness that its proponents may gain more international attention than local artists is evident. The bases for such views are varied, though two main themes are present. The first reflects an unease that the form is being presented in a diluted and inferior manner. Such concerns surrounding cultural ownership are widespread. For many practitioners, a *kuduro* from outside Angola can only be an interpretation, filtered through the totality of the producers' experience and cannot therefore be considered true *kuduro*. Such debate is common across many genres. The second point is based on the potential for the exclusion of Angolan artists from benefits of *kuduro*'s bourgeoning popularity, such as touring and sales. Currently, Batida and France's Frédéric Galliano have represented the genre at the international World of Music and Dance festivals and Buraka Som Sistema have distribution through Sony/BMG. Angolan acts however are somewhat more on the periphery, without major label distribution or incorporation on large-scale festival tours. Recent international media coverage of Angolan *kuduro* has tended to focus more on sensational aspects such Titica's sexuality (Redvers, 2012) or the vested interests of promoters including Da Banda. A more balanced approach that engages with critique of the political economy of production in Angola while not disregarding global lines of coloniality is evident in Tucker (2012) and Stephens' (2013) discussions of the Os Kuduristas project. The Lusotronics festival held in Berlin began to redress this, with the inclusion of Angolan acts and a series of films and lectures critically considering political, social, global and colonial issues (Lusotronics, 2013).

Kuduro has drawn criticism from many inside Angola, including hip hop performers, for its perceived complacent, populist or apolitical position. However, its presence as a significant cultural force has led to the development of alternative economies in the production and distribution of licensed and unlicensed recordings, through which otherwise marginalized citizens are supported. Further, the cultural communities that organize around artistic production create spaces where

support and social actions are possible, such as the ongoing development of '*Circuito Fechado*'[99] into a social and cultural center. Possibilities for *kuduro* can be seen in its reflection and construction of national consciousness and the opening a dialogue of national remembering and healing through dance and communal celebration. Here, a further potential for the form to increasingly function as not only artistic expression, but to guide social and political transformation in both Angola and Portugal is evident.

The processes of decolonization, including the War of Independence and the subsequent Civil War have been central to defining the cultural and political landscape of contemporary Angola. Portugal's relationship to Angola as outgoing colonial power resulted in permanent and temporary immigration, and shared language facilitated cross cultural exchange. The increased movement of people, technology and culture across national borders during and in the wake of these wars shaped the development of *batida*, and then *kuduro*. As the cultural prominence of *kuduro* in Angola has risen, it became a means for national healing and defining post-war national identity, which has been noticed and embraced by political elites. For the generation of Angolans growing up in Portugal as *kuduro* was emerging, it became a key cultural link to home. For Portuguese of this generation more generally, *kuduro* has been a key response to the changing and cosmopolitan nature of Portuguese society.

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[99] '*Circuito Fechado*' is a name of a studio above MC Sacerdote's home that is gradually being turned into cultural centre that is intended to also provide other forms of support. The ongoing development of '*Circuito Fechado*', in Sambizanga, from a studio space into a multi-purpose, community focused social and cultural center.

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CHAPTER 12

The Movies that Speak Portuguese: The Concept of National Cinema, Identity and Resistance

Leandro Mendonça

> *Since the end of World War II, the (West) European cinema has had its identity firmly forged by three features: its leading directors were recognized as auteurs; its styles and themes shaped the nation's self-image; and, its new waves became both: political and aesthetic renewal.*
> (Thomas Elsaesser, European Cinema Face to Face with Hollywood)

Introduction

The subject assessed in this chapter is the national cinema and its forms of existence are marked by discussions of their cultural specificity that unfolds in the consumption process of cultural objects. There are many reasons of changes in meaning in the identity field, but one of them continues to exert enormous pressure on general historical knowledge and particularly in the history of film: this is the idea of the nation. This idea is the engine that produces representation. It works via mechanisms of inclusion or exclusion within a given geographical area. Such an idea, however, is not restricted to a space and it is also productive of new identities. This idea initiates and constrains much of cultural production and much of the arts and undoubtedly audiovisual production, as well. In other words, one cannot think about national cinema without encountering the idea of the nation.

For readers in the twenty-first century, it can be difficult to understand the context of the birth of the idea of a nation-state and its functionality in the late eighteenth century. Of course, the main guiding forces develop differently around various parts of the European territory. One of the central issues is the recovery (or invention) of the notion of cultural heritage. Language is often a factor here. In other words, in the European case, the existence of a common language area has often been critical to tracing territories and to establishing boundaries. This does not mean that the ability to express oneself in a particular language is a unique feature of national heritage. Yet, it will serve as a starting point for the path I want to pursue here.

The historical process allows several of these dominant political and social guiding ideas to be absorbed as common sense or to virtually disappear from our contemporary social reality. In some cases, the common-sense process of content transformation may evolve in such a way, that one might have great difficulty recognizing it. Over time, various ideological cleavages in the social or historiographic sphere may evolve into completely different functions compared to their original position in the past.

There are many reasons for these transformations, extinctions and new meanings but what is clear is that the idea of the nation continues to exert enormous pressure on historical knowledge about the cinema. It activates a set of notions about belonging which are related to the representation of virtually all cultural objects, creating identity. These notions support and significantly constrain the production of films, the possibility of film distribution, aesthetic enjoyment and artistic

legitimization. In short, one cannot think about audiovisual production without at least inferring the idea of nation.

Indeed, funding, even when assigned for low-cost productions, depends on a direct action by the state or the ability to have the production minimally distributed around the film circuit.
The very idea of the nation was included in the description of the object at the moment in which the history of cinema was being made. Such a notion is evidenced by the fact that the same individuals, interested in discussing the history of cinema, were the ones who created the so-called classification of national cinemas. This happened, in part, through the observation of real-time statistical information; for example, specific technical capability, unequal funding and distribution, that clearly generated diverse aesthetic products.[100] Hence, to allow us to define what cinema is, either in its positive or negative sense, we have to start by assessing what pertains to the national identitarian space and its liaison with the history of cinema. This history shows us that; oftentimes, the nation has determined the establishment of common aesthetic groups that can be associated through fundraising practices and also through self-production.

Repeatedly and then following this statement, one perceives the possibility of creating the history of national film (or art, music, etc.), assuming, therefore, a certain idea of unity, assuming that only one history is circumscribed in the national space. On the other hand, this single history will necessarily have to become multiple, due to the great variety of modes of perception or modes of representation that meet and reflect its specificity and its movement of constitution. These histories of cinema clearly depend on the conditions they were lived in/produced by, ie, by whom, in which language, geographical space and in many cases, the clarity of vision and personal taste of whom wrote it.

In my view, the national space is the *locus* and also a part of the solution that logically concatenates reflection regarding the audiovisuals that are produced with commercial and authorial intent, in the centre or in the peripheries of these societies. The necessity of definition regarding the type of identities at stake becomes mandatory. It means, trying to answer the question about the existence of substance and the existence of a sufficiently rigid unity that allow us to use the term 'cinemas that speak Portuguese', in order to make some sense on the designated field of artistic objects. These are the central queries that question everything, in positive or negative ways. It is even more important to understand that the essence of the term 'spoken in Portuguese' does not automatically express in itself the exclusive use of the Portuguese language in audio-visual. It does not define the need for linguistic identity, either. In this respect, we can affirm that "the evaluation of linguistic identities cannot fail to intervene in categories as cultural domination, always reflected and always present in speeches covered up by cultural and political activities" (Neves, 2005, p. 644).

It is also necessary to appropriate the polymorphism observed in the development and stabilization of the Portuguese language, in Brazil as well as in other regions where the language is spoken. We shall scrutinize the course of implementation of the language in these places. The analysis shows us, at least in the case of Brazil, that there was bipolarity (Neves, 2005) in the way it dealt with the vernacular until the end of the nineteenth century. Still using the Brazilian case as an example, the search for the establishment of a standard language obeys its own political and social logic. That may be against the consolidation of its own identity, inherited from a country that is white and European. This is the case of Brazil, which clung to the Lusitanian standard language (Neves, 2005).

Even a superficial observation will show that areas historically associated with the Portuguese Empire have an important linguistic variety; and perhaps, this has allowed for different ways to resist and/or absorb the multiple uses of language. The Brazilian's case, where the certainty of the

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[100] An example of this classifying effort undertaken at the time of film history's appearance is the book History of World Cinema by George Sadoul.

country's economic importance and the period of time since the independence process, collaborated to suppress the feeling against the language of the colonizers and the national identity. One sees a profoundly different relationship, if compared to the African countries, where many local identities were subjected to intense repression up to the '70s of the last century. The immediate difficulty is related to the depths of the turnaround, observed in the buildup of a national identity in each one of these countries and the possible links among cinematographic expressions in the Portuguese-spoken cinemas.

In the nineteenth century, Machado de Assis coined the term *instinto de nacionalidade* (instinct of nationality) that recognises that "poetry, romance, all literary forms seek to dress up in the colours of the country" (Assis, [1873]1959: n.p.). The national space determines a process of:

> "construction of a nationality, rather than the defense of a closed or self-sufficient identity, is the result of a complex web of exchanges. National literatures in Latin America's nineteenth century are examples of it. Focusing on the latter, we can easily see that the entire national identity is always a problematic identity, as this is not a process that can be stabilized in an ideal, final or definitive solution" (Santos, 1959: n.p.).

This obstacle, this impossibility of an ideal, ultimate and definitive solution stimulates the feeling and even the need for us to see such identity adrift, i.e. always in movement. Only 51 years went by, between the period of a colonial Brazil and the publication of the texts of Machado de Assis. To clarify Machado's view, another part of the text indicates that literary independence "is not the work of a generation or two, but of many, until it is all completed" (Assis, [1873]1959: n.p.).

> "It took almost one hundred years of political independence for the literary autonomy to go beyond the programmatic intentions of the Romanticism of the early nineteenth century. Indeed, because of pieces of some writers, against the academic-realist tradition; like Lima Barreto among others, something else was initiated. Years later, this something was called by Mario de Andrade the "stabilization of a national creative consciousness" referring, in this case, to the modernist avant-gardes of the 1920s. However, this labour of a century was clearly more than necessary; something confirmed by the prediction of Machado de Assis himself, whom saw this independence as a result of the work of several generations. In fact, no literary independence derives directly and necessarily from a political independence" (Santos, 1959: n.p.).

This trajectory, developed by the groups of creators of a particular artistic expression, was created based on the nation-state space with historical distinct conjunctures. One also has to consider facts related to the history of ideas; related to what identities are; and related to what cinema really is. In order to achieve those two general contexts must: the first one refers to the false opposition between art and technique. In other words, understand the relationship between fun and cultured art. The second general context refers to issues of national space as an element that necessarily constrains and limits the scope of action, copyright, technical and cultural consumption.

As we know, what is at stake in these debates goes beyond purely critical, classificatory or analytical questions and necessitates taking a stand on the very definition of film and/or their possible functions. This opposition between art and technique or between entertainment and cultured art is the way the redefinition of the cinematic thought in the beginning of the twentieth century is now processed. The cleavage in may have a complimentary function but is often seen as the central form of allocation of some artistic objects, which can then in turn, be left out from the official story, without major problems. The abovementioned process helps with the perception of the general importance of the current context of cinema's existence in different national spaces. Also, it helps with the perception of a clearly reduced choice of paths to follow in order to strength any artistic

production; in particular filmmaking, independently if it is commercial or authorial. A way to understand these reflections may arise from recent European issues: one is the issue of the positioning of nationalities in Europe. What is in question here is, indeed, the change of the role of the idea of a nation state and its possibilities of action conformation and cultural affirmation.

There is a line of thought that matches the role of the national state to the Chinese, American, Brazilian, Portuguese or English context. We know, however, that the national question works for different national circumstances in distinct ways. Let us take, for example, the generic view of American culture that is strongly conveyed through film. It produces an interpretation of itself centered on the mix of immigrant cultures, immigrants that have traveled to the United States since the seventeenth century. In this aggregated vision, anyone could become American, not only by just professing American values, but also through finding a place within the American culture. The Brazilian nationality, in turn, also sees it as a fairly natural possibility that a foreign citizen may become Brazilian; in fact, it is claimed that this is the one real feature of this culture. The Brazilian culture defines itself as the result of the process of absorption / transformation of the foreign alien into a Brazilian citizen, through its own lenses, built up during the process of colonization and in the post-colonial period.

The picture in most European countries, known for their different historical roots, is very different. In Europe, nationality is generally seen as an innate characteristic, inherited by the actual and immemorial domain of a certain territory and from this geographical area, an identity of its own that resists change and/or absorption is developed.

The idea of nations may be seen as "a peculiarity of Europe as it developed since Charlemagne" (Gellner, 1987, p. 6) enunciated by Renan was new in the late nineteenth century and obviously had all the defects of that century's Eurocentrism. The written piece: 'Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?' (What is a nation?) of 1882, ten years after Machado's statement regarding the 'instinct of nationality', interprets and frames political systems in the European way. In Renan's view, nations are great places of solidarity and this feeling has greater importance than any ethnic identity. This ethnic issue will be raised in discussion over Germany, where the nation was defined as a group with same racial origin and shared commonalities, like a language. The ideas that support this theory lost some of their importance with the decline of the idea of race. The term eugenics was created in 1883 and is now practically in disuse among anthropologists. The notion of race and its subspecies, largely disseminated during the European national affirmation, replaces the notion of race as a foreigner. As a scientific concept, this conviction is currently not accepted. However, we should notice that some right-wing political groups still try to use the idea of race; and it is still present, in some of the European legislations.

In the case of audiovisuals, colonization occurs through a forced consumption of imported and standardized products, in this sense, making Portugal and Brazil as much colonized territories as the majority of other countries. Their markets have even lower penetration rates for domestic films. One shall notice that it may be in the interest of the colonizer / audiovisual distributor to create more hurdles for an agreement among countries that speak Portuguese. The difficulty of producing common strategies for protection and resistance would remain. Without these strategies, it may not be possible to defend the cultural diversity inherent to each one of these groups of people and even their linguistic diversity.

Hence, due to the difficulties inherent to the definition of what the nation is, a lot needs to be done to clarify utilization of the concept, with the purpose of articulating the reach of the cinema produced in a national space. The nationality of a cinema cannot be addressed by itself and shall make use of practical aspects, where historical sources indict the existence of a compression, as an outcome for this project and in the development of making film. The changes in cinema in many ways follow the profound transformations of space and national populations of national states and cinema owners are always faced with choices about their strategic, political or cultural direction.

The national state has changed, cinema has changed, social functions of both fields have changed, and many believe that nowadays it is no longer important to use the concept of national.

A central question may help us understand the concept of national: do we try to answer what value this concept has in the history of cinema? In my opinion, the concept of national can be applied to many roles some more explicit than others. These functions are as essential as today as they were, in the twentieth century during the first formulations of the history of cinema. Excluding the concept of nation would exclude all reflections of what the national question is, having to be therefore, deeper analyzed within the history of cinema. If this is immediately apparent or not, if this is hidden in other content; if this appears in a positive and clear way; or, if this is implied by a negative discourse, we have to walk the path - at least superficially – a path that has already been explored and known for its concept of national cinema.

Along with such path, we shall reassess the proposal to tell the story of cinema through the time-period of decades. I believe we can say with reasonable certainty that the function and configuration of the national has changed significantly within the flow of time in recent decades. It should be carefully noted here that the beginning of the post-war era ultimately determined a de-colonization and the end of the political dominance of Portugal over Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, São Tomé and Principe and Cape Verde. The thesis here is that the filmmaking production in Portugal during the decades between the end of WWII and the *Revolução dos Cravos* (Carnation Revolution) was in many ways, a reflection of a long development effort to stabilise a production that is not considered capable of occupying the market 'against' a hegemonic cinema, especially the American one. The authorial cinema that should represent the Portuguese being in its fullness, not only in Portugal but also abroad, begins to drift away. This cinema has no conditions of commercial distribution and becomes virtually unknown both in and outside the Portuguese territory. We can also observe a similar situation happening with the Brazilian critic's review that will value stories and Brazilian landscapes filmed with a technical quality compatible with the quality of the hegemonic cinema. Naturally, these conditions are beyond the reach of peripheral producers and excluded from their own market.

About production modes and the national cinema

The term globalization has seen become popularized. Much has been said about it and one of its consequences is the idea of de-nationalization of cinematographic aesthetics. This position comes from the observation of new forms of circulation of content; of trans-nationalization in launching and circulation strategies; and the increased flow of capital in the film industry. This fact, however, has an intrinsic resemblance to a historical fact: the very strong pressure exerted by the American cinema on national cinemas, from 1920 on. In the European case, it is impossible not to notice that some of the choices in the very centre of the same production environment seem to have succumbed to this pressure, during the first half of the twentieth century
In one of his most beautiful works, Hobsbawm said:

> "cinema would dominate and transform all arts of the twentieth century" [Its triumph was extraordinary and unprecedented in terms of speed and scale. A dozen years after 1895] […] 26 millions of Americans would see a movie every week [...] in the 8 to 10 thousand small Cinematographers [...] even the underdeveloped Italy had, at the time, nearly five hundred cinemas in major cities [...] This remarkable achievement is due, firstly, to a total lack of interest of the pioneers of cinema of anything else, other than producing profitable amusement [If we continue to follow the interpretation of the mentioned author, we will also find the statement that] […] the audience that packed Cinematographers was, without hesitation, the less educated, the less reflective, the less intellectually ambitious" (1988, p. 333).

In synthesis, can say with reasonable certainty that it was a little bit similar everywhere? Ie, is there a common denominator regarding the impact of cinema in the twentieth century? Probably not. The developments of cinema in the industrial centres of the West were very different from what occurred in the peripheries of the system. We can see significant changes between the American and European viewing spaces. The same author also stated:

> "Hollywood was based on the articulation of populism of cinematography with morally rewarding mentality and cultural drama, expected equally by large masses of average Americans. Its strength and weakness resided precisely in its sole interest in the box office targeted to a mass market. The strength was, in its first instance, economic. The European cinema chose, not without some resistance from the populist artists, the cultured audience, at the expenses of the popular one" (Hobsbawm, 1988, p. 335).

In other words, this option for a more authorial film, made in Europe, resulted in the expansion of the role of the State, as a funding option for filmmaking. We can say that, in one way or another, this situation, even if significantly amended on some of the assumptions, remains unchanged to the present day. It is worth saying that the State acted differently, depending on each nation's own presence in the global movie market and in the interests of the film production's ruling elite. In this sense, it may be truly impossible to compare, for example, the issues that involve the French, Portuguese and English cinemas, given the huge difference among the available means and the ability they have to articulate themselves with and against the hegemonic American cinema.

The concept of the production process indicates that we shall rebuild at least part of the logic of production of a particular national cinema to allow us to see the relationship between distributive capacity and legitimacy, in a market occupied by foreign products. From this logic emerges a succession of production models, over determined by an approach that is constrained by the reality of the ability of distribution. Here we have one of the possibilities to explain how and why movies are the way they are. I cannot make a triple axis analytical graph, articulating marketing and reception; opportunities of exhibition and distribution, and the results in terms of style and aesthetic. However, it should be clear that the profound link between the history of film technique, the history of style and the relationship of the cinema with the whole artistic production group. Finally, state and politics diminish the ability of the cinematographic field to connect to society and through multiple causes and impose organizational restrictions on the means, the industrial basis, the technical installations and its stages of development. Thus, whilst in France, after each war there was a struggle for the recovery of industrial capacity; this would never be attempted in Portugal, where an industrial film never had a real place. The installation of an industry will be, for the most part, seen as complementary to the consumption of foreign films and these films will always be an artistic and industrial reference on how movies should be made.

One realizes that, in central cinematography many genres of movie can be found. Among these genres, there are popular movies of great consumption and broad distribution. In peripheral areas, however, these exhibition spaces are therefore, in permanent economic and symbolic dispute. This fact implies that state policy makers or even cinematographic criticism (legitimate part of any cinematography) have to make choices about what shall or may be filmed and which spaces are available for distribution and display.

The idea of classifying a national cinema as a genre is the result of the naturalization of a posture of subordination in respect to a particular production centre that dictates what genre is. As already stated, the

> "concept of commodity, as perceived by Hollywood, limits the creative space of the director with the establishment of technical standards and standards of

procedure that would involve a general model that would be valid for all movies" (Kané, 1974, p. 21).

Following in the same direction,

> "One of the limitations that the concept of mode of production attempts to address is the specificity of the global space of national production. By definition, it is inherent to any production system in the cultural field. It cannot fully replicate the product of other production system, inserted into another cultural context. Despite the existence of a replication process very close to the original, it remains, in my view, the indelible mark of copying process, something that contaminates and devalues everything" (Mendonça, 2007, p. 105).

What appears to be shady in regards to that line of thought is the difficulty of working the panorama of national cinematography in its diversity, as this panorama cannot be sought in movies only, without resulting in a comparison, usually without merit, to a 'standard' cinematographic field. The idea of an internationalized cinema, where we compare films without proper perception of the media, funding, legislative and state's support seems to me extremely biased. The observation of the effects of the power of a commercial *marketing* or the force of classification and critical evaluation linked to the media should not and cannot be a totalizing parameter in the histographic construction of the cinema.

In the relations between history and film theory, Sklar points out that:

> "[an] hyperactive theory and an undeveloped history leave no room for dialogue between the two practices […] [it indicates, but assertively, that] cultural transactions occur in the audience [...] understanding formation and cultural transformation, the cultural significance of representations, the relationship between modes of cultural production and reception" (1988, p. 22).

In this sense, it is reasonable to assume the cultural adaptability of the cinematic institution in its relation to a given nationality. Certainly, the issue of a pan-European cinematic style, based on co-productions, reinforces the reasons for seeking to understand a concept that tries to work with these characteristics. Thus, the reactions that claim to steer production and financial support towards art films and the situation resulting from this decision are central to the understanding of the objectives of filmmakers, as field agents of commercial reception; and / or authors or critics. We still have questions about the State that finances, not only the production of films, but also the construction and maintenance of the infrastructure.
Therefore, when we think about a historiographical development in decades, there will be moments when we will be able to find an attempt to consolidate styles within cinematography.

It makes sense to use the Portuguese cinematography because, in our view, in the 40's it exposed this type of stabilization. It is stated that:

> "the premise that the Portuguese films should continue to reflect, in some way, the Portuguese cultural identity, was not only much older and structuring than previously thought, but it remained unshaken until very recently […] To think that the Portuguese cinema might not exist, seems to me, as impossible to imagine as if the Portuguese literature did not exist, itself. Working on film history's major trends should also help us to understand how these trends developed, or rather, why they happened. In the same line, we can understand how a period of 1896 ends up in the fifties […] [this means, we can see how the great cycle develops from] small films of Paz dos Reis, to literary

adaptations of silent films, to popular comedies of the 30's, to super productions of historical films of the 40's, through the melodramas of the 50's" (Baptista, 2009, p. 3).

Portuguese cinematography also carries linking structures to the modes of production that occur as a result; from minor State investment to greater investment; a legislation less preoccupied with the national cinema to a more protective one; less training and less education to more investment in knowledge. In particular, it demonstrates a generational attempt 'to create a' film industry in Portugal that worked in a subsidiary and complementary way with the cinema or hegemonic cinema.

Hence, the question of what explains the existence of a national film industry in any one of the countries that speak Portuguese is based on the support found for backing the proposal that the national cinematography needs a turning point, essential for stabilizing the creative consciousness. Without a minimum capability to protect diversity, also present in commercial objects of art, other diversities disappear, exactly for the same difficulty of dissemination displayed by some of the common basal contents related to those identities at stake. This means that producing films that confirm a national identity does not bring an automatic effect of stability. These films are capable of gather part of identities' common contents of a nation state. If one can bring elements that belong to the cultural fields in question, this identity will somehow protect diversity.

Due to their representativeness, audiovisuals seek to represent topics that when discussed may help to challenge and overcome the hegemonic cinematography in the economic and symbolic market. We shall work a little more the concept of national cinema. This has also been worked in film theory with diverse uses. One of them is to define this concept in economic terms. According to Higson:

> "First, there is the possibility of defining national cinema in economic terms, establishing a conceptual correspondence between the terms 'national cinema' and 'the domestic film industry', and therefore being concerned with such questions as: where are these films made, and by whom? Who owns and controls the industrial infrastructures, the production companies, the distributors and the exhibition circuits? Second, there is the possibility of a text-based approach to national cinema. Here the key questions become: what are these films about? Do they share a common style or world view? What sort of projections of the national character do they offer?" (1989, p. 36).

It is possible to note that the concept of national cinema can be used to describe the consistence and the unity that determine the creation and description of a genre, when creating a link between the term national cinema and the domestic film industry. Moreover, it is challenged as:

> "a strategy of cultural (and economic) resistance; a means of asserting national autonomy in the face of (usually) Hollywood's international domination […] Histories of national cinema can only therefore really be understood as histories of crisis and conflict, of resistance and negotiation. But also, in another way, they are histories of a business seeking a secure footing in the market-place, enabling the maximization of an industry's profits while at the same time bolstering a nation's cultural standing" (Higson, 1989, p. 36).

The crisis and the conflict that reside in the concept of national cinema are also inherent to the concept of identity. The process that will disrupt the stable identities of the past (Hall, 2003) also dismantles the concept of national cinema. If the creation of such displacement opens up the possibility of creating new identities, the direction of this movement should also be mapped. That is, if we displace an identity, we are not just mimicking, in unproductive ways, pastiches produced

by the hegemonic film. For an environment of cultural diversity to survive a territorial extension, it is necessary to develop an environment that respects and acts to promote the maintenance of linguistic and subjective specificities. We have to know which particular nodal points (Laclau, 1990 apud Hall, 2003) will serve to build up these new subjects.

If we understand identity as a form of recognition by socialization in the same line of thought as Honneth (2003), it is necessary that subjective elements are shared by the involved individuals. It is precisely in these kinds of inter-subjective interactions that a kind of mutual recognition emerges to support personal dignity and expands productive creative and artistic freedom. For these elements to be adequately distributed by a given media, we still need to compete for the market with movies that deal with this concern of affirmation / achievement. In this case, we should think about entertainment, but on the other hand, we should think about authorial or art films. One cannot compete in the market with only one of these characteristics, as this will mean; and has already meant, giving up confrontation. Without any commercial placement in its own market, the main content of culture that will be distributed is the one that champions ticket sales. Two of its main objectives are then fulfilled: to drain resources for their own production system, decreasing the amount of available resources and increasing relevance of their cultural contents. This occupies, then, the space destined to other contents that thereby, remain peripheral.

In the study of cinemas that speak Portuguese, both aspects are interesting. Certainly, with the first, we might see the film industry as a central problem, which results in investment in the technical apparatus, either related to operations or in the education of creative minds and technical crew. Without it, there are no bases to support production. In the second case, the analysis of art or authorial cinema has the structuring element of the reception of films by a set of agents (politicians, government critics and people). Such agents create a critical reflection that modulates the supremacy of hegemonic contents. Hence, a comparison with the product that is traditionally distributed always in an unfavorable way. The asymmetry of the situation makes that the contents in Portuguese will not survive as drivers of diversity or as supporters for a resistance that would create a singular mode of production.

A conclusion, if only a temporary one

The basic imbalance that Portuguese speaking countries face is a key point for understanding the possibilities of resistance, not only to alter the direction of flows of content, but also to reconstruct the reach of local productions. The identity construction exists constantly adrift and can only be properly understood if one understands the direction of its motion. We have to fill at all times this symbolic space with the matter that moves within society. For this reason, the existence of cinematography in these countries is so threatened. The movement should be the one that recognizes multiple expressions of national identity as a method to browse through different aspects of popular culture. Producing traffic over peripheral contents and distributing we ought to see the development of products that have a cultural vocation. Such is one way to influence the acceptance of cinema with the scope to introduce its recognition.

We can take advantage of the concept of imagination as a symbolic construction in which a community (racial, national, imperial, sexual, etc.) is defined to be the same (Mignolo, 2003 apud Langder, 2005). To complement this definition, let us add another one, where identities arise from our cultures belonging to ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious and; above all, national (Hall, 2003).

These two definitions have in common a symbolic construction that falters. This construction is continuously modified by a system of intervention into public preferences that aims specifically to change and to fade naturally occurring specificities present in a variety of receptions that are possible in a cultural object. This system seeks to impose a subjectivity that spreads itself away, trespasses the subject and builds itself around a false sense of belonging. Moreover, it shifts the

vision of the society of this subject, devaluing their symbolic production in exchange for another one.

Such movements are perceived as a natural flow from the centre to the periphery that operates insidiously throughout society and in many directions, appearing in a sub repetitious way and in multiple visions. These movements will have to be carefully decorticated by agents of the periphery, so their work can acquire an artistic status.

Returning to the audiovisual, we can say that different levels of display and the non-existence of a circuit for audiovisual exhibition, where more diversity exists, is without any doubt one aspect that reduces the ability of a company to generate auto recognition; and therefore, production of content.

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CHAPTER 13

From *Collected* to *Collective*: Strategies for Social and Political Participation Through the Use of Alternative Media in Equatorial Guinea

Ana Lúcia Sá

Ramón Nsé Esono Ebalé, Josimar Oyono Eseng and Moises Nvumba are responsible for three alternative forms of media concerning Equatorial Guinea: *Locos TV* ['Mad TV'], *Radio Macuto* and the radio station *La Voz de los Sin Voz* ['The Voice of the Voiceless']. [101] None of them are currently living in Equatorial Guinea[102] and they all suffer threats because of exercising their freedom of speech and their criticism of Teodoro Obiang Nguema's dictatorship.

These examples represent alternative media, as they are in opposition to the official media of Teodoro Obiang Nguema's regime. They are not apologists of the regime, nor do they follow its official guidelines. They do not silence international events that could incite the population into action against the dictatorship or against the bad living conditions that exist in the country, despite the fact that Equatorial Guinea has fewer than one million inhabitants[103], and is the third largest producer of oil in Sub-Saharan Africa with an income per capita of 20200 USD. They work against the transformation of citizens into spectators who are a product of traditional media institutions that do not offer education, and that are dominated by an agenda determined by a regime[104]. Indeed, freedom of expression is highlighted by *Radio Macuto*: '*libre expresión*' ['free expression']. [105]

The 2013 Press Freedom Index by Reporters Without Borders identifies Teodoro Obiang Nguema as a 'predatory censor' and the country ranks 166th on this index[106]. Being a tacitly proclaimed dictator[107], he is at the head of a regime that controls the right of association (whether political, social or cultural) and the scarce media that does exit.

Teodoro Obiang Nguema became the president of Equatorial Guinea on 3rd August 1979, following the Freedom Coup that overthrew his uncle Francisco Macías Nguema, who as of 1968 had been the first Equatoguinean president, and who was subsequently executed. Teodoro Obiang Nguema's regime is a continuation of Francisco Macías' *Nguemism*, characterized by a cult of personality personalism and the privilege of the president's horizontal family to accede to the benefits of the State. It is also known as *Obiangnguemism*.

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[101] Cf. Locos Tv de Jamón y Queso, n.d.; *Radio Macuto's* first webpage was http://radiomacutoge.blogspot.com/, changed in February of 2013 to http://radiomacuto.info/. In the same month, Moises Nvumba started the radio broadcast from London. The radio station can be listened to on *Radio Macuto*'s page on http://station.voscast.com/510c05ed560f5/.

[102] Ramón Esono left the country in 2011 for personal reasons and Josimar Oyono Eseng left in 2006. His dissidence means he lives in an indefinite place and that he is being chased by the regime.

[103] According to the Equatoguinean government webpage (Equatorial Guinea, n.d.), the population is around 1,700,000 inhabitants. The World Bank (n.d.) estimated the population at 736,300 inhabitants in 2012 and the United Nations Development Programme (n.d.) as 740,500 inhabitants.

[104] For the role of the media in Africa, especially considering the radio and the transmission of knowledge and education, Cf Esipisu & Khaguli, 2009, pp. 21-22, 35.

[105] Cf. La Radio Macuto, La Voz de los Sin Voz de Guine Ecuatorial, 2012c.

[106] Cf. Report Without Borders, 2013.

[107] Teodoro Obiang explains the meaning of the word dictator to the Spanish television TVE as 'the person who dictates the laws', being himself, in that case, a dictator. Cf Calles, 1986.

To the Equatoguinean social scientist Okenve Ndo (2009), the country is ruled by a 'dictatorial clan', referring to the Esangui clan, to which both presidents belonged. Equatoguinean authors, such as Justo Bolekia Boleká (2005) and Juan Tomás Ávila Laurel (2009), associate the dictatorship with the privilege of the Fang ethnic group, who supposedly have more access to the rewards of the State and of the family, possessing the real power in the country. For Juan Tomás Ávila Laurel, a very well-known writer and blogger, the regime is an ethnocracy, motivating the divisions within the country's ethnic groups, such as between Fang and Bubi, or Fang and Ambô, just to say a pair of examples.

In his *Diccionario Básico, y Aleatorio, de la Dictadura Guineana*, Juan Tomás Ávila Laurel (2011) states that the different groups live apart and that the Fang dominate key institutions and places within the State structure, such as the army, contributing significantly to the lack of social cohesion.

Although the 'ethnic question' is not at the center of the debate in this chapter, it is worthy of a mention as it is a fracturing issue in *Obiangnguemism* that is used to collect the people and turn them into divided and repressed subjects. To be collected means that they are controlled by the regime and are brought together in the name of a country where they experience a lack of social recognition, political participation and expressions of belonging.

In this sense of being collected, the theme of the collected Equatoguinean people is a major topic in Juan Tomás Ávila Laurel's texts. For him, the dictatorship turned the country's inhabitants into '*los desheredados del África más empobrecida*' ['the dispossessed of the most impoverished part of Africa'], (Ávila Laurel, 2011), who coexist with the economic, social and political elites who are dispossessing the people of the country. The dictatorship consists not just of political repression, but also social and economic repression.

This idea of dispossession, linked to the collected people, is also developed in his blog, *Malabo*[108], that he began on invitation from the magazine *Frontera D*, based in Spain, and with the purpose of writing about the living conditions of the people in his country.[109]

His first blog entry from 30th November 2009[110] discusses Teodoro Obiang Nguema's longstanding regime, comparable to a monarchy. Living in Equatorial Guinea, he was the sole blogger to openly critique the dictatorship - a regime he profoundly opposed, to the point of starting a hunger strike in February of 2011.
Juan Tomás Ávila Laurel started this hunger strike in protest of Teodoro Obiang Nguema's dictatorship, and in order to attract the attention of foreign governments to the conditions Equatoguinean people face in their country. An official delegation from Spain was there at the time, and Juan Tomás Ávila called to their attention issues regarding health, justice, education, agriculture and the exclusion of a huge percentage of the population from basic living conditions. As he recalls in his blog texts, the people in Equatorial Guinea don't live in a republic, where, theoretically, they could accede to the State. They aren't citizens[111], but subjects of a regime. The country is not a republic, but a regime personalized around the president and with monarchic features, since the president has two possible heirs among his sons, Teodoro Nguema Obiang Mangue and Gabriel Mbega Obiang Lima.

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[108] Cf Fronterad revista digital, 2013b.
[109] As he explained to me in an interview (Barcelona, 31st October 2013).
[110] Cf Fronterad revista digital, 2013c.
[111] It is not my intention to discuss the concepts of the citizen and citizenship in this chapter, nor to deepen the debates around civil society and citizenship in Africa, often biased with Eurocentric analysis, rather preferring the discussion of social and political participation. As Ferguson (2007, p. 89) points out, "civil society has emerged as a keyword, ubiquitous in both scholarly analysis of "democratization" and the "real-world" practices they seek to describe and explain". Adding that, "the current (often ahistorical and uncritical) use of the concept of "civil society" in the study of African politics obscures more than it reveals, and, indeed, that it often serves to help legitimate a profoundly antidemocratic transnational politics" (Ferguson, 2007, p. 91).

Due to pressures upon him and the people who protected him during this hunger strike, he felt forced to abandon his country in the same month, only returning to the city that also lends its name to his blog, two years later (Sá, 2011).

2011 is a symbolic year in the history of the country, for two reasons. Firstly, for the first time, the president of Equatorial Guinea was also the African Union chairperson (from 31st January 2011 until 29th January 2012). It was not a calm mandate. The events that became known as the 'Arab Spring', with the overthrow of the Tunisian President Ben Ali, the Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and the invasion of Libya and killing of Muammar Gadaffi, occurred while Teodoro Obiang Nguema was at the head of the African Union. Still, there was silence around these facts in his country. A journalist for Equatorial Guinea's Radio and Television Juan Pedro Mendene was suspended when he mentioned the turbulence in these African countries.[112]

Secondly, 2011 was a symbolic year because the Equatoguinean virtual public sphere changed substantially. Thinking in terms of the Equatoguinean virtual public sphere, it is worth mentioning that this is a country with few internet users[113] and with significant numbers of emigrants.[114]

At the beginning of 2011, only two blogs by Equatoguinean people were known, *Malabo*, by Juan Tomás Ávila, and *Opinión desde Guinea Ecuatorial* ['Opinion from Equatorial Guinea'], by Eyi Nguema.[115] The Equatoguinean virtual sphere (or that concerned with Equatorial Guinea) was complemented by the pages *Asodegue*[116], run by Adolfo Fernandez Marugán, from Spain, and *guinea-ecuatorial.net*.[117] This last page was created by Equatoguineans living in Germany, such as the exiled activist Samuel Mba Mombe, who is currently living in Cameroon. Samuel Mba Mombe explains that *La Diaspora* was the name of the first website made in 1998 by Equatoguineans living abroad with the purpose of providing information about what was happening in the country. The page disappeared in 2002. The page *guinea-ecuatorial.net* was created simultaneously to defend the freedom of expression and these pages were pioneers (Ebalé, 2013d).

These pages had (and have, in the case of *guinea-ecuatorial.net*) news, opinion texts and statements of political parties, among other genres, but they are not blogs. The blogs are the internet and communication technology privileged in this chapter, as they are spaces of freedom of speech, emphasizing the right people have to speak and to be heard. Since 2011 the informative blog by Samuel Obiang, Malabo News[118] and the political and historical opinion blog Monte Bata, by Bokung Ondó Akum[119] have been born, and these provide a glimpse of the Equatoguinean blogosphere. The first is an example of a blog by a person living in Equatorial Guinea, and the other of a writer living abroad. There are however three online platforms that deserve emphasis.

Locos TV was created in June of 2011 with the intention that, *"Qué nadie diga el día de mañana que estaba borracho cuando los locos se enfrentaron a la dictadura"[120]* ["Nobody can say tomorrow that was

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[112] Report Without Borders, 2011.

[113] It is worth mentioning that Equatorial Guinea occupies the 227th spot on the number of Internet hosts in comparison with other countries (lower ranked are Liberia, Chad, Bouvet Island, Palau and Marshall Islands). In 2009, there were 14,000 Internet users in the country. Cf Central Inteligence Agency, n.d.

[114] The most complete work on Equatoguinean migrations is Aiexelà, 2011. She analyses the different reasons for people leaving the country and the ensemble of those migrants in the countries where they live, focusing on the effects of this migration in Equatorial Guinea in terms of social and political participation.

[115] Eyi Nguema's blog is hosted in the Spanish newspaper *El País*. Cf El Pais.com, 2011. The author ceased publications in June of 2011. Cf Sá, 2011.

[116] Cf Asociación para la solidaridad democrática con Guinea Ecuatorial (Asodegue), n.d. *Asodegue* has not been updated since December 2012, due to economic reasons.

[117] Cf Guine Equatorial.net, n.d.

[118] Cf Obiang, n.d. Malabo News exists since July 2012.

[119] Cf Monte Bata, n.d. The blog exists since August 2012.

[120] This sentence used to appear in the blog entry page, but it disappeared in 2013. Cf Locos Tv de Jamón y Queso, n.d.

drunk when the mad faced the dictatorship"]. One year later, *Radio Macuto*[121] was born. It is *La Voz de los Sin Voz* ['The Voice of the Voiceless'], the motto of the radio station linked to the blog. The voiceless are, in this case, the *'sufrido pueblo'* ['suffering people'], those who don't have access to the State. [122]

Also in 2011, the exiled human rights lawyer José Luís Nvumba started a collection of essays entitled *'¿Estamos encaminados hacia la democracia?'* ['Are we on the road to democracy?'], suggesting certain advances that will have to come about in civil society, if democracy is to emerge in the country. Having devoted his political action to struggle against the Obiang Nguema dictatorship, he reaches the conclusion that an end to the inhumane and arbitrary regime that steals people's rights and freedoms (including those of ethnic groups) should be reached through the intellectual's strong opinions and the actions of the youth, as a means of showing a belief in the possibility of ending the dictatorship. [123]

The youth José Luís Nvumba refers to is taking action through the internet and communication technology and is using them as a community that shares the same objectives: to denounce what is happening in Obiang Nguema's dictatorship (and because of it) and to give people their right to information. [124]

The bloggers offer alternative sources of information on authoritarian regimes that control the mass media (Etling, Faris & Palfrey, 2010), and this is significant given the symbolism in the names of these blogs. *Locos TV* and *Radio Macuto* are conceptualized as two expressions of mass media – one being a TV channel and the other a radio station, despite the fact that both are blogs. Both the television and the radio stations defend freedom of speech and count on a team to make them viable. For example, Ramón Esono Ebalé assumes he is only the cartoonist for the TV, and Mulá Omar[125] is the chief. On *Locos TV* we see cartoons representing people and events of the social and political life of Equatorial Guinea. The majority of them are accompanied by a letter signed by Ramón Esono Ebalé.

Josimar Oyono Eseng is the director of *Radio Macuto* that has reporters in Equatorial Guinea and abroad, that makes it possible for different people to publish different documents, sharing ideas with a wider audience, implying the international community. The format of the blog *Radio Macuto* has a mixture of two objectives: the spread of information and the participation of all those with opinion texts. It has broadened opportunities for dissidents to publish their texts and is an alternative source of information on daily events or events that otherwise would go unreported. *Radio Macuto* publishes texts by known authors, anonymous ones, or by authors using an alias. [126]

On September of 2012, Josimar Oyono Eseng wrote:

> *"Ahora, la gente ni se da cuenta, pero hay un viento muy fuerte en forma de un binomio que sopla contra la dictadura de Malabo: Locos TV y la Radio Macuto, cuya misión principal parece iluminar con un foco a ese* **ladrón** *que ha llegado a ser Presidente de la República, gracias al Golpe de Estado de 1979"* [Today, people don't realize it,

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[121] Macuto is a Spanish word for backpack, as *Radio Macuto* was the radio that the guerillas used on their backpacks to stay connected to the world beyond the fight. The name is intended to highlight *Radio Macuto*'s ability to carry information everywhere (as Josimar Oyono Eseng told me in a brief interview through Facebook chat, on 23rd July 2013).

[122] Cf La Radio Macuto, La Voz de los Sin Voz de Guine Ecuatorial, 2012f., 2012g.

[123] Cf Mañana, n.d.

[124] Cf La Radio Macuto, La Voz de los Sin Voz de Guine Ecuatorial, 2012e

[125] In this case, Mulá Omar is an anonymous Equatoguinean activist who chooses to use the name of the Taliban leader because he is wanted by Obiang Nguema's regime, that considers a dissident person a terrorist.

[126] As can be seen in the following examples, there are texts by anonymous authors complaining about the lack of freedom and criticizing the 'false State'. Cf La Radio Macuto, La Voz de los Sin Voz de Guine Ecuatorial, 2012g, 2012a; Mitogo, 2013; Sala, 2013 or Akum, 2013.

> but there is a strong wind blowing against Malabo's dictatorship in the form
> of Locos TV and Radio Macuto, whose main mission is to shed light on the
> **thief** who came to be President of the Republic, thanks to the *coup d'état* in
> 1979'].[127] (author emphasis)

For Ramón Esono Ebalé, Josimar Oyono Eseng and Moises Nvumba, it is the dictatorship that undermines the social relations, that promotes divisions, that obscures ways of living, promoting sexual harassment, torture at police stations, a lack of education, healthcare and the provision of basic needs (food, drinking water, housing). The dictatorship is linked to the appropriation of the country (its resources and peoples) by Obiang Nguema's family and also to the absence of social and political participation and any recognition of the people. These themes are those that are most often addressed in the blogs. The lives of the elites contrast with the lack of basic social infrastructures and with the destruction of the people's houses and agricultural lands when they are located in sites considered strategic for buildings such as hotels or private houses for members of the regime. Despite evoking the discourse of modernization, claims by the Regime that the State promotes key areas such as basic social infrastructures are unfounded.[128]

In geostrategic terms, the country is located in a vital region for defence of the big corporations' policies and practices. One of the major critiques regarding this subject is that the oil revenue is not reflected in people's standard of living. Furthermore, oil extraction has done nothing to break down the feeling of abandonment that people experience. The fact that Obiang Nguema's regime is internationally protected by countries such as the United States of America, Spain, China, North Korea, Israel and Morocco, also strengthens feelings of abandonment in those who are fighting for change. One example is the political party Convergence for Social Democracy (CPDS, to use its Spanish acronym; *Convergencia Para la Democracia Social*), that advocates for a political solution to ending the dictatorship. CPDS is the only opposition political party with a parliamentary seat, occupied by Plácido Micó.

One relevant feature of some texts published in *Radio Macuto* and others by Ramón Esono Ebalé in *Locos TV* about the elections in Equatorial Guinea, is the statement against the legitimization of a dictatorship through participation in what they consider a masquerade - the election polls.[129] Political participation and the notion of political participation in Equatorial Guinea are still dependent on what political parties (legal, non-recognized by the government, in the country or abroad) can do. For someone who is dissident and wants to speak out against the dictatorship, or against its social and psychological consequences, a political party functions like an umbrella or a platform that people can join, and feel backed by peers, despite the risks of persecution, threat and arrest. However, there are proposals emerging from other platforms. CPDS' seat in parliament is called the 'seat of discord'[130], it was won in 1999 and renewed in the following elections, such as those of 26th May 2013.

Electoral polls are criticized as a farce because of their lack of transparency, thereby putting into question the participation of opposition political parties.[131] The multiparty system changed nothing concerning the concentration of power in the hands of the president and his family. The First Lady Constancia Mangue, for example, is the most powerful woman in the country, giving herself the

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[127] Cf La Radio Macuto, La Voz de los Sin Voz de Guine Ecuatorial, 2012i.

[128] Cf Ebalé, 2012d, 2011b.

[129] Some texts criticizing the elections and the masquerade they involve are available at *Locos TV* and *Radio Macuto*. For example, Ramón Esono Ebalé explains the reasons not to vote. Cf. Ebalé, 2013c., and an anonymous group of young activists state against the elections. Cf. Movimento de los jovens activistas e indiganados de Guinea Ecuatorial, 2013. Ramón Esono Ebalé inclusively wrote a text in exclusive for *Radio Macuto*, cf JamónyQueso, 2013.

[130] The critiques of the 'seat of discord' started in September 2012. Cf Ebalé, 2012c.

[131] Cf La Radio Macuto, La Voz de los Sin Voz de Guine Ecuatorial, 2012g, and on the quote *"No nos quedan dudas de que constituir un partido político en una República Bananera, como Guinea Ecuatorial, equivale a un CERO colocado a la izquierda"* ['We do not doubt that to form a political party in a Banana Republic, such as Equatorial Guinea, is equivalent to a ZERO place at the left'] (La Radio Macuto, La Voz de los Sin Voz de Guine Ecuatorial, 2012g).

right to expropriate lands in Rebola, near Malabo. [132] Teodoro Nguema Obiang Mangue, the eldest son is the Second Vice-President (a position that does not exist in the Constitution), and is charge of security and is a former Minister of Agriculture. Another son, Gabriel Mbega Obiang Lima, is the Minister of Mines, Industry and Energy. Both sons are mentioned as the possible heirs of Obiang's presidency and both are criticized in *Locos TV* and in *Radio Macuto*.

Criticism of the dictatorship, or complaints about poverty or lack of water are perceived as disobedience and can result in arrest (or at least, intimidation). This, according to *Radio Macuto*, is 'enmity to the homeland'. This expression is common in a series of texts entitled '*La política del hablen pero en voz baja*' ['The politics of speaking out, but with bated breath']. On a daily basis, people are unable to speak out – the country lives with a regime of impunity, the dictatorship divides the people, and there is terror, brutality and expulsion of African immigrants, both legal and illegal.[133]

These texts relate to an attribute that is determinant to the notion of collected people, in this case, underlining a collective feature: fear.

One unifying factor common to most inhabitants of the country since the dictatorship of Francisco Macías Nguema is terror.[134] There is a shared memory of tyranny and fear and the collective memory is widely dominated by fear since the Francoist colonization. Teodoro Obiang Nguema incites fear in the collective memory by using selected episodes of terror that serve to remind people that he is in control of their lives.[135]

Silence and fear are two feelings that go hand by hand in Equatorial Guinea, when considering the critique of the regime. The Internet is a tool that makes spreading the word easier for those who live in the country. *GuinGuinBali*, a Spanish online magazine, published three texts by Tiniebla or Tinieblas ['Darkness'], an alias of someone who lives in Malabo.[136] The author justifies the need for an alias. He writes under the name of Tinieblas to avoid retaliation:

> "porque entenderán que en un sistema dictatorial, los que quisieran hablar criticando la situación inhumana de opresión, son los primeros caldos de cultivo" [Darkness, because you will understand that in a dictatorial system, those who want to speak criticizing the inhuman situation of oppression are the first breeding grounds] (Tiniebla, 2013b: n.p).

He decided to write because he tired of the 'grips of fear', silencing the 'everyday realities (deaths, robbery, famine, disease, corruption, arbitrary arrests)'. [137]

These authors, by their texts and ideas, force the debate on what can be collective as a means of action and affirmation. *Eclipse*, a project by Ramón Esono Ebale, is an example of considering the collective memory to build the future of Equatorial Guinea. Launched in September of 2013 with

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[132] Cf Ebalé, 2012d; La Radio Macuto, La Voz de los Sin Voz de Guine Ecuatorial, 2012b.

[133] Cf La Radio Macuto, La Voz de los Sin Voz de Guine Ecuatorial, 2012g.

[134] Cf Aixelà, 2011: 55-56.

[135] Obiang Nguema uses the violence of the Francisco Macías Nguema years to justify his own regime's acts of terror, thus appealing to collective memory while suppressing opposition activity (Aixelà, 2011). Examples from the 1980s include arbitrary detentions, disappearances, prohibiting of the right to association and the violation of health rights, alongside encouragement of the consumption of alcoholic beverages and drugs (Liniger-Goumaz, 1986). Similar violations of fundamental rights are known to be prevalent today. One example is the assassination of Padre Jorge Bitá Kaeko in 2011, which has yet to be explained. Another is the arrest of Clara Nsegue Eyí in Malabo, in May 2013, and her transfer to the prison of Mongomo, away from her family and from possibilities of comfort (in Equatorial Guinea, prisoners eat what their family or charity institutions give them).

[136] Cf Tiniebla, 2013b, 2013a, 2013c. The first two texts are a reflection on the elections that took place on 26th May 2013 and on the fact that the president is omnipresent in the country and in the campaign. The last is an indignant text about the football game between Equatorial Guinea and Spain (on 16th November 2013) and the award that Teodorín Obiang planned to give to the players, 5 million euros that could be used for building schools or hospitals.

[137] Cf Tiniebla, 2013b.

the aim of democratizing the country, *Eclipse* is intended to be a group that promotes pacific actions, depending on solidarity between people and fighting for a different Equatorial Guinea with a campaign for public dialogue. Relying on anonymous people, Ramón Esono made it visible through his blog.[138] It called for the building of an archive of historic memory, the restitution of collective memory and the opening of a public debate on those Equatoguinean people missing as a result of the Francisco Macías Nguema dictatorship.

Eclipse is one of the special series that exist on *Locos TV*. Another is the imaginary interview of real Equatoguinean people, like Juan Tomás Ávila or the President Teodoro Obiang Nguema.[139] In other cases, real interviews are also a strategy for *Radio Macuto* to give a space to the people, as was the case with Humberto Riochi, speaker for the Movement for Bioko Island Self-Rule (MAIB, to use its Spanish acronym; Movimiento para la Autodeterminación de la Isla de Bioko), Wenceslao Mansogo, of the CPDS and Alfredo Okenve, the leader of an NGO based in Bata. [140]

Among the strategies used for giving a voice to the people, is the posting of statements from associations and political parties and of press releases, which assume the role of disseminating the news. Through the selection and posting of these text genres, *Radio Macuto* participates in the processes of providing information and of participation in public matters. It is a new form of information giving and opinion making in Equatorial Guinea that uses the internet to fight for the freedom of speech and, ultimately, for social recognition and justice. Statements made by political parties such as the MAIB, the Popular Union or CPDS, and the news of the civic platform CEIBA appear on a page that also publishes institutional statements by the *'Asociación de Mayores de Ebibeyin'* ['Association of the Elders of Ebibeyin'] or of Equatorial Guinea. Comments are made on the political life of the country that perhaps could not be published elsewhere.

Since 27th September 2013, *Radio Macuto* has had a weekly feature, 'The idiot of the week'[141], run by César Augusto Iyanga Mitogo. He presents himself as a student of the National University of Equatorial Guinea (UNGE, Spanish abbreviation for *Universidad Nacional de Guinea Ecuatorial*) and his texts are about the lack of freedom in Obiang's regime.[142] He collaborates with *Radio Macuto*[143] and with *Locos TV*.

This is not the only example of dialogue between the online platforms that advocate freedom of speech. They maintain a coherent organization and a constant connection to the streets, challenging the defeatist analysis of the links between the Internet and the social protests criticized by Echchaibi (2013). The links between Ramón Esono Ebalé and *Radio Macuto* could also be mentioned, but it is most important to highlight the references and the work of those who act clandestinely and anonymously. The *Radio Macuto* reporter *'El Crítico Guineano'* ['The Guinean Critique'] is an example of someone who provides information for the blog[144], in the form of texts, photos and audiovisual records.

It is worth remembering that in a context that lacks freedom, ICTs are technologies of liberation, using networks, mobile phones and the internet as a means to defend freedom (Diamond, 2010).

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[138] Cf Ebalé, 2013d; Omar, 2013.

[139] Cf Ebalé, 2011c, 2011b.

[140] La Radio Macuto, La Voz de los Sin Voz de Guine Ecuatorial 2012f, 2012d, 2012j.

[141] Cf La Radio Macuto, La Voz de los Sin Voz de Guine Ecuatorial, 2013d.

[142] Cf Ebalé, 2013b.

[143] For example, Ramón Esono Ebalé praises Josimar Oyono Eseng (Ebalé, 2012d) and also acknowledges his work as a reporter for *Radio Macuto* (Ebalé, 2013g). A project involving both platforms that was promoted by USA-based EG Justice, (an association directed by the Equatoguinean Tutu Alicante León that aims to promote human rights, transparency and civic participation in Equatorial Guinea) consisted of a video explaining the fortune of Teodoro Nguema Mangue, the elder son of the President Obiang, as well as his troubles with justice system in the USA. The video can be accessed on EG Justice's Youtube channel (EG Justice, 2013), as well as on *Radio Macuto* (La Radio Macuto, La Voz de los Sin Voz de Guine Ecuatorial, 2013c) and on Juan Tomás Ávila's blog (fronterad revista digital, 2013c).

[144] The reporters are 'ordinary people' (La Radio Macuto, La Voz de los Sin Voz de Guine Ecuatorial, 2012c), and are honored on *Locos TV*, where their clandestine work is emphasized (Ebalé, 2012c).

Mobile phones are used to document the dictatorship, using images to give a face to everyday practices and to show this to the world. Sokari Ekine (2010), a blogger, in the introduction to the book 'SMS Uprising, Mobile Phone Activism in Africa', claims that the use of mobile phones in Africa is making it possible for activists to embrace the challenges and the changes from within.

In Equatorial Guinea, mobile phones are used to try to raise awareness of the everyday suffering of the people. Because of the discrete nature of the device, mobile phones can be used to record torture[145] and to photograph decaying public health facilities[146], empty social housing or precarious accommodation.[147] Extortions by the police and at military barriers[148] as well as the mistreatment of immigrants[149] can also be recorded. The aim is that the photos become 'photowords', an image that provokes comments on the blogs and a reaction in the country.

From 2011 to 2013, the ties between the three online platforms for the defense of the freedom of speech were strengthened. For example, the radio station *La Voz de los Son Voz* can be heard through *Radio Macuto*'s webpage as Ramón Esono Ebalé collaborates with them and some interviews made by Moises Nvumba can be read on *Radio Macuto*, like that of Enrique Nsolo.[150] He was one of the leaders of the 15th May 2013 protest that was stopped by the army. Later, he was expelled from the National University of Equatorial Guinea, where he was a teacher. [151]

The 15th May protest is one example of people wanting to take the streets. The protest at the *Plaza de la Mujer* was organized by Enrique Nsolo, Clara Nsegue Eyí, Fabian Nsué, amongst others. They knew they would have media coverage and advocated for the population to fight for their rights, and to not depend on political parties or electoral polls. They seek international support for the transition to democracy. The act was closed down by the soldiers and some activists were arrested. *Radio Macuto* was 'broadcasting' the events and was cited as a source of information by the Spanish agency Europapress.[152]

It is very difficult for people to take to the streets. Protest is impossible, including by the legalized opposition political party, CPDS, called *bandidos* ['bandits'] by Teodoro Nguema Obiang Mangue, also known as Teodorín. Through the exercise of control over the people, the regime aims to neutralize possible contestations. Still, on February 20th, 2013, graffiti appeared in Malabo and in Bata with the sentence '*Obiang vete ya'* ['Obiang go now']. *Radio Macuto* was the first to report on this new graffiti. On this day, Ramón Esono Ebalé embraced the collective:

> "*Somos la cabeza de turco. Un tal Josimar Oyono Eseng. Un tal Nsé Ramón. Y un tal Moises Nvumba "son ellos". Sí, lo aceptamos. Vengan y acúsennos de que estamos instigando a cosas raras a los que ustedes aseguran de que os quieren mucho*" [We are the scapegoat. A certain Josimar Oyono Eseng. A certain Nsé Ramón. A certain Moises Nvumba, «are they». Yes, we accept it. Come and accuse us of instigating weird stuff on those that you ensure you love]. [153]

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[145] Like the audio recorded on 31st August 2012 in Bata police station and posted in November 2012 (Ebalé, 2012 a).

[146] Cf La Radio Macuto, La Voz de los Sin Voz de Guine Ecuatorial 2012h or 2013h.

[147] As in La Radio Macuto, La Voz de los Sin Voz de Guine Ecuatorial, 2012h, 2013f or 2013b.

[148] Cf La Radio Macuto, La Voz de los Sin Voz de Guine Ecuatorial, 2012k. The photos of military barriers can be seen La Radio Macuto, La Voz de los Sin Voz de Guine Ecuatorial, 2013a.

[149] The images of African immigrants treated abusively at La Radio Macuto, La Voz de los Sin Voz de Guine Ecuatorial, 2013h.

[150] Cf La Radio Macuto, La Voz de los Sin Voz de Guine Ecuatorial, 2013f.

[151] The facts around Enrique Nsolo's detention and expulsion from the university can be consulted at *Locos TV* (Ebalé, 2013a). and *Radio Macuto* (La Radio Macuto, La Voz de los Sin Voz de Guine Ecuatorial 2013i), La Radio Macuto, La Voz de los Sin Voz de Guine Ecuatorial, 2013j.

[152] On example of this is the liberation of a well-known lawyer and fundamental rights activist, Fabian Nsué, after he was arrested because of his participation in the protest of 15th May 2013. The Spanish news agency refers to *Radio Macuto* as the source of this information (europa press, 2013).

[153] Cf Ebalé, 2013f.

The idea of embracing the collective can also be explained by the fact that these blogs, among other webpages, were censored in Equatorial Guinea, especially during the election period (from April to June 2013). Although it is a country with low internet access, this shows the fears of the regime over what people see and where they get information. *Radio Macuto* denounced the arbitrary arrests, intimidations and censorship during the aforementioned period, through the reporter Africano Antireg.

The blogs are the visible face of those who are working clandestinely and anonymously, those who work for the voiceless, finding new ways of struggling and of having agency.[154] A new Equatoguinean is being built:

> "*Es el nuevo guineano que se está creando desde la clandestinidad de la soledad personal. Un nuevo prototipo de persona que antepondrá el interés general al suyo particular. Son muchos, sobre todo jóvenes, que están cambiando la forma de pensar ya que se han dado cuenta de que los límites impuestos por el sistema ya son bastante visibles desde que tienen acceso a otras formas de entender la vida*" [This is the new Guinea that is being built clandestinely and from personal solitude. It is a new prototype for a person who will place the general interest above that of the individual. There are many, mostly young people, who are changing the way of thinking, because they have realized that the limits imposed by the system are quite visible as they now have access to other ways of understanding life].[155]

One collective character of these three platforms is the 'Juventud Malentonada'. They do not belong to any political party but are united by the struggle for democracy. They want to fight in new ways for the respect of human rights through civil disobedience, protests and peaceful actions against the dictatorship.[156]

They are fighting against the belief that the Equatoguinean people are 'mentally poor'. The expression '*pobres mentales*' (mental poor) is used in the text of Josimar Oyono Eseng, Ramón Esono Ebalé and Juan Tomás Ávila Laurel[157], and the expression has gone viral since its first use by the president Teodoro Obiang to refer to the Equatoguinean people.[158]
Obiang largely benefits from the image of the 'dark continent' and of the 'neopatrimonial African State'. Obiang's dictatorship is justified by the inside – by the president himself – as an African way of doing politics, rallying against what he calls 'imported ideas'. This is a clear '*hecho racial diferencial*' ['differential racial fact'], (Ávila Laurel, 2011), used to justify poverty, and a lack of health care, water and electricity. It is a mark of cultural difference that can be used to link it to social and economic subjection, as Ferguson (2007) puts it. In this frame, "a 'traditional African way of life' is simply a polite name for poverty" (Ferguson, 2007, p. 21).

In the case of Equatorial Guinea, this is more than a question of cultural difference. It is difference as a concept. The notion of difference also justifies the expression 'mental poor' that is so often

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[154] Cf Ebalé, 2012b. This contribution argues that agency may be characterized by certain attributes and adjectives in the way people, groups or institutions exemplify their capacity to carry out changes to their social situations (van Dijk, 2007: 315).

[155] Ebalé, 2012b.

[156] Some examples of the 'new youth': cf. Ebalé, 2012c. Colectivo de Jovenes de Guinea Ecuatorial, 2013.

[157] The expression 'mental poor' is used by Juan Tomás Ávila at Fronterad Revista Digital, 2013a.

[158] Teodoro Obiang Nguema used this expression in an interview with Stephen Sackr in December 2012, on the programme BBC HARDtalk. He said that in Equatorial Guinea there is no poverty, "There is a kind of psychological poverty here which means that even when people are given an opportunity they can remain stuck in the same place" (BBC HARDtalk, 2012: n.p.).

used as a sign of indignation and that reveals a contra-discourse against the mental colonial standards of central power, in this association between culture and inequality.

Those who criticize the works of the regime are called 'enemies of the homeland', *'envidiosos'* ['envious'] or *'malentonados'* (this neologism could mean 'un-elegant'). But in the context of the struggles fights explained in this chapter, the adjectives that were supposed to offend are taken as compliments by those who are opponents to Obiang's regime. As Ramón Esono Ebalé explained when he created the blog, the world is made by the *locos*, from Obiang to the international community and the people of Equatorial Guinea who do not stand up to the dictatorship. And among the *locos* are the *cuerdos*, 'the rationales', those who will fight. The exiled dissident Samuel Mba Mombe presents himself as *'indignado, malentonado, loco, enemigo de la patria'* ['outraged, un-elegant, mad, enemy of the homeland'].

The internet allows for a greater presence of Equatoguinean voices in the blogosphere and the use of virtual social networks for debate. This enables them to spread the manifestation of their interests and opinions to a wider audience, despite the low level of Internet access in the country. The concept of possibility is key when dealing with this subject. *Radio Macuto* and *The Voice of the Voiceless* (the same name as the Zapatista Army of National Liberation's radio station) offer new possibilities for spreading information and strengthening the sense of the end of historical abandonment that the people of the country have experienced since independence. The international character of a fight against the dictatorship needs to be taken into account when analyzing these aims of a collective struggle.

From being collected and controlled by a dictatorial regime, they try to instill a sense of collectiveness. Considering political and social participation, the Internet is used to campaign for information and for the right to criticize, considering alternative readings and proposals for the reality of the country. They aim for democracy, and for them, democracy begins with the delegitimization of the dictatorship *'sin fisuras'* ['without splits']. The first step towards democracy is the freedom of speech. A new political regime means the proper use by the population of oil revenues, an end to ethnic divides as promoted by the dictatorship, an end to the possibility of Obiang being succeeded by one of his sons, as well as freedom of speech, an end to the repression of those who peacefully oppose the regime and an open public debate on social memory and the recent history of the country.

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CHAPTER 14

Dynamics of Community Animation in the Construction of Citizenship: Mobilization, Awareness and Involvement of Local Communities in Urok, a Protected Marine Area in Guinea-Bissau

Miguel de Barros, Paula Fortes and Boaventura Santy

Introductory note

In its initial phase, the process of creating protected areas, was mostly conducted with its main goal directed towards the conservation of biological diversity and to provide ecosystem services. However:

> "[...] the examination of relations between the creation and management of protected areas and poverty in developing countries has become a practical and ethical necessity, in the way that to survive, protected areas in poorer nations should be seen as an option that contributes very positively to sustainable development" (Scherl et al, 2006, p. 2).

Approaches to the creation and management of all categories of formal protected areas have evolved[159] towards models of greater social responsibility, which include the aspirations and needs of local populations (Phillips, 2003). Meanwhile, the involvement of local communities in the management of the protected area has been actively encouraged in many countries since the early nineties (Western & Wright, 1994; Hulme & Murphree, 2001; IBAP, 2007), reflecting a 'bottom-up' perspective with a view to facilitate greater ownership of the process by the parties involved, increasing trust and exchange between actors.

In Guinea-Bissau, the creation of protected areas[160] represents a concerted strategy between different actors (state, non-state, local and international) to promote sustainable development, a goal driven by acknowledgement of the important role that biodiversity plays in food security and in the well-being of communities at local and national levels. In this context, protected areas are

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[159] There are six categories of protected areas: I) Strict Nature Reserve/Wilderness Area: areas of land and/or sea possessing exceptional or representative ecosystems, geological or physiological features and / or species, available primarily for scientific research and/or environmental monitoring; II) National Park: protected areas whose management are geared mainly for ecosystem conservation and recreation; III) Natural Monument: protected areas managed mainly for conservation of natural features/cultural features; IV) Areas of habitat management/species: protected areas where management is mainly aimed at conservation through active management; V) Protected terrestrial and marine landscape: protected areas managed mainly for land/marine landscape conservation and recreation; VI) Protected area with manager resources: protected area which management aims especially the sustainable use of natural ecosystems. For further elaboration. Cf Chape, S. et al, 2003.

[160] Currently, Guinea-Bissau has a national network of six protected areas covering more than 15% of the national territory and it corresponds to lands permanently emersed and the remaining two thirds to mangroves, intertidal banks and shallow marine waters. Four of these areas have a strong marine component (National Parks Orango [PNO] and João Vieira-Poilão [PNMJVP] Protected Area Community Islands Urok [AMPCU] and the Natural Park Tarrafes of Cacheu [PNTC]) and the Natural Park the Lagoon Cufada [PNLC]. Cf IBAP, 2007, p. 13.

tools that promote more effective planning in the use of resources (land, water, fauna and flora) better contributing to the expansion of the plans and programmes of socio-economic development in the territory where they are located. This broader approach allows for the relationship between protected areas and strategies to combat poverty (MEPIR, 2011). The Urok complex is formed by a set of three permanently inhabited islands, namely: Formosa, Nago and Chediã, and contains also several islets that are not permanently inhabited (IBAP, 2007, p. 38).

The Urok Islands have a surface of 94,200 ha, including 14,700 ha of dryland. They are inhabited mainly by the Bijagó, individuals who are the owners of the land, followed by individuals of the Papel ethnic group, the second largest in numerical terms. Individuals from various other ethnic groups also populate the islands, mirroring the diverse constitution of Guinean society.

Urok is part of the Bijagós Archipelago, a group of 88 islands and islets covering an area of about 10 000 km², located on the coast of Guinea-Bissau. Of these,

> "[...] about 20 islands are permanently inhabited, with a total population of 25,000, mostly constituted by the ethnic group that gives its name to the archipelago, the Bijagós. Other social groups that represent the current multicultural universe of the islands are outnumbered" (IBAP, 2007, p. 47).

The Archipelago Bijagós has a great importance in terms of natural resources and the quality of its conservation efforts have made it into a centre of attention nationally and internationally. Upon application by the Government of Guinea-Bissau in 1996, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) granted the archipelago the status of Biosphere Reserve, which corresponds to spaces "that meet a number of requirements related to land management regarding conservation, sustainable development and research" (IBAP, 2007, p. 61). The status of Biosphere Reserve aims not only to preserve biodiversity, but also the maintenance of local populations that depend considerably on the natural resources around their places of residence for their own subsistence.

In 2005, the Urok complex became an official *Área Marinha Protegida Comunitária* (Community Marine Protected Area) - AMPC / Urok (IBAP, 2007). It is noteworthy however, that the establishment of AMPC / Urok dates back to the nineties under the national coordination of the non-governmental organisation, Tiniguena (Brenier, Ramos, & Henriques, 2009). The first steps taken in the context of creating AMPC were to implement a consultation framework for participatory management of coastal areas and resources of the islands Urok. This involved the negotiation, preparation and adoption by communities of a set of rules and mechanisms for participatory and sustainable governance of the Urok complex, gathered in a management plan for future AMPC. The process and outcomes improved knowledge about the local environment and systems of participatory governance, promoting initiatives for socio-cultural entertainment activities. It also allowed for the continuation and expansion of activities for the development of the community in order to promote greater involvement of people, especially young people, in the ongoing process.

The creation process of AMPC Urok recognised the role of the Bijagó culture in the conservation of the natural heritage of the archipelago and relied on strong socio-cultural work. It promoted the involvement of local communities, particularly the youth. These activities sought to influence on the ongoing changes, such that a new cultural synthesis could emerge to face modernity, whilst retaining the essential aspects of traditional Bijagó culture.

Theatre constitutes an important instrument in this process. For a long time, the Bijagós have utilised staging to speak about their daily life and their relationship with nature. In the last decade, community theatre was used (and still is) as an entertainment method for annual general meetings

and other types of gatherings, also serving in the dissemination of the community values among other social groups.

This process has presented and still presents a major challenge for the local community, in the sense that it has been accompanied by new socio-ambiental and organisational development projects, implying new forms of sociability, relationships with power and political participation, among others. In this scenario, new and alternative forms of communication are also born, questioning and bringing about an awareness of new challenges. This awareness is highlighted by the community's cultural activities, through theatre and traditional folk dances.

The establishment of a community radio station in 2011 called '*Fala di Urok*', within these communities, is part of a larger and more comprehensive process. Notions such as community space, sustained growth, participatory governance, valorisation of communitarian material and immaterial assets return a sense of belonging and self-esteem to local stakeholders. According to Paula:

> "[…] empowering the rural and marginalised population to the understanding of social issues constitutes the general purpose of these instruments of citizenship, which creation's arose in the context of participatory approaches to the development" (2011, p. 2).

Following Peruzzo (2004) this enables assurance of the right of local communities to become protagonists, mobilising in favour of the amplification of citizenship.

This chapter aims to analyse the extent to which these dynamics of community activity, for the promotion and valorisation of the local culture, serve as foundations for AMPC. It reflects upon the construction of citizenship, which drives actors to play a greater role in local spaces and structures through creative community engagement.

On the one hand, from a methodological point of view, we tried to combine the knowledge of the field intervention through technical support on some of the AMPC projects. On the other hand, through interviews with 'key' informants; and still following an ethnographic model, we proposed to document these dynamics through photography – conceived as a privileged way to seek information about facts, places and people, producing a reflection with scientific value (Feldman-Bianco & Leite, 2004; Achutti, 1997). Both methods assisted in sustaining and elucidating the story, while drawing attention to dynamics of the social process through visual expressions of reality (Souza, 2008).

Community activity as an instrument of shared governance

Confronting the classical and minimalist vision of governance as the exercise of political power to manage the economic and social resources of a country, in this chapter, we consider the concept of State as a 'social contract'. In our formulation, governance is considered to be a process that puts into practice this contract, which is fundamentally founded on the commitment to enhance the well-being of the population (Proença, 1995).

The governance of a protected area brings forth issues of power relations, of relationships and responsibility, but it also informs us about who makes the decisions and who is ultimately responsible for the protected area; about what is done or not for it. In the perspective of Borrini-Feyerabend et al (2009), AMPs in shared governance are fundamental principles where authority, responsibility and the duty of accountability are shared among stakeholders such as government agencies, economic operators, and rights holders. Included in the latter are the autochthonous

population and local communities that depend on the protected area and its resources, through means of a connection with their ways of life and / or their culture.

In this way, socio-cultural activity, according to Calheiros Trindade (2009) emerges as a type of non-formal education, open and focused on the interests and needs of the community. It is seen as a pedagogical practice that aims to awaken reason, self-awareness and its potentialities; to thus engender the necessary conditions to update the very same potentialities and mechanisms that facilitate its realisation. This allows community activity to be seen in a socio-pedagogical way aimed at social transformation and development through participation, presenting a set of specific methods and techniques.

It is through this vision, from audiences (and not instruments) that Henriques (2004, p. 13) claims, "it is useful to position these issues in a perspective that is humanist and genuinely interested in a broad democratic participation". It is this attitude that allows one to follow the changes, confront uncertainty, develop the ability to live with the transient, examine it without being defeated. This process is critical to enable every individual and group to participate in the construction of a more balanced society.

In speaking of the relationship between activity and community communication, it becomes essential to understand the education and culture of the individual. One assumes a continuous learning and the transmission of this learning. This converges to the construction of communication strategies that favour the subjects themselves to think and materialise these strategies. The cases of popular theatre and community radio are chosen here and discussed as key elements in the process of mobilising the society in Urok.

The popular theatre

Popular theatre emerged as a mobilising strategy on the Urok islands in the mid-nineties, as concerns mounted around drop-out rates at the primary school of Formosa. Aliu Baldé, then a primary school teacher, native and resident of the island, was the founder of the first group of cultural activity.

> "Thanks to the experience I have gained during my brief time at the National Ballet Group "*Esta Nossa Pátria Amada*", I started a group of cultural entertainment activities at the school, which was named *Sangui Nobu*[161]. We created this group because we noticed a high dropout rate, the children did not like to go to school. We know that theatre is a way of conveying a message, that manages to capture people's attention" (Baldé, 2012, pers. comm., 15 March).

Despite being created with the initial goal of raising awareness among parents, children and the community in general, about the importance of school attendance, the group did not limit itself to the questioning and thematic representation of scholarly education. Rather, it expanded its primary reach, largely motivated by the lack of existing means and the community's impediments to electronic communication and mass media outlets, as Baldé reported:

> "[...] I noticed that in our community there are few radios, the few members of the community who have radios do not have much patience to listen to the shows; newspapers are not read, books to keep one informed are not read. People studied until Year 5[162], after two or three years away from the school benches, they would have forgotten everything they learned, including their ability to read" (Baldé, 2012, pers. comm., 15 March).

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[161] The literal translation means 'New Blood', in sociological terms; it refers to the New Generation.
[162] At the time, in Formosa, scholarity would reach only this level. Currently, the school operates until Year 7 (UK schooling system). Upon completion, students are required to move to other regions to continue their studies.

The first activity group was composed mainly of students from Formosa's primary school. The main condition to participate in the group was to be enrolled and attending school. Currently, there are several active groups in all the islands of the Urok complex. Two of them are strong, meaning that they are able to sustain their entertainment activities throughout the year. Both groups belong to the two main *tabancas*[163] of the island of Formosa, Abu and Ankadaque. Their founders have participated in activity groups that are now defunct and keep up a relation of proximity and exchange with each other.

In a way, the groups still favour their initial profile, being constituted in the vast majority by students, although non-students do participate, too. According to interviewees, these non-students elect to join the scholastic system, or return to the once-abandoned classroom benches. This is due mainly to the challenges they have to face, for example, reading and memorising the lines of different plays and poetry, which requires a minimum standard of literacy.

Theatre is the main and most important activity of the groups, mainly due to its interventionist character. However, along with dramaturgy there is also dance, which is an important instrument of cultural entertainment, reclaiming important and previously abandoned elements of the Bijagó culture. It is also notable for its multicultural character. The groups, composed mostly by young Bijagós, seek to reclaim cultural elements of other ethnic groups, as a means to represent the richness and socio-cultural diversity of Guinea-Bissau.

From the beginning, the groups sought to problematise and represent current issues in their communities. But it was the process of transformation in Urok's protected marine area that has helped to strengthen the role of theatre as a tool for awareness and social intervention:

> "[...] When the NGO Tiniguena started the awareness campaign about the AMPC Urok, some members of the community were mobilised, including myself. Along with the coordinator in Formosa, we went to all the islands to conduct meetings to raise awareness among the population and during such meetings, there was the use of the theatre for community awareness, ie, we understood that that could be a more didactic and clear way to convey the intended message. Before we used posters to illustrate our explanations, but with the theatre, the identification with the information was better [...] From that moment, I started researching the subjects that most interested and concerned the community to be able to address them through the theatre. There was, for example, conflict between farmers and cattle owners. Animals entered rice fields and inflicted great damage, a major crisis was created between the involved parties. Through the theatre we showed that hatred would not take them anywhere, it was necessary to seek solutions through dialogue, this was the best and only possible way to resolve the conflict. The initiative was supported by the elders, who saw in the theatre an important instrument of dialogue and cohesion. From that moment on, all meetings to raise awareness about conflicts in the *tabanca* and about the AMPC were preceded by a theatrical presentation" (Baldé, 2012, pers. comm., 15 March).

The messages associated with the rhythm of musical instruments and theatrical presentations produced better results. The interactive strategy promoted intimacy, bringing more people together in a short space of time, more effectiveness and social mobilisation, as stated by Flavio 'Tino' Cardoso, one of the interviewees:

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[163] This term designates 'village' in Guinea-Bissau creole.

> "When a drum [is] being played, people from the community begin to appear, that is when we take the opportunity to pass on information about the objectives of AMPC Urok and the approach to the problems and challenges of the community. In this way, we began to gain legitimacy in the different places we went. If there is a problem in the community, we work on the issue and make a presentation in the community. People understand better the message when transmitted through theatre, as opposed to through meeting or via radio. Not everybody likes to go to a meeting. That was the pathway we found to make people aware about AMPC, its objectives and its importance" (Cardoso, 2012, pers. com., 13 March).

The participatory community Radio

> *"Social life is interrelationship. Interrelationship pressuposes and fosters communication."*
> (Costella, 1978, p. 13)

Democracy presupposes free communication that enables participatory processes of dialogue and debate.

> "Media and journalism professionals play a key role in combating discrimination and inequality and their contribution can be extremely positive when promoting within societies mutual understanding among different ethnic, cultural and religious groups" (Oliveira, 2010, p. 11).

Media development does not relate solely to technological devices, the content should also be taken into consideration. That is why, in the present day we have countless types of radios. We can talk about radio segmentation - the fact that some radios broadcast only news, others only music - within the musical universe, radios that are characterised by the type of music they play as well as those that mix it all. The fact is that there are programmes for all types and tastes.

Among the various ways of making radio, we have the community radio stations. The existence of this type of radio really gives an opportunity and voice to society; the process of democratisation of the word delivered by community radios justifies the importance of their existence. Their role in the democratisation of African societies is characterised in terms of the promotion of cultures of inclusion, as they frequently seek to alert the community about local key issues. These are reasons that make Tudesq (2002) consider the radio in Africa as a tool for the democratisation of society as well as the promotion of local identity.

In Guinea-Bissau, the first community radio appeared in 1994, the same year that the first multiparty and democratic elections were held. The radio began broadcasting with the purpose of giving voice to the population (Nhaga, n.d.). Radio *Voz de Quélélé*, named after the neighbourhood in which it is based, was strongly opposed by the governing political party, and it thus was shut down due to the regime's fear of opposition mobilisation. It was only reopened months later in the same year to respond to a strong cholera epidemic that had plagued the capital. The radio was able to foster a good reaction in terms of communication and health awareness; earning itself the legitimacy and public recognition to continue to operate with a provisional license, but also inspiring similar initiatives at local and national levels.

The lack of directives to guide the role of community radios, such as the absence of a legal and institutional permanent framework that specifies and categorically defines what a community radio is, has led to the loss of the 'community' status in many radio stations in Guinea-Bissau, making it almost impossible to differentiate between 'community' and 'commercial' radios.

The community radio implemented in three of the islands that are part of the Urok complex had an important role, however:

> "the radio had a key role during the creation of the Community Marine Protected Area Urok (AMPC Urok), particularly through the community radio *Djan-Djan* (in Bubaque) and then *Kossena* (in Formosa), already after the oficialisation of AMPC Urok, in a way that, the local population was aware to take part in this process" (Henriques, 2010, n.p.).

There was the need to overcome some limitations of use, logistics and property with regards to the effective use of a radio for the protected area. It was necessary to adapt to a mobilising process that enhanced communication, and which now generates links that transcend mere punctual and/or circumstance-specific actions. Here we are talking about actions that are motivated by the positive effects and experiences one can claim for his/her radio involvement, especially regarding the role of the radio in maritime surveillance. The actors involved in the process sought to overcome what Castells (2003) considers disjointed actions and reactions. This claim was elucidated by Sadja Camará, a member of Urok's Management Committee, in one of the meetings of the members of the Management Committee:

> "[...] the lack of means of communication has led to a certain setback in the already initiated conservation process, as these programs are not further communicated. With a radio in Urok, we can return to those campaigns and improve the process of participatory governance through broadcasts made in local languages."

The creation of a radio became a directive from the Management Committee, as it had been already manifested in consultations around the AMP, and also during the IX General Assembly Urok, in 2010. When people gathered to discuss the idea of a community radio station, two questions led the discussion: a radio for what?; and, what kind of communication is to be produced?

Most of those present agreed that a radio must: a) assist in the conservation work, b) support the agricultural activities of the population, c) assist in the activities undertaken by the young population of Urok; and, d) above all, foster communication among the population of the three islands in all their actions. By consensus, it was decided that religious and political party issues have no place in the radio, due to the various religious denominations represented in the Islands; and, it was also determined that the radio is nonpartisan, dealing, therefore, with policy issues in a transparent and neutral way.

In specific regard to the type of communication, it was agreed that one of the purposes of community radio is to promote language and local culture for the appreciation of different cultures and ethnicities that are present in the Urok Islands. For the designation of the name of the radio, it was unanimously accepted from the proposal of one of the female representatives of Comité de Gestão Urok (Management Committee of Urok or CGU), that the name *Fala di Urok* should be adopted. All of these preliminary decisions were taken to the plenary session of the 10th Assembléia Geral Urok (General Assembly Urok or AGU) and the AGU validated the work of the CGU.

Henriques explains that:

> "[…] the identification and definition of these common symbolic elements, that can be easily decoded and shared, are those that best reflect the causes, through the search for inclusive identities that help to organise community life and collective solidarity; allowing, therefore, transcending more immediate instrumental goals, without compromising the level of consciousness, through

an attitude of co-responsibility on the part of the society, ie, the identification
with the mobilising causes the mobilising project" (2004, pp. 24-25).

For members of the AMP in Urok, the fact that their voices could reach places that under normal circumstances they would not, mainly due to distance and time factors, and the full conviction that they could not regress made the subject of the 'radio' a recurring theme in the existing consulting spaces (ie. in the meetings of the Tabancas Committees, Island Assemblies, Youth Forum, Meeting of Young Girls and above all in Urok's General Assembly). Here, the element of 'community radio' was understood as a pathway for debate for a change. Beyond the mere dissemination of information locally, it was understood that other national communities would gain knowledge of their existence and about the processes in which they participate. [164]

Analysing the use of airtime from the point of view of broadcast content, we observe that *Fala di Urok* runs weekly for 14 hours, meaning two hours a day, with the exclusive participation of local actors in the production, editing and presentation of programmes. The content is always run in the evening, a clear strategy for targeting a greater community audience as most have finished the workday. Many gather together: groups of friends; families or those who share interests. The radio becomes a connection and meeting place and opportunity for sharing experiences (see the programming schedule in the table below):

Programming Schedule of the Community Radio *Fala di Urok*				
Nº	PROGRAMME	DESCRIPTION OF THE PROGRAMME	PERIODICITY/LENGTH	
			Day of the week	Time
1	*Espaço Jovem*	Programme oriented to culture, interview with youngsters in their tabancas; presentation of cultural initiatives, space for song dedication, local and national music	Sunday	21h20 - 21h50
2	*Cantiga di Irã (Traditional Songs)*	Reclaim and dissemination of traditional Bijagó songs, interviews and discussions about their content	Monday	21h20 - 21h50
3	*Nô Pensa Urok (Reflections about Urok)*	Space for general information about AMPC Urok; debate about issues and challenges of participatory governance in the AMPC Urok; news	Tuesday	21h20 - 21h50
4	*Rádio Escolar (Scholar Programme)*	Broadcast of academic learning contents, problems faced in school and	Wednesday	21h20 - 21h50

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[164] The Radio *Fala di Urok* is made by the community and for the community. Its structure was defined as follows: The Coordination Council consists of a Main Entertainer - which will be the main responsible for supervising the radio and shall report its activities to the AGU, one or more member(s) of CGU - which will monitor the work and report regularly to the CGU about the operation of the radio, a Council of Elders or a member of the Youth Forum Urok, and a technician from Tiniguena - will assist primarily in the gathering of writing teams - made up of entertainers, speakers and writers - and Technique - formed by sound effects, responsible for energy and heritage - the improvement of the respective work.

		community outreach; radioteatre to promote awareness in the community about environmental education and involvement in school management		
6	*Kebur (Agricultural Programme)*	Information and awareness about family and integrated farming; pests combat, advice on cultivation techniques; interactive discussions	Thursday	21h20 - 21h50
7	*Djumbai ku piscaduris (Fisherman Programme)*	Space devoted to talks with resident and nonresident fishermen; information about maritime participative surveillance activities; open lines for fishermen at sea	Friday	20h30 - 20h55
8	*Tina na tchon di Urok (space for entertainment groups)*	Space for free activities and entertainment	Saturday	21h10 - 21h40

One realises a strong concern in the prioritisation of programmes oriented towards information and awareness. In a transversal way, the issues projected by AMPC are overwhelmingly present in the majority of programmes. It is hard to decode whether AMPC content is integrated in the programmes or whether the programmes seek to convey AMPC's issues. The kinds of issues raised not only deal with aspects related to governance and culture, but also with socio-economic activities at sea and on land.

An interesting feature is the strategy of radio-theatre used in the school program, aimed at environmental education and also at building the community's awareness of the need for greater involvement in school management. This strategy enables creative and entertaining communication with scholastic content, linked to issues that regard the protected area. It contributes to levels of knowledge and appropriation of themes related to conservation and directed to all age groups, from children to adults.

Finally, the use of Creole and Bijagó as languages of communication, on the one hand, allows for access to a greater audience. On the other hand, the fact that speakers can communicate in languages whose codes they master reinforces aspects of identity. It is possible to penetrate emotional and affective territories, enhancing the interactivity between speakers and listeners who call in the radio programmes, even finding themselves in contexts where the access to mobilephone credits and money are tight.

Understanding the challenges and appropriation of a citizen action: the impact of community participation and communication in the process of participatory governance

The Bijagós have always used the staging of performances associated with different dances to talk about their daily lives, their relationship with nature, to celebrate rites of passage, or simply in expression of moments of happiness or 'competition' between different *tabancas*. Such performances usually have a more anthropomorphic characteristic, where animals and inanimate objects take human forms, constituting an important part of the Bijagó social imaginary.

On the other hand, today's popular theatre has a more realistic and utilitarian character. It is also based on day-to-day life and it is concerned with the questioning of everyday matters, related in most cases to the shared governance of AMPC Urok. However, according to one of the interviewees, the importance that the entertainment groups gained within the community became a paradoxical situation:

> "[...] [Theatre] now has a great strength. Any activity is only about theatre, during the general assembly, during major meetings, only theatre is featured. Young people who practice traditional culture are no longer valuing what they have. The situation is complicated, if it continues like this, with youngsters who think that they are too developed to follow the tradition, we will end up losing it [...] Currently, it is easy to find theatre costumes in any home, in any tabanca, unlike traditional robes. Girls sew best costumes for theatre than traditional clothes. That worries me a lot. I am not saying that the theatre should end, but we should encourage more our traditional culture" (Baldé, 2012, pers. comm, 15 March).

According to this perspective, if on one hand, the entertainment groups have as an objective to reclaim the Bijagó values and see their presentation to the general community as a way to promote them; on the other hand, it seems to contribute to the abandonment of such responsibilities by the community members that are not part of these groups. In the opinion of Aliu, despite its important social function, the entertainment groups simply represent one form of reality. Therefore, they cannot and should not be taken as the only reality or the only alternative in terms of cultural expression.

This concern is legitimate. However, in our view, the risk posed to heterogeneity is very small. The structures of cultural reproduction in the group are very consistent. For example, dances simply cannot be lost because they are a fundamental part of the socialisation process of the Bijagó individual. Yet, importantly learning the dances alongside other group values is the precondition for the rise and social differentiation within the group. Therefore, a cultural entertainment activity is just a new source of information within a new context, which brings with it important contributions to the community, but also new challenges.

Somehow, popular theatre groups, due to the nature of their communications, managed to successfully problematise knowledge of the local reality (including criticism about the actors involved in the governance structure of the AMPC) for a better understanding. Through their actions they became important facilitators of interactions between individuals and communities, to the extent that structures and communities received and integrated their interpellations, and to the extent that they react and reinterpret them in their ongoing activities.

It is in this sense, that the media produced by organised sectors of the subaltern classes, or organically linked to them, has created a fertile field for the development of education for citizenship. The relationship between education and communication is explicit, since the people involved in such processes develop their knowledge and change their way of seeing and relating with society and with the system of the means of mass communication itself.

The members of the theatre group are also producers and presenters of radio programmes with a cultural and socio-environmental character. In this context, this is an articulation of popular theatre and participatory community radio. By means of appropriation techniques and using the technological tools of communication, members of the theatre group acquire a more critical vision through the information they receive and what is learned from one own's experience and practice. This enables the dissemination of content to all communities.

One cannot overlook the important role that the community plays in the development of content broadcast over the radio. As substantiated by Moran (1989), the community participates and analyses the processes and the media from a particular vantage point or condition, in this case, as members of a protected area. Following this line of thought, it is easy to understand why the speakers of *Fala di Urok* do not start from an isolated and despotic position, but from various discussions that the speakers themselves have the opportunity to witness and/or carry out the day-to-day life of the community into which they are inserted, and yet are aware that the other radios will not transmit their realities and dynamics portrayed by them. All content that is produced reflects this 'experiential' aspect and is based on the pillars of AMPC, namely, a) the environment, b) Participatory and Durable Development and c) Culture.

When this stage of critical participation of the citizen in communities is reached, the processes of behavioural change in relation to the conservation of spaces is addressed, and vital resources for survival and the maintenance of identity are secured. In a wider perspective and with a view towards the future we should hope to see a greater level of ownership of the mechanisms of sustainability by local actors. Meanwhile information and communication technologies, based on traditional knowledge and local culture maintain a presence, as well.

Conclusion

When reflecting on the processes of change in behaviour and conservation practices in protected Guinean areas, one observes that the issue of sustainability is central to the concerns and initiatives of a variety of actors (individual and collective) with divergent perspectives. In some cases, as highlighted by De Souza Silva (2004), these actors push for changes in aid of greater sustainability, without understanding the genesis of their vulnerability or the way this manifests itself. The majority is satisfied by drafting a new document, without, taking pause to assess new forms of interpretation and intervention.

Even if the appropriation of a particular technological handling ability may facilitate the access to networks and *status* mobility, it does not imply that this this will occur in an effective way, enhancing participatory possibilities. It does not ensure that connections, alliances, technological achievements and above all, the efforts to manage territories and preserve the biodiversity will come together in the best way.

The experience of AMPC Urok demonstrates the link between biodiversity conservation and the sustainable use of resources, not imposed from an 'outsider' perspective, but based on the conciliation at local levels. The use of subsistence means was coupled with a cultural model, capable of helping create opportunities and capacities for action of the resident population of the area, as well as drawing connections between the management of protected areas and sustainable development. It allowed the communities living in these areas, through multiple uses of innovative technological resources, to reclaim traditional knowledge and techniques for their integration into the management system of spaces and resources vital to their survival, not only through development projects, but also the promotion of cultural and communicational initiatives.

It is in this way that the socio-cultural entertainment activities based on a changed knowledge of reality are an ideological support for the actions taken in both popular theatre and the participatory community radio. The impacts of these activities are most visible in the growing awareness of the community, who begin to realise a greater autonomy and social change through the effective participation of all.

However, for the actors involved in the process of shared governance, the ongoing prospects for social change and participation depend upon the creation of a community training programme based in a school of thought that emphasises issues related to environment and culture. The contents of such a proposal should be based around "the development of human talents and citizenship" (Sambonino, 2013, p. 7).

Hence, we conclude that there is a need to reflect on the potentials of information and communication technologies that can be integrated within the systems and governance of natural and socio-political heritage. We also conclude that questions of culture, modernity and public policies with a socio-environmental impact should also be considered. As Ouriques (2009) maintains, the paradigm shift from development to involvement will occur when the force of sustainable acts and a culture of exchange merge to generate an autonomous society, an unconditioned culture, that is founded in the exercise of strong citizenship.

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