CHANGING AIRWAVES: IDENTITY, PRACTICE, AND THE PLACE OF RADIO IN

THE LIVES OF CONNECTED COMMUNITIES

by

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A DISSERTATION

Presented to the School of Journalism and Communication
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

September 2014

DISSERTATION APPROVAL PAGE

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Title: Changing Airwaves: Identity, Practice, and the Place of Radio in the Lives of Connected Communities

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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Doctor of Philosophy

School of Journalism and Communication

June 2014

Title: Changing Airwaves: Identity, Practice, and the Place of Radio in the Lives of Connected Communities

This dissertation is a case study of Radio Bilingüe, a community-driven, non-profit, radio network with transnational reach. With this case, I examine the reasons that gave way to the development of the radio, including focusing on the roles of media practitioners as producers of radio content and facilitators of community participation and the significance of the radio in the lives of Latino communities living across the United States. Methodologically, this is a qualitative study based on ethnographic methods of inquiry and archival research. Through ethnographic methods, it was possible to describe the roles of media practitioners, while archival research was carried out to gather a number of primary and secondary documents, which were analyzed through textual analysis to piece together the history of Radio Bilingüe. Throughout the study I weave together a few interrelated areas: first, I chronicle the history and structure of the radio station that for nearly 34 years has been at the service of underserved and under-presented Latino immigrants living in the United States; second, I examine the profession of media practitioners and their participatory practices for community engagement; and finally, I discuss the place of the radio in the lives of its listening audience to understand

how it helps sustain community ties and shape identity across local, national, and

transnational places.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To my loving husband Thom for his unwavering support and for always believing in me.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is a case study of a grassroots and community-led public radio network with transnational reach called Radio Bilingüe. With this case, I examine how the radio plays a crucial role as a mediator of community and culture in the lives of diasporic and transnational subjects. More specifically, I focus on understanding how Latinos, as immigrants to the United States, use the radio to shape collective identity and build community ties across local, national, and transnational borders.

I take two inter-related approaches to understanding how community is sustained and identity represented over the radio. First, I examine the ways Radio Bilingüe's radio producers —which I refer to as media practitioners— create a culture of participation that brings the listening audience into conversation with one another, and therefore, develop a deeper sense of being and belonging within the community. This approach focuses on the profession and participatory practices of media practitioners to explain how they help maintain community among Latino immigrants within the United States. The second approach considers the role of the radio as mediator of community and culture across local, national, and transnational borders. In particular, it examines the social and cultural practices of representation that are expressed over the radio by Radio Bilingüe's *connected community*. In other words, I take into account the dialogues, stories, traditions, and experiences of the community to understand how they shape identity, and create connections with one another through the radio.

General Overview

Radio Bilingüe was launched on July 4, 1980, with the goal of addressing the lack of Latinos' access to and participation in the United States' media landscape. For over 30 years this not-for-profit, educational, public radio network headquartered in Fresno, California, has served as a valuable medium for the representation of underserved and under-represented Latinos in the United States; including the working poor, farm-workers, and indigenous communities. The core listening community who makes up the radio's target audience are individuals who identify as Latin American, although primarily from Mexico.

By Latin American, I refer to the people who originate from South America, Central America, the Caribbean, and Mexico. Latin Americans, or Latino people, are from a number of national backgrounds; they are multi-ethnic, as well as racially and linguistically diverse. In addition, there exist class differences and Latinos in the United States (as in their countries of origin) belong to a variety of different socio-economic and class positions, which has, in most cases, strongly determined their place of settlement and the professions they hold as immigrants to this country. Additionally, Latinos in the United States are a multi-generational community made up of individuals who are first and second generation Latino, and including subsequent U.S.-born people of Latino descent whose parents or grandparents were immigrants.

The Latino community who listen and participate with Radio Bilingüe live in a number of different cities across the countries that make up the North American Free Trade belt: the United States, Mexico, and Canada. They are a community who are both diasporic and transnational, in that some have fled their native countries for political

reasons and cannot return, while others, due to economic causes move back and forth between their native homes and the U.S. More on the conditions of Latino immigration to the U.S. will be discussed in chapter four.

Historically, the community that Radio Bilingüe has served the most is the farm-working community of California's Central Valley. They are a Latino community living in the United States at the margins of mainstream society and culture, who include the poor and indigenous communities. Farm-working communities today remain chained to the conditions of the past; the conditions many tried to escape in their native lands. They are a community who everyday experiences the Third World in the First World. They are people who are treated as neo-slaves of contemporary society in the United States. They are forced to work for Third World wages under substandard conditions; who are de-humanized, as well as excluded from political processes or refrained from engaging in political activism, like forming labor unions for example. Farm-working communities also continue to be victims of racial and ethnic discrimination, similarly to what they may have experienced in their country of origin, which has greatly prevented them from fully participating and feeling included in the broader mainstream society.

What's more, the mainstream media has helped legitimize Mexican and other Latino farmworkers as Third World subjects and as people who don't belong in the West. Put differently, they represent "the other" because their traditions, values, and views, are markedly different from and do not fit into the images of the American way of life that are portrayed in mainstream media. As Mitchell (1996) suggests, "the representation of migrant workers as naturally suited for labor supply, and their denial of status as active subjects, de-humanizes and objectifies them as labor power (p. 83). This narrative for

representing farmworkers is rooted in the outdated ideas that they are communities who live on farms or on welfare, who speak little to no English, and are uneducated. The representations are frequently shaped by the political and economic rhetoric of immigration that depicts them as an economic strain to the nation, who are taking jobs away from American workers. These representations belittle farmworkers as social and economic contributors to this country, and seldom are they recognized as key communities to the labor force that has helped the market economy of the United States.

While farmworkers today, are not completely ignored in mainstream media or in public debates, they are considerably underserved and under-represented. Journalist Edward R. Murrow became the first to address the plight of migrant farmworkers in a CBS documentary entitled *Harvest of Shame*. In the documentary, which aired on Thanksgiving Day in 1960, Murrow coined the term "invisible people" to refer to farmworkers, and argued that while most Americans were enjoying the yearly ritual of giving thanks with tables abundant with food, it was the invisible people —migrant farmworkers— who were not invited to the feast, despite the fact they harvested the feast. The term Murrow coined described the state of the farmworker working in corporate farms. It described them as located deep inside the farm lands where they were not likely to be seen by outsiders, always on the move, and had little representation in congress or state legislatures.

Not much has changed since the days Murrow reported on the state of invisible people of the nation. Farmworkers continue to fall through the protective nets that society provides for most of its members. They are invisible to government, as they are to the rest of society (Ashabranner, 1985). Unfortunately, the mainstream media coverage of

farmworkers today continues to be linked to problems of immigration, farm reform, or delinquency in the country. For this reason, they remain one of the most vulnerable populations in the United States. And despite the fact that they are much more visible than they used to be —they have become outspoken in the fight for immigration reform and live in urban areas— they continue to have few of the benefits or guarantees that the average American worker has, such as social security, unemployment insurance, or health insurance.

Today, the core audience Radio Bilingüe continues to serve is the farm-working community who live in the Central Valley, as well as in other places around the country where Radio Bilingüe's programming is broadcast. In addition, the radio serves other underserved and under-represented populations, such as indigenous people from Mexico and Central America, the Native American and Hmong community, among others. Their audience is also composed of a younger generation of Latinos who also work in agriculture, and in service industries across the country. The community the radio serves is, in general, made up of people whose communities have been and continue to be marginalized.

The presence of Radio Bilingüe has been indispensable in the lives of its listening community because it has given them power. It is powerful to have a voice. This is to say, they are represented, and therefore, have the ability to participate in the broader public sphere. Radio Bilingüe has also become significant because it is an institution that serves the singular needs of a community who continue to experience Third World conditions as immigrants living in the United States. It has been, in fact, neo-colonial practices of the West that have devastated the economies of Latin American communities

by "inundating their countries with cheap imports, extracting external debt, abolishing labor legislations, and creating a growing mass of low-paid and unemployed workers" (Petras, 1997, p. 1). As a result, this has pushed many people out of their own countries in search for work and better ways of life. It is indeed a result of neo-colonial practices in the developing world that we come to find "development" in the West where the idea of development was invented.

Being located in the United States has meant that over the years Radio Bilingüe has had to operate within the politics and interests of the state to subsist and serve its community. This means, to a large degree, that the radio has been financed by the state and by other interested philanthropists who claim to support the fight on poverty, or issues of inequality that affect vulnerable populations in the country. Although these relationships with the state and other organizations are necessary to the survival of the radio, they differ in posture. In other words, the state holds an interest in supporting an organization like Radio Bilingüe as a way of fulfilling its own goals and asserting its political power; whereas the radio's posture is to actually empower and mobilize the interests of the poor.

Another interesting aspect of the work of Radio Bilingüe, is that the projects and programming that are carried out are structured around participatory models of development for social change that are used in the developing world. The radio is invested in having community participation in the various decision-making processes of producing radio content, as well as giving the community ownership over the radio. And it is the media practitioner's valuable contributions that make community participation possible.

In this study, the radio producers at Radio Bilingüe are referred to as *media practitioners*[1]. Media practitioners are the development communicators or new communicators of highly industrialized countries, like the United States. They are at once the people who serve the community by carrying out the projects and programming at the radio station, but they are also members of the community they serve. They are people (like their listeners) who embody multiple aspects of being immigrants to the United States; they constantly navigate the homeland and the host land, engage in Third and First world relationships and dialogues over the radio, and try to make sense of who they are in relationship to the communities they occupy. They are subjects living in diaspora who regularly engage their community across local, national, and transnational spaces.

At the same time, media practitioners take on multiple roles within their community. They are community members, liaisons, educators, experts, healers, peers, etc. They have a stake in assisting the welfare of their broader Latino community, and an interest in diversifying mainstream perspectives of Latinos in the United States. Therefore, understanding the work and experiences of the media practitioners can help put into perspective the ways in which identity is negotiated across multiple spaces, and the ways community is sustained over and through the radio.

Radio Bilingüe has grown from the bottom-up with the help of the most vulnerable people living within our nation's borders. Despite financial strain, the fact that the radio has existed for over 30 years is a testament to the need for institutions like these that can serve the needs of the poor. As a media institution, Radio Bilingüe can teach us a lot about the place of diasporic and transnational subjects living in the United States. It

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[1] The concept of media practitioner is derived from Gumucio Dragón's (2009) concept of *new communicator,* which is referred to as a mixture of experience in development, with a special sensibility for working with communities, and the knowledge of communication tools and technologies.

can help us make sense of how the media play a role in representing minority community needs, about how community is built across borders, and about the fluidity of identity as these communities negotiate a sense of being and belonging in the place they live while remaining connected to the place they came from. What's more, this case also makes us aware that geographical location no longer determines where the Third World can be found. It exists in the most industrialized nations of what it is now termed the Global North, as it does in the Global South.

Finally, studies that focus on identity and community, should consider the broader relationships among media, diaspora, culture, community, and practice, as a way of making sense of how identity and community are often mutually constructed through the radio's space, or put differently, the broadcasting space where people's stories, dialogues, and views are expressed. In order to understand these relationships I examine three distinct areas: first, the structure and function of Radio Bilingüe as a media institution for the broader Latino community it serves; second, the work of media practitioners as producers of radio content and integral role in building community; and third, the relationship between the media and the experiences of the listening community which help articulate a new sense of being and belonging that is shaped as a result of their experiences as immigrants.

Diaspora and the Media

The notion of diaspora has been generally understood as the dispersal of particular populations to different parts of the world due to exile or colonization, products of systems of political domination and economic inequality. The term has also implied "an

ongoing relationship between migrants' homelands and their places of work and settlement" (Verhulst, 1999, p. 30) that effect changes in politics between "home" and "host" nations. Scholars have argued that diasporas can be understood as scattered populations gathering in global cities (Bhabha, 1994) for a substantial time in which, as Wright and Oñate (2007) suggest, "transnational ties to the homeland are maintained" (p. 31). These definitions suggest that members of a diaspora are a community in permanent flux that can construct and maintain relationships in physical and virtual ways; therefore, the ideas of "dispersion and connectivity" (Moya, 2004) become central aspects that define contemporary diasporas.

The current study of diasporas has attracted many scholars because, as Flores (2009) argues, "it attests to the massive demographic movement and resettlement at an unprecedented scope and scale, and the need to elaborate names and concepts with which to organize our knowledge of those new conditions (p. 15). For Moya (2004), "the novelty in diaspora studies lies not in a new approach to the study of diasporic peoples but in shifting the subject of study" (p. 7). Rather than focus on traditional conceptualizations or expound on the conditions of what constitutes a diaspora per se, scholars should "suggest taxonomies and periodizations, with a special interest in 'new' or 'global' formations of more recent times" (Flores, 2009, p. 16) as a way of further exploring the theoretical ground around the study of contemporary diasporas. My intention, therefore, is to bring scholarly attention to the ways in which the cultural experiences of a diasporic community are mediated through communication technologies, in particular the radio.

Diasporas, or transnational communities, have long relied on systems of communication to sustain connections across borders. These connections, facilitated by technology and media, generate diverse social and cultural spaces, or 'spaces of identity' (Morley & Robins, 1995), in which identities are negotiated or transformed, and where traditional notions of community —as bounded by place— can be challenged (Fazal & Tsagarousianou, 2002). What's more, through the media space the cultural and media practices of diasporic communities can be sustained and "might forge feelings of 'belonging' and 'bridging' that create mediated, symbolic spaces for political expression, senses of inclusion or/and exclusion, and hybrid identity articulations, which transcend the binary of '*homeland* and *new land*'" (Bailey et al., 2007, p. 6). Through the use of media and communication technologies, members of a diaspora can also manifest power. For example, scholars like Myria Georgiou (2007) have posited that the presence of diasporic media cultures within the West destabilizes the dominant hierarchies of control over cultural resources precisely because its producers, who belong to a particular diaspora, create new spaces for representation, ergo, new ways of imagining themselves, and by extension, their community. In this sense, control over resources by the producers themselves —such as the Radio Bilingüe's media practitioners— is a way of asserting power of the community since they can control how their community is represented, and therefore, have the ability for challenging stereotypical representations created by mainstream media.

Contemporary diasporas are transnational communities because on a regular basis, they cross a number of physical and imaginary borders through the media space. They compel us to rethink our understanding of diasporas themselves and open up new

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possibilities for reflecting on the role media and culture play in shaping identity and building community across borders. The broad definition of diaspora I propose for framing this research, which foregrounds the role of media as an intrinsic part of the contemporary immigrant experience, understands diaspora as a collectivity of people whose members have dispersed to multiple sites for a significant amount of time, during which transnational ties to the homeland are maintained via communication technologies, and where a sense of identity and community are continually negotiated through the media space.

This research examines the construction of Latino identity and community by way of the media space, and it is particularly focused on the Latino diaspora. The members of the Latino diaspora who have participated in this study should be understood as individuals who are first- or second-generation immigrants from Latin America. Although primarily self-identified as Mexican, some individuals are of Central or South American descent, and others self-identified being of indigenous Mixteco descent. These are men and women who have migrated, settled, and are part of the broader Latino collective identity of the United States, although rarely seeing themselves represented in mainstream media, and often having been identified as Hispanic, Latino, Chicano, Mexicano, among others. They are people who have strong connections to their nation of origin, whether in their national identification or familial ties, and have a strong interest in sustaining and enhancing the cultural values of their homeland. Furthermore, these are individuals who have similar histories, similar struggles, and similar aspirations of a better life for their families and their community.

Embodiment of the Media Practitioner

In his work as a development communicator, Gumucio Dragon has long highlighted the need to coalesce technical knowledge, life experience, and people's roles at the center of development projects that seek to achieve social change. He calls attention to the notion of the *new communicator*, which he defines as individuals who have "a mixture of experience in development, a special sensibility to work with communities, and knowledge of communication tools and technologies. They [new communicators] have a practical approach to social reality, with the capacity to elaborate and conceptualize strategies" (The new communicator, 2009). He further argues that new communicators have a strong community-based approach that makes them sensitive to the social and cultural context of the community involved. They have the technological know how to make decisions, develop projects, and engage the community in the process of communication and social change. They are both agents and receivers of change.

The term new communicator has developed out of the need for validating the work that community members perform within communication development projects. In the past, they have also been referred to as development communicators or communication practitioners, among other names, and their work has been an "unrecognized in a low-status, low-formalized, and unstudied occupation" (Porras, 2008, p. 3). Debates and examinations on the work of new communicators exist within the context of the Global South, where projects of development communication are mostly rooted in the traditional view of development-as-modernization approach, many of which are seeded by international development organizations. At its core, however, the term represents a call to the formalization of knowledge and professional expertise that

practitioners posses, as well as a call to study the issue.

This study takes part of the on-going debate of the role of new communicator since it considers the technical knowledge, life experience, and the roles that people engage in advancing media-centered projects while at the same time build identity and community through the radio space. The stark difference, however, between Gumucio Dragon's description of the new communicator and the participants involved in this research, is location.

While this study is not located within the geography of the Global South, I argue that the participants who are involved in this study work toward serving the needs of the marginalized, the under-served, and under-represented communities who have traditionally been seen as subjects belonging to the Global South, such as the poor or people of indigenous descent. In fact, many of the projects the radio and its staff engage are fundamentally projects within the domain of development communication, albeit carried out in the West. In other words, the work that media practitioners carry out seeks the well being of the community within the local context of the United States. Media practitioners work to provide information relevant to the needs of their community — such as access to education, health information, or information regarding the rights of immigrants— as well as provide spaces where the community can assert the culture of their community.

I have elaborated on the notion of the new communicator because there exists little literature or scholarly references that explain the work practitioners do on projects of development communication, and less to none about the work of media or communication practitioners involved in projects of social or cultural welfare and

inclusion in Western countries, especially in the United States.

As a way of defining the participants of this study, I take into account the definition of the new communicator as proposed by Gumucio Dragon to highlight the significance of practitioner's multiple roles to advance a particular goal(s) within a community. However, in this study, I utilize the term "*media practitioner*" to describe the participants who contributed to this study instead of "new communicator" or "radio producer[2]". I emphasize the term media practitioner as a way of accounting for the various social, cultural, and institutional roles they fulfill, as well as acknowledging their personal feelings toward the work they do. In other words, I want to give consideration to the multiple aspects of "being" that these individuals embody; aspects that are multiple and complex, and relevant to understanding of how identity and community are constructed through the work they do through the radio.

As previously mentioned, media practitioners are simultaneously part of the broader Latino diaspora living in various geographical areas of the United States, they are members of the community the radio station serves, they are producers of radio content, journalists, immigrants, community leaders, among other. By acknowledging the various roles they perform at the radio, as well as the various social identities they embody, such as nationality, ethnicity, gender, age, etc., which deeply connects them to their community, we can go beyond understanding what they do at work and provide insights to other aspects of practitioners' lives, such as their personal histories, views, and reasons for doing the work they do.

Media practitioners in this study are staff members or volunteers who are actively

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[2] The term *radio producer, or programmer,* is commonly used among work colleagues at the radio station.

involved in producing radio content and working on other aspects of production at Radio Bilingüe. Although not formally trained as journalists or radio producers, media practitioners have acquired and developed their expertise through hands-on and peer training. Their work includes designing and producing shows, facilitating communication with and for the community, encouraging community engagement, and participating in diverse community projects.

Additionally, media practitioners provide valuable insights as to how community and culture are sustained across borders. On account of the radio space, media practitioners regularly connect and interact with people belonging to various local, national, and international settings, a touchstone of the diasporic experience. For instance, radio associates who work in both Mexico and the United States, share and exchange information and news relevant to people and communities located on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border. These transnational radio segments serve as way for people to stay connected to their places of origin, and to other places they might have a personal relationship to. At the time of this study, the most prolonged and consistent transnational connections occur between Mexico and the United States. Therefore, this study will mainly refer to the interactions and exchanges that media practitioners have sustained between these two places.

The media practitioners at Radio Bilingüe are subjects with agency and not just actors within an observable environment for research. Beyond their active roles as media practitioners and community members, those who have been most directly involved with my research, have been dynamic participants who guided me in the uncovering process of

Radio Bilingüe's history, as well as helping me understand the place of the radio in the lives of their community.

Significance

This study aims to contribute to research on media, identity and culture. It will help define the role of media practitioners within the U.S., add to the current body of knowledge related to media and diasporas, international communication, development communication in the context of Western countries, and cultural studies literature that pays attention to issues of culture, power, and representation. The examination of diasporic and transnational experiences is a relevant topic of study since it is interested in gaining a greater understanding of how culture is produced in the social imaginary of people as mediated by media space. Since much of the academic study about diasporas and the diasporic experience has been carried out by scholars in the European Union (e.g., de Leeuw & Rydin, 2007; Fazal & Tsagarousianou, 2002; Georgiou, 2007), little scholarship has focused on Latino diasporas and media culture in the United States (e.g., Rios & Gaines, 1998; Davila, 2000; Pérez et al., 2010). This study contributes to expand that scholarly discussion.

Additionally, the study of Radio Bilingüe might be of interest to current and future scholars since there have been limited studies about this radio network. Currently, there are two big-data, foundation-sponsored studies that have been carried out at Radio Bilingüe: a 2006 Rockefeller-funded survey that assesses the impact of the program *La Hora Mixteca* (The Mixtec Hour) on its listeners, and a 2009 study on audience behavior related to the program *La Cultura Cura* (Culture Heals). Although there is significant

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documentation in the form of newspaper articles which has covered Radio Bilingüe

actions and events over the years, there are no formal scholarly works that contextualize

the overall history of the radio station or the work its media practitioners engage. As

such, this study is an initial effort to formally document the history of Radio Bilingüe and

the significant role its media practitioners play in shaping identity and a community

through the radio space.

Not only will this study serve as a solid base for others to build on and expand,

but as a whole, it will provide greater enrichment and nuance in the scholarly

interpretation of Spanish-language public radio with transnational reach, and to our

understanding of the diasporic experience across the fields of media studies. It will shed

light to the global dimensions of community media, which are relevant to international

communication studies; it will provide insights into the work of media practitioners that

development communication studies has recognized as valuable; and, overall, contribute

to the ongoing conversation about multiculturalism in the 21st century.

Next Chapters

Chapter II provides the theoretical framework and literature review of the study. It

begins by providing a historical approach of the role of media in society and gives

attention to the phenomenon of globalization to discuss the local-global interactions that

take place among transnational and diasporic subjects. This discussion provides a

foundation for thinking about *connected communities* as a group of individuals who

engage both diasporic and transnational exchanges through the media as a way of

building community through a shared identity. Additionally, this chapter reviews the

literature within development communication as a way of discussing development within the context of globalization. I include a review of participation and participatory practices of communication since it has relevance to understanding the work of media practitioners, and the role of community-driven media to engage people in different forms of participation. This chapter also includes a discussion on identity, culture, and the media, to make sense of the way marginalized Latino communities living in the United States use the radio as a way of representing identity and creating a sense of belonging within local, national, and transnational contexts. At the end of this chapter, I provide the research questions for this study.

Chapter III describes the methodological approach to this study. It defines the qualitative orientation, research questions, methods for data collection, participants, writing and analysis. Chapter IV provides the background of Latinos in the United States, and principally, Latinos in the state of California, and it describes the emergence of Spanish-language radio in the American broadcasting system. Chapter V answers to the first question of this study chronicling the history and function of Radio Bilingüe from a single radio station serving the Central Valley region, to transnational radio network reaching Latinos in Mexico and Canada.

Chapter VI responds to the second research question by describing the profession of media practitioners. This chapter introduces the media practitioners by discussing who they are as individuals and professionals. It also provides a number of examples of participatory strategies of media production that media practitioners use to engage their listening audience, and explains how Radio Bilingüe provides access, participation, and self-management of the media enterprise to is community.

Chapter VII explores the idea of connected communities to examine the role of the radio in the lives of Latino immigrants. It pays special attention to the social and cultural practices of representation the community engages to define the identity of their community as it take place over the radio. This chapter addresses the third research question. Finally, Chapter VIII draws conclusions about the study and provides some recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

To examine the case of Radio Bilingüe, this research draws on a rich and diverse range of literature, such as those related to media, development, identity, and culture. I use the frameworks of international communication and development communication, to examine how projects and media and development play out in Western contexts. Also, I use this framework to understand the profession and participatory practices media practitioners engage as they work to produce radio content aimed to educate, inform, and entertain the listening community. In addition, I draw from relevant cultural studies literature to make sense of the ways members of the Latino community living in the United States use media to represent identity and maintain community across local, national, and transnational borders.

Some of the scholarship within international communication has focused on debates about the relationships between 'local' and 'global' forces, or on analysis of the role of media and communication technologies in the lives of diasporic communities. Within the international communication framework, diaspora and transnational studies and theories offer significant contributions for examining the experiences of people's movement in relationship to media where identity can be re-constructed, renewed, or fragmented, as well as helping understand how a sense of community is shaped through media.

Within the field of development communication, studies have focused on understanding the role of development communicators and the participatory practices they employ while engaged in projects of social change rooted in developing nations.

Similarly, this study aims at understanding the roles and practices of media practitioners, but in the context of the United States. As such, the term media practitioner is used as a way of examining their profession in relationship to that of development communicators; but with the distinction that media practitioners operate in the context of the United States.

The development communication literature useful to this study is drawn primarily from critical perspectives on communication and development. This literature offers alternative views for understanding projects of development and social welfare by focusing on the work that media practitioners carry out in local contexts; therefore, serving as a good example for how these projects compare to those carried out in Western ones. Moreover, it lets us consider structural differences of how media development projects are carried out between the North and South. In other words, we can examine the ways marginalized communities in the United States gain access to non-commercial, educational, public media institutions; it considers how participation is embedded in the work of the radio, and the ways the self-management[3] of the communication enterprise can affect processes of social change in highly industrialized nations.

This approach to thinking about the existence of the Third World in the United States will contribute to understanding media development since this also exists beyond the Global South. Put differently, the notion of development should be also seen as part of the realities of the First World, in that the conditions of marginalized communities that exist within it —such as the poor and the underserved— are a result of neo-colonial and neo-liberal practices pushing people to the margins. Locating the Global South in the

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[3] Access, participation, and self-management are concepts put forth by UNESCO (1977) regarding participatory communication.

North, therefore, lets us critique the way capitalistic societies have been instrumental to the creation of their own Third World, as well as putting into perspective how the effects of globalization have driven marginalized communities to develop their own networks and projects of development to address the needs of their communities formed in highly industrialized countries.

Finally, throughout the analysis, I employ a cultural studies lens to understand the place of culture in the process of constructing identity through the radio's media space. By media space I refer to the dialogic or communicative quality of the radio as an oral medium for communication where conversations, exchanges, and negotiations among the community take place. The dynamics between culture and identity convey some of the most fundamental issues for communities in diaspora, such as understanding how they build a sense of belonging or the challenges they may face in the representation of their people and communities. Mayo (2000) has suggested that questions of culture and identity are often concerned with how communities see themselves, how they analyze their situations, and how they come to envision the possibilities of change. In other words, diasporic and transnational communities are concerned with representation. Therefore, I review relevant literature to make sense of how culture operates within the context of the community-driven public radio and the role it plays in the representation and re-articulation of identity for a Latino community who tend to be underserved and under-represented in mainstream media.

The following section of this chapter will first present a brief review of international communication literature and discuss some central concepts for unpacking this study, such as, the concept of globalization —which examines local-global

connections that take place among communities in diaspora. This section also outlines the idea of a "connected communities," a concept that draws together the diasporic and transnational conversation by explaining how through the notion of connectivity, the radio can foster a sense of community across borders and make sense of how identity is constructed. The idea of a connected community, therefore, will help elucidate the many dimensions of 'connection' that are engaged through the media space by communities in diaspora.

Next, the chapter reviews literature within development communication, especially scholarship dealing with participatory communication strategies and techniques for achieving social change. This conversation includes thinking about the ways communication is initiated, the reasons for establishing communication with a particular community, making sense of how decisions are made, and how media practitioners may encourage community participation. What's more, perspectives of the multiplicity paradigm are discussed in order to move beyond traditional modernization views and take into account the sorts of globalizing factors that might impact the democratization of communication within marginalized communities living in the United States.

The last section of the literature review focuses on scholarship relevant to understanding how identity is represented and re-articulated in connection to marginalized Latino communities living in the United States. Of particular interest, however, is the examination of how social and cultural practices of representation are expressed through the radio's media space.

International Communication

International communication is probably as old as society itself—it has occurred ever since people organized themselves into communities and began to exchange ideas, products, language, etc., (Mowlana, 1996; Thussu, 2008). The study of international communication as a field is more recent, however. This ever-growing subfield of communication and media studies can be traced to the United States as early as World War I. During this period in time, a great deal of focus was placed on the role of media and communication in the war efforts (Mowlana, 1997), particularly the use of propaganda for the control of public opinion. Yet, after World War II and the rise of nation-states and the independence of colonies from European powers, the focus of the field expanded to understanding the role of media in international political, cultural, and economic areas. Mohammadi (1997) argues that after World War II, "it became quite obvious that certain types of information were very powerful for the maintenance of peace and tranquility in the international system" (p.1), particularly as the United States emerged as a dominant political power and often employed the media, as well as information and communication technologies (ICTs) as tools for economic, military, and cultural domination.

At the end of WWII, and in the course of the Cold War years, the field of international communication moved away from studies on the control of public opinion through propaganda and shifted its focus on the modernization model of development (an area of study that greatly overlaps with Development Communication). The reason for this shift in the field had been prompted by many of the global changes happening in the world at that time. These included the geopolitical division of the world into First-,

Second-, and Third-World nations, the rise of a number of national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America that altered the political landscape of the world, and the increasingly evident structural inequalities in systems of international communication between the Global North and South. Additionally, debates in regards to the modernization paradigm, especially as it related to development, were grounded on the notion that international systems of communication should become a vehicle for transferring Western economic and political models of development as a way to transform or "modernize" traditional societies (Lerner, 1958). However, major shortcomings in the process of modernization —such as the failure to recognize economic disparities among nations, as well as political, social, and cultural dimensions of development— limited the participation of non-Western nations and, in fact, reinforced the dependency of the Third World on First-World nations.

Nonetheless, frustrations with Western-driven models of modernization emerged and many began to consider these models a continuation of colonial practices that increased under-development in their countries. Leaders of less-developed nations argued that there was a socio-technological imbalance between the West and the rest, and therefore, information and communication systems –including the role of the media-resembled the conventional political character of foreign policy and international politics of the time. This meant that there was a *one-way flow* of information in international media (Carlsson, 2005), where the flow was seen to move from "the centre to the periphery, which created a wide gap between the haves and have-nots" (Thussu, 2000, p. 31).

This one-way flow of media reflected a lack of respect for less-developed nations and their people's cultural identity, it created a structure of dependency with economic, political and social implications for poor societies since the media landscape was dominated by Western-based transnational corporations. To this point Masmoudi (1979) argues "information was treated by the transnational media as a 'commodity' and subjected to the rules of the market… and the entire information and communication order was part of and propped international inequality and mechanisms of neo-colonialism" (Thussu, 2000, p. 32).

By the 1970s, as a result of the imbalances that existed in the international media landscape, Third World leaders demanded a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). The principal complaint was that the flow of news and information around the world was biased and in favor of industrialized countries. This bias could be seen in the ways most media flows were exported by Western countries and imported into developing nations. Additionally, Western media's dominance presented exploitative and distorted views of developing nations to the rest of the world. Therefore, in 1977, under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the MacBride commission was formed as a way of submitting information and communication-related issues on to the global agenda that could potentially help level the international media playing field. By 1980, the commission submitted a final report entitled *Many Voices, One World* also known as the MacBride Report, which was named after the chair of the commission, Sean MacBride.

The MacBride report centered on enhancing national sovereignty (meaning autonomy and self-determination) in the sphere of communications, along with efforts to

enhance professionalism among media professionals and democratize media systems

(MacDowell, 2002). Although the report did not offer concrete solutions to the existing

issues with global communications at the time, it did provide support toward the demands

of less-developed nations, which were distilled into four distinct areas: support for

development (national communication policy, building of infrastructures, journalism

education), *decolonization* (recognition of cultural identity), *democratization* (balanced

flows of information, allotment of radio frequencies, satellite capacity, and

telecommunications), and *demonopolization* (regulation of transnational corporations).

Opponents to NWICO, however, argued that the demand for a new order was an excuse

for Third World dictators to "suppress media freedom, to impose censorship and keep

away foreign journalists" (Thussu, 2000, p. 35), an excuse used by Western opponents as

a way to maintain dominance in the international landscape. As a result to the continual

resistance to adopting NWICO, in the 1980s, the proposition for a new order ceases to

exist[4].

It's not until the 2000s, after the introduction of internet into the public that new

questions about the technological and digital divide in the world re-emerges on the global

stage. Under the umbrella of the United Nations, a World Summit on Information Society

(WSIS) was created as a way of "developing and fostering a clear statement of political

will and a concrete plan of action for achieving the goals of the information society" (UN

website, 2013). The chief concern of WSIS is to bridge the global digital divide by

eliminating the disparities in access to the internet and digital communications between

the developed and less-developed nations. The real impact of WSIS, however, will

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[4] The dissolution of NWICO was also prompted by United States withdrawal from UNESCO in 1985, followed by Great Britain's withdrawal in 1986.

depend on how well government's, the private sector, civil society, and other relevant enterprises are willing to work together to truly bridge the digital divide that exists in the world.

Throughout its history, international communication has been closely related to economic, military, cultural, and political power since all of them depend on efficient systems of communication. This wide approach allows scholars to examine issues related to propaganda through media, the unbalanced flow of information between nations, culture and cultural commodification, the role of the state in shaping national media, the technological imbalances developing nations face, the impact of local and global processes as a result of transnational media (Mohammadi, 1997; McDowell, 2002), as well as issues related to the digital divide, to name a few. Therefore, this study can be placed in the purview of international communication because it becomes part of the broader conversation within the field concerned with addressing issues such as the right to access to media and information and communication technologies, it can highlight the challenges of representation of marginalized communities, especially as mainstream media tends to misrepresent or not represent them, and it extends the conversation of how to foster respect for the cultural identity of minority populations in the current media landscape of the United States and world.

Globalization

The discourse on globalization is perhaps one of the most wide-ranging theoretical debates that has emerged in the field of international communication. Historically, globalization has been seen as a product of modernization (Giddens, 1990) or as a condition of continual modernization, which Harvey (1991) calls postmodernity. Rantanen (2005) has argued that studies on globalization began in the 1900s within the fields of geography and social science, but it was media and communication scholar Marshall McLuhan (1964) who popularized the connection between media and globalization through his idea of the "global village" as a way of arguing about the interconnection between people and culture through media, technology, and systems of communication.

To date, numerous attempts have been made to define "globalization." For example, Giddens (1990) argues that globalization is the intensification of social relations on a global scale and that local events can influence what happens in distant locations. Thompson (1995) refers to globalization as the "growing interconnectedness of different parts of the world, a process which gives rise to complex forms of interaction and interdependency" (p. 149). Whereas, Robertson (1992) argues that globalization means the intensification of an awareness of the world as a whole.

Other scholars consider globalization a multifaceted phenomenon and have divided its study into three parts: economic, political, and cultural (Rantanen, 2005). One argument on the economic aspects of globalization sees it as the expansion and mutual integration of markets around the globe, an "increasing interdependence of world economies as a result of the growing scale of cross-border trade of commodities and

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services, flow of international capital, and wide and rapid spread of technology"

(Shangquan, 2000). Closely related to economic globalization is political globalization,

which focuses largely on the role of the nation-state over the flow of capital and

information across borders.

Cultural globalization, on the other hand, has been thought of as the

Westernization or Americanization of cultures around the globe. It is largely driven by

corporations, rather than countries, where many "exchanges of cultural products, as well

as a rise of power and visibility of cultural industries" (Held et al., 1999) and consumer

culture are a central concern. Appadurai (1990) has further observed that "the

globalization of culture is not the same as its homogenization, but globalization involves

the use of a variety of instruments of homogenization (like armaments, advertising

techniques, language, hegemonies, and clothing styles) that are absorbed into local,

political, and cultural economies, only to be repatriated as heterogeneous dialogues of

national sovereignty, free enterprise, and fundamentalism in which the state plays an

increasingly delicate role" (p. 42).

Although the concept of globalization has paid much attention to issues of

economy, power and control—and, therefore, to the increasingly transnational character

of the media (Hamelink, 1994)—scholars have also argued that globalization is a key

concept for understanding changes within human society, especially as we move into the

third millennium (Thussu, 2000) where, for example, "issues of globalization become

relevant in thinking about (old and new) potentials and experiences of inclusion in

communities and the public" (Georgiou, 2003, p. 23).

Undoubtedly, a marker of studies related to media, culture and globalization, is its recognition of the important role media and information and communication technologies play in keeping people and communities connected across the globe, and the impacts cross-border connections may have on different communities, as well as on the social, cultural, economic or political environment these communities physically inhabit. And just as economic and cultural industries are increasingly transnational in this era of globalization, so too are social, political and cultural aspects of life that relate to, for example, issues of immigration and identity, which merit further study, particularly in the field of media studies.

Therefore, under the rubric of media, culture and globalization, this study can begin to examine the different social and cultural practices that are "central to the phenomenon of globalization" (Tomlinson, 1999), and comprehend, more deeply, the situation and media experiences of immigrants. This can include thinking about the local and global media connections between people, but also the multiple, and often, fragmented ways culture, community, and identity are constructed through the media space.

<u>Connected Communities</u>

In the course of this study, I use the notion of a "connected communities[5]" (or its singular form "connected community") as an encompassing term that takes into account the similarities and variants between the terms diaspora and transnational; this way, we can examine the experiences of Latino immigrants as they build community and construct identity through the media space. So instead of moving back and forth between terms, a

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[5] The notion of a 'connected communities' has been addressed by Bonnerjee et al (2012) as a way to discuss the politics of scale and cosmopolitanism, and explore connections within and between faith communities and religions diasporas among different cities in the European Union.

connected community acknowledges both the diasporic condition and transnational

exchanges of immigrants in relationship to media. Through this study, therefore, the

examination of a connected community, will highlight the various processes of

communication that occur over the radio space that allow us to interpret how mediated

experiences are tied to local and transnational processes, and therefore, give new meaning

to community and cultural identity.

Although the concepts of "diaspora" and "transnational" are closely related—mainly

because they allude to the "mobility of people, capital, ideas, objects, and the production

of space, networks and politics by and through such mobility" (Blunt, 2007, p. 6)—they

do differ in some ways. A diaspora exists on its own, outside any nation, and despite

location, it is strongly rooted in culture and history. In contrast, a transnational

community is the result of a migration of people who retain ties, familial or otherwise, to

the nation-state they are originally from and who often travel back and forth between the

homeland and the place where they have settled. Dahlman (2004) has suggested that a

"diaspora is often predicated on transnational social relations. However, transnationalism

is not a sufficient condition for diasporas, which implies a territorial identity among its

members, nor are all transnational relations diasporic" (p. 486).

Having a history that dates back further than transnationality (Safran, 1991), the

notion of diaspora has been generally understood as the scattering of particular

populations to different parts of the world due to colonization or exile —a product of

systems of political domination and economic inequality. Flores (2009) has argued that

"diaspora has the ring of antiquity" in that the term evokes images of the dispersal of

Jews from their land, but contemporary diasporas are "transnational communities of the most unprecedented kind" (p. 15).

Blunt (2007) has pointed out that "both the conceptual study of diaspora, and substantive studies of particular diasporas, revolve around space and place, mobility and locatedness, the nation and transnationality" (p. 6). Other research has theorized diasporas in relation to the politics of culture, identity, and hybridity (Hall, 1992; Fazal et al., 2002), while others have stressed that the preoccupation of diasporas lies with the idea of home or a "homing desire" (Brah, 1996) or with the processes of memory and nostalgia in creating connections between the "here" and "there" (Fortier, 2000), where identities emerge out of different negotiations that include both past and present settings, and involves elements of change and continuity (Hall, 1991: 10). Or as Brah (1996) puts it, diasporas are shaped at the intersection of multiple cultural references in that they continue to be attached to their inherited cultural background while breaking away from it and embracing new experiences in the new land.

At present, the concept of diaspora has become indivisible from the process of maintaining, negotiating, and (in some instances) multiplying identity. Certainly, Anderson's (1983) work on national identity has given way to thinking about diasporas as "imagined communities" whose identities are constructed around multiple narratives and discourses. These can include what Bhabha (1994) suggests are "multiple subject positions" where race, gender, institutional location, geopolitical locale, and sexual orientation are part of diasporic identities. Additionally, Kiwan and Minhof (2011) have pointed out that diasporas maintain a sense of community through a range of cultural practices, such as music, the sharing of stories, food, among others.

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Other studies have used different categorizations to understand the complexities of diasporic communities. Vertovec (1999), for instance, whose research has focused on the processes affecting South Asian religions outside of South Asia, has used three categories to conceptualize diasporas. They are *diaspora as a social form* to understand the dynamics of social relationships people form because of commonalities –place of origin, migration routes, etc.; *diaspora as a hype of consciousness* as a way of making sense of social exclusion and discrimination for maintaining a connection to the history and heritage of their homeland; and *diaspora as a mode of cultural production* that focuses on how globalizing factors affect diasporic communities. These categorizations, Vertovec argues, are reinforced via cyberspace, where a connection between the "local" and the "global" is possible.

What's more, Drzewiecka and Halualani (2002) have stated that "understanding diaspora as a communicative phenomenon [as much as a cultural one] can provide great insights for communication and interdisciplinary scholars about the construction of diasporic subjectivities away from, and in memory of, a nationalist homeland as well as the political implication of such identity construction" (p. 341).

Whilst having some overlapping characteristics, the diasporic and the transnational differ in some aspects. The notion of a transnational community has been defined as "made up of individuals or groups that are established within different national societies, and who act on the basis of shared interests and references (which may be territorial, religious, or linguistic), and use networks to strengthen their solidarity beyond national borders (Kastoriano, 2000, p. 353). Traditionally, the term "transnational" has given emphasis "to national, state-controlled borders and centers the nation-state as the primary

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entity migrants interact with" (Stephen, 2009: 1). Hence, transnational migrants or transmigrants (Kearny, 2000) are individuals and communities who call into question the relationships between territory and nation-state, as well as the concept of citizenship. Glick Schiller (2003) offers a broader view of transmigrants, defining them as persons "who having migrated from one nation-state to another, live their lives across borders, participating simultaneously in social relations that embed them in more than one nation-state" (p. 105). Schiller et al. (1992) have defined transnationalism as a process whereby people establish and maintain sociocultural connections across geographical borders. For instance, this can mean that Mexican migrants may simultaneously participate in different political systems as they retain dual citizenship and define their identity in hybrid terms, such as Mexican-American.

Other scholars, including Hannerz (1996), have defined transnationalism as any phenomenon that does not take place within the confines of the state, while others have proposed, albeit narrowly, that transnationalism involves only occupations and activities that require regular and intense contact between two or more nations (Portes, 1998), such as the international trade of goods and services between nations. Transnationalism has also been referred to as "the multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states (Vertovec, 1999). However, inasmuch as cross-border activities have been regarded as the different relationships nation-states take on, or the ways in which multinational institutions or corporations operate in multiple countries, "transnational" also pertains to the sorts of activities immigrants and their everyday experiences initiate and sustain (Lin et al., 2010). Hence, transnationalism can evoke the "textures of everyday life."

Much research has focused on the dynamics of transnationalism as a global phenomenon that links societies through the exchange of information and goods (Kearny, 1991; Rouse, 1995), while other research has centered on processes through which transnational media help maintain ties between communities inside and outside the boundaries of the nation-state (Rodriguez, 2005). Additional scholarly work has described how transnational media helps to conserve cultural traditions or language across borders (Pietikäinen, 2008). Along those lines, Mitchell (2003) argues that a key feature of transnationality refers to "the embodied movements and practices of migrants and/or the flows of commodities and capital, and [we must] analyze these flows with respect to national borders and the cultural constructions of nation, citizen and social life" (in Bonnerjee et al., 2012: 12).

Regardless of the context with which transnationalism is defined, the idea implies an 'exchange' that can be facilitated by systems of communication. And so, media and ICT's have allowed the local, the national, and the transnational to actively interweave in emerging multi-and de-centered cultural spaces, where people experience everyday life (Morley & Robins, 1995). As such, considering the radio as a mediator of local, national, and transnational overlaps, crossovers, or exchanges of experiences, and taking into account the multiple cultural scales and references by which diasporic and transnational communities are shaped, we can better make sense of what it means to be a part of connected communities.

The concept of connected communities implies we take into account people's diasporic and transnational experiences that are part of their everyday life, and understand how they re-contextualized and shared within the radio's media space. Since

the diasporic recognizes the imagined social and cultural conditions of immigrants who have experienced displacement —such has conditions of memory or nostalgia— who yearn for the homeland and keep alive the memory of the home through cultural practices, and since the transnational is about the complex structural ties among the local, the national, and the transnational, we can examine these interweaving relationships within the context of the work media practitioners perform because they are at once, members of a connected community, but also, facilitators of a variety of social and cultural practices which define the identity of the community and help forge cross-border community ties.

With this in mind, this study suggests we consider connected communities a group of individuals who engage both the diasporic and the transnational through the radio. The proposed concept serves to better understand how the notion of identity and community are constantly being negotiated and re-negotiated through the media space available to immigrants, while strengthening community ties across local, national and transnational borders.

The discussion of a connected community is inevitably tied to the notion of space. In this study, I refer the concept of 'media spaces,' an idea often discussed in relationship to diasporas or transnational experiences and media. Albeit mostly Eurocentric, a wide breathe of research exists which discusses the ways media and technology are deeply rooted within the lives of diasporic and transnational communities (Balibar, 1991; Hall, 1992; Cohen, 1997; Verhulst, 1999; Georgiou, 2007, etc.). A prominent observation has been that media and ICT's can link people across multiple transnational spaces, thereby redefining the geographical boundaries of communities.

A "community" is a concept that has been open to a wide range of meanings and interpretations. It has traditionally been defined geographically, as well as in terms of interests, language, and cultural or ethnic similarities. Territoriality has also been understood as a foundation for the formation of communities, whether they are found in small and rural areas or in larger locations, such as an urban neighborhood—as well as for communities that exist on a larger scale, such as a nation or an ethno-cultural diaspora (Silk, 1999). By further expanding the idea of community and examining it in relationship to media and ICT's the idea of community becomes "stretched-out" in that it is no longer bound by place (Massey, 1991). In fact, some researchers have regarded community as a deterritorialized entity, with globalization considered the process that allows communities to straddle the boundaries of the nation-state (Vertovec & Cohen, 1999). For example, Appadurai (1996) has used the concept of "scapes" to explain the web of intersecting global processes in which cultural formations are nurtured. Along with the flow of patterns of media and people, he argues, through various scapes, flows of capital, technology, economy, or ideas can transcend geopolitical boundaries.

The idea of media spaces, therefore, reorganize geographical spaces into a continuum, meaning, that shared experiences are no longer bound by place, but help people and communities maintain active links to one another:

> [D]iaspora groups stay alive [through systems of communication] by linking the margin to the center and the present to the past … through different shared experiences, ones already built and reinvented, ones to be constructed (in the new country with the native inhabitants), ones with people belonging to the same minority group. These experiences are being articulated and constructed in diverse media productions that cut across private and public spaces (Dayan, 1999: 22).

Brah (1996) has used the concept of "diaspora space" to explain how different experiences are articulated by diasporic communities—and to extend the understanding of diasporas beyond communities with common linguistic, social, and cultural patterns to those that encompass homologous social, historic, and economic qualities and whose identity is in continual formation or re-formation. In doing so, Brah pushes our thinking for how diasporic spaces may be developed and shaped by connected communities; especially since they are a community who live in a multicultural society, and who themselves are multi-ethnic and multi-lingual.

In the course of this study, the notion of a media space will be used to refer to the site where conversation, stories and experiences of the Latino diaspora are shared. The media space is where "imagination, cultural life and mediation are closely interlinked. Media help negotiate the content, as well as the context of imagination. They construct images, text and sounds that mediate relations within specific communities, but also mediate connections" (Georgiou, 2007: 3). What's more, and especially relevant to the media practitioners at Radio Bilingüe, is that through the media space minority communities who belong to a particular diaspora can participate and play a significant role in the process of cultural transformation because they can reinvent and redefine cultural identity, but also because it is a way for people to "make connections and transform or challenge traditional notions of community" (Fazal &Tsagarousinou, 2002: 16).

Development Communication

International development, both as theory and as practice, emerged in the post-World War II era and was seen as a way for poor countries to "catch up" with industrial ones by following mainly economic reforms and engaging in Western-like political systems (Isbister, 2001). Thus, development assistance began to unfold with the restructuring of less-developed nations, and continued through the political emancipation of the Third World as numerous multilateral and bilateral agencies began to formally distribute aid to them (Melkote & Steeves, 2001).

The United Nations (UN) was founded in 1945, after WWII, to replace the League of Nations. The aim of the UN was to create a platform for dialogue between nations, and therefore, impede another war from taking place. As a result, the UN stimulated relations among sovereign states, especially between the North Atlantic and developing nations, which included countries emerging out of a colonial pasts (Servaes & Malikhao, 2005). As a way of maintaining world peace through the promotion of international law, economic development, human rights, or democracy, among others, the UN created a number of agencies and programs to aid different sectors across developing countries. These include the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), International Labor Organization (ILO), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and the World Health Organization (WHO), Multilateral aid agencies, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the World Bank. At the same time, the Marshall Plan, or European

Recovery Program (ERP) had been implemented to aid different sectors of Europe as they recovered from the impact of WWII. The Marshall Plan also inspired similar economic projects to aid Third World nations, such as President Harry Truman's (1949) Point Four program, which was aimed at "alleviating suffering" through capital investment and programs of modernization.

The 1950s and 1960s, were considered the first decades of development around the globe, and thus the notion of a modernized world, particularly of nations in development, became a focal point for international relations. In the 1960s, particularly, there was the belief that mass media could easily propagate ideas of change towards a more Westernized models of development. For example, campaigns involving the improvement of agriculture, health, literacy and formal education in less-developed nations with the use of mass media became the objectives of early modernization projects.

Some modernist scholars involved in various aspects of the implementation of development programs around the world included Daniel Lerner. Lerner, who studied communication and development in the Middle East, published *The Passing of Traditional Society* in 1958; a text which is considered an early illustration of the dominant paradigm of modernization in the field of development communication. In his text, Lerner broadly critiques 'tradition' in the Middle East as an obstacle to the economic and democratic political prosperity of the region, in other words, he argues that traditional societies have trouble modernizing because they are hampered by problematic religious beliefs. Wilbur Schramm's 1964 work on the role of media for national development was another significant contribution to development communication

scholarship. Schramm argued that communication could play an important role in the national development of Third World nations in that mass communication could help promote economic growth and social development. His argument was critiqued as a 'top-down' or trickle-down model of development since its main purpose was to spread information through 'big ideas,' or the effective planning of social psychological content of media messages. However, it is these and other scholars of the 1950s and 1960s who help shape what was seen as the pro-innovation period, where the prevailing attitude was that the transfer of media and technology from the Global North to the Global South would transform traditional individuals and societies into modern ones.

Grounded in liberal political theory, and therefore part of Enlightenment philosophy (Melkote & Steeves, 2001), the theory of modernization was first approached as a way of applying Western models of economic growth, expansion of formal infrastructures, and access to technology to solve the underdevelopment problems of developing nations. Politically, the modernization model also aimed at eliminating the spread of communism in Europe, the United States, and the Global South, and it further arbitrarily demarcated the geopolitical divisions of the world into First-, Second-, and Third-World regions.

Development was carried out with an economic determinist mindset that considered the diffusion of technology critical for creating social change (McPhail, 2009). Modernization proponent Everett Rodgers (1981), for instance, argued that economics and science were key for the adoption of new technology and for changing ideas about traditional agricultural practices. Therefore, on the road toward the modernization of Latin America, Africa, and Asia, communication specialists used top-down models and media-based strategies to persuade particular groups to change and adopt new ideas and

practices. This meant that development communication projects were based on the design of communication activities that favored a particular medium (Librero, 1987).

The 1970s and 1980s saw the failure of rural development strategies. Modernization had been understood as a linear process of transfer of information, which at times used strategies of persuasion as way to affect change. Further, the lack of participation by the stakeholders in the development process became a primary concern to those involved in development projects. As a result, development communication practitioners and communication scholars in the United States began to challenge the dominant style of communication research, and they produced projects relevant to the needs of stakeholders and others involved in development campaigns.

Development communication practitioners argued that top-down approaches to communication undermined community knowledge, beliefs, and social systems. In fact, development was often defined "in terms of the adoption of new behaviors or technologies, which were rarely, if ever, examined in terms of their social, political, and economic dimensions" (Mody, 2003, p. 210). Hierarchal and systematic approaches to modernization were criticized as Western capitalist interests imposing themselves onto the Global South through manipulation and domination. These criticisms were not off base—Western governments were securing international power by controlling access to technology and the international flow of information, thereby forcing Third-World nations to become dependent on the West. This was particularly problematic because the standard for an industrial and modern nation, then, was determined by (and, hence, measured against) United States values and way of life. What's more, Western values and

ideals disregarded the historical and social milieu of populations as part of the process of development.

Thus, a push for participatory and theoretically guided practices of modernization that embraced self-reflexivity, or praxis, was proposed as a solution to the dominant paradigm. Accordingly, Steeves (2002) states that "development communication is emancipatory dialogue that leads to the expanded individual and communal consciousness and power, with no hierarchical distinction among participants in dialogue" (as cited in Gudykunst & Mody, 2002, p. 528).

Some of the most vociferous critiques of modernization have emerged from Latin America. For example, in Brazil, Paulo Freire challenged traditional approaches to development through his pedagogy of liberation (1973), which insists that subjugated peoples be treated as fully human subjects in any political process. This implies dialogical communication that erases oppressive divisions between teacher and student, development liaison and client, and researcher and researched, while fostering critical dialogues that take into account the conditions of individuals' everyday life. In other words, a liberating approach to projects of development in the Global South should "deconstruct social contexts, separate out their constituent parts, and reconstruct a thematic universe for pursuing social transformation" (Mody, 2003, p. 212) that engages the people involved in the process of change. As a result, development efforts that put people at the center of change, as agents of change, also "[require] much more than thinking about economic growth; they should encompass the expansion of capabilities and inclusion of issues such as gender equality, health systems, environmental justice, human rights, and corporate responsibility" (Porras, 2008, p. 21).

Throughout the 1990s, other Latin American scholars, such as Barbero (1995) and Escobar (1995), continued to critique the dominant paradigm—and by extension, the forced, false dependency of the Global South on the West. These scholars raised questions about many important issues, including the role of civil society's participation in the discourse of development, the agency of people, and the policy, processes, and actual practice of carrying out development projects. The Latin American critique had been that the dominant paradigm of development was an extension of Western domination. Therefore, the call was for more egalitarian approaches that humanized the process of development, along with addressing the notions of access, participation and self-management. These critiques and demands led scholars to theorize about comprehensive participatory approaches for research, or what is known today as participatory communication.

Contextualizing the Multiplicity Paradigm

Newer perspectives on development communication that are aligned with participatory models have emerged from the criticism of the modernization paradigm. The multiplicity paradigm, also referred to as Another Development by UNESCO, is premised on the idea that we should consider development and its processes "an integral, multi-dimensional and dialectic practice, which can differ from one community to another" (Servaes, 1996, p. 83). That is to say, because each community has its own milieu and culture, it should be treated according to its own history and cultural background.

As a way of contextualizing a paradigm for the 21st century that takes into account the shifts and impacts of globalization on the communities of the world, Servaes (1996) argues:

> No nation functions completely autonomously and is completely self-sufficient, nor is there any nation whose development is exclusively determined by external factors. Every community is dependent in one way or another, both in form and in degree. Thus, one sought a framework in which both the so-called "center" and "periphery" could be studied separately as well as their mutual relationship (p. 86).

Servaes also asserts that some of the parameters of the multiplicity paradigm allow academics, policymakers, Western governments, transnationals, and the broader public to think beyond the modernization perspective that has traditionally emphasized economic growth. The multiplicity paradigm aims to be more people-centered, participatory, and based on local and historically appropriate decisions. It recognizes multiple paths to tackling issues of development in which the involved community defines and contextualizes solutions. And although the multiplicity paradigm is distinguished by its focus on participation, participation is not its only defining characteristic. Other elements, such as issues concerning the communication process and the political implications of communication, are considered part of the multiplicity paradigm. Malikhao and Servaes (1994) have summarized these elements as:

- Deeper understanding of the nature of communication as an exchange of meaning (process and receiver centered)

- Communication is two-way

- Trend toward participatory democracy

- Recognition of imbalance of communication resources

- Transnationalization and cultural synchronization

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- New understanding of what is happening within the nation-states (complex relations of internal and external factors)

- Impact of communication technologies (diffuse control in small media, centralized control in high-tech)

- New understanding of integrated communication systems: mass media, folk systems, interpersonal channels

Additionally, it has been argued that the choice of media, such as text, radio, video, or computer, the communication practices, and the control over the production and distribution of messages are other important factors to consider. Furthermore, Gomez (1997) believes that the meanings receivers derive from the content of communication messages also "play an important role in the democratization of communication and in the strengthening of local practices and identities; the excessive focus on the messages has overlooked the idea that receivers are creative, active, and enact a variety of mechanisms of appropriation, identification and resistance in their processing of media messages" (p. 14). The multiplicity paradigm, then, offers material and non-material improvements in people's lives. It can "increase people's participation in the construction of their public cultural truths" (Gomez, 1997, p. 16).

This study is framed within the multiplicity paradigm of communication for development as a way of understanding the role media practitioners play as experts who engage in participatory practices as a way of empowering their community; as individuals who are the facilitators of dialogue in their local, national, and transnational community; and as members of the community who articulate and represent the identity of the broader Radio Bilingüe community. Since there is a focus in understanding the ways people

maintain identity through media, this study does not think of "development" in a straightforward way that may, for instance, seek economic relief. Rather, this study considers both the *material* (improvements in people's health, education or economic well-being) and *non-material* (cultural representation, strengthening community across borders, and media democratization) aspects of communication for development.

Participatory Communication

Development communication from a grassroots participatory communication approach emerged as one of the alternatives to the dominant paradigm in development communication and has gained recognition in communication research since the late 1990s (Melkote & Steeves, 2001). Several development communication scholars have stressed the need for illustrating the connection between theory and practice (Beltrán, 1975; Escobar, 1995; Huesca, 2002), and much of this approach has been based-on Freirian liberation-oriented theories. Some key points in Freire's liberating pedagogy, or what he termed as "*conscientização*," –translated as consciousness and thought as action-oriented awareness raising– is about radical social action, which reject the perception of the people as powerless. Freire (1993) argues that no person should be treated as an object passively receiving knowledge, but to "surmount the situation of oppression, people must first critically recognize its causes, so that through transforming action they can create a new situation, one which makes possible the pursuit of a fuller humanity" (p. 29). According to Freire, dialogic communication along with reflection, are key ingredients in participatory communication that can lead to the empowerment of the communities involved, they will feel committed since they take ownership of the action

or cause begin addressed.

In *Media and Glocal Change: Rethinking Communication for Development* (2005), Servaes and Malikhao argue that there have been two major approaches to participatory communication. The first involves the Freirian method of dialogical pedagogy, and the second has to do with the ideas of access, participation, and self-management expressed in UNESCO's report from the 1977 meeting in Belgrade, Serbia. Servaes and Malikhao argue that the Freirian approach asserts that "subjugated peoples must be treated as fully human subjects in any political process" (2005, p. 96), an observation that embeds the respect for all human beings in any project of social change. In contrast, UNESCO approach to participatory communication is defined as:

- Access refers to the use of media for public service. It may be defined in terms of the opportunities available to the public to choose varied and relevant programs and to have a means of feedback to transmit its reactions and demands to production organizations.

- Participation implies a higher level of public involvement in communication systems. It includes the involvement of the public in the production process and also in the management and planning of communication systems.

- Participation may be no more than representation and consultation of the public in decision-making.

- On the other hand, self-management is the most advanced form of participation. In this case, the public exercises the power of decision-making within communication enterprises and is also fully involved in the formulation of communication policies and plans.

Although Freire's theory of dialogical communication stresses group dialogue rather than using media or communication technologies for social change, it is helpful to keep his approach in mind as a way for analyzing how the media practitioner's at Radio Bilingüe may engage, develop and foster conversation and participation within the community. Additionally, because this study also provides a structural description of the history and function of Radio Bilingüe, it takes into account the UNESCO ideas of access, participation and self-management as a way of piecing together the various functions and services the radio performs. Together, these approaches help make sense of the material and non-material aspects that take place within the Radio Bilingüe community.

Gumucio Dagron (2001) has pointed out that the experiences of participatory communication for social change are "as diverse as the cultural and geographic settings in which they have been developing" (p. 8). Over the last 50 years, nations in development have spread with projects of participatory communication that address a variety of issues. For example, Radio Sutatenza (1947) in Colombia developed a media literacy campaign through radio and print; *CESPAC*[6] (1975) in Peru worked on rural development through video; Video SEWA[7] in India (1984) helped women and the community organize through video production; in Sri Lanka (1989), the Kothmale Community Radio Internet Project sought to assess the benefits of rural areas' communication technologies; Korea's Labor News Production (1990) dealt with labor

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[6] CESPAC stands for Centro de Servicios de Pedagogía Audiovisual para la Capacitación. This organization has been supported by the Ministry of Agriculture and the Centro Nacional de Capacitación e Investigación de la Reforma Agraria in Peru.

[7] SEWA stands for Self-Employed Women's Association. This organization has been supported by USAID, as well as the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

issues and democracy in the media through video that portrays various struggles of the labor force; in Bangladesh (1998), the Grameen Village Phone program encouraged community development through the use of cellular phones; and in Mexico, the Chiapas Media Project (1998) encouraged communication for democracy via media produced by members of indigenous communities.

Projects of participatory communication for social change have largely been carried out and studied in the context of the Global South; however, we can also think about how participatory models of communication and the strategies used in those projects can be implemented into projects that serve underserved communities located in the West, such as poor or disadvantaged immigrant populations found throughout the U.S.

Freire argued that "the Third World is also found in industrialized societies" (in Servaes, 1996, p. 97), which is seen through the social and economic disparities between the rich and the poor in industrialized nations. So to think of the Third World in industrialized nations, includes taking into consideration the political, economic, social, media and technology disadvantages between people living in the same society. Namely, poor or disadvantaged people, such as immigrants or indigenous communities from the Global South who tend to be marginalized or excluded from everyday aspects of civic life within the host nation. Reyes Matta (1986) argues that participatory communication is first and foremost an alternative to media dominated by transnational corporations. Singhal (2003), on the other hand, defines participatory communication as "a dynamic, interactional, and transformative process of dialogue between people, groups, and institutions that enables people, both individually and collectively, to realize their full

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potential and be engaged in their own welfare" (p. 142). Other scholars argue that

participatory communication "emphasizes communication as dialogue, communication as

social practice, and communication as social right" (Richard, Thomas, & Nain, 2001, p.

8) because it aims at placing people at the center of development, thereby legitimizing

their experiences as they seek social change.

In sum, participatory communication projects are inherently about social change.

It is concerned with the empowerment and expression of people; it is interested in

challenging power relations, in promoting a grassroots approach to carrying out these

projects that create active dialogue and participation, and in encouraging the welfare of

disadvantaged populations. Although participation itself is seen as a positive outcome, it

is also important to understand how participatory practices take place within the

parameters of institutions, policies, or other factors that may affect how participatory

projects for social change can be carried out.

The Media Practitioner's Role

As premised in Chapter I, this study refers to the participants of Radio Bilingüe as

media practitioners. The notion of the practitioner is used as a way of taking into account

people's role as new communicators, which highlights technical and professional

knowledge while considering their personal histories, motivations, and commitment to

their work they do. Gumucio Dagron explains:

> A new communicator is usually someone who owes at least 50% of his or her
> qualification to a wide range of experiences that have little to do with his or her
> own academic background. What actually makes the "new communicator" is this
> mixture of experience in development, a special sensibility to work with
> communities, and the knowledge of communication tools and technologies. A

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new communicator has to balance a very practical approach to social reality, with the capacity to elaborate and conceptualize strategies. (2012, p. 3)

Gumucio Dagron has contextualized the new communicator as someone who lives and is involved with projects located in the Global South, but it is easy to apply the same definitional parameters he offers for the new communicator to the community of media practitioners at Radio Bilingüe. In other words, although the media practitioners who work at the radio live in the United States, their work constantly involves addressing issues that affect people belonging to the Global South. What's more, media practitioners in this case, are also members of the same community they serve; therefore, they possess the necessary social and cultural knowledge to support the process of change. They are active and engaged facilitators who, depending on the need of the community, have the flexibility to take on multiple roles and are committed to voice the needs of their community. Their knowledge of the technology, their community insights, and their professionalization of the craft, has been shaped by the experiences at the radio station, which includes peer training.

Community-driven Media

Lewis and Booth (1989) have suggested that myriad notions exist that try to capture what is perceived as participatory forms of radio, including "listener-supported, community, public, free or alternative radio" (p. 4) to address the different community-driven aspects a radio station can possess. Radio Bilingüe has been associated with terms such as "public," "community," "alternative," "cultural," "public," "national network," and "grassroots radio," and it certainly can be identified by aspects of each one. But how should Radio Bilingüe, as a media system, be defined?

For the purposes of this study, Radio Bilingüe will be conceptualized as community-driven radio. Specific elements of the structural composition of the radio station which detail how and why it is a community-driven venture will be described later, for now, let's define in more detail what is meant by community-driven radio, in particular, and community media in general.

Rennie (2006) offers a broad operational definition for media projects that are community centered. She states, "[C] ommunity media is often defined by the parameters within which groups have to work, including organizational structure, production techniques, and programming" (p. 3). Another definition for community media takes a structural and social view:

> Community media provide a vital alternative to the profit-oriented agenda of corporate media. They are driven by social objectives rather than the private, profit motive. They empower people rather than treat them as passive consumers, and they nurture local knowledge rather than replace it with standard solutions. Ownership and control of community media is rooted in, and responsible to, the communities they serve. And they are committed to human rights, social justice, the environment and sustainable approaches to development. (Cited in Fuller, 2007, p. 1)

Clemencia Rodriguez (2001), on the other hand, uses the term "citizens' media" as a way of thinking about how people and communities are empowered through media projects. She states, "[C] itizens' media is about a collectively enacting its citizenship by actively intervening in and transforming the established media … it contests legitimized identities and institutional social relations, as we empower the community involved" (p. 20).

Howley (2005) further suggests that "localism is one of the defining characteristics of community media in that grassroots, or locally oriented media-access

initiatives, are predicated on a profound dissatisfaction with the mainstream media and, therefore, are committed to enhancing community relations and solidarity" (p. 2), which was precisely the reason for establishing Radio Bilingüe. Despite the fact that in the late 1970s there was a growing number of Latinos and Chicanos in the California Central Valley, there were no Spanish or bilingual local radio stations that reflected the needs or want of this community. As a result of this void in the radio market, Radio Bilingüe is developed. It began as a small, local, community-oriented radio station, which over the years, has grown to have national reach —broadcasting across the United States in areas with Latino density. In addition to its national coverage, the radio also reaches and co-produces some of its content between United States and Mexico. Furthermore, they currently have a Canadian affiliate that receives some of Radio Bilingüe's programming (see Appendix C for a list of owned and affiliate radio stations).

Community media is as much about the "popular and strategic interventions into contemporary media culture committed to the democratization of media structures, forms, and practices" (Howley, 2005, p. 2) that help fill the need for having media outlets that are relevant to a community's everyday life, as it is about the "purposeful assertions of collective identity and local autonomy" of a community, especially, as Howley argues "in an era marked by the unprecedented concentration of media ownership on the local and national levels and proliferation of transnational media flows" (p. 2).

As a community-driven media institution, Radio Bilingüe is thus oriented toward producing radio programming to which "members of the community have access, for information, education, entertainment, when they want access. They are media in which the community participates as planners, producers, performers, and guests. They are the

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means of expression of the community, rather than for the community" (Berrigan, 1979, p. 8), and are seen as "intrinsically linked to forms of internal basic democratic procedures, to practices of self-management and to the production of alternative 'non-mainstream' formats and content" (Cammaerts, 2009, p. 639). What this emphasizes, is that community media are driven by the participation of people in programming and administration, and they serve as a space for a diversity of voices that are absent in the mainstream.

Identity, Culture and the Media

Media, information and communication technologies (ICTs), and new technologies play a significant role in the process of constructing identity. In fact, much scholarship about the relationship between media and representation has suggested that the type of media individuals consume can influence the way people conceive themselves, their communities, others, and overall, their views about the world. For communities in diaspora, such as the community of Radio Bilingüe, the use and production of media signal new dimensions for connectivity, as well as for identity construction and representation.

Certainly, processes of cultural renewal and identity formation are part of the diasporic condition, and coupled with media technologies, as Tsagarousianou (2004) argues, "they become crucial factors in the reproduction and transformation of diasporic identities, and of diasporas in general" (p. 61). For the community of media practitioners involved in this study, the radio has become an outlet for expressing a unique Latino consciousness; it maps out new ways for understanding cultural ties to the homeland and

cultural changes within the host nation's milieu, while also becoming a means by which

diasporic communities can challenge or reassert power through representation.

Drawing on cultural studies literature, the following review aims at laying out

some of the scholarly conversations that allow us to make sense of the ways diasporic

communities, especially those who are frequently marginalized in mainstream media,

shape identity and cultural representations through Radio Bilingüe's radio space. As a

way of unfolding this conversation, I weave together literature concerned with identity,

feminist studies and border theory in relationship to diasporas.

The concept of identity is a complex one. As a narrative of the self, identity is a

dynamic process, a re-adaption of the self and of others that continually acquires new

meanings and is formed through various interactions with social contexts and within

historical moments (Giddens, 1991). There has been a general acknowledgement that the

construction of identity is a continuous process in which past and present, as well as

difference and similarity, are mutually inclusive (de Leeuw & Rydin, 2007, p. 177). To

this idea, Hall (1996) argues that identities

> … are never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented
> and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different,
> often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions.
> They are subject to a radical historicization, and are constantly in the
> process of change and transformation (p. 4).

What Hall is signaling, is that identity is about what has been, about being,

and becoming. In other words, we must acknowledge the past, as well as the

present as part of the circumstances that come to shape our identity. As such,

identity can be treated as fluid and multiple, always in production "never

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complete, always in process, and constituted within, not outside, representation"
(Hall, 1993, p. 222).

Feminist scholarship has long argued for the 'multidimensionality' of identity. In fact, the analytical concept of intersectionality –which emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990s from critical race studies– has been used by feminists and women of color, like Gloria Anzaldúa, bell hooks, Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Patricia Hill Collins, Leslie McCall, among many others, to underscore the need for analyzing the intersection of race and gender in response to "the limitations of social movements organized around single categories of social identity, such as the early U.S. women's movement or the Black Power movement" (Hames-García, 2011, p. 6). But also, the concept arose due to the need to produce scholarship that would examine the lived experiences of marginalized subjects (Crenshaw, 1989) in relationship to systems of power and oppression.

Serving theoretical and political purposes, intersectionality examines the intersections or interactions among the multiple positions of identity that take place in everyday social life "as a way of uncovering the differences and complexities of experience embodied in a particular location" (Cited in McCall, 2005, p. 1782). Intersectionality destabilizes the universalism of constructed, and often, binary categories or positions, such as those like race (black vs. white) or gender (man vs. woman) that reduce people to a single social category. Additionally, "rather than making hierarchies of categories and identities, intersectionality takes the different perspectives connected to power, in specific

contexts and situations, and power in processes" (Knudsen, 2005, p. 65) to understand the many variations and multiple positions of identity individuals can have in relationship to structures of power and oppression. Therefore, through the analytical approach of intersectionality, we can examine how different categories of identity can help define an individual's sense of self, such as class, gender, ethnicity, race, age, sexuality, etc., and how they interact with other categories to examine the type of differences or inequalities that exist among particular social groups.

Building on the concept of intersectionality, Hames-García (2011) argues that identities not only intersect to create different one's based on various relationships in social life, but that identities are also mutually constituted[8]. He explains, "identities emerge from, on the one hand, the mutual constitution of various social group memberships, and, on the other hand, the mutual constitution of individuals and their environment, including social structures" (Hames-García, 2011, p. 5). In other words, when a particular category of social identity, for example, "womanhood", is combined with other group memberships, for example "motherhood" or "lesbian", then, the social identity of "womanhood" takes on a different meaning in the context of each one of these different affiliations. As such, a person's sense of self is multiplied based on mutual constitution, meaning, on a person's relationship with others who have similar social identities. Moreover, Hames-García also suggests that identities are a result of our

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[8] The concept of multiplicity is derived from the work of Hames-García (2011), who argues that the multiplicity of identity is mutually constituted because people's social identities overlap in fundamental ways. Therefore, "the subjective experience of any social identity always depends fundamentally on relations to other social identities" (p. 6).

environment. This includes our history of personal experiences, our family values, our friends, community, and so on; as well as on social structures, for example, education, government, etc. And together, all of these elements have an affect on how we define identity.

This multiple positioning and mutual constitution of identity is significant for examining how media practitioners shape, and therefore, represent identity through the radio's media space. Undeniably, there are a number of social identities media practitioner's share with each other, such as belonging to the Latino diaspora in the U.S., their nationality, ethnicity, class, language, occupation, etc., social identities that bear weight in how they take part in the cultural production of Latino identity. Additionally, aspects of their personal history, everyday experiences, and life trajectories, also play part in their decisions and motivations for producing a unique Latino identity on behalf of the community the radio serves.

Early studies related to the identity of Latinos in the U.S. have embraced the Chicano/a or the Mexican-American identity as a way of revealing the preoccupations, tensions and sensibilities of a growing population that looked back at Mexico as a way to find their roots. But more often than not, the experiences of these individuals have reflected a state of "being caught between two worlds" in which identity has been articulated based on a sense of place.

In her seminal book *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987)*,* Anzaldúa uses the notion of "border" and "borderland/s" as ways of explaining how the geographical crossing of borders and the spaces people occupy ultimately have an effect

on individual identities. Anzaldúa argues that borders are a multidimensional concept

because thinking about them involves various ideological and epistemological aspects.

Referencing the U.S.-Mexico border as a place of conflict for Chicano/a identity,

Anzaldúa explains:

> Borders are set up to define the places that are safe and unsafe, to distinguish *us* from *them.* A border is a dividing line, a narrow strip along a steep edge. A borderland is a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residual of an unnatural boundary. It is in a constant state of transition (1987, p. 7).

Anzaldúa considers borders sites of contention in regard to feeling a sense

of being and belonging in relation to place. She suggests that borders can

delineate physical places, but they can also take many other forms, such as

ideological, epistemic, geographical, emotional or spiritual. Thus, living in a

borderland means that people are in a place of flux and movement, a place of

constant border crossing where identities are shaped and reshaped. Therefore, the

borderland comprises the spaces, places, moments, feelings and all other things

people experience when they are "caught between" worlds. It is a place where

consciousness[9] is transformed and identity negotiated.

This conceptualization of how identity may be shaped, points to the

different sites of Latino experience, the *'aquí y allá'* (here and there), the north

and south border experience that is constantly evolving. So how do we go about

characterizing Latino/a identity when it is always in the process of change? And,

what is the role of media in shaping and representing the identity of diasporic

communities?

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[9] In her work, Gloria Anzaldúa makes reference to the "consciousness of the mestiza" as a way of breaking with limited cultural perceptions that essentialize identity to 'either-or categories.

As a point of departure, the term Latino[10] refers to persons who live in the United States and trace their ancestry to Latin America, or in some cases, the Caribbean or Spain. This definition for Latinos may seem broad, especially in light of the prior discussion about the complexity of identity. On this account, I shall provide a few more parameters for thinking about Latino/a identity in the context of this study.

As a Latina woman, the question of what makes up Latino/a identity is something I constantly rustle with. Not because I don't embrace the particular history, heritage, or views that tie me to my Latino, and more specifically, to my Mexican roots. I often rustle with this question because the expression of my Latino identity cannot be simplified to culinary or linguistic traits that the media often define as Latino, or as part of my *Latinidad[11]*. Rather, Latino identity must be treated as a heterogeneous concept. Suzanne Oboler (1992) explains this by saying: "the issue of identity is more a question of searching for the expression or articulation of that identity, but not for… identity itself" (1992, p. 18).

Historically, the word 'Latino' is derived from Latin America, "…originally coined by Napoleon-era France as a public relations ploy to explain why a French emperor was installed in Mexico City. It wasn't until the mid-1970s, however, that the term Latino was reincarnated to allude to a separate identity from Spain" (Morales, 2002, p. 2). More significantly, to be Latino refers

[10] For the purposes of this study, the term Latino/a is used as an encompassing category to describe the heritage of media practitioners. However, terms such as "Hispanic or Spanish" have often been used and interchanged with the term "Latino" to describe people from Latin America, the Caribbean or Spain. Additionally, people of Mexican-American descent, in particular, have been referred to as "Chicano."

[11] According to Agustín Laó-Montes and Arlene Dávila (2001) Latinidad is an analytical concept functioning as an identity category, 'a noun that identifies a subject position (the state of being Latino/a) in a given discursive space (p. 3).

to an allegiance to Latin America, and as Morales suggests, to "the pseudo 'third world status' that implies, its most significant implication is that Latinos are not just Spaniards, but a mixture of Spaniards, Africans, and indigenous people" (2000, p. 2).

Definitions for Latino identity have politicized its meaning and have understood it as part of political processes where "notions of cultural citizenship for ethnic minorities' social entitlements, civil rights and citizenship in the political project of multicultural societies" (in Piñón and Rojas, 2011, p. 131) are part of the make-up of Latino identity. Surely, the role of government in the inclusion of 'Hispanics' or 'Latinos' as an ethnic category within the U.S. census has given way to the process of Latino/a racial formation (De Genova and Ramos-Zayas, 2003). However, other social structures, such as the media, also play an important role in the construction of Latino identity in society.

For example, the overriding collective identity of Latinos that is portrayed in the mainstream media in the United States has been represented as someone with 'brown' skin or as 'brown people,' who speak Spanish or Spanglish, and broken-English, working in the service industry, with large families, who enjoy eating tacos and burritos. These sorts of racial, ethnic, linguistic and social markers hardly capture the complexity of what can be constituted as a collective Latino identity. These oversimplifications of culture and identity demonstrate the challenges social structures are faced with in trying to conceptualize a collective identity of a people.

Being, or identifying as Latino/a and the expression of *Latinidad,* is deeper than the color of our skin, the language we speak, the food we eat, the music we listen to, or the way we dress. Certainly, these elements help define particular aspects of who we are and our attachment to Latin American history and culture; however, being Latino/a bears a plurality of identity. It is based on a multitude of historical, geographical, social, cultural, linguistic, and racial memories and experiences that come to characterize our Latino-selves or our Latinidad.

I must acknowledge that although I have not offered a comprehensive analysis for understanding the multiple positions and complexities that are part of the Latino/a, Chicano/a, or Latin American identity discourse, I have signaled to some of the major points of contention that frequently surface when discussing Latino cultural identity, such as the question of race, ethnicity, culture, or language, elements which will inevitably resurface in the analysis section of this study.

In the context of this study, the examination of Latino identity will be framed as one that "emerges out of the struggle for social, political, and economic equality without assimilation to the dominant U.S. culture or homogenization into a singular Hispanic identity" (DeHart, 2004, p. 26). This description is particularly significant in characterizing and representing the Latino identity of media practitioners because as producers of media content, they are constantly trying to break away from the "pan-Latino" identity that mainstream media ascribes to Latino communities across the United States; that is, an image which

has been represented as having a singular cultural, ethnic, linguistic, as well as economic and political entity continually in search of the American dream.

What's more, this particular community of Latinos is formed of individuals who tend to be underserved and underrepresented in mainstream media, including farmworker or indigenous communities. Therefore, it is significant to acknowledge and take into account the different reasons which have led to their settlement in the United States, as well as the histories and experiences that connect them to the different sites of identity: the *aquí y allá* (here and there), the United States and Latin America.

A number of questions and research around the relationships between the media, information and communication technologies (ICTs), and migrations began to emerge in the 1980s. It further expanded in the 1990s as the internet took off, and has continued to grow through social media in the 2000s (Rigoni, et al., 2012). Some of the socio-cultural questions which have been raised within research dealing with immigrants lives and media and ICTs, include understanding the processes of identification and belonging of immigrants; or the ways immigrants link to their families and communities and how they may build networks across borders. Other questions also stress concerns over immigrant's representation and cultural production within the media landscape, or with the ways immigrants use the media and ICTs to develop political participation, collective mobilization, or civic engagement.

The types of social relations that immigrants sustain through the media and ICTs have reconceptualized the concept of immigrant itself. In fact, some scholars have suggested broader definitions for immigrant's whose lives include a continuous

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relationship with and between their place of origin and their place of settlement. In other words, the concept of immigrant has expanded to take into account their transnational engagements and experiences. Scholars that have studied the social-cultural experiences of immigrants transnational lives have noted that transnational relations take place "between two or more social subjects from two or more nation-states when at least one of these subjects is not an agent of a government or intergovernmental organizations" (Glick Schiller, 1997, p. 156).

Glick Schiller has further proposed to think of immigrants as *transmigrants*. "Transmigrants," she argues, "are immigrants whose daily lives depend of multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state" (Glick Schiller *et al.* 1995). The notion of a transmigrant; therefore, centers its meaning on the relationships of immigrants with the nation-state, a relationship that can help interpret how they might define or negotiate their nationality, or the type of political affiliations immigrants might hold. Other scholars, like Stephen (2010), utilizes the term *transborder* to highlight how immigrants "have multiple dimensions to their identity including region, ethnicity, class or race" (p. 27). Stephen has argued that other socio-cultural aspects of a person's identity –one's that go beyond immigrant's relationship to the nation-state—that place emphasis on the notion of 'transbordality'[12] or 'transborder' allows us to a way of understanding the types of border-crossing that take place within immigrant or transborder communities. She argues that the types of borders immigrant cross can be national, legal, cultural, social or racial, and that these connections can occur between

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[12] Transborder as a concept that has been articulated from notions of borders, border crossing, and borderlands proposed by Gloria Anzaldúa (1987).

multiple sites through interlocking networks. The position these scholars make about immigrants experiences and exchanges is significant for making sense of the transnational character of immigrants communities, or as it is referred in this study, diasporic communities. What's more, it allows for a way of interpreting how "transnational relations are significant not only in the making of transnational identities, but also in the social construction of local and national identities" (Mato in Schiller, 1997).

Scholars have recognized that media and ICTs can generate collective diasporic imaginations. Shi (2005) argues that such imaginations highlight the shared aspects of individual identities in terms of culture, geography and history, which bind many discrete subjects into an "imagined community" (p. 57). Verhulst (1999) further argues that media and ICTs provide immigrants with a way of forming cohesive bonds across different places in that they can challenge geographical boundaries, allowing people to experience life in multiple locations and through a number of different spaces, a sort of digital border crossing. As a result, diasporic subjects develop not a singular identity but multiple identities based on an array of experiences and places in which they engage and, therefore, belong to.

Media and ICTs provide spaces where diasporic networks are sustained and communities maintained, and they play an increasingly significant role in supporting the communication and representation of diasporic groups. They construct themselves within material (products, images, money) and nonmaterial (ideas, values, beliefs) exchanges, as well as through a variety of media, including mail, telephone, radio, film, video, satellite television and the Internet (Karim, 2003). Furthermore, electronic media, as Appadurai

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(1996) suggests, "increasingly link producers and audiences across national boundaries, and these audiences themselves start new conversations between those who move and those who stay" (p. 22).

Some of the socially and culturally oriented elements of diasporic communities, such as the actions they take, the decisions they make, the concerns they feel, or the identities they develop, can be illustrated through the media networks they use to develop transnational connections. For instance, Ramos-Rodríguez (2005) has argued that community radio is a valuable instrument for maintaining ties through imaginable spaces. While analyzing the case of indigenous people from the Mountain of Guerrero, a region in Southeast Mexico, who migrate to the U.S., he explains that "for migrants of this region, the radio contributes to the maintaining of a virtual tie to their land and their loved ones, functioning as an 'anchoring' mechanism which helps them overcome these periods of seasonal, geographical separation" (Ramos-Rodríguez, 2005, p. 164). Similarly, Sari Pietikäinen's (2008) study of Sámi people, who's origins are traced across four countries – Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia – have used radio as a tool to help conserve traditions and language across national borders. Pietikäinen explains "Radio has been a lifeline for endangered Sámi languages… media offer a significant public voice for the transnational Sámi nation, reaching out to its own people and outsiders alike" (p.199). By tracing individual experiences and social practices of Sámi people, the use of radio helped elucidate topics of visibility, indigenous formation, community building, and language revitalization for Sámi community members living in diaspora. What these examples illustrate, is how media and ICTs provide diasporic communities spaces of engagement where relationships can be sustained and identity represented in non-

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conventional and culturally informed ways.

Fazal and Tsagarousianou (2002) suggest that diasporic communities have "learned to come to terms with formulating their cultural identities by taking on board several histories and cultures that belong to several homes … they are a product of a diasporic consciousness" (p. 10). This consciousness understands identity as "open, complex, unfinished — always under construction" (Hall, 1993, p. 362). Therefore, the media and ICTs provide a number of "points of identification by marking symbolic boundaries, re-linking cultures to places, and by fulfilling the desire for memory, myth, search, and rediscovery" (Hall, 1994, p. 394).

Diasporic identities are often regarded as heterogeneous and diverse. They are constantly producing and reproducing themselves along itineraries of migration, but they are also re-creating the endless desire to return to "lost origins" (Hall, 1993). Fluid and fragmented as they might be, diasporic identities cluster around remembered or imagined homelands, practice authentic home cultures and form ethnic communities so as to re-root their "floating lives" and reach closure by making sense of their constantly changing subjectivities (Shi, 2005, p. 54). They reflect important forms of social and cultural exchange that give way to, in Anderson's (1983) terms "imagined communities," that construct and maintain relationships through a series of frequent border crossings the media and ICTs make possible.

In this study, I seek to understand how through the media space members of the Latino diaspora represent identity and maintain a sense of community across borders. The media practitioners of Radio Bilingüe are individuals with agency, who change, resist, contribute and redefine cultural elements of their 'old' and 'new' home to construct a

unique sense of community that comes to redefine who they are in relationship to the multiple spaces they occupy in their everyday lives. Ultimately, for the members of the Latino diaspora at Radio Bilingüe, communication becomes a part of the process of producing culture. What this means, is that communication is seen as a complex process that occurs over different spaces, articulates and symbolizes people's way of life and represents different ways of being and belonging that are articulated through the radio space. Therefore, the use of technology, media and ICTs becomes crucial in the processes of cultural transformation, which includes the reinvention and redefinition of cultural identity (Morley & Robins, 1995), and therefore, of representations.

This study contributes to better understanding media development within the First World. It pushes us to think about the way people, who after having migrated to the United States from the Global South, have managed to build their own social and cultural institutions to fill the needs that the government does not provide for them, either in their countries of origin, or in their new place of settlement. What's more, this study helps us thinking about the work of media development and its practitioners within an age of globalization where people and communities work out ways of being and belonging, of identity and community, as they navigate different cultures through the media across local, national, and transnational spaces. Finally, this study contributes to the current research of community media within the United States; it allows us to think of community radio as an institution that is part of civil society and in service of under-served communities who are part of the broader society of the United States. It fills the tremendous gap of knowledge regarding one of the most important—if not the most important—Spanish-public radio network in the United States.

Research Questions

In order to contextualize the work of media practitioners in the construction of Latino community and identity, it is first necessary to chronicle the development of Radio Bilingüe from a single community radio station to a transnational community radio network. Then, we can elaborate on the roles and experiences of media practitioners by discussing the various institutional, social and cultural complexities they engage through their work, which help reveal how people are empowered or challenged in the process of representation; and finally, discuss how the radio, as a media space, connects communities and mediates culture. With this in mind, this research addresses the following questions:

RQ1: What is the history and function of Radio Bilingüe, from a single radio station to transnational radio network?

Radio Bilingüe has evolved from a small community radio station with local reach to a substantial public radio network with national and transnational coverage, with affiliates in Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Canada. This question addresses the evolution of the radio to understand its development and function. Furthermore, I define who composes the listening community of Radio Bilingüe since it helps us understand why it has become a significant Latino media institution, especially, in within the lives of marginalized and under-represented Latinos living in the United States.

RQ2:   Who are media practitioners and what does their work involve?

This study will examine the work of media practitioners in the U.S. to understand what their profession entails and examine how their work is similar or different from their counterparts in the Global South. While examining their work and the roles they engage at Radio Bilingüe, I pay close attention to the practice of producing media content and the participatory strategies they use to engage the members of their community in the process of change.

RQ3:   In what ways does the radio, as a mediator of diasporic and transnational experience, serve as a medium for representing identity? And what sorts of dialogues, stories, experiences, reflections, inform how community is constructed over the media space?

To think about the radio as a mediator of cultural experiences, is not simply about how people communicate in different places, but also about how the radio's media space (broadcasting or communicative space), allows members of the Latino diaspora a way of representing their community from their own perspective, often against the grain of U.S.-centered mainstream media, and in ways that portray their experiences as immigrant subjects. And while it is about people representing themselves in their own voice and point of view; it is also about understanding they type of conversations that take place over the radio to see what it tells us about the identity of the community.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This is a qualitative study based primarily on ethnographic methods of inquiry, archival research and textual analysis. Ethnographic methods are suitable for this study since it aims to gain a deep understanding about how people derive meaning from their surroundings and experiences. The overall purpose of this study is to investigate how media practitioners — as members of the Latino diaspora — use the radio as a space for representing identity and a network for connecting community across borders.

Currently, limited scholarly research exists regarding Radio Bilingüe. For that reason, it is necessary to take a dual approach to this study and examine: first, the institutional composition of the radio network as a way of understanding its history and function, including the work of media practitioners. The second area explores the notion of a connected community as a way of making sense of the ways identity is represented and community sustained across Radio Bilingüe's media space.

This study employs a qualitative methodological orientation to examine the two aforementioned interrelated areas. In what follows, I discuss the specific methodological approach, including ethnographic methods of data collection, such as interviews, observation, and field note. In addition, I will address my research in the archives of Radio Bilingüe, and the use of textual analysis. I will also discuss the participants, writing and limitations of this study.

Methodological Approach

As a multidisciplinary field, communication and media studies tends to borrow methods from diverse disciplines and schools of thought. Ongoing arguments about what methodologies are best — quantitative versus qualitative — continue to plague many of the social sciences, particularly in our era of big data research that examine large data sets and patterns over time; as opposed to the qualitative approach which takes a closer look at the richness of everyday life. It has been the case, however, that both quantitative or qualitative methods (or a combination of the two) can be effectively used in communication and media studies research, and both have provided significant contributions to the field across a number of topical areas and themes.

As Denzin and Lincoln (2005) describe it, the qualitative research tradition, in its broadest form, "is a situated activity that locates the observer [researcher] in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible …" (p. 3). Put differently, qualitative research is about carefully observing the world and attempting to make sense of it by interpreting a particular event, experience, or phenomena in terms of the meanings people give them. Qualitative methodologies to gather data involve the use of interviews, document analysis, and observation, to name a few. Kaplan and Maxwell (1994) argue that the goal of understanding a particular event or phenomenon from the point of view of the participants, and the particular context in which they operate, is largely lost when data is quantified.

This study uses qualitative methodologies to gather, analyze, and describe the data found in the course of conducting research. The types of qualitative methods used in this study are primarily ethnographic; they include interviews, field notes, and

observation at the site. Additionally, I carried out archival research and textual analysis of a number of documents and radio broadcasts from Radio Bilingüe's office and its online archives.

As a qualitative methodological approach to research, ethnography really highlights human relationships. Schensul et al. (1997) have argued that ethnographic approaches to research can yield rich and valuable descriptions of the social and cultural patterns and meanings of people, communities, or institutions. It can improve our understanding of people and the ways they behave (think and talk). It also helps the researcher think deeply about the information being presented and how to present it (ethics), and convey what it is we really learn from the experience (gained knowledge). Ethnographic approaches to research can also strengthen the validity of a study by offering the researcher different lines of sight in order to observe the same event or phenomena (Denzin, 1970, 1997). In other words, ethnography equips the researcher with different approaches and techniques by which to gather and analyze data. For example, Wolcott (1999) suggests that the acts of *experiencing* (observation), *enquiring* (interviewing), and *examining* (archival research) call attention to the process the researcher will undertake to conduct the research and analyze the data.

Through the act of experiencing, researchers pay attention to what they see, what they hear, what they smell, touch or taste, all of which provides a deeper sense and awareness of the environment in which the study is taking place. The process of enquiring is the act of "interviewing," of being actively engaged in asking questions and developing conversations with people. Through the act of interviewing — and dialogue — the researcher has the opportunity to learn from participants and vice versa.

Examining, pragmatically, refers to engaging on the analysis of documents that are accessible to the researcher for the purpose of furthering the study. These three approaches inform and support each other, helping to strengthen the research.

Data Collection

The main data collection for this study began in the summer of 2012 and ended in the summer of 2013. However, prior to the summer of 2012, I sustained informal phone and email conversations with some of the participants as we were coordinating dates when I could travel to Fresno and Oakland, California, to conduct the research. Additionally, on March 12, 2014, I also conducted an informal over-the-phone interview with Radio Bilingüe's grant director, Carol Dowell, to clarify a few points about funding and sustainability.

The data collected in this study came from various sources: phone and email exchanges with María Eraña, broadcasting director at Radio Bilingüe, and Samuel Orozco, national news and information director; formal and informal interviews with media practitioners (Alma Garza, Alma Martínez, Jose Juan Morán, Lourdes Oliva, Juana Gómez, Mario Gómez, Delia Saldivar and Jesus Martínez), including a Skype interview with Carol Dowel, development director; primary and secondary documents found at the Fresno radio station archives, and from files collected by Ethel Meyer, executive assistant to Hugo Morales; as well as observation and field notes, and radio webstream or online radio-casts. Between 2012 and 2013, I traveled to California on three separate occasions to conduct research at Radio Bilingüe's stations in Fresno and Oakland, California.

In my various visits to the radio stations, I scheduled individual meetings with each of the media practitioners. Since they have very busy schedules, and are understaffed, it was not possible for me to meet with the media practitioners in a group setting. I believed that meeting in a group setting would have been a good way of initially introducing myself to the staff, however, meeting them individually proved to be the easiest and most beneficial way of getting to know the media practitioners. Through individual interviews I was able to learn about media practitioners' personal histories, about their level of involvement with their community, and about the daily work they carry out at the radio station.

In what follows, I explain in more detail the different strategies of data gathering for this research.

Interviews

The best way to build rapport with participants was to engage in conversation and get to know each other. Bonnerjee et al. (2012) have suggested studies that document the histories and experiences of diasporic groups often use ethnographic forms of inquiry and oral history strategies, such as interviews, as a way of writing family and community histories that go beyond the local experiences of people. In this study, the interview process became a good method for creating a trusting space and for building relationships with participants.

In the course of conducting this research, I first used open-ended and semi-structured questions to get to know the media practitioners (see Appendix D). I believe this initial approach gave them the opportunity to openly express who they were and to

ask questions about the research, as well as my intentions with it. In subsequent

interviews, I conducted in-depth interviews in which I gathered greater insights about

media practitioners' histories and their everyday media practices. Through the interview

process, Johnson (2001) suggests:

> [W]e can achieve the same level of knowledge and understanding as the members or participants … [B]y exploring commonsense perceptions and explanations of lived cultural experiences and aims to explore contextual boundaries of that experience … it helps reveal how our commonsense assumptions, practices, and ways of talking partly constitute our interests and how we understand them … and helps us grasp and articulate the multiple views of, perspectives on, and meanings of some activity, event, place, or cultural object. (p. 106)

All interviews conducted during the course of this research were done in English

and Spanish; and typically, the conversations would fluctuate between the two languages.

Initial interviews lasted about 30 minutes, and secondary, in-depth interviews lasted 45 to

75 minutes. All interviews were recorded with a digital audio recorder. Furthermore, all

participants signed a consent form, and in so doing, gave their full permission for me to

conduct and record interviews, as well as use all recorded interview material for this

research.

In addition to the audio-recorded interviews, I also conducted a final, on-camera

interview with media practitioners. The reason for doing on-camera interviews was that I

felt a digital video recording could be useful for future research, as a historical record, for

the production of a documentary piece, or for Radio Bilingüe's own audio-visual

archives. Copies of all audio-visual material will be given to the staff of Radio Bilingüe.

Observation

The process of observation is a basic approach to ethnographic research that engages the researcher in the process of "being there" while conducting fieldwork. Schensul et al., (1999) argue that the process of observation, particularly one that is from a distance, that is to say, not participatory, is designed to "orient the researcher, at least superficially, to places, people, social interaction, clothing, language, and other aspects of the community setting with which he or she should become familiar" (p. 87). In observation, the researcher attempts to capture important aspects of what they see and try to describe it as much as possible. This helps to make relationships and draw conclusions between what the researcher observes and the interviews he/she conducts.

In this case study, the process of observation aimed at better understanding the dynamics of producing radio, and in the process, see how media practitioners carried out various aspects of their work. The process of observation included witnessing the production of radio shows, seeing how media practitioners create the daily schedule for their national broadcasts, watching how media practitioners related to one another on a daily basis, listening to their conversations about work and personal matters, and seeing the type of technical work required to the operation of the radio station.

I should also add that in the process of observation, I engaged in dialogue with participants. This means that as I listened and paid attention to what was unfolding while at the radio station, at times, and often by chance, I participated in the conversations or activities that took place among participants. When this occurred, for example, while I conducted archival research at the radio station, I engaged in the conversation with media

practitioners. I took advantage of those moments to ask questions and to further document the work dynamics at the radio station.

I also consider listening to the radio webcast, a form of observation, which I did on regular basis throughout the time of my research. Despite the fact that I was not in the same physical location with the media practitioners when listening to the radio webcasts, the aural experience of listening to media practitioners over the radio provided great insights into how they express themselves, engage in conversation with listeners, and therefore, represent identity. Whether through the type of language they use, the selection of music they play, or the stories they share, listening to media practitioners' radio broadcasts gave me the opportunity to better understand how they articulate ideas, express their emotions and concerns. In the process of listening to online live radio helped me tie together the information I captured through my direct observations, interviews, and analysis of documents.

Field Notes

As a way of maintaining a more complete and accurate account of the events that took place during the fieldwork, particularly during the process of participant observation, I recorded a number of field notes. Burgess (1991, p. 192) suggests "note-taking is a personal activity that depends upon the research context, the objectives of the research, and the relationship with informants" (in Berg, 2007, p. 197). I took many field notes while I sat in "cabina," or "the studio," where I would have the opportunity to witness how media practitioners prepared to go on air and conduct their shows. During these times in the cabina, I would record what media practitioners said out loud (to

themselves), the different contexts and moments in which they would use English and Spanish, and what they would say to people who called in during their radio show(s). On other occasions, media practitioners would be working around me (from the place I would sometimes sit to look at documents or check email correspondence), and debates or conversations would unfold before me. I would pause what I was doing and take notes about what was occurring. Field notes were recorded on a paper tablet and on my laptop computer.

Documents and Textual Analysis

I have used archival research and textual analysis for assessing, comparing, and understanding the texts –primary and secondary documents– that Radio Bilingüe has produced and gathered over the years. Archival research has provided me with a collection of documents from which I have been able to gather key texts helpful to write the history of Radio Bilingüe. Textual analysis is useful to understand the ways in which members of various groups, cultures, or subcultures make sense of who they are and how they fit into the world (McKee, 2003). Because "texts" are a system of signs —such as words, images, sounds, films, photos, clothes, etc.— they can be read for meaning (Chandler, 2014). Therefore, in analyzing the different texts a community or culture produces, it is possible for the researcher to interpret them. In the case of Radio Bilingüe's their documents reflect various cultural sense-making practices that represent the identity of media practitioners and its listening community.

For example, to express a sense of longing for their homeland, media practitioners may choose to use the Mixtec word *tirisia*, rather than the Spanish word *nostalgia* to

connote a deep feeling of longing about and particular connection to a specific people and community in Mexico. The use of particular words or phrases illustrates how different sense-making practices set communities apart and allows members of those communities to build a unique identity.

Radio Bilingüe has archives that date back to its founding in 1976 (although the radio station officially went on the air in 1980). Given the scope and timeline of this research, it was not possible to go over all the hundreds of pieces of documentation the radio station has in its archives. Rather, as I went through the archives, I selected a number of documents helpful to writing about the history and function of the organization. The selection of documents took place after I had begun to conduct interviews with Hugo Morales and with other media practitioners. This provided me with some initial background about the organization, which was useful as I began the archival research.

During the process of selecting documents, I first began to randomly looking over and choosing documents from the filing cabinets in order to see the breath of documentation that existed. The filing cabinets were generally labeled by year so I was able to move chronologically through many of the cabinets. However, after a couple of days, it became evident that a selection of documents at random would be counterproductive and time consuming to the research. For that reason, I began to receive the assistance of media practitioners, namely, from María Eraña and Ethel Meyer, who oriented me toward where to find particular sets of documentation. For example, they helped me find the articles of incorporation, the current by-laws, volunteer manuals,

financial statements, as well as interest surveys the radio station conducted in the early 1980s, newspaper articles, and a few external research and surveys.

In addition to this, I received a few pieces of documentation directly from Radio Bilingüe's staff. María Eraña provided me with the most up-to-date satellite grids for the radio station, a profile on Radio Bilingüe carried out in 2005 by the Marguerite Casey Foundation, an evaluation of *La Hora Mixteca* dated 2006 and supported by a Rockefeller Foundation grant, and a 2010 Collaboration Survey on *La Cultura Cura/Poder Popular* programing produced by the Aguirre Division of JBS International. Ethel Meyer provided me with a large binder filled with news articles from a number of local newspaper sources that covered many of the public events of Radio Bilingüe since the late 1970s to the early 2000s, including a couple of profiles on Hugo Morales. I looked over the newspaper clips found in the binder and selected over 50 of them. I later scanned these articles and reviewed for their use. Finally, Samuel Orozco shared with me a 5-page document he authored in 2010 on Radio Bilingüe's journalistic approach.

The reason for receiving these pieces of documentation from María, Ethel, and Samuel, was that I had previously held conversations with them about the type of materials I was looking for, or I had asked them questions about certain aspects of Radio Bilingüe, which prompted them to think about certain materials that could be useful to me. After receiving these pieces of documentation, I reviewed them all, and some of the findings contained in those documents are referenced in Chapter IV.

As I reviewed the documents I was collecting, I classified them into primary and secondary sources. Primary sources, as Ruszkiewicz (1996) suggests, are those that describe events directly, without interpretation or commentary. For this study, they

include interview data, audio recordings of radio programs, and administrative and legal

documents, such as press releases, articles of incorporation, mission statement,

organizational charts, staff lists, employee and volunteer manuals, etc.

Secondary sources, on the other hand, "offer an analysis or a restatement or

primary sources … and attempt to describe or explain primary sources" (Martínez, 2008,

p. 52). In other words, secondary sources reflect some sort of public opinion and are not

produced by the organization they reference. In this study, secondary sources include

journal, newspaper, and magazine articles, as well as independent surveys, and

evaluations generated from foundations and other research institutions.

All interviews were recorded with a digital audio recorder and digitally

transferred to my personal desktop computer. Because I am fluent in Spanish, the media

practitioners constantly switched between speaking in English and Spanish. The

interviews were selectively transcribed, and when necessary, translated. These

transcripts, along with field notes, were put in order and categorized to identify emerging

themes. I complemented the analysis of interviews and field notes with notes I produced

while listening to a number of the radio shows the interviewed media practitioners host

and produce.

Because I had a diverse set of data gathered by different methods, one of the

challenges I faced was figuring out the best way to organize all of the data for its

analysis. As a way of "sorting out the noodles" and creating a clearer process of analysis,

I classified the data into personal histories, community stories, field note observations

and reflections, radio stories — which consist of the data retrieved from listening to the

radio shows — and historical materials. This data classification helped me develop

significant areas of discussion for this study, such as those pertaining more closely to studies within development communication or cultural studies, for example.

All collected data is kept at my home office where I have properly stored all handwritten notes, audio and visual material, as well as copies of documents pertaining to Radio Bilingüe. All hard copy materials, such as handwritten notes, articles, official Radio Bilingüe documentation, secure digital cards, as well as consents to participate in this research are properly stored and under lock. All digital audio and visual materials, and other digital scans of documents from the radio station are stored in my personal computer and are password protected; and to access them requires my authorization. My academic advisor, Gabriela Martínez, and I are the only individuals who have authorization and access to all data retrieved for this study.

<u>Participants</u>

Two cities in California, Fresno and Oakland, were the primary physical sites of inquiry for this study; they are where Radio Bilingüe's media practitioners work and reside. The media practitioners were suitable participants for this study for myriad reasons: they are part of the Latino diaspora, they are producers of radio content and are knowledgeable about communication technology, they are members of the community Radio Bilingüe serves, they are in constant contact with the listening community (locally and transnationally), and they act as mediators of culture and community. Additionally, despite their busy schedules, this group of media practitioners was willing to participate in the research.

In the fall of 2010, I called María Eraña, broadcasting director at Radio Bilingüe, and talked with her about my interest in conducting this study. She asked that I submit a written document to explain my intentions with the research. When I submitted the document she requested and María presented it to Hugo Morales, founder of Radio Bilingüe, and to the staff of and volunteers at the radio station to determine who would be willing to participate in the study.

Shortly thereafter, María communicated to me that I was welcome to conduct the research. She invited me to visit the Fresno radio station to meet and speak with Radio Bilingüe's team, as well as to dive into the station's historical documents. Although I did not visit Radio Bilingüe until the summer of 2011, I stayed in contact with María. So I could begin to familiarize myself with some of the aspects of Radio Bilingüe's work, at various times, María sent me various types of documents, including public documentation about the history of Radio Bilingüe, as well as surveys carried out by external organizations about various aspects of the radio programming.

At the same time I was in contact with María, I began to communicate with Samuel Orozco, the national news and information director at the Oakland office, to arrange a visit. Samuel and I agreed I would come to the Oakland site, which broadcasts and produces all the news programs for Radio Bilingüe, around the same time I scheduled my visit to the Fresno office.

I carried out a total of 18 initial interviews with both staff and volunteers from Radio Bilingüe's Fresno, Oakland, and Salinas, CA, offices. Out of the 18 initial interviews, I decided to follow up with seven staff members and two volunteers because these individuals are highly involved in the operations of the radio station. Others were

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only part-time staff that only engaged with one radio program, or were short-term volunteers. The participants selected in this study have also worked and/or volunteered with Radio Bilingüe for a minimum of five years. It is their stories and voices that are reflected in the narrative of this study.

The individuals who ultimately take part in this study are: From the Fresno office, María Eraña, Alma Garza, Alma Martínez, Hugo Morales, Jose Juan Morán, Lourdes Oliva, Juana Gómez, and Mario Gómez; from the Oakland office, Samuel Orozco and Carol Dowell; from the Salinas office, Delia Saldivar and Jesus Martínez. The information gathered from these interviews contributed to understanding the work of Radio Bilingüe and the role its staff (or media practitioners) play in the radio station and their community.

I want to note that the number of volunteers who actively engage with Radio Bilingüe varies year to year. As of October 2013, there were around 30 volunteers at the Fresno station, about 3-5 at the Oakland office, and another 40 at the Salinas office. Volunteers work in different capacities, from administrative work to technical support. For the purpose of this research, I decided to include the voices of Juana and Mario Gómez, a married couple who currently volunteer at Radio Bilingüe. I decided to focus on them because, together, they produce and host one of Radio Bilingüe's most well-known and longest-standing shows, *La Hora Mixteca* (The Mixtec Hour). Most of the individuals interviewed in this study began volunteering at Radio Bilingüe before being hired on as staff members.

At the time of this study, the age of all participants ranged from 28 to 65 years old. In terms of ethnicity, most individuals identify as being of Mexican descent, with the

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exception of Lourdes Oliva, who identifies as Mexican-Colombian, as well as Hugo Morales, Juana Gómez, and Marío Gómez, who identify being of indigenous descent from Oaxaca, Mexico.

<u>Writing</u>

In writing this dissertation, one of my goals is to have it be accessible to a wide-ranging audience that might or might not be familiar with the work of Radio Bilingüe; with scholarship related to diasporas, transnationalism, media, and identity; or with the type of language that is often found in studies of this nature.

The narrative for the first part of this study, which discusses the history of Radio Bilingüe, has been structured in a chronological way; it is told through the evolution of the organization. The second part of this study has been written in a thematic form, which is suitable for interpreting the findings of archival research and the textual analysis. According to Emerson et al. (1995), the thematic narrative "begins by stating a main idea or thesis, and it progresses towards a fuller elaboration of this idea" (p. 171). What this means, is that as I provide the analysis of the work, I support my arguments with the comments of media practitioners. As such, this approach falls in line with the style found in ethnographic writing, which highlights the voice of participants and validates their views and opinions as valuable insights to understanding their reality and experiences in their own voice.

Limitations

All methodologies have shortcomings. They can have an impact on research and this study is no exception. During my research, I was unable to review and analyze a vast collection of documents that date back to the late 1970s, which included legal documents from law firms, financial statements, listener letters, among others. Since my aim with this study is to develop a narrative of the development of the radio station from the perspective of those who took part in building it, I searched for documents that would help me piece together the history of the radio station, such as newspaper clips with interviews with the directors, media practitioners and volunteers, publicity materials, and letters generated by Radio Bilingüe that provided me with an outline of the events and changes that have shaped the radio station over the years. As mentioned before, given the parameters and deadlines for this research, staff and media practitioners helped me find particular documents I was interested in reading, and they provided me with a useful selection of documents that greatly contributed to understanding the development of Radio Bilingüe.

Another limitation to this study has to do with not being able to examine and address the impact of services Radio Bilingüe provides to its listening community. This includes assessing community-level involvement that can generate different types of useful information about social welfare and educational campaigns that are implemented at Radio Bilingüe. This is a significant area of research for media and development communication scholars interested in the social and educational role of media in underserved communities.

A more apparent limitation to this research relates to being able to conduct fieldwork and interviews at Radio Bilingüe's affiliate radio stations that are in other parts of the United States and Mexico. This will be a valuable area to explore in the future because it can provide a better sense of the value and use of Radio Bilingüe's programming to members of the Latino diaspora living elsewhere in the U.S., as well as a deeper understanding of the value of Radio Bilingüe's programming on, for example, Mexican listening communities.

With this study, it is my hope to provide a strong base about the history of Radio Bilingüe and what it does as an organization. Then others interested in the topic may build on my findings and use this research as a stepping-stone for further study.

<u>Reflexivity</u>

I must recognize that my position as researcher is, to a great extent, aligned with the Radio Bilingüe's goals, which include serving as a voice to empower Latinos and other underserved communities. I believe this is partly due to the fact that I am a Latina woman who is often frustrated with the limited and biased media representations of Latinos in the mainstream media of the United States, as well as with the negative political rhetoric regarding Latino immigrants to this country.

I firmly believe that regardless of race, ethnicity, class, or gender, all individuals have the right to live full and dignified lives, which includes the right to freedom of expression. I understand, however, that despite the fact that I may strongly agree and believe in the work Radio Bilingüe does, and what it seeks to achieve, such as helping

those who are often voiceless, clear differences exist between those who make the work of Radio Bilingüe possible, and my position as "outsider" to this community.

I currently occupy a privileged position of being a doctoral candidate. To a great extent, this has meant that I have committed a great deal of my life to academic research and scholarship rather than actively being involved "in the movement"; in other words, working on-the-ground in organizing efforts with the community. I also do not live in Fresno, nor am I a part of the poor or working-class community Radio Bilingüe serves. Although I am Latina who is fully bilingual (Spanish/English), understand the cultural nuances that reveal my Latino identity, and have an affinity for those things considered part of Mexican culture, I do not fully grasp the challenges most of the community of media practitioners face — chiefly, although not solely, the challenge of physically "crossing the border" or knowing what it is like to be "undocumented."

What I do share with many of the media practitioners is the experience of being an immigrant and navigating identities; the familiarity of living between worlds gives me an insight into why there is a need for a connection with the things, culture, and people found on each side of the U.S.-Mexico border. It is in the search for having a sense of being and belonging where I have, on a personal level, connected with the Radio Bilingüe community. I also firmly believe in the power individuals hold for creating change in their lives and in their communities. And this drive for change, for creating better opportunities in the lives of underserved and marginalized communities is part of the spirit of those working at Radio Bilingüe.

The following chapter narrates the history and structure of Radio Bilingüe. It begins by providing a picture of Latino immigration, while closely considering Latino

diversity within California's Central Valley, as a way of providing a snapshot of the population that make up the radio's listening audience; it follows by providing a picture of the development of the radio station, and wraps-up by describing the structural composition of the organization.

CHAPTER IV

BACKGROUND

In this chapter I provide a snapshot of Latin American immigration to the United States, but give precedence to discussing Mexican immigration because it is most relevant to the overall framework of this study and to the history of Radio Bilingüe. However, I do so with the understanding that hundreds of thousands immigrants from other Latin American countries belong to this broader community as well. Next, I look at Latino presence in California's Central Valley since it will explain the Latino presence in the region and help lay a foundation for the sociocultural context for and experiences of the Latinos who have shaped Radio Bilingüe, and discuss Spanish language radio in the United States.

The Latino Landscape

The Mexican presence 'north of the border' helps explain the long and uneasy relationship between Mexico and the United States. The border issue, in fact, continues to be an unresolved problem between both nations. It has given way to a number of questions and debates, particularly around immigration, that have continued to create transnational tensions, as well as internal ones in the United States where Mexicans, and other Latino immigrants, continue to be perceived as second-class citizens, including those who may be second, and subsequent generations of Latinos born in the United States.

Mexico became independent from Spain in 1821, and its territory extended, at least nominally, from Panama in the South to Oregon in the North (Hamnett, 1999). The

decade of the 1840s, proved to be significant in the history of U.S.-Mexico relations. This was a time of internal division in the newly independent Mexican Republic. There were failed attempts to consolidate the late colonial period, which had "unresolved military problems with unpacified indigenous groups who were frustrated with territorial consolidation… and decades of decaying government finance that left Mexico with a debt problem" (Hamnett, 1999, p. 5-6); an economic problem that was later compounded with external loans and trade recession. In contrast, the decade of the 1840s in the United States was characterized with true expansionism where Americans set out to obtain dominion over Mexican territories.

In the fight over land, tensions between Mexico and the United States arose, and as a result, the Mexican-American War ensued (1846-1848). Mexico lost 45 percent of its territory during the war and was forced to cede its lands to the United States. In 1848, the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo formally surrendered the Mexican territories, which now make up the states of New Mexico, Arizona, California and Texas. And although the treaty brought the Mexican-American War to an end, it displaced a large number of Mexicans who occupied and owned property in those lands. This meant, that suddenly, Mexicans became immigrants in their own lands. For those who long had lived on those territories, the international border that had been drawn as a result of the war, quite literally crossed them. This "border region" — physically located along and between the Mexican states of Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas and the United States states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California — is a contentious and politically charged area where struggles over land, legal rights, culture, and identity continue to take place to this day, long after the end of the Mexican-American War.

Despite the tensions that emerged along the border region, between 1850 and 1881, the United States experienced an expansion of cattle ranches in the Southwest and an increase of fruit production in California that required the import of foreign manual labor to support the growth. As a result, numerous Mexican workers begin to arrive to California to help sustain the expansion of labor in these sectors. The impact of their work ultimately shored up the nation's economy in the areas of commercial agriculture, as well as in other labor sectors, such as mining, light industry, and railroad.

Another significant event of the mid-1800s that led to an increased presence of Latinos in the United States can be traced with the California Gold Rush. Upon the discovery of gold, a number of immigrant populations who sought to make a fortune headed to California. And aside from the Mexican population who already inhabited the state, the state received a stream of immigrants that included people from Spain, as well as "other global fortune-seeker immigrants from China, Germany, Chile, Ireland, Turkey and France" ("California Gold Rush 1848-1858", October 2, 2013).

Since the pace of economic development in the American West accelerated after the expansion of the regional rail system, a higher demand for labor to the United States also increased. A number of immigrant labor coming from a variety of countries besides Mexico played a part in bolstering the nation's economy, as well as contributing to changes in its demographic diversity. By the late 19th century, nearly 200,000 Chinese were contracted to legally cultivate California's fields, that is, until the implementation of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which prohibited the free immigration of Chinese laborers (McWilliams, 1939) to the United States. This act, and other iterations of immigration control, impacted the entry and regulation of immigrants across the country,

as well as playing a part in reshaping the diversity of the population in communities and cities across California. For example, although there were a number of Asian immigrants emigrating to and working in California by 1917, the Immigration Act of that same year contained the controversial "Asiatic Barred Zone[13]" to keep out immigrants from Asia, and contained provisions that excluded "undesirables" (including criminals, those deemed insane or "idiots," poor, alcoholics, beggars) from entering the country. This xenophobic act impeded the flow of Chinese labor into the country; with the exception of labor from Japan and the Philippines who had previously established agreements with the United States to import labor from their countries ("U.S. Department of State Office of the Historian", 2013).

Subsequent immigration acts also limited the entrance of immigrants into the United States. For instance, when the Immigration Act of 1924[14] was passed, it set immigration quotas for individual countries based on the number of foreign nationals already living in the United States ("Immigration Act of 1924", 2012). This act limited the number of Asian, as well as European immigrants who could annually enter the country, as well as impacting the number of people traveling to California to perform agricultural labor. As a result of the restrictions of the immigration acts and the continual need to fulfill agricultural jobs, labor contractors and farmers began to employ a number of African Americans who had been moving to the Central Valley in hopes of escaping

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[13] The Immigration Act of 1917 barred most immigration from Asian Indians and other Asian country nationals (except Japanese and Filipinos), therefore causing a greater need for agriculture and rail labor that was eventually brought from Mexico through the Bracero Program ("Immigration Policy Center, " 2013).

[14] Passed in the face of growing public opinion against the flow of Southern and Eastern European immigrants after World War I, the Immigration Act of 1924 imposed a quota on the number of immigrants who could enter the U.S. This quota limited immigration visas to 2 percent of the total number of people of each nationality in the U.S. as of the 1890 national census ("U.S. Department of State Office of the Historian", 2013).

the economic and social repression of the South (Gregory, 2005). However, substandard paying conditions, and the impact agricultural mechanization that displaced some labor need in the region, such as cotton picking, eventually caused African Americans to move to small towns and other urban areas within the Central Valley where they began to worked in manufacturing plants (Gregory, 2005).

In response to the continual shortage of manual labor, Mexican workers were employed. The presence of Mexican labor in the Western United States continued to expand into industry, service fields, and trade jobs. Employment opportunities for them soared during World War I (1914-1918) and World War II (1939-1945) when much of the United States labor force was fighting overseas. For this reason, Mexican laborers played a critical role in developing the nation's economy; they filled the gap in many essential occupations, especially those in California's agricultural region, where manual labor was — and remains — key. Because of all the opportunities for work in the California fields, a more noticeable Latino presence began to grow in the Western part of the United States.

Significant events involving other Latin American nations also increased the Latinos' numbers and diversity in other parts of the United States. For example, the acquisition of Puerto Rico as a commonwealth territory at the end of the Spanish-American War greatly helped drive Puerto Rican immigration into the United States. Since 1898, the United States has sought to modernize the Puerto Rican economy, primarily through the industrialization of the island's manufacturing industry. The move toward the modernization of a traditionally agrarian society, however, led to a decline in

employment, which caused a large migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States in search for work (García Bedolla, 2009).

Puerto Rican migration further intensified after the granting of U.S. citizenship[15] to the country's residents in 1917. This allowed the unrestricted movement of people between Puerto Rico and United States — and it facilitated the recruitment of Puerto Ricans into the United States Army during World War I. The largest Puerto Rican immigration to the country occurred in the 1950s, after World War II, as "Operation Bootstrap" took flight. The implementation of this economic export-promotion program caused "an absolute drop in the total number of jobs available on the island, which resulted in the decline of agricultural work and increase in manufacturing activity" (Vázquez Calzada, 1988, p. 286), thereby causing an influx of Puerto Ricans to the United States for work. At that time, Puerto Rican communities settled in the New York neighborhoods of East Harlem and Brooklyn, where they continue to have a strong presence to this day.

From the 1960s onward, the broader landscape of Latinos in the United States began to change dramatically as a result of economic and political conflicts in much of Latin America where the United States intervened in order to sustain its geopolitical and economic power. For instance, Cuba's revolutionary insurgency in 1959 led by Fidel Castro and Ernesto "Ché" Guevara, was characterized by growing rural insurgencies that resulted in the overthrow of the dictator Fulgencio Batista, as well as Castro's ruling of Cuba under Marxist principles and the alignment with the Soviet Union (García Bedolla, 2009). Castro's government expropriated most of the means of production and most

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[15] Puerto Ricans acquired U.S. citizenship as a result of the Jones Act of 1917, which was signed into law by President Woodrow Wilson.

services owned by Cubans and by foreigners, as well as taking church properties and deporting Roman Catholic clergymen. Castro's government also took over all the mass media, and banned opposition parties and movements (Dominguez, 1992).

This change of power prompted a series of political conflicts between Cuba and the United States, including the unsuccessful overthrow of Castro in the Bay of Pigs invasion of 1961 ("The Bay of Pigs," 2013). Also, as a result of extreme political changes, many Cubans fled the country and sought out refuge in the United States. This emigration mainly consisted of educated people of the upper and middle-classes; such as doctors, lawyers, pharmacists, and accountants, among others, who had connections with or sympathy for the Batista government. Gutiérrez (2006) points out, "although a significant Cuban population had existed in the U.S. since the 19th century — mainly concentrated in Florida and New York City — virtually overnight the exodus of Cubans after the revolution created a major new Latino American population" (pp. 61-62). Since then, a number of Cubans either wishing to reunite with family members or to escape socialism and poverty have led to additional migrations to and settlements in the United States.

Between the 1970s and 1980s, many Latin Americans from countries like El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Chile, and Nicaragua escaped the political turmoil of their countries by migrating to the United States. The political struggle in the region had been fueled by Cold War politics, where U.S.-Soviet competition to exert power over the Americas resulted in much violence throughout the region that forced thousands to flee their countries to avoid armed conflicts, more poverty or death. Prior to the conflicts that erupted in much of Latin America, a number of people from these nations had established

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communities in the United States. However, many people continue to flee their countries

due to the continual violence caused by authoritarian regimes, many of which were

backed up by the United States, and left-wing insurgencies trying to overthrown or resist

such governments.

Another cause for Latin American migration to the United States (including those

living in the Caribbean) was the ongoing economic restructuring of many Latin American

nations, which started in the 1980s and continued throughout the 1990s. Free-market

reforms, along with the privatization of state industries and the deregulation of the labor

market in much of Latin America, have "exposed domestic industries to increased

competition, and hence, short-term unemployment and depressed wages" (Bucciferro,

2010, p. 3). In part, this has led to a situation where "highly educated and skilled

individuals from countries including Argentina, Colombia, Peru, Ecuador and others,

have emigrated to the United States seeking economic opportunities not available to them

in their own countries" (Gutiérrez, 2006, p. 64).

In the case of Mexico, more recent waves of immigration are partly a legacy of

the U.S.-Mexico Bracero program, which was initiated at the beginning of World War II

and ended in 1964. According to Brick et al., (2011):

> The Bracero program offered government support for the recruitment of
> about 4 million Mexican workers on temporary visas, helping foster a
> culture and economy of emigration in Mexican communities, leading to a
> dependency of low-wage labor on part of the U.S. agribusiness, and
> creating a transnational network of labor recruiters connecting the two
> nations. (p. 3)

Although the Bracero program had been intended as a wartime arrangement

between the two governments, the United States felt pressure from agribusiness leaders,

who feared a labor shortage after the end of the war. And as the years after World War II

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progressed, the number of legal braceros fell short, so there was an increase in recruiting undocumented workers to tend the fields (*Harvard Magazine*, 2007).

As a response to the increase of undocumented Mexican immigrants, the United States government introduced "Operation Wetback" in 1954, which apprehended close to 1 million undocumented workers through a series of raids organized by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). But despite increased border surveillance and militarization, Mexican migrants kept heading north because there continued to be a high demand for their labor.

As a result of the continual flow of illegal migration, the United States government introduced other policies in an attempt to fix the "immigration problem" that was centered, albeit not officially, on the U.S.-Mexico border. In 1986, when the Immigration Reform and Control Act[16] (IRCA) was implemented, it granted amnesty to 2.3 million undocumented immigrants residing illegally in the United States. The implementation of IRCA, however, came with tough political compromises, which has been described as a "three-legged stool" of employer sanctions, border enforcement, and legalization opportunities (Cooper & O'Neil, 2005, pp. 1-2), aspects of the act that to this day continue to be debated.

Another significant factor to alleviate the "immigration problem" was the 1994 ratification of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which promised a new level of economic integration among Mexico, the United States, and Canada. NAFTA sought to eliminate trade barriers and facilitate cross-border movement of

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[16] IRCA was the first and most comprehensive piece of legislation in U.S. immigration policy to take on the issue of unauthorized immigration, using both legalization programs to "regularize" migrants already in the country and stronger enforcement mechanisms to prevent new entries, such as sanctions against employers for the hiring of undocumented migrants (Migration Policy Institute, 2005).

goods and services, as well as promote competition through free trade between and among nations (Fernandez-Kelly & Massey, 2007). The governments involved in NAFTA believed it would have the potential to stabilize and improve Mexico's economy, which would lower immigration levels to the United States. Illegal immigration to the United States continued to increase even after NAFTA was passed, however. In fact, unauthorized immigration more than doubled; 2 million undocumented workers entered the United States in 1990, and in 2000, the number increased to 4.8 million (Audley et al., 2003, p. 48).

Today, Latin Americans constitute the largest foreign-born population in the United States, and Mexicans account for more than half of Latin American immigrants in the U.S. (Cárdenas and Kerby, 2012). In fact, according to the 2010 U.S. Census Bureau, there are roughly 50.5 million Hispanics or Latinos, representing about 16 percent of the U.S. population. And by 2050, it is estimated that the Latino population will double to 30 percent (Humes et al., 2011).

Latinos in California's Central Valley

For many years, California's Central Valley region has been known as the agricultural center of the nation. Fields, orchards, vineyards, and pasturelands define its landscape. Extreme heat in the summer and oppressive fog in the winter define its climate. The Central Valley (Figure 1), named for its location in the center of California, is home to a number of diverse communities and places — many names of which strongly reflect the region's early Native American, Spanish, and Anglo-American settlements. The city name of Chowchilla, for instance, is derived from an indigenous

Native American tribe living in the area. Additionally, the city of Merced takes its name from the Spanish word meaning "mercy," whereas the city name Patterson is evidence of early Anglo settlers in the region.

Figure 1. Map of California by region

California's Central Valley has also been defined in large part by its streams of immigrants, which have swelled the population of the region and transformed its racial and ethnic character. In 2010, the United States Census revealed that out of the 37,253,956 residents living in California, close to half — 14,013,719 — identified as Hispanic or Latino ("U.S. Census," 2013), which means, that about one in three Californians is a person of Latino descent.

In the Central Valley, one-fourth of the population is made up of immigrants ("The Great Valley Center," 2013), which makes the region an intricate patchwork of ethnic niches, neighborhoods, and communities that greatly enrich the diversity of the

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state. According to Fujimoto and Sandoval (2013), the Central Valley "has established communities of Sikhs from the Punjab region of India in Yuba City, Filipinos in Stockton, Assyrians in Turlock, Swedes in Kingsburg, Mennonites in Reedley, Hmong in Merced … as well as Armenians in Fresno, and Portuguese in Gustine" (p. 7), to name a few. These immigrant groups complement the large contingent of Latino immigrants who have historically migrated to the region.

Even before the onset of the Bracero Program in 1942, many Mexican immigrants have resided in California, either temporarily or permanently, to work in the agricultural fields. And after the Bracero program ended in 1964, the United States continued to employ Mexican workers, and it shifted from a "de jure [concerning law] policy of active labor recruitment to a de facto [concerning fact] policy of passive labor acceptance, combined with modest legal immigration and massive entry of undocumented people" (Durand et al., n.d.), which allowed for a steady stream of Mexican migration to the United States. For example, the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986 granted permanent-resident status to 3 million undocumented immigrants, of which 2.3 million were Mexican. However, today's agricultural workers also include indigenous migrants, such as Mixteco and Trique from Mexico, Maya from Guatemala, and Quechua-speaking residents of the Andean region of Ecuador (Rodriguez, 2008, p. 9).

Latino diversity in the Central Valley is great; races and ethnicities run the gamut within the community. But other marked differences, such as language, cultural traditions, class, and immigration status, also show the multiple dimensions of Latino identity and add to the complexity of relationships within the region. And as the Latino population continues to grow nationwide, with the second and third-plus generations of

U.S.-born Latinos, their impact on the various political, economic, social, and cultural spheres will inevitably be felt across the United States — including the Central Valley.

Latino diversity can affect the type of experiences people have in the place they live, particularly as we contemplate how race and ethnicity are strong indicators of social life, civic participation, and political behavior (Kissam, 1999). Chávez (2005) argues that despite the strong presence of Latinos in the Central Valley, they are often disenfranchised; in general, immigrants are seldom recognized as full members of the community in which they live, especially by long-term white residents of European heritage (pp. 315). For example, in the city of Fresno — the second largest city in the Central Valley region —evidence of racial divisions among the white and Latino communities can be observed in different urban regions throughout the city. "Shaw Avenue," for instance, is a road that runs east to west across the city of Fresno, and often, it is one of the busiest thoroughfares in the city. While driving along Shaw Avenue, and its adjacent areas, one can perceive that the road symbolizes a sort of 'inter-city border' that divides people and communities in a very visible way.

Within the Latino community, it is a well-known fact that most of the "white folks" live North of Shaw, and Latinos, as well as other ethnic communities, live South of Shaw. In the area North of Shaw, one can see it is the suburban mecca of the city; you can catch sight of well-manicured homes, a number of expensive restaurants, the streets are clean and well-cared for. This is contrasted with South Shaw, where one finds modest neighborhoods, including residential projects, run-down streets, and fast-food filled commercial areas. Additionally, in North Shaw, ethnic diversity seems to decrease, while in South Shaw, a plethora of ethnic communities can be easily found around the streets

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and neighborhoods. Shaw Avenue is an urban and modern-day border that is a constant reminder of the race, ethnicity, and class segregation that continue to exist in the community.

Latino diversity in the Central Valley also goes beyond ethnicity, generation or age, and includes national identification and class differences. For example, some residents of the region include IRCA-era immigrants born in Mexico who often acknowledge their native heritage before their U.S. status, that is, they identify as Mexican before thinking of themselves as Mexican-American. Other Central Valley residents include Chicanos who, as Bruce-Novoa (1990) has suggested, live in the space of the hyphen in "Mexican-American." In other words, they are part of the first generation U.S.-born Latinos of Mexican descent who identify as living between cultures, having roots in both Mexico and the United States, and have strong ties to the Brown Power movement of the 1960s and 1970s. In addition, undocumented immigrants — who, in great part, are the most vulnerable among the area's Latino residents — also live in the Central Valley, but aren't treated as full members of the community because of their immigration status. Class differences also play part in the diversity of Latinos in the United States. With regards to the Mexican-Americans, in particular, there is a conception that they are only part of the working or lower class. However, there are a number of Mexican-Americans who are quickly moving into the middle-class as many have 'leaked out' agricultural work and into the service industry, or have become business owners themselves; in addition many of the children of agricultural workers who have gained an education, are getting better earning jobs.

In general, the longer Latino immigrant families reside in the United States, the more likely they are to become middle class. This includes U.S.-born children and grandchildren of Latino immigrants, who in general fare considerably better than the immigrant generation (Taylor, et al., 2012.). And although a number of efforts to find a common ground through which to manage social, cultural, and ethnic differences, as well as civic participation are in place in the country, full community integration into the mainstream society of the United States continues to be a challenge.

Often, these differences not only create divisions among Latino groups but also lead to a "fencing off"' of all Latinos from the broader community they inhabit. However, as a way of integrating themselves into the community, Latinos have formed their own alliances and networks that provide political, economic, and/or educational support. Further, important sources of engagement and information for Latino immigrants include social and cultural networks, such as community groups and churches, as well as the media geared toward Latino community interests.

Spanish Language Radio in the United States

It has been almost 100 years since Spanish-language radio in the United States became part of American broadcasting system. Despite initial challenges to establish Spanish-speaking radio stations; the medium of radio gave voice to an early generation of Latinos who immigrated to the United States, thus filling the void for native language content, as well as access to culturally relevant news and information.

Unlike Spanish language press, which had been published in the United States since Mexico's annexation in 1848, Spanish language radio began to slowly enter the

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airwaves in the late 1920s and early 1930s. This was also the period in time when World

War II was in full flight and many labor resources in the United States were drained,

particularly in the agricultural sector. As a result, Mexican labor was imported into the

country (primarily to California) to fill the labor shortage, therefore, Spanish-language

radio emerged out of the need for supporting the Spanish-speaking immigrant

communities arriving to the country during that time.

Rodríguez (1999) argues that in the early years or radio (late 1920s and early

1930s), ownership of Spanish-language radio was in the hands of Anglo society

entrepreneurs, mainly because substantive capital investments were required for owning

and operating radio stations. And since Latino immigrants did not have the capital to

acquire their own stations, Anglo radio station owners would sell blocks of "off-hour"

airtime –typically early morning and weekend time slots– to Mexican or other Latino

immigrants so they could produce their own radio shows (Gutiérrez & Schement, 1979).

As a result, Spanish-speaking immigrants would broker to buy these off-hours

timeslots, which were sold for nominal fees, to produce their own radio programs with

little to no intervention in how they designed their programs (Rodriguez, 1999). As the

brokering system began expanding Spanish-language radio programming in the United

States, a content analysis study conducted in 1941 in the states of New York, Arizona,

Texas, and California, concluded that an approximate 264 hours of Spanish-language

programming was broadcasted each week. In addition, the study found that Spanish-

language radio had a significant cultural impact on Latino immigrants, mainly due to the

design of the programs, which focused on community events, such as dances, church

gatherings, clubs, and letter exchanges (Arnheim & Bayne, 1941).

Southwestern Spanish language radio programmers in the United States began

broadcasting "radio dramas and musical performances by immigrant artists and actors,

which expressed the bi-nationality of their communities, and prided themselves on

sounding as if they were still in Mexico" (Rodriguez, 1999, p. 360). And though early

Spanish-language radio producers were primarily designing entertainment-style radio

programs, they also began to respond to the inherent needs of their listening audience by

providing informational and political advocacy news. The news delivered tended to focus

on foreign countries — 80% primarily from Mexico — illustrating that Spanish-language

producers were concerned with the bi-nationality of the community they served

(Gutiérrez & Schement, 1979, p. 6).

Early Spanish-language radio personalities acquired large popularity and were

often elevated to positions of leadership because of their influence on the Mexican and

Latino communities. For example, Pedro González, an early radio broker and producer

from Burbank, California, was a Mexican musician who began producing the program

"Los Madrugadores" (The Early Risers") in 1927 on KELW. González mixed live music

performances with information about jobs and community services, which were

extremely popular with the Mexican immigrant community (Rodriguez, 1999).

Additionally, González was also politically engaged and his outspoken character

transformed him into a well-known political figure of his generation; a man *The New

York Times* described in its obituary as a "folk hero and social advocate" (March 24,

1995, p. C20).

Another Latino radio broker of the time, Raul Cortez, was the first to appeal to the

Federal Communications Commission (FCC) for the right to acquire a license to own a

radio station in San Antonio, Texas (Gutiérrez & Schement, 1979). Cortez argued that "a full-time Spanish language radio station would help inspire passion amongst the Spanish-speaking community towards WW II," especially since the general sentiment of the time was that Spanish-language radio was as a threat to American culture. However, industry leaders believed radio could be an effective way of "infusing the American view" into immigrant communities lives (Gutiérrez & Schement, 1979, p. 9). And so, Cortez was given the license to own and operate a radio station, the first to be owned by a Latino immigrant (Albarran & Hutton, 2009, p. 9), and his radio station, KONO-AM, went on air in 1946. However, it wouldn't be until 1978 that the FCC would "announce a policy supporting minority ownership and adopt measures designed to encourage the sale of stations to minority entrepreneurs[17]" (Singleton, 1982, p. 538).

The popularity of Spanish-language radio continued to grow in the 1950s as a steady influx of Latino immigrants continued to enter the United States. By the 1960s, Spanish-language radio accounted for two-thirds of all foreign language broadcasts in the country (Gutiérrez & Schement, 1979), and by 1966 "more than 300 radio stations in the country broadcasted in Spanish with an emphasis on musical programming" (Guitiérrez & Schement, 1979, p. 11).

Throughout the 1970s, the number of Spanish-language radio stations continued to grow, and many of them collaborated and began to form regional radio networks. Albarran and Hutton (2009) note "while long-term stability varied among these networks, it is evidence of a solidification of the network format and a forecast of future success"

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[17] Federal Communications Commission, *Statement of Policy on Minority Ownership of Broadcasting Facilities,* 68 FCC 2d 979 (1978).

(p. 12). Below is a table (Table 1) of regional Spanish-language networks that existed in the mid-1970s (Albarran & Hutton, 2009, p. 12):

Table 1. Spanish-language radio networks (1976). Source: Quall & Brown (1976)

National Spanish Language Network	26
AAA Español Network	15
Amigo Spanish Group	14
Texas Spanish Language Network	14
All Spanish Network	12
AAA California Spanish Network	11
Latin Network	10

During the 1980s, the number of Spanish-language radio stations –commercial and public– continued to grow. Castañeda Paredes (2003) reports, "since 1980 only 67 Spanish oriented radio stations existed in the United States, but by 2002, the Federal Communications Commission recorded well over 600 licensed stations" (p. 8). Not only has this meant that the number of Spanish-language radio stations has rapidly increased, but interestingly, these radio stations are appearing in both urban and rural areas and in states with growing Latino markets, such as Arkansas, Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Washington (Hollowa, 2002).

It is in the context of the growing number of Spanish-language radio stations of the late 1970s and early 1980s that Radio Bilingüe is established. It was at time of public enthusiasm for Spanish-language radio, but also of a changing Latino public that was becoming increasingly bilingual (English-Spanish). With this in mind, Radio Bilingüe became the first public radio station aimed at serving the bilingual and bicultural needs of the growing Latino communities within California's Central Valley region.

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Though Spanish-language or bilingual public radio stations are markedly different from Spanish-language commercial radio stations, mainly in that commercial radio has "increasingly come to resemble its English-language counterpart, with research-driven programming and priorities dictated by the bottom line" (Levin, 2001b, p. F8); whereas public radio stations interests lies primarily in education and informing its listeners, they both fill the need for serving the growing and diverse Latino communities across the United States.

The historical and present impact of the medium of radio within Latino communities represents an amazing story that is still in progress (Gutiérrez & Schement, 1979, p. 18). And as Latino-driven radio enterprises grow, whether Spanish-language or bilingual, much still remains to be seen on how audiences, policy and funding needs will allow Latinos to become greater players in the public broadcasting system.

CHAPTER V

RADIO BILINGÜE

Seeing people as agents of change and not merely as objects of change has been
the driving approach to Hugo Morales' work at Radio Bilingüe. As a Mixtec Indian
native of the state of Oaxaca, Mexico, Hugo has shepherded Radio Bilingüe from a small,
all-volunteer operated local radio station in Fresno, California, to a large-scale public
radio network comprised of 13 FM radio stations[18] with over a hundred affiliates
throughout the United States, Mexico, and Canada. As a non-commercial Spanish-
language radio network, Radio Bilingüe is a publicly supported media organization; this
means, its programming is sustained by state and federal grants, foundations and
philanthropic institutions, as well as other non-commercial organizations and individuals
committed to keeping the airwaves open to Latino audiences. At its core, one of the
radio's most salient goals is the promotion of social justice, particularly in relationship to
issues of race, class, linguistic or cultural discrimination, as well as political strife that
has afflicted the Latino community the radio serves. The commitments to social justice
and change that are embedded in the vision of those who work at the radio station are, to
an extent, a reflection of Hugo's life and personal resolve. Below (Figure 2) is an
illustration of Hugo Morales in *Soul Corner,* which is part of the *Wee Pals* comic strip
that discusses minority historical figures and current leaders who often do not receive the
recognition they deserve in mainstream media.

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[18] Stations owned and operated by Radio Bilingüe as of August, 2013, include: KSJV 91.5 Fresno,
California, KMPO 88.7 Modesto-Stockton, California, KTQX 90.1 Bakersfield-Lamont, California, KHDC
90.0 Chualar-Salinas, California, KUBO 88.7 Calexico-El Centro, California, KVUH 88.5 Laytonville-
Mendocino, California, KREE 88.1 Porterville-Douglas, Arizona, KHUI 89.1 Alamosa, Colorado, KVMG
88.9 Raton, New Mexico, KYOL 91.7 Chama, New Mexico, and KQTO 88.1 Hurley-Silver City, New
Mexico.
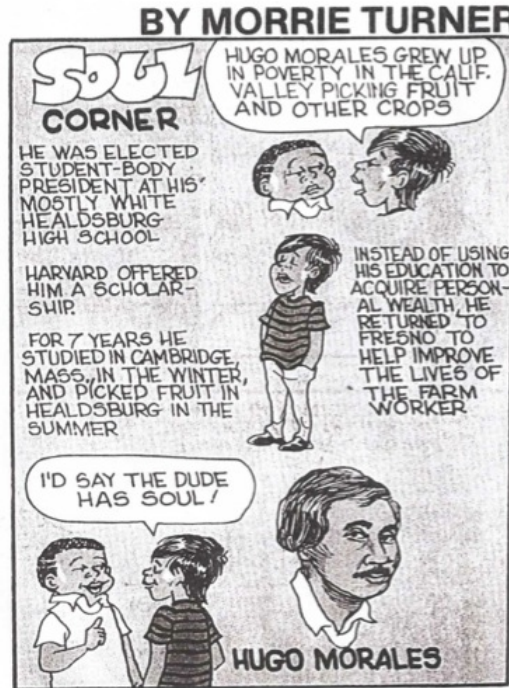
Figure 2. Soul Corner illustration by Morrie Turner, in Wee Pals, date unknown[19].

As a child in Oaxaca, Mexico, Hugo recalls his family was very poor growing up in a small rural town. He remembers his mother "weaving straw hats all day to buy the family a chicken so they could eat. It was not until 1958 that Hugo, his two siblings, and mother boarded a Tres Estrellas (Three Stars) bus headed to Northern California, where as resident aliens, were reunited with his father Rafael, who years before had traveled to the United States and had become a naturalized citizen" (Porter Brown, 2007).

From a young age living in a labor camp in Sonoma County, California, Hugo spent much of his early life as a farmworker, splitting his time between picking produce in the fields and going to school. He entered elementary school knowing no English, but was ahead in math thanks to his Catholic schooling in Mexico. Hugo remembers that as a

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[19] The illustration is from *Soul Corner,* which is part of the comic strip *Wee Pals* created by African American cartoonist Morrie Turner. In 1965, *Wee Pals* became the first comic strip syndicated in the United States, and *Soul Corner* was part of the Sunday edition of the strip.

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way of helping him advance his English skills, his third-grade teacher, who knew no Spanish, read him English-language picture books during recess. And it wasn't until the end of his fifth grade education that he "got a clue about what was being talked about in the classroom" (Harvard Magazine, 2007). This experience with his teacher, as Hugo recounts, is what has caused him to be in favor of bilingual education today.

While in the seventh grade, Hugo contracted tuberculosis and was confined to a Sonoma hospital room for nine months. During that time, Hugo did schoolwork on his own and often read *Time* magazine and national newspapers to keep himself in the loop of what was going on outside the room to which he was confined. While reading, Hugo learned how the mainstream media looked at Latinos: "I learned that other people thought of us as dirty, dumb, unworthy and not interested in civic engagement. I looked around at everyone in my family and at the people at the labor camp, and knew that it didn't describe us" (California Forward, 2013). "I was shocked people would think we were dumb or lazy and that is when I started to be vocal about what needed to be addressed" he said (personal communication, June 7, 2012). This characterization irritated Hugo because many of the farmworkers living among him and his family were very talented people — musicians, poets, writers, carpenters, artists, etc. "People just had the wrong idea about us," he said (personal communication, June 7, 2012). Hugo's time in isolation proved to be a period of reflection that awoke in him a social consciousness, which has defined his adult identity. Later, in high school, Hugo joined the debate team and the school newspaper. He was elected student president, and despite being told he shouldn't waste his time with college, he enrolled in college-preparatory classes where he was the only person of color attending.

After his college preparation, Hugo received a full scholarship to Harvard College where he obtained his bachelor's degree with honors in 1972, and later, a juris doctorate from Harvard Law School in 1975. Hugo was one among a handful of Latinos on campus. He was, certainly, the only person of Oaxacan indigenous descent attending Harvard at the time. And despite the fact that Hugo had entered the privileged world of higher education at an Ivy League institution, every summer he would return to Sonoma where he lived in the farm labor camps with his family and would work picking a variety of seasonal fruit, such as prunes, apples, grapes, and strawberries. It was in his going back and forth between Harvard and the Sonoma fields, in the harsh juxtaposition of the rich and poor that Hugo's enduring commitment to helping his community was further cemented.

During the time Hugo was in law school, he had resolved to be a public servant, perhaps as an elected official or union organizer. He attended a number of large demonstrations that advocated for the increase of Latino students on campus. The self-awareness of his cultural and ethnic identity among mostly privileged Anglo peers pushed him to find ways of raising consciousness about the diversity of people who existed outside the close-knit Harvard community. This meant advocating for an increased number of Latinos on campus, where he developed the first Spanish-language radio program on the college's radio station (personal communication, June 7, 2012). WHRB 93.3FM was the first Spanish-language radio station at Harvard. On the radio, Hugo played Mexican folk music, Latino rock and jazz, as used the radio to recruit Puerto Ricans from the nearby community outside of Harvard to come and play salsa at

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the station, recite poetry and report on the various social movements occurring at the time.

After graduating from Harvard, Hugo returned to California where he taught La Raza Studies at California State University, Fresno, and began to think about establishing a radio station in the Central Valley. For Hugo, growing up in the California farm belt cemented in him a commitment to helping the poor and to elevating the voice and merits of the people, who like him, lived in poverty. Hugo's father Rafael became a strong influence in his live. Rafael was a labor activist, and Hugo remembers that along with his family, he was active in the United Farm Workers (UFW) movement and attended rallies organized by César Chávez. It was through these experiences that Hugo understood, in a deeper way, that to erase poverty, things had to change politically, and realized change needed to happen at the policy level in order to create change on the ground. It was through these experiences that Hugo's sense of advocacy flourished.

Also, much of Hugo's inspiration, particularly for creating a radio station that could serve farmworkers, came from his personal experiences and from Hugo's brother Candido, who had been a Spanish-language radio DJ in Sonoma in the 1960s. Morales remembers: "When my brother had his radio show, I saw so many farmworkers of every age glued to their radios, listening to his program," (personal communication, June 7, 2012). Seeing how farmworkers enjoyed listening to Spanish-language radio made Hugo realize the potential of the medium as an instrument of social change. "That's when I realized the power of radio in community building, the power of communication" (personal communication, June 7, 2012). Hugo felt radio would be particularly useful because in the mainstream media, "it was like farmworkers didn't exist … so through the

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radio, I wanted to give them a window to the outside world … a way to contribute to

their communities while here in the United States and of connecting with their families"

(personal communication, January 7, 2012). Hugo believed that a radio station could be

key for helping raise awareness about the issues that affected most of the poor in this

community, and in the language of the community. "My whole idea was to empower the

poor. My approach in this case, was the media," Hugo Morales (Fresno Bee, October 23,

1988).

A more concrete idea for launching a bilingual radio station developed while he

was teaching at California State University Fresno and with the California State

Agricultural Labor Relations Board. Hugo began to drum up interest among professors,

students, and community members about building a bilingual radio station. Hugo

explains:

> "In the Central Valley, you have migrants who come from the most
> remote parts of Mexico, places where radio is the medium … so it made
> perfect sense … and I didn't think commercial Hispanic media of the time
> was doing a very good job … the news was generally a translation of
> mainstream news that had little relevance to the lives of farmworkers."
> (personal communication, June 16, 2012)

Hugo decided to offer an alternative to commercial Spanish-language radio by

establishing a bilingual public radio station, controlled and operated by Latinos, with the

goal of serving and uplifting farmworkers living in the Central Valley.

To garner interest in the radio project, Hugo posted handwritten signs throughout

Fresno that depicted a rough drawing of a radio transmitter, inviting anyone interested in

a bilingual radio station to help get it off the ground. He copied and distributed the

leaflets around Fresno and waited to see if anyone would attend. On a fall day in October

1976, seven people showed up to the meeting. And so, Radio Bilingüe was born.

With the assistance of a few farmworkers, teachers, and community members, as well as with the financial support of some of his Harvard friends, Hugo was able to raise enough capital to begin building the radio station. On July 4, 1980, Radio Bilingüe became the first, public, non-commercial, bilingual FM radio station in Fresno, California, to go on air. It was a long-awaited and proud moment for the members of Fresno's farm-working community, who had worked so diligently to establish a radio station by which they could finally "hear themselves."

Hugo's life experiences cemented in him a commitment to elevate his community. He recognizes Cesar Chavez's philosophy of "returning to our roots to help our people," and he strongly adheres to the Mixteco belief of helping the community. These have been the philosophical drivers in building Radio Bilingüe. He believes that the mission of the radio is "to help the poor, to enable the poor to exercise the First Amendment, to advocate for better education for farm-working children and strengthen the community— while encouraging pride in Latino culture (The Press Democrat, 1994).

Addressing the life story of Hugo Morales is important when discussing the history of Radio Bilingue because, in great part, it is his vision and philosophy that have shaped what the radio station is today. He is the key actor for the existence of this radio station, and in understanding Hugo's personal story, we can better understand the experiences of many of the people the radio serves and the work the radio station carries out. The many awards and certificates of recognition that Hugo has received for his work, which include a MacArthur Foundation Fellowship and the Edward R. Murrow award by the Corporation of Public Broadcasting, are a testament to Hugo's constant work, and the media practitioners commitment to providing information and a voice to underserved and

under-represented Latino communities in the United States in general, but in the Central Valley in particular.

Building Radio Bilingüe

Founded in 1976 by Hugo Morales along with other Latino activists and farmworkers, Radio Bilingüe became the first full-power FM radio station to provide culturally and socially relevant information and media access to the growing Spanish-speaking community of California's Central Valley. Since then, it has become a national educational nonprofit network dedicated to reporting on events and issues that affect Latinos and other underserved communities living in the United States. For nearly 38 years, Radio Bilingüe grown from a single radio station with local reach, into a transnational public radio network, reaching Latino communities in Mexico and Canada. Today, this growth can be appreciated in their expanded coverage, as well as in the increased number of radio stations they own and operated —13 in total in the states of Arizona, California, Colorado and New Mexico— and in the increase of radio programs and the types of information that is offered, including news and event coverage (domestic and international), music, entertainment programming, expert guests, youth programming, etc.

The assistance of a team was needed to kick off some of the much-needed internal work required to establish a radio station, such as filing legal paperwork for ownership, drafting articles of incorporation, initiating all technical services, developing programming, conducting community outreach, training, etc. In the first decade of operation, a staff of eight people, who earned a minimum wage — including Hugo — began to lay the groundwork for Radio Bilingüe. However, this small team operation

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required additional support, so the staff solicited the help of volunteers to assist in the mobilization of different plans for building the radio station.

The beginning stages of planning for Radio Bilingüe were set into motion mainly through the work of volunteers. One of the initial efforts included expanding the radio station's programming content, which required enlisting the help of project planners — most of whom were volunteers. Project planners met with diverse community groups and many individuals within the target broadcast area by way of formal meetings, informal discussions, interviews, and seminars, which helped them identify the types of needs, problems, and goals in the community. This assessment ultimately provided a blueprint for the type of radio programming that would most interest the target audience (see Appendix E for the first program schedule). It also provided greater insights about Radio Bilingüe's target audience.

Historically, farmworkers and poor working communities have been identified as the station's primary audience. For most part, these listeners are first- and second-generation Latino, primarily of Mexican descent (including Chicanos), who are predominantly Spanish speaking and have little formal education. Also, a high percentage of these listeners live without medical insurance, and have little or no access to health and social services because they are poor and do not receive employer benefits, or do not qualify for medical services rendered by the state due to their legal status in the country. Over the years, however, Radio Bilingüe also sought out to give access to the radio station to other disenfranchised community members, such as other ethnic minorities and low-income groups, who had an interest in producing their own radio programs.

Aside from conducting a community-needs assessment, other major accomplishments that occurred in the initial stage of development for Radio Bilingüe involved clarifying the mission and purpose of the organization, as well as searching for support and funds. The overall mission of Radio Bilingüe is "to empower Latinos and other underserved communities" (Radio Bilingüe, 2012) and focus on culturally and socially significant issues for Latinos. It aims to serve as a vehicle for the free expression of the human spirit and to encourage people to gain a better understanding of issues of race, ethnicity, nationality, culture, and ways of living. In addition, it serves as a place where pressing political and economic issues affecting its audiences are publicly discussed, like immigration reform, farm-workers wages, and others.

Radio Bilingüe's core principles are grounded in the belief of the importance to broadcast minority views and voices that are not traditionally found in mainstream media, including farmworkers and members of the poor, working class, as well as other groups that are often underrepresented in the mainstream media, such as African Americans, the Hmong, Filipinos, Pacific Islanders, and indigenous communities from Mexico.

Radio Bilingüe became incorporated in July 1977.[20] The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) announced on August 20, 1979 the radio spectrum assignment: KSJV 91.5. However, it wasn't until August 5, 1980, that the FCC legally granted Radio Bilingüe its noncommercial educational FM station license. This came after Radio Bilingüe's first broadcast on July 4, 1980.

Radio Bilingüe's first home was on the fourth floor of the Mason Building of the Fulton Mall in downtown Fresno, California. Its 16,000-watt transmitter, located on

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[20] Radio Bilingüe's articles of incorporation were signed in July 1977, although the official filing with the state of California was not finalized until September of the same year.

Eshom Point in the Sierra Nevada, had the capacity to reach the Chicano and Mexican community living in the Central Valley of California between Merced and Bakersfield. On July 4, 1980, Radio Bilingüe came onto the airwaves for the first time with an eight-hour test broadcast. The first sounds of the radio station were the ballads of folk mariachi music. Enthusiastic farmworkers, labor unionists, and *mechista*[21] students who had helped build the station were thrilled to hear their hard work come to fruition. "That first day was incredibly emotional," Hugo said. "People were calling the radio station crying, so moved that something like this could happen. … It was a wonderful feeling" (C/S, 1980).

From the start, Radio Bilingüe began featuring public-affairs shows focusing on farmworker issues, in addition to music. The station would also broadcast forums and call-in shows on various topics, such as immigration reform, pesticides, labor law, and bilingual education. Radio Bilingüe also became the first bilingual public radio station in a major market and was the third bilingual station in the U.S. ("Bilingual radio station," 1980). This "single non-profit station in California's San Joaquin Valley ran by volunteer farmworkers, activists, artists, and teachers, became *La Voz que Rompió el Silencio* — The Voice that Broke the Silence — a medium for reaching socially, economically, and linguistically marginalized populations" ("Radio Bilingüe," 2013).

Throughout the years, Radio Bilingüe's popularity grew so much that by the early 1990s, it experienced a major development: It launched *Satélite Radio Bilingüe*. With an enabled satellite transmission of its programming, Radio Bilingüe began to reach affiliate

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[21] *Mechistas*, are students who belong to the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA), a national Chicano/a student movement organization formed in 1969. MEChA promotes higher education, culture and history of Chicano identity, and was key in the creation and implementation of Chicano/a studies across college campuses in the United States.

radio stations throughout the United States, as well as in Mexico and Puerto Rico, and eventually in Canada; *Satélite Radio Bilingüe* marked a major expansion for the organization.

Over the years, Radio Bilingüe has evolved and grown into a radio institution for the Latino community in and outside of the Central Valley. Starting as a single public radio station in Fresno, California, Radio Bilingüe has grown into a national and transnational network that links Latino communities across the United States, as well as between Mexico and Canada. At its core, however, Radio Bilingüe has managed to maintain its fundamental commitment to serving farmworkers, the working poor, and other underserved communities, such as minority populations.

Why Bilingual Radio?

After conducting a general community survey in June 1978, the Radio Bilingüe staff found there were significant gaps in radio programming for Latinos in California's Central Valley. According to the survey respondents:

 (a) no radio station broadcasted bilingually or offered bicultural programming;

(b) the only two Spanish-language radio stations in the area were commercial outlets that divided their time evenly between music and commercial announcements;

 (c) no local broadcast outlet offered significant blocks of informational and educational programming for the Latino community;

(d) no existing broadcast facility was owned by minorities, and only one station had a Spanish-speaking minority member occupying a top management position;

 (e) no on-air broadcast facility was owned or controlled by the community;

(f) the only two Spanish-language stations in the area broadcasted only from sunup to sundown (no 24-hour operations existed); and

(g) after dark, no Spanish-language radio broadcasting was featured locally (Soriano et al., 1978).

The survey findings clearly indicated that Latino residents in the San Joaquin Valley of the Central Valley in the late 1970s had no exposure to culturally sensitive, bilingual, bicultural, radio programming; no media outlets presented sound and culturally diverse informational and entertainment programming. For these reasons, Radio Bilingüe's staff felt it was important to develop content that comprised meaningful programming about the community, in Spanish and English, bicultural information, around-the-clock radio broadcast, offer listening community direct access to the broadcast facility and volunteer opportunities.

Other communities in the Central Valley that had an interest in participating with Radio Bilingüe, namely during the 1980s, included members from the Armenian, Portuguese, Japanese, Mandarin, and Native American communities. The interest these communities had in participating with the radio had been driven by the fact Radio Bilingüe offered these communities a space where they could create and design their own radio shows. Additionally, as a public media organization, Radio Bilingüe had an interest in diversifying its listening base for a couple of meaningful reasons. First, its programming could help reflect the multiculturalism of the Central Valley community; which was significant to the social and cultural perception of the region because, at the time, it had been seen as a purely Latino community. And secondly, diversifying the radio content of Radio Bilingüe and gaining the participation of other minority

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communities would mean that as a radio enterprise, the station could procure other financial sources.

Thus, overtime, for Radio Bilingüe, bilingual programming is not just about the presentation of radio programming in two languages. Rather, it is about addressing the varied and multiple social and cultural needs of its community, whether that means presenting the programming in two, three, or four different languages. Although at present, the main listening audience continues to be the Latino community. The main languages spoken over the radio and in most of the programming are Spanish and English; however, one can also hear other languages in a few of the radio programs, or on special segments played on various programs. For example, one can hear indigenous languages from Mexico, such as Mixteco or Trique, Native American languages, such as Tehachapi from the Kawaiisu tribes of Southern California, or the Hmong language from the Hmong community.

For example, a three-minute news segment may first be read in Spanish and then immediately translated into English (or another language) for another three minutes. In other cases, a host may choose to mix several languages in a single sentence and provide a continuous back-and-forth use of different languages. The most familiar expression of bilingual content, however, is perhaps the mix of Spanish and English languages, or what is colloquially known as "Spanglish." But there are other exceptions to the bilingualism that is heard on Radio Bilingüe. On different occasions, depending on the program, a show may become predominantly monolingual, using just Spanish, or English. In addition, on occasion, programs are also multilingual. For example, this often occurs on

La Hora Mixteca (*The Mixtec Hour*), during which the host steers the conversation and incorporates the programming among several Mexican indigenous languages.

This is all to say that the use of language is often left to the ingenuity and linguistic abilities of the particular host of a radio program. They may choose to use only one, or three different languages if they choose to. However, it is impossible to ignore the importance of language as a signifier of Latino cultural and social life.

In a way, with Radio Bilingüe, language is used as a strategy to fight against the hegemonic forces that oppress people. It is a way of recuperating and maintaining power for the community. They effectively use language as a way of challenging the framework of Latinos as a culture and community that is homogenous, and further provide an avenue for public expression to the indigenous communities who are highly ignored by mainstream media. To listen to the radio's programming actually shows the richness that exists in Latino culture within the Central Valley region, and across the United States. It provides a window into the different customs, lifestyles, histories, music, views, and aspirations that come to represent the identity of the Latino community.

A Growing Latino Public Radio Network

After establishing its initial radio station in Fresno, California, Radio Bilingüe experienced significant growth in the late 1980s outside the San Joaquin Valley and onto other areas of the greater Central Valley region. As a result, it added a station in four California cities — El Centro, Bakersfield, Modesto, and Salinas — to its radio family. The next major expansion occurred in the early 1990s with the attainment of the Galaxy VI satellite (Satélite Radio Bilingüe), which enabled the transmission of programming

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throughout the United States, as well as to Mexico and Puerto Rico. Soon after, Canadian affiliates also began transmitting Radio Bilingüe's programs.

From its inception, Radio Bilingüe has operated as a public, nonprofit, educational radio network. Today, with the incorporation of transnational broadcasts, Radio Bilingüe provides a wide breadth of radio programming transmitted internationally, 24 hours a day, seven days a week. Further, in 2012, Radio Bilingüe integrated online streaming of its radio programs, which can be listened at http://radiobilingue.org.

The main office of Radio Bilingüe continues to be headquartered in Fresno, California. It is a modest, two-story building, from which most of its operations take place, although the news division of the station has an office that is located in Oakland, California. Currently, Radio Bilingüe owns and operates 13 radio stations and has 92 affiliate radio stations across the United States and Puerto Rico. In addition, it has two affiliate radio stations in Canada, both located in Vancouver, British Columbia, and another 10 stations in various states in Mexico[22].

Across the United States, Radio Bilingüe constitutes about one-third of the national Latino public radio system. In California, it serves three rural regions with concentrated Latino populations: the San Joaquin Valley, Imperial County, and the combined Monterrey/Santa Cruz/San Benito County area. The largest of the Radio Bilingüe's service regions is the San Joaquin Valley; this area stretches from Stanislaus County in the north to Kern County in the south. If we consider the San Joaquin Valley a single radio service area, it would rank as the seventh-largest Hispanic radio market in

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[22] The number of owned and affiliated radio stations was retrieved from a list dated June 27, 2013, which was provided by Radio Bilingüe staff. The total number of affiliate radio station can vary from year to year.

the country (Arbitron, 2002). And if we were to combine all three of its service regions,

Radio Bilingüe would rank as sixth-largest Hispanic in the United States, reaching more

than 1 million teens and adults living in Spanish-speaking households across the U.S.

(Kissam et al., 2003).

Although more recent market service area assessments could not be located while

researching this study, the above numbers provide a good depiction of Radio Bilingüe's

market reach in the early 2000s. Certainly, as the numbers of Latinos in the United States

have grown — and will continue to grow — it will be valuable to observe and measure

the changes Radio Bilingüe will undergo as a result of population growth, variations in

the socioeconomic status of Latinos, and changes in the immigration status of many of its

current listeners, among other factors. These changes might affect, for example, Radio

Bilingüe's operations in terms of the type of programming produced and the reach or

coverage areas it serves. These changes might even affect how radio, as a communication

technology, might evolve according to new or changing audience needs.

Radio Bilingüe started as a single community radio station with an audience of

California's Central Valley. Today, it has grown into a transnational public radio network

that reaches audiences across the United States, Mexico, and Canada. In the nearly 34

years since it first came onto the airwaves, Radio Bilingüe has remained dedicated to its

non-commercial, Spanish-language, Latino profile, much of which is reflected in its

internal organization.

Organizational Structure

The organizational structure of Radio Bilingüe can first and foremost be described

as familial, in that social and work interactions fuse and are somewhat informal. Around the Fresno office, interactions among the staff members are friendly and respectful, and despite the occasional disagreement, there is a team-like attitude around the station. Although it is a convivial working environment, a clear structure and division of labor exists among the team members. In other words, its internal structure is similar to that of commercial radio stations in that there are individuals who assume particular responsibilities at Radio Bilingüe. For example, there is an executive director, other directors leading the development, broadcast and news divisions, as well as station managers, producers, programmers, reporters, administrative staff, among others.

However, "[T]here is a palpable sense of community ownership" (Occenna, 2005, p. 10), which allows the opinions of staff, community members, and listeners to generate discussions about how to improve the programming or how to strengthen current work efforts. Case in point, a few years ago, there had been ongoing discussions about updating Radio Bilingüe's website to include online streaming of programming, as well as social media. How to proceed with an online presence, how and why to incorporate social media, and what monetary requirements would be necessary to accomplish this goal were highly debated. Although both senior and junior staff members agreed that improving the website was a necessity, there were some disagreements regarding its utility and relevance for Radio Bilingüe's audience, and much of the disagreement seemed to arise out of generational differences in thinking about digital and social media. In other words, although the senior staff members didn't particularly see the digital improvement as an essential item that required prompt attention, the junior staff members felt it was very important and should be dealt with promptly thus Radio Bilingüe would

not be "behind the times."

Despite disagreements that may emerge from time to time, at Radio Bilingüe "authority seems to be exercised through relationships and not bureaucratic positions or titles" (Occenna, 2005 p.10). This means that strict hierarchies and procedures, which are found in most mainstream media institutions, do not exist at Radio Bilingüe. Rather, the structures that are in place are malleable and inventive strategies that attempt to satisfy the current needs of the organization, in a fashion that is sensitive to Radio Bilingüe's team members and the people — whether listeners, grantors, or underwriters — to whom they are accountable.

Radio Bilingüe has 29 full-time staff members working at both the Fresno and Oakland offices. In addition, 17 reporters and commentators collaborate on different radio segments, and among the Fresno, Salinas, El Centro, and Lamont offices, there are 78 volunteers. Because many of the participatory community programs are produced at the Salinas office, it has the largest group of volunteers: 43.

A 12-member board of directors, comprised of men and women, advise Radio Bilingüe. The board members are generally, although not always, Latino. According to the bylaws, members of the board of directors are not required to be citizens of the United States, at least 50 percent should be bilingual (Spanish and English) and bicultural (descended from a Spanish-speaking country), and more or less reside in a California community in which Radio Bilingüe operates. Past and current board members are avid listeners of the station and longtime supporters (Organizational Chart, Figure 3).
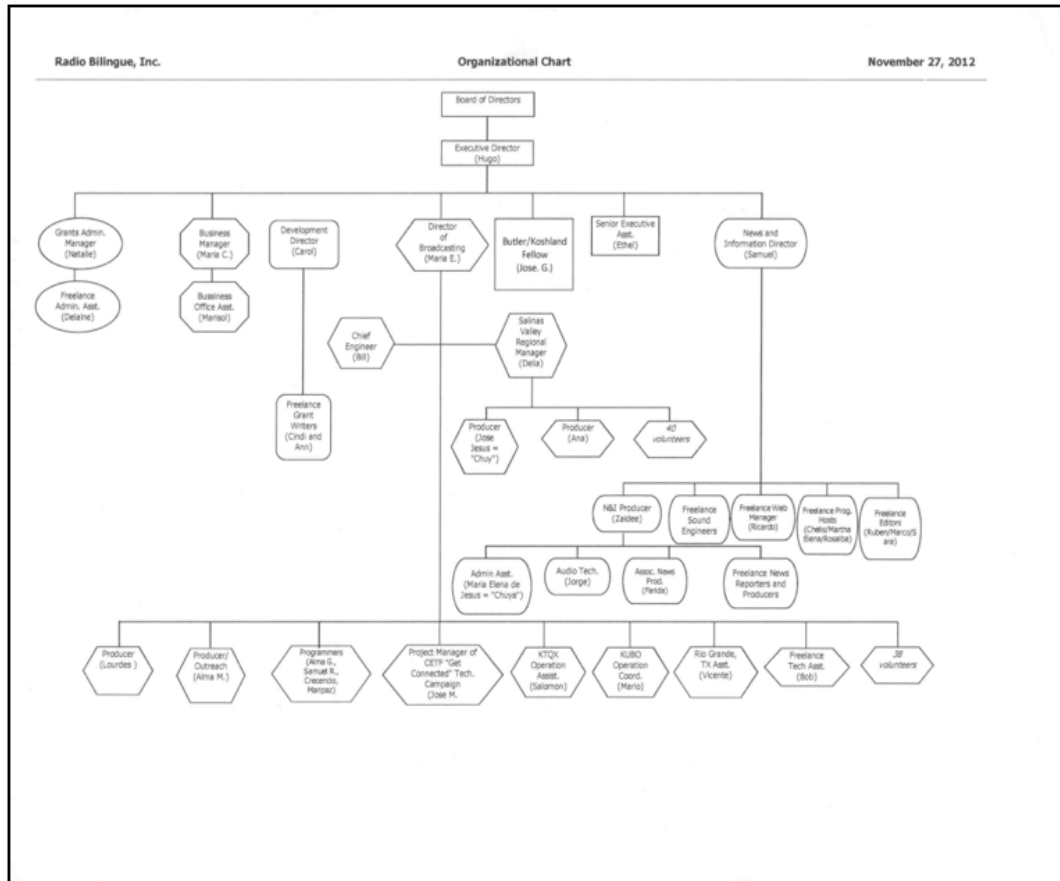
Figure 3. Organizational Chart

Radio Bilingüe's board members do not work on fundraising (as boards typically do). Rather, they act as guardians of the radio network's mission, providing governance on fiscal matters and broad policy issues. Board members are elected to a two-year term with a potential for re-election, and new officers are typically elected each year at the board's annual meeting, which occurs any time between September and December.

Radio Bilingüe's executive director is Hugo Morales. Hugo's role is ample. In addition to founding the radio network and overseeing its development and subsequent growth, his distinct function is that of leader. Within his leadership role, Hugo chairs a formal management team that consists of the broadcasting director (María Eraña), business manager (María Castro), grants administration manager (Natalie Orozco), news

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and information director (Samuel Orozco), and senior executive assistant (Ethel Meyer). Other members of the broader Radio Bilingüe family include the development director, grant writers, the news and information producer, the chief engineer, Salinas Valley's regional manager, and office administration assistants, as well as a number of program producers (media practitioners), audio technicians, operation coordinators, freelance hosts, sound engineers, and editors (see Organizational Chart below).

Also, there is the very significant matter of volunteerism; many volunteers participate in various aspects of operations and programming at Radio Bilingüe. In fact, many staff members began as volunteers. Maintaining a solid pool of volunteers can be challenging, however. In the early days of Radio Bilingüe, with the hype of a new Spanish-language radio station in the Central Valley, it was much easier to enlist the help of volunteers. Over the years, despite the healthy number of volunteers at the Salinas office, the overall number has dropped and fluctuates year by year.

Reflecting on this challenge, María Eraña, broadcasting director, said that nowadays, the real issue with volunteers is finding those who will be committed to the cause in the long run. She also mentioned that most volunteers who do the training and garner technical savvy and experience at Radio Bilingüe ultimately seek a place in the world of commercial radio. Some volunteers, however, have a real affinity with the type of issues that Radio Bilingüe tackles, and they are more dependable, according to Eraña.

Since the early days of Radio Bilingüe, Hugo has highlighted the importance of having volunteers, as well as community involvement. "Our staff is very dedicated to thinking of ourselves as that [a community radio] and trying to organize people throughout the Valley into advisory committees," he said. He has also stressed that the

job of the community committees is to complain, that is, communities should dictate what they want out of radio programming.

To a large extent, Radio Bilingüe can be defined as "community radio," in that it operates in the interest of the community. The World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC) defines community radio as "the voice of the voiceless, the mouthpiece of oppressed people (be it racial, gender, or class oppression), and generally, as a tool for development" ("AMARC," 2013). This is a position that community radios often profess in part because of what they do; particularly in international settings, and it is a philosophical position that Radio Bilingüe has embraced from its beginnings. This means that like projects of development in the Global South, Radio Bilingüe also seeks to improve the social and civic welfare of its radio listeners; like development communicators, media practitioners are advocates for the well-being of their listeners.

Furthermore, similar to community radios in developing countries, Radio Bilingüe is funded by institutions with power —such as the state or philanthropic organizations— which means that the interests of the institutions and donors who financially support it are aligned with some aspect of the work that is produced at the radio. For example, the California Emerging Technology foundation gave a financial contribution to carry out the *Conéctate* (*Get Connected*) campaign, which provides resources to teach and train the poor and farm-working communities about computers and about how to use the internet.

Philosophically, the radio is a medium for those who are voiceless and who seek to empower and make their communities invisible. Radio Bilingüe greatly embodies much of what community radio stands for; it serves members of a community generally

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seen as belonging to the Global South who endure conditions of poverty, discrimination, and illiteracy, among other things. However, the fact that the radio operates in the Global North, to serve those who have typically been seen as belonging to the developing world, makes us reconsider what it means to be part of the Global North or South, and perhaps even acknowledge that the Global South is present in the highly industrialized nations like the United States; and that the social conditions of some people coming from the Global South remain marginal as it was in their country of origins thus immigration to a richer country, like the United States, does not necessarily means a radical change of social status. And on the contrary, many times marginalization is actually exacerbated due to legal status and the criminalization of being an undocumented person.

To think of Radio Bilingüe as media of the community, then, is to think of it in many respects, and in varying degrees, as participatory, cooperative, alternative, educational, and community-driven. Further, as media of the community, Radio Bilingüe's underlying mission is to serve the needs of the underserved, the poor, and the underrepresented by supporting an organizational structure, production techniques, and programming that allow the process of communication to develop through access to, participation in, and self-management of the media system by its community members. Listener's culture also shapes Radio Bilingüe, and the network's programming seeks to serve and support its community member's cultural practices.

Finally, as community support is key to the survival of Radio Bilingüe, it uses advisory committees to provide general input about the programming, as well as feedback about different conversations community members are having or types of issues affecting the community. "We have deliberately organized people to organize themselves

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to suggest what they want and lobby with us," Hugo said. For instance, a farmworker advisory committee for the Agricultural Worker Health Initiative helped Radio Bilingüe produce media campaigns and outreach events to expand access to health services for farmworkers and their families. By building active community participation through committees or public forums, Radio Bilingüe can have a good gauge on the needs and interests of the community.

Programming

Radio Bilingüe's programming is as diverse as its audience. Its program schedule includes culturally relevant entertainment and pertinent Spanish-language news information, as well as educational content that reflect a great deal of issues that affect listeners. In the early years of operation, Radio Bilingüe's programs sought to reach different segments of the Latino community at different times of the day. For instance, there were Spanish-language shows aimed at first-generation Mexican farmworkers that included farm job announcements and Mexican mariachi ballads. Also, there were shows with a mix of Tex-Mex, norteñas and corridos (northern Mexican folk music), rock and jazz with a Latin beat that served more closely the Chicano community (Herman, 1980). As well as other English-language programming in the evening hours aimed at reaching Chicano youth.

Since it was founded, Radio Bilingüe has seen its programming grow and transform. In terms of music, the network continues to cater to what the Latino community likes and it is devoted to addressing issues relevant to community needs. This includes taking on issues related to education, health, immigration, art, culture, and

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history. For example, "Bienvenido a Casa" ("Welcome Home") is an educational show about LGBT Latino families, "Nuevo Canto" ("New Song") is a show with music about political protest and social aspirations, and "La Hora Mixteca" ("The Mixtec Hour") is a show devoted to the maintenance of Mixtec culture. Additionally, Radio Bilingüe offers a pioneering, national daily talk show in Spanish called "Línea Abierta" ("Open Line") that discusses pressing issues for immigrants — particularly at the national level — as well as an independently produced news service called "Noticiero Latino" ("Latino News") that offers news from all around Latin America and the world.

Programs on Radio Bilingüe can be from an hour long, to four hours in length, and have one or two radio hosts who moderate the show. Most radio programs are produced in the U.S. and audience members can participate and suggest topics for the programs by sending a fax or email to the station, text messages to the radio hosts, or participate via social media sites like Facebook or Twitter. On days when a guest speaker or expert takes part of a show, listeners are invited to call the radio station, provide commentary, give opinions, ask questions, or make requests. Almost all programs are live, but some programming is prerecorded and re-runs at different times each day.

In addition to its national coverage, Radio Bilingüe broadcasts transnationally with both live and programming that are repeated at affiliate stations, as well as also having some transnational production. Currently, the *Noticiero Latino (Latino News)* radio programming is heard across the Canadian border, through an online streaming service ("Radio Voces de Mi Tierra"), and on CJSF 90.1 FM, a radio station in Vancouver, B.C. And in the Mexican Republic, the programs *Noticiero Latino (Latino News)* and *Línea Abierta (Open Line)* are repeated through radio stations in the states of

Baja California (XHITT 88.7FM and XEQIN 1160AM), Coahuila (XEFT 1570AM, XERF-HD1 103.9-1FM, and XHRF 103.9FM), Guerrero (XEZV 800AM), and Jalisco (XHUGA 105.5FM). The state of Oaxaca received the live feed of *La Hora Mixteca (The Mixtec Hour)*, which is heard on two radio stations (XEJAM 1260AM and XETLA 930AM). In addition to the repeat and live feeds, Radio Bilingüe began streaming its radio content online since 2012.

The two primary programs that have both transnational reach and cross-border content production are *Linea* Abierta and *La Hora Mixteca.* The content of the news program *Linea Abierta* is an exchange of information across national borders. It is the first and only national live talk and call-in program in public broadcasting that connects Spanish-speaking audiences and newsmakers across the United States and Mexico. Through this program, audiences exchange information and commentary about transnational issues that affect the lives of Mexican immigrants, such as jobs, politics, the environment, or address a number of issues that affect the local lives of Latino immigrants, such as education, race relation, immigrant rights, arts and culture, and more. While not much transnational co-production takes place on this program, journalists on both sides of the border agree on the topics to cover and on guest speakers before the airing of the program.

A good part of the production of *La Hora Mixteca* requires the participation of media practitioners from both Mexico and the United States. Hosts in the state of Oaxaca, Mexico, and hosts in Fresno, California, often interact during the program, and the audience members on each side of the border can call in to the show and participate in the conversation. A significant aspect of *La Hora Mixteca* is that the information circulating

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on the program represents minority voices of both Mexico and the United States. These voices are typically not represented or heard on mainstream media outlets in either country; therefore, *La Hora Mixteca* has engendered an alternative public space where minority indigenous communities can hear themselves and represent their communities. Additionally, since the program offers a direct line to indigenous communities on each side of the border, many community members can often speak to and connect with their friends and families over the radio.

In sum, the type of programs Radio Bilingüe produces are diverse and meet much of the audience's needs and interests. Its programming includes Spanish-language national news and information services, musical shows, current-affair programming, transnational live programming, community-forum shows, alternative rock — mostly in Spanish — and a youth-focused talk shows.

Below, I list the different shows that are currently part of Radio Bilingüe's programming schedule. To see the current program schedule see Appendix F.

Information and News

Radio Bilingüe has an award-winning news service and it is the only public network to produce Spanish-language news and information. There are three news and information shows that Radio Bilingüe currently produces, they are: Línea Abierta (Open Line), Noticiero Latino (Latino News), and Edición Semanaria (Weekly edition). Its news and information division began with a live broadcast of the 1984 Democratic and Republican national conventions. The live coverage of the convention was quite successful, and in consequence, Radio Bilingüe launches *Noticiero Latino* (Latino News)

in March of 1985. Noticiero Latino is news about day-to-day developments in the Latino communities of the United States. At the end of their first year, the news service won a Golden Reel Award from the National Federation of Community Broadcasters for in-depth feature reporting on women farmworkers. Since then, it has been recognized for its journalistic excellence with four Silver Reel Awards from the National Federation of Community Broadcasters, an award from the Media Institute in Washington, D.C., and others. Today, the newscast continues to bring newsworthy stories to Latino audiences throughout the U.S., Puerto Rico and Mexico with its coverage of Latino accomplishments, civil rights issues, education, health, and many other topics relevant to Latinos.

Formats include breaking news spots, news feature reports, talk shows that offer news and opinion interviews, and roundtable discussions. These radio broadcasts are supplemented by online content; Radio Bilingüe's website often includes opinion articles, citizen reports, and pictures. The journalists are good listeners of the communities they serve and tend to prioritize or prefer those stories from communities who are at the margins of public conversation and in critical need of information. Unlike the mainstream media, media practitioners at Radio Bilingüe do not talk about the community; they talk with their community, and seek to engage the listening community in the deliberation of public issues in a serious and civil discourse. (Orozco, 2012, p. 2)

Musical Programming

Radio Bilingüe provides a diverse set of musical genres that are of interest and liked to its radio listeners. It broadcasts multiple types of music that are often ignored in

mainstream media, such as regional indigenous music from Mexico, rock music in Spanish of Latin American indie bands, and social movement music, among others. Their music selection reflects the array of Latino backgrounds and generational differences that make-up the broader Radio Bilingüe audience and community. Below, there is a list of the various shows that are currently produced. For full descriptions of each show, visit Radio Bilingüe at: http://radiobilingue.org/en/programas/programas-musicales/

Mexican Music

- Mañanitas con Mariachi (Mornings with Mariachi)

- Ritmos del Pueblo/Los Clásicos (Rhythms of the People/The classics)

- La Hora Mixteca (The Mixtec hour)

- Música Popular del Recuerdo (Popular music of memory)

- Música Romántica Popular (Popular romantic music)

- Cita con el Recuerdo (Date with memories)

- Música Folklórica (Mexican Folk music)

Accordion Music from Northern Mexico

- Arriba el Norte (Up with the North!)

- Amanecer Norteño (Waking up with northern music)

Texas Music

- Onda Tejana (Texan wave)

Afro-Latin Rhythms

- Acento Sabroso (Tasty accent)

- Son del Caribe (Caribbean music)

- Son de Cuba (Cuban music)

Latin Jazz, Alter-Latin and Latin Rock

- Carnaval (Carnaval)

- Latinoarama (Latin jazz)

- A Todo Pulmón (Spanish expression meaning, with full force)

- Gritos de Silencio (Silent scream)

- Rockin' da House

- El Mitote (The gossip)

- Oldies but Goodies

- Electronic Trance-Mission

Latin American and World Music

- Nuevo Canto (New Song)

- International Music

Community Interest Programming

Radio Bilingüe's programming also includes programs for which community participation is crucial to the development of the shows. Among all other programs currently offered at Radio Bilingüe, the following are almost entirely produced by volunteer community members: Comunidad Alerta (Alert community), aired on Wednesday and Thursday's 10-11am; La Hora Mixteca (The Mixtec Hour) airs every Sunday from 10:15am-2:00pm; La Placita Bilingüe (The Village Square) airs every Tuesday 10-11am; Alza tu Voz (Speak Up), airs every Monday 4-6pm. All of these

programs are broadcast through the nation network, with the exception of Alza tu Voz, which is broadcasted through KHDC 90.9, the Chaluar-Salinas, CA, radio station.

These shows are education-oriented with the main purpose of opening-up conversations that can aid the education of Latino families. For example, the program La Placita Bilingüe is a show where many questions and concerns are raised regarding issues typically considered taboo in Latino communities, such as domestic violence, LGBT-related issues, or sexually transmitted diseases. In general, the format of these community-driven shows, often incorporate features with guests who are experts in a particular subject that is being covered on the show and listener call-ins, who address an array of community concerns such as legal rights, parenting, worker health, family communication, nutrition, new arts opportunities and much more.

Funding

Radio Bilingüe receives its grant and contract funding from foundations such as the Corporation for Public Broadcasting; federal, state, and other government agencies, and individual donors. Its first grant was provided by the Campaign for Human Development in 1979 to subsidize costs for building and operating the radio station during its first year. Over the years, financial support has been provided by a number of foundations and government institutions including: the California Endowment, the Irvine Foundation, the Margaret Casey Foundation, the National Endowment for the Arts, the California Arts Council, the U.S. Department of Commerce, the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Open Society Foundation, California Department of Public Health, among others (see Appendix G for a list of Radio Bilingüe Funders).

According to Carol Dowell, funding and sustainability director, Radio Bilingüe is currently operating with a modest budget of 2.3 million dollars, which means, financially they are breaking even with the existing programming they produce and staff they employ. The monies received are used to cover a number of operating expenses, which include: staff members' salaries, equipment maintenance, insurance, production expenses and supplies, office utilities, office rental, satellite cost, travel, fundraising events, acquisitions and distributions, advertising and marketing for the radio station, as well as printing and publications. (For the 2013-2012 financial statement, visit Radio Bilingüe public documents at: http://radiobilingue.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/RBAuditedFinancialStatements09302013.pdf).

Fundraising has been a significant challenge for Radio Bilingüe. Had it not been for the $166,000 grant it received from the Catholic Campaign for Human Development, Radio Bilingüe would had not been able to cover its first-year expenses (Krieger, 1980). In the early days, as a way of raising money from community members, Hugo went with what people knew held community dances ("tardeadas") and menudo (beef tripe stew) fundraisers. Today, fundraising requests, or pledge drives, are announced on the radio, and donors can make contributions over the phone, by mail, or online. Listener-supported donations also make part of fundraising efforts, though they tend to be the lowest of all contributions to the radio station. The reason for it, is that most of Radio Bilingüe's audience come from poor and financially modest communities, and therefore, have less to contribute.

Throughout the 1980s, Radio Bilingüe operated with an annual budget that ranged from $250,000 to $300,000. As the organization grew substantially in the 1990s and

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began establishing other radio stations outside of California, its budget rose and peaked to almost $4 million by the 2003 fiscal year. Over the last few years, however, Radio Bilingüe has experienced a significant decline in revenue. The annual budget has been scaled back, and cutbacks have been applied. For example, outside of the Fresno office, significant reductions in staff and production were carried out. The silver lining to these cuts has been the extraordinary dedication of the remaining staff members and volunteers; they have taken on added responsibilities with no additional compensation to keep Radio Bilingüe from closing or reducing its on-air offerings (Occenna, 2005).

The financial stress is perhaps the most palpable challenge at Radio Bilingüe. In past years, Radio Bilingüe has had much greater contributions than it does today. This allowed them to grow and expand their production capacity. In recent years however, the radio funding has reduced, and has even operated with small deficits. A development director and grant writers help bolster fundraising efforts, and have become imperative to the livelihood and growth of Radio Bilingüe, especially in the highly competitive field of public broadcasting fundraising.

As this study moves forward, the research springs out of the philosophical idea that the radio was built to aid those communities who continue to be 'invisible' in the mainstream media. And it does so by focusing on the current work carried out by those who develop and sustain the radio, or media practitioners, and their plight to build community and represent Latino identity.

CHAPTER VI

MEDIA PRACTITIONERS

This chapter introduces the media practitioner team at Radio Bilingüe and illustrates the culturally informed practices of communication that define this community. I depart from the understanding that the work of media practitioners involves a number of participatory strategies in the production of media content aimed at the educational, informational, and entertainment needs of its listening community. The participatory strategies that are described in this study reveal the ways media practitioners become facilitators within their community as they help create civic engagement, dialogue and links among listeners. I begin by discussing whom media practitioners are to compare how their profession relates to or is different to development communicators who usually work in the Global South. I follow by describing some concrete examples of the participatory strategies media practitioners undertake with the community, and conclude by discussing the place of the radio as a media institution through the notions of access, participation, and self-management.

I am interested in presenting the voices and reflections of media practitioners. Therefore, in this chapter I have included various segments from the conversations I had with media practitioners, that way, their stories may be related from their own perspectives. When introducing them for the first time, or in a different section of this chapter, I begin by identifying them by first and last name, and follow by using only their first name in subsequent sections.

Locating the Media Practitioner

The profession of development communicators in the Global South have been understudied and undefined; and much research is needed to understand the multiple roles they engage in their profession, as well as the ways they work with community members in various projects of social change. Development communicators are the individuals whose central function is to facilitate efforts to "achieve sustainable improvements in individual and collective well-being" (Irigoin, et al., 2002) through a number of communication strategies, practices, and communication technologies with developing communities. Melkote and Steeves (2001) argue that in the first decades of international development interventions, the label "traditional change agent," was used to describe the person who was in charge of "educating" peasants about the benefits of western innovations and of changing their traditional mindsets (p. 60). Over the years, they have predominantly been referred to as development communicators or new communicators. However, Gumucio Dragon (2002) has noted that within institutions who are in charge of carrying out development interventions in developing communities, such as UNICEF and other local and international NGOs, development communicators have been appointed a number of different names, including "communication or information officer", "social mobilizers", "social marketers", "advocates", "public relations officers" to name a few.

Huarcaya (2006) suggests that the role of development communicators demands they have "communication skills, as well as understand the development of trends, policy making, cultural competences, and research skills, and even adult education tools informed by Freirian thought" (in Porras, 2008, p. 53). To this, Gumucio Dragon (2012)

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further suggests that communities whose 'development' is at stake must be involved and contribute to the projects that are supposed to improve their living conditions. For this reason, he proposes the term new communicators and explains:

> A new communicator is usually someone who owes at least 50% of his or her qualification to a wide range of experiences that have little to do with his or her own academic background. What actually makes the "new communicator" is this mixture of experience in development, a special sensibility to work with communities, and the knowledge of communication tools and technologies. A new communicator has to balance a very practical approach to social reality, with the capacity to elaborate and conceptualize strategies. (2012, p. 3)

Melkote and Steeves (2001) have further suggested that as a way to examine the relationships and differences between the practitioners within the field of development communication, we must consider "the practices or exemplars, and explicate the role implications for communication media and communication practitioners in intervention processes… and that the focal point is the concept of empowerment" (p. 348), particularly as it relates to power inequalities among people and groups. In this study, I have deliberately chosen to use the term "media practitioner" as opposed to the many other terms used (as previously suggested) to describe the people and roles they engage within projects of development and social change in the developing world, and take into account how their participatory practices are anchored in their interest of empowering their own community now situated in the Global North.

Much like new communicators, and others practitioners in the field of development communication, media practitioners at Radio Bilingüe are individuals who have a desire for helping their communities, and therefore, often evolve organically into their work as practitioners. They are individuals whose everyday life and experiences are connected to the community they serve, therefore, they too are stakeholders in processes

of change.

Media practitioners also have experience in areas outside of the media profession, such as in the fields of journalism and communication, or expertise in carrying out projects of social welfare. However, as media practitioners become engaged with the radio, they begin to acquire the knowledge and experience in radio technology and as communicators who are involved in designing and producing radio content. They also have the experience of working with institutions of power, such as federal, state, non-profits and other philanthropic organizations, and must learn to navigate different political relationships in order to continue to function as an organization, and to advance.

Media practitioners also have a sensibility and a practical, social, and culturally relevant approach to working with the community since they are a part of it. And it is because they are part of the community, that they are dedicated to advancing community participation in the production of radio content, but also in decision-making processes at the radio station. Their sensibility for working with the community also extends to their interest in advancing and representing the culture of their community. In other words, they use culturally relevant participatory strategies as a way of engaging and creating a mutual understanding between their communities.

Moreover, there is a sense that a "practitioner" takes on multiple roles in service of their community because of their personal connection to them. They can take on the role of facilitators, experts, teachers, advocates, peers, confidants, coaches, etc., as opposed to just being a "professional" passing on information to the audiences. Whereas a professional is generally understood as having a particular expertize and/or has been formally trained in a job, a practitioner implies they have professional knowledge

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(whether formally acquired or learned through peer training) and they incorporate reflective practice in their work. In other words, media practitioners possess the technical skills to design, develop, and implement programming while much of their work comes from understanding the needs of the community and they are reflecting on how best these needs may be addressed.

Additionally, the reason for using the term media practitioner is that other terms, like new communicator and development communicator, are typically used to describe the people who conduct and oversee projects of development communication located within the Global South. And although this study's theoretical foundation departs from scholarly literature produced within the field of development communication, I want to stress that the use of the term "media practitioner" positions the people and the work they engage within the Global North.

The people who in this study are referred to as media practitioners, and for that matter, the community they serve, are individuals who themselves are part of or share similarities with those who are poor and marginalized due to their social, political, and cultural conditions of being migrant communities from the Global South. Moreover, to think of media practitioners as the development communicators of the Global North, allows us to re-focus the idea of 'development' from a condition that is seen to only exist in developing countries, to one that can also be found in highly industrialized nations of the West, albeit with some differences and intentions.

Finally, I avoid using the term "radio programmer" or "radio producer," terms used in the commercial and public radio industry in the United States to narrowly describe people who work in the field of radio and have the technical know-how. Rather,

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a media practitioner is defined as a person who possesses the technical aspects in media; whether it is in a traditional form of media such as radio, television, film; print media, such as books or magazines, or digital media, such as websites or blogs, and including social media like Facebook or Twitter. They are individuals who use their skills and knowledge to serve the community since they design, produce, and implement media projects, or media interventions, and do so with the goal of engaging the community in the process of change.

Making Sense of the Profession of Media Practitioners

Gumucio Dagron (2012) has argued that new communicators possess a variety of skills and sensibilities that demonstrate their professional knowledge and personal stake in the work they do. In a similar way, the multiple practices and roles media practitioners carry out at Radio Bilingüe reveal their technical knowledge in developing radio content, their efforts to help the community, and their commitment to strengthening culture and community ties. Media practitioners are actively engaged in conversation with community members, or stakeholders; and the practice of dialogue and communication with listeners have been effective to uncovering the types of issues and concerns or the broader Radio Bilingüe community.

The profession of media practitioner consists of a number of formal and informal practices. The former often include administrative and technical responsibilities, such as taking on the role of producer, project manager, journalist, radio show host, administrator, and problem solver. These sorts of roles demonstrate media practitioners'

competence and technical know-how, which is vital to the daily operations of Radio

Bilingüe.

Jose Juan Moran's trajectory at Radio Bilingüe is a good example of how media

practitioners perform a number of formal roles in their everyday work — and how

learning the skills to perform their jobs is a process of building knowledge over time.

Jose began his relationship with Radio Bilingüe in 1995, when he joined the volunteer

program offered during that time.

> "I really liked the rock show *A Todo Pulmón* [roughly translated to English as 'to sing at the top of one's voice]. I used to be one of those people who listened, and with my friends, called the show all the time. Armando Limón was the host of the show back then, and he would invite us over to the station … Eventually, I became a volunteer. I started to take a class [at Radio Bilingüe] that trained me on the systems, and then I became part of the shows. I remember I used to push carts around filled with 8-tracks for the commercials and announcements that we needed to air." (personal communication, June 26, 2012)

Jose's work as a volunteer was much more than assisting the radio staff. It

included learning about and understanding many technical aspects of producing radio

programming, such as the rules of what to do, and not to do while on the air, and how to

use the production equipment, including cassette players, reel-to-reel editing bays, and

mixing boards. After volunteering at Radio Bilingüe for a number of years, Jose was

offered a full-time position. Today, his primary title is "broadband manager," which

includes performing a number of the duties he carried out as a volunteer, as well as taking

on other responsibilities, such as administering Radio Bilingüe's media literacy campaign

Conéctate! (Get Connected).

Like other media practitioners, Jose's work includes community education and

outreach, producing and logging "traffic" — an industry term that refers to inputting

Radio Bilingüe's program lineup into the network's system — as well as training

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volunteers, helping with technical services, hosting and producing his own show, and assisting in the development of other shows, as needed. Jose is not formally trained as a journalist or radio producer (he has a degree in business administration and information systems), but his experiences as volunteer, coupled with his college education, and years of experience at the radio station, have helped shape his knowledge of the many aspects of the Radio Bilingüe's operations.

Because media practitioners are activist members of the community they serve, they have an insider's perspective of what community members need and want to know, and the formal practices they carry out reflect that perspective. For instance, in her work as an environmental journalist at Radio Bilingüe, Alma Martínez has covered a great deal of environmental, health-related issues, as well as immigration issues. "We are a trusted source," says Alma, explaining that a lot of listeners are often scared of being deported if law enforcement identifies who they are over the radio. She continues: "Hay tanta gente que conoce a alguien quien fue deportado y no quieren que eso les pase a ellos, y por eso tienen miedo de hablar en público (*There are so many people who know someone who was deported, and they don't want that to happen to them, and for that reason, they are afraid of speaking in public*)*"* (personal communication, June 27, 2012).

However, Alma believes her audience also trusts her, partly because she is Mexicana, speaks Spanish, and lives in the community; and for that reason, "people actually do call to ask questions, and they share the information of the show with others" (personal communication, June 27, 2012). She also mentions that people in her community are often surprised at the fact that she can speak both English and Spanish so

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well, especially because most adults of her generation who live in the Central Valley do not generally speak both languages so proficiently.

> "[C]*uando empiezo a hablar en Inglés* (When I begin to speak in English*),* people are like, "What?" [she laughs]. It's funny. People go by the way I look, and *mis papás son campesinos* (and my parents are farmworkers), so they [community members] understand we come from the same background. (personal communication, June 27, 2012)

Alma believes she has been able to foster a certain level of credibility among her listeners because speaking both languages means she can navigate both worlds. She says it has certainly helped her understand the intricacies of the political system in the United States, and therefore, communicate that information to the listeners in ways that make sense to them. Alma believes community members see Alma as an insider becomes she comes from the same experiences, and they believe in her ability of reporting on sensitive issues affecting the community; and for this reason, feel comfortable in speaking to her about the issues without fear.

Alma makes clear that her responsibility as a journalist not only includes looking into issues that regularly affect the community, but through her work, she also helps people navigate different aspects of civic and political life. Case in point, with her show *Comunidad Alerta* (*Community Alert*), Alma tackles issues such as the Affordable Care Act, the voting process, and the food stamp program so members of the community can call the show, ask questions, and understand their rights and responsibilities in relationship to these issues.

Beyond the administrative and technical responsibilities that make up formal practices, media practitioners carry out informal practices via the different social roles they embody as radio public figures. In other words, media practitioners play many

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different roles in and outside the radio station. On the one hand, media practitioners have the responsibility of "being the voice" of Radio Bilingüe and must therefore abide by work standards while on the air. On the other hand, hosts must also be very creative in their work because quite frequently they must take on multiple social roles as a way of responding to the needs of the community. This means that at different times media practitioners can be educators, advisers, healers, confidantes, advocates, community liaisons, and in general, community peers to listeners. Media practitioners' ability to undertake these different roles demonstrates that they have the skills to produce radio programming, as well as carry out other responsibilities, with the proper care and tact to interact with their audiences in particular, and community members in general.

Juana Gomez says that in her work as radio host, she often feels like she becomes a healer of the community. As an immigrant and a Mixteco woman, Juana empathizes with the longing many immigrants in this country have for their homeland. She explains:

> [L]ike many immigrants who have come to the United States, like many others who have left their native homes, I cried and had sadness because I left my children back home, and that killed me. I never believed that years later I would have the opportunity for helping my compatriots by hosting *La Hora Mixteca*. Through the show, I feel I can make their life a bit more bearable because I play the type of music from our communities, [and] we share stories and talk about the things that matter to us. Through the communication I have with my community [over the radio], I've come to learn that in the United States, as immigrants, we suffer from this nostalgia … we are sick with *tirisia* [nostalgia], which is the proper vocabulary used in Oaxaca. *Tirisia* is an illness of the soul. (personal communication, July 22, 2012)

Unlike any other radio program in the United States, *La Hora Mixteca* (The Mixtec Hour) offers a cultural space that is filled with music from the people's homeland, stories from their communities, and the language they know. It is *"como ponerle gasolina a mi carro"* ("like putting gas in my car"), "it fuels

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my spirit," says Juana (personal communication, July 22, 2012). And in that way Juana, through the positive energy she gathers while on the air, can uplift the spirit of her listening audience.

When Mixteco listeners call the show to share their experiences or feelings of sadness about their family and homeland, Juana makes every effort to boost their spirits; she speaks in Mixteco as a way of paying respect to those who listen to her, and talks about festivals and community gatherings that are so much part of Oaxacan culture, while her husband Mario, who operates the switchboard, plays upbeat *chilenas* (regional music of Oaxaca). Juana says this is the way she feels she heals people's souls; by choosing to speak about 'things that are filling to the soul,' and that way, take the listeners' minds off of the day-to-day drudgery that constantly reminds them of being away from their homeland.

Juana and Mario say that through *La Hora Mixteca*, listeners have the ability to feel closer to their culture and the traditions of their communities, which in turn, makes them feel connected to their people and places to which they belong. And while Juana and Mario work to help their listeners feel better; they also advise them on how to deal with daily obstacles, such as social discrimination. Like other media practitioners, Juana and Mario understand their community's concerns because they too have had similar experiences.

Media practitioners at Radio Bilingüe are truly facilitators of their community. They facilitate community interests through conversation, but they also take it upon themselves to create safe spaces of conversation and engagement where listeners can speak freely, and without hesitation expressing their opinions about the issues they care

about. And since they have stake in the welfare of their community, they employ

different participatory practices of communication, which are grounded in their listeners'

culture, to help sustain strong ties within the broader Latino community.

Participatory and Reflective Practices of Communication

Tufte and Mefalopulos (2009) have argued that depending on the interests of

stakeholders, regarding projects of development, two main approaches to participation

exist: the social movement perspective and the project-based or institutional perspective.

With the latter, "participation can be used to achieve a pre-established goal defined by

someone external to the community involved" (p. 4), whereas the social movement

perspective proposes "participation itself can be a goal as an empowering process" (p. 4).

Although these perspectives offer different objectives, they both take into account the

involvement of the community, in the various stages of development leading to social

change.

With Radio Bilingüe, the social movement perspective is perhaps the easiest to

appreciate because of their strong focus on community participation. They are a media

institution that is driven by community interests, and for this reason, they continually

seek to encourage community participation in the various projects they carry out. Efforts

toward community participation, is seen as the process through which the community can

be empowered.

I must note that Radio Bilingüe does not see itself as an institution that operates

within the parameters of projects linked to development communication being practiced

in the West. This is the argument I make as a researcher. The way Radio Bilingüe

currently operates is as a non-profit media institution in service to underserved and

marginalized Latinos and other communities who are typically under represented in the

mainstream media of the United States, and with the mission of giving voice to their

communities. Although their mission is aligned with the core goals of many projects of

development, I believe that Radio Bilingüe sees itself as a Western institution since they

have and continue to navigate Western policies and politics.

In what follows, I address the types of participatory strategies media practitioners

use to build capacity at Radio Bilingüe, and within the community. To explain how these

practices take place, I provide examples of different moments throughout the history of

Radio Bilingüe, as well as from a variety of projects carried out by Radio Bilingüe's

media practitioners. After examining the internal practices that built Radio Bilingüe, I

discuss how access, participation, and self-management, as proposed by UNESCO

regarding community-led media, play a role in the organization's community

involvement and institutional sustainment.

Participation at Work

The participatory paradigm in the multiplicity framework "stresses the importance

of cultural identity of local communities and of democratization and participation at all

levels — international, national, local and individual" (Servaes & Malikhao, 2005, p. 95).

This conceptualization relates to the right of all people to be able to speak their mind,

individually and collectively, an idea Freire (1975) emphasizes with his definition of

participation, which he believed should be not just as a tool for reaching particular goals

but should also be a goal in and of itself. Freire's definition supports the characterization

of participation as an attitude through which people can have a voice, and promote "a better understanding of diversity and plurality, with full respect of the dignity and equality of peoples living in different conditions and acting in different ways" (MacBride, 1980, p. 254).

In regard to the work carried out by media practitioners, participation is considered a necessary ingredient to the success of Radio Bilingüe and can take the form of holding meetings with community members, conducting training sessions, having internal collaboration regarding decision making, etc. Participatory approaches advocate active dialogue between "experts" and stakeholders, in this case, between the media practitioners and community members. Participation, in this sense, is influenced by the Freirian perspective that seeks the creation of a communicative praxis between the all participants to create a "fruitful dialectic for the construction of knowledge, which is systematically examined, altered, and expanded in practice" (Huesca, 2002, p. 502). This is to say, that at Radio Bilingüe, participation is considered a means through which to shape or influence particular community objectives in the process of social change.

As a whole, the work of media practitioners is highly participatory and reflective. It includes practical aspects — such as building internal capacity through peer training and volunteerism, which helps sustain the projects and programs offered to their community — as well as dialogical aspects, such as facilitated group discussions and on-air conversations with listeners, which lead to reflective and creative strategies for creating spaces in which the ideas and opinions of community members can be aired, and in turn, assessed to meet the community's needs.

As mentioned above, some of the practical aspects of media practitioners' work include building capacity within Radio Bilingüe, which translates into enhancing media practitioners' knowledge and developing their skills — at both the individual and institutional level. Despite the fact that media practitioners were not formally trained journalists or radio producers, in other words, they don't hold degrees from the fields of broadcasting, communication or journalism, their work is no less valuable to themselves and the community they serve.

At the time the radio station got its start, media practitioners received limited technical support from the federal Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). For those who had volunteered to help at the radio station, the CETA training consisted of a weeklong training session with a professional in the radio field. The CETA trainer taught media practitioners how to operate the radio equipment, as well as some vocal training for going on the air and some news writing skills. After this first training, media practitioners carried out on the job, peer-to-peer training, which had been practiced ever since. To this day, some of the media practitioners who underwent the CETA say they felt like "barefoot journalist." They were given very little to begin walking the radio path, but had to hit the ground running.

In fact, it was through the CETA training that the news and information division of Radio Bilingüe got its start in 1981. At the time, Samuel Orozco, who is now the news and information director, was one of eight volunteers who signed up to participate in Radio Bilingüe's training sessions on how to produce radio programming. He recalls the process happening very fast and being completely hands on. "By the end of the first week of the workshop, my wife and I — we volunteered at the same time — we were on the air

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as anchors of the shows," he says. Samuel's early training as a radio journalist, like that

of many other media practitioners who have followed, began with learning how to write

for radio, how to record and edit stories, and how to put them on the air. Along with his

wife, Graciela, Samuel remembers leaping into producing the show almost overnight.

> "We were the voice of the news show, and eventually, my fellow trainees were
> part of this group. We were about eight people. But the attrition factor was very
> strong in those days, so by the end of the first year, we [Samuel and Graciela]
> were running the show by ourselves and decided to train other people from the
> community as assistant producers, assistant writers. So we not only were making
> decisions about the show, but we became the producers and trainers. And we ran
> the news as a volunteer operation, primarily during the '80s. (personal
> communication, May 25, 2012)

The journalistic practice of news production at Radio Bilingüe reflects the peer-

training, hands-on, participatory approach to learning seen throughout the organization. It

is characterized by the participation of "ordinary" citizens who become empowered by

creating their own media to better represent themselves and their communities

(Rodriguez, 2001). "Aside from attracting community members to develop the radio

craft, we were developing a network of citizen reporters from around the Valley … they

would go on the air and provide stories of what was going on in their towns," Samuel

says. "I would rely on them to provide the stories because we didn't hire 'professional'

journalists to go around seeking stories."

Radio Bilingüe's approach to journalism has been, and continues to be, based on

engaging members of the community to participate in improving their own lives through

information. Media practitioners' commitment to community engagement also stems

from the influence of Samuel's background as union and social activist. In fact, he

describes himself as "activist who transitioned into journalism," in that he remains

dedicated to working on behalf of the community. Radio Bilingüe's journalistic practice

is deeply rooted in the community, and therefore, media practitioners have a community-oriented journalistic ethic and are devoted to public service, and their praxis stays away from the approach of a corporate or commercial information system.

Media practitioners interact with listeners through dialogue via call-in shows, community forums, town hall meetings, and similar public events in which they can engage with the public in conversation and be good listeners to their community. "We believe in the interaction with the listeners," says Samuel, "[w]e don't see them as passive recipients of content … we believe that their opinions provide important analysis of issues" (personal communication, May 25, 2012). By maintaining a close connection with the community, media practitioners can identify and prioritize the types of stories and information that are typically outside of public conversation but are critical to listeners, including for example the Affordable Care Act. An in-depth discussion of this Act needs much attention because of the lack of information on health reform legislation in mainstream Spanish-language media; the consequences of immigration raids on immigrant families and on the local community; and the impact of the economic recession on immigrants are other examples.

Although media practitioners are not formally college trained journalists (with the exception of Alma Martínez), they have acquired the expertise and experience to carry out the work in ways that are up to professional standards, with the cultural relevancy that yields them the respect of their community — and peers in the radio industry. The journalism practiced at Radio Bilingüe requires that listeners play an active role in the process of developing information, thereby encouraging their participation in civic engagement and discourse. This participatory approach to journalism not only provides

great insights into the debates and conversations happening in the community, but also demonstrates the close relationship media practitioners have with their audience members.

Volunteerism as Community Participation

Through an ongoing volunteer program, media practitioners engage directly with members of the community. This affords them with the opportunity to share their skills with people, particularly youth, who seek to gain knowledge of and experience in radio. The way media practitioners have traditionally worked with volunteers is based on integrating their ideas, topics, and voices into the existing radio program schedule. This approach has created a working dynamic that builds on what already exists by incorporating new and relevant conversations that are of concern to the community.

Community participation is critical to Radio Bilingüe as a whole, and volunteer participation, is particularly significant to the operations of Radio Bilingüe's Salinas station. At the time of this study, the Salinas office has about 40 volunteers between the ages of 16 and up to 60 who work with media practitioners. Volunteers at the Salinas station tend to be the most engaged with media practitioners and with community members and are active producing original radio material. In contrast, the volunteers at the Oakland and Fresno stations are often tend to provide support in administrative and program-related work, and on programs that are already being produced.

Delia Saldivar, station manager in Salinas, says Radio Bilingüe has always offered many volunteer opportunities. She explains:

> "[V]olunteers are part of the community and have a great impact on what we do. This [radio] space is always open, so they can discuss the things that are happing

within the community. We often deal with issues like farmworker rights, legal services, health or housing services, or things like cellphones [when they first came out] or the Internet and computers, as a way of promoting the resources available to them so they can learn the technology." (personal communication, December 2, 2013)

A number of young volunteers from low-income Latino families volunteer at Radio Bilingüe. "Our volunteers are the ones you hear over the air," Hugo Morales says, "they reflect the voice of the community." This is something that distinguishes community-driven public radio from commercial radio stations: the ability of community members to hear their own voices and to feel that they are being represented.

Reflecting on how mainstream media cover Latinos in the Central Valley, Delia says, "Latinos are shown as men wearing hats and boots and youth in gangs. It's all about shootings or about how a young girl got pregnant. They always highlight the worst. They never show the good work of our youth" (personal communication, December 2, 2013). Narrow, biased, and stereotypical representations of Latinos in mainstream media are some of the reasons why Radio Bilingüe's media practitioners encourage volunteers to talk about positive aspects of their lives on the radio. For example, *Alza tu Voz* (Raise your Voice), which is one of the volunteer-produced shows, youth have the opportunity to discuss issues that are important to this group age, including education where they share stories about how some of their peers are attending college; they discuss topics relevant to sex education, such as the misconceptions about sexually transmitted diseases; they interview local political leaders, teachers, and other youth about their ideas for working together to create a plan to prevent gang violence; or talk about the importance of urban art collectives to engage youth in art and develop mentorship programs for young artists, among others.

Media practitioners also hope that as they train volunteers in radio production skills, they will use them in constructive ways. Jesus Ramirez, who is a producer and youth coordinator at the Salinas office, says he hopes young volunteers become journalists, and when they do, that "they take with them the seed of positivism that was instilled in them when working at the Radio Bilingüe and use it toward changing the negative image of Latinos in the community and beyond" (personal communication, December 2, 2013).

Community members and volunteers participate in designing Radio Bilingüe's programs in a number of ways, all of which involve dialogue among community members, volunteers, and media practitioners. Delia explains:

> "When we begin working on a new show, we start by forming two advisory committees: one of parents and another one of youth from the community. And in addition to this, we also have our regular group of volunteers. We meet with two community advisory groups every three months. They give us ideas about what themes or issues to discuss in our programs. With the committee of parents, we first come up with a list of 10 to 15 topics. Then, we meet with our youth advisers, and they narrow down the list of topics to a few, or [they] recommend new ones. Based on that short list, we discuss it with our group of volunteers and begin to design the shows." (personal communication, December 2, 2013)

One production that was created based on this participatory and open-dialogue approach with members of the community addressed the issue of park restoration in Salinas. The city has a limited number of parks, and those that do exist are generally in bad shape. In recent years, Salinas received money from the state to fund park restoration, which generated many community meetings to determine what parks should restored, as well as discussions about how the community could get involved in the process. Volunteers at Radio Bilingüe participated in the meetings, asked questions, and

interviewed the people who attended the meetings about their feelings on the efforts to restore the city's parks.

Through the volunteers' fieldwork, they developed a feature story about the park restoration project in Salinas. After they gathered the information and general impressions from the public, volunteers and media practitioners met as a group to brainstorm how to present the issue on a radio show, and they developed a series of questions that could serve as cues for engaging listeners in a dialogue about park restoration. As a result of these meetings and conversations, volunteers designed the program and produced it for live broadcast.

Volunteers tend to produce with media practitioners in the design, development, and implementation of radio programming, but they also have the opportunity to engage in a number of activities in their city and community. Jesus says the work of volunteers is as much about learning the skills of radio production as it is about "participating with and being part of the community. This means having a good relationship with local agencies, coalitions, and organizations that are grounded in the welfare of our community" (personal communication, December 2, 2013). This approach to working with volunteers shows how media practitioners think beyond the confines of the radio to strengthen community ties; they hope to instill in volunteers a sense of ownership of the radio space for personal and communal expression of their needs and identity. Additionally, they seek to create an environment that raises volunteers' community consciousness — and even ignite in them a sense of responsibility toward their own communities.

Although most of the work engaged between media practitioners and volunteers has advantages, it also has its challenges. Radio Bilingüe's volunteer program typically

runs four months, and it provides technical training, education about broadcasts rules and regulations, journalistic skills, and how to design and produce radio programs (Appendix E, Volunteer Programmer's Handbook). In exchange for this training, volunteers make at least a one-year commitment to producing on-air programming. Many people join the volunteer program enthusiastically, but after some time, a number of individuals feel the weight of commitment being a Radio Bilingüe volunteer necessitates and, consequently, some leave the program. In addition, media practitioners want to make sure that volunteers have the right motivation for joining the program. "We screen our volunteers for sensitivity to the community before we accept them in our training program," Hugo says. In the past, some people have signed up for the volunteer program to learn production skills to attain a job at a commercial radio station; they did not have an interest in working with or for the community.

<u>Community Dialogue</u>

Pragmatically, dialogical aspects of media practitioners' work include engaging in conversation with members of the community through group discussions, public forums, and listener call-in shows. These outlets afford practitioners the opportunity to reflect on the ideas, views, and opinions of the their audience members — and to respond to their concerns. The act of engaging in dialogue, however, is also about creating a safe space in which community members, including the most vulnerable (such as undocumented residents, youth or children), can join the conversation on the radio, feel they are being heard, and play a part in the welfare of their communities. As such, dialogue is a process

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through which issues are discussed and information is communicated, but it is also

"where knowledge is generated" (Mefalopulos, 2009, p. 42).

Part of building trust and engaging in conversation with community members

involves creating a safe space in which people can express themselves without fear,

retaliation, or worrying about being judged. Most of the time, community members feel

comfortable about calling Radio Bilingüe's to share their experiences through programs

like *Comunidad Alerta* (Alert Community) and *Línea Abierta* (Open Line), where

immigration-related issues are a frequent topic of conversation. For example, a listener

named Feliciana, highlights the type of experiences that are shared by immigrants on the

radio:

> "It was about six thirty in the morning when he [her neighbor] called me and said: 'be very careful and don't open the door because they got me… immigration agents got me.' And I [Feliciana] responded, how can you leave your children alone? 'There is nothing I can do,' he said to me. 'I leave you my children and take care of my young one who is ill.' I told him not to worry and that if they came and tried to deport me, well, I wasn't going to open the door. They can take down the door if they like, but I won't open. I will not be deported." (testimony from Radio Bilingüe's public literature, 2008).

These are the types of stories of the experiences of community members often

heard on radio programs. Listeners frequently let media practitioners know that it is

important to hear these sorts of stories over the radio because as a community, they

realize that they are not alone when facing these types of situations. To further appease

the concerns of the community, media practitioners invite experts onto their shows to

discuss the issues and talk with audience members about their specific concerns. It is not

unusual for callers to flood the phone lines with calls, thereby demonstrating that these

sorts of issues, such as immigration topics, are of great importance to the Latino

immigrant community. And although Spanish-speaking commercial radio stations may

also cover sensitive issues like immigration, people are less likely to open up about their experiences through commercial radio stations for fear of retaliation, or because they don't have close connections with the radio hosts. Media practitioners have developed trusting relationships with their listeners. They are part of the community they serve, and in fact, many listeners know them on a more personal basis because they are active in community events. In contrast, radio hosts of commercial radio stations, may not know listeners at a more personal level or might not live in the same city where their shows are heard.

Other sorts of topics on radio shows, however, yield the opposite reaction from listeners; according to Delia, when media practitioners discuss issues like domestic violence or child abuse on their shows, phone calls to the radio station begin to dwindle. For this reason and others, media practitioners sometimes become concerned about how to engage the public in on-air conversations about sensitive and very real issues that affect the community. Luckily, on account of having good relationships with local organizations, media practitioners can learn whether they had some impact on the listening community.

Delia points out that local outreach and health groups, as well as other organizations that provide basic services to the community, such as Planned Parenthood, the YMCA, and South County Out Reach Effort (a network of health, education and human service providers serving South Monterey County, California), often let media practitioners know they are effectively reaching their audience. "We hear from the local organizations who tell us how people began calling them to get help because they heard

about their services on our radio programs," she says (personal communication,

December 2, 2013).

Collaboration with local organizations in the Central Valley has been an

invaluable resource to Radio Bilingüe and its listeners, not only because the word needs

to get out about the resources that are available to poor and marginalized community

members, but also because, it helps create a deeper relationship with the community.

In addition to conversing with media practitioners over the radio, listeners also

have the opportunity to share information with one another, which can mean having

listeners call in to a Radio Bilingüe show to offer their views and opinions so others in

the community can hear them. But sharing information can also take on a more active

role, in that it can be a means by which solidarity and power can emerge among members

of the community.

In this sense, as a community-driven media system, Radio Bilingüe presents and

offers itself as a platform through which community members can engage in

conversation, generate knowledge, and produce change. Samuel describes the experience

of "seeing change in action" among Radio Bilingüe's listeners who, as part of the broader

Latino immigrant community in the United States, took part in the 2006 National Day of

Action for Immigrant Justice rallies across the country. For Samuel, the radio became a

conduit for solidarity among the community.

> "We decided that we would cover the Los Angeles marches in 2006, and we told
> our listeners, "You are the eyes and ears on the ground, so let us know what is
> going on the streets." They would call us and would tell us about different things
> and events that were unfolding at the moment, things that nobody suspected
> would happen. In addition to that, since our program had national coverage, we
> also began receiving updates of what was happening around the country, in places
> like Bellingham, Washington, [and] El Paso, Texas, at border towns like Calexico
> … the listeners became the sources of information for what was happening around

the country that day; they became the reporters. And that is the kind of practice we try to do at Radio Bilingüe … one that is interactive and involves the participation of the community." (personal communication, May 25, 2012)

Radio, as a source of information for the community, played a significant role in mobilizing participation among Latino immigrants on the National Day of Action for Immigrant Justice rally because they were at the center of the action. Whereas other commercial Spanish-speaking radio stations were covering the event from the outside, Radio Bilingüe was doing it from the inside. The information generated and shared during the coverage of the event was generated from community members who were marching on the streets, and not from journalists who were observing and simply reporting on the event. Sharing information through the radio provided a sense of solidarity and civic engagement among members of Latino immigrant communities because the participants realized the rally was not an isolated effort in California, but that many other Latinos across the country were taking part in the fight for immigrant justice.

Aside from broader community dialogues, media practitioners also have opportunities for engaging in one-on-one conversation with their listeners, which gives them the opportunity for getting to know their audience on a more personal level. Lourdes Oliva, host of *Acento Sabroso* (Tasty Accent), a Spanish-speaking show with music from the Caribbean an other Latin American countries, explains that when listeners call, its not simply to make a request for a song, or send a 'shout-out' to their friends. Rather, many times listeners will call to talk to her about their day, or to share an anecdote or joke with her, for example. The casualness through which Lourdes speaks to her listener's when they call her show, expresses the type of congenial and caring attitude

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she tries to create. Here is an excerpt of Lourdes talking to one of her callers off the air during one of her shows:

> "[Y]ou want me to play you the song *Luna de Xelahú?* [Moon of Xelahu]. You know, I almost never hear you speak in English when you call and you threw me off, you surprised me. When are you going to Guatemala? Are things safe to go right now to your town? Make sure to take care of yourself *mama* [term of endearment meaning dear]. I'm good, and thank you for the invitation, I really want to go to Guatemala too, I have an uncle who lives there…" (Radio Bilingüe radio booth, June 26, 2012)

Lourdes further points out that she gets to know her listeners quite a bit, especially those who have been following her radio program over the years. "It's interesting 'cause listeners hear me on the radio, and some have been calling for a while. And they also get to know me through my personal Facebook page, so they know what I'm about"(personal communication, June 26, 2012). Developing informal, over-the-phone connections with members of the community, is a way for media practitioners to bond with community members. It helps create a sense of trust with listeners, while letting them know that their calls and comments matter.

Different dialogical practices, whether one-on-one conversations between listeners and media practitioners, between experts and listeners, or between listeners themselves, can lead to greater community connection and civic engagement. These dialogic demonstrate the ways Radio Bilingüe aids the community in the process of social and cultural empowerment. With this process, it is not about the production of content; it is about the role of the radio in the lives of community members and the work media practitioners carry out to help facilitate conversation, as well as understanding for and with the community.

Media of the Community

As a media institution devoted to serving the public, Radio Bilingüe helps strengthen various social and cultural aspects of its listening community by providing access to, participation in, and self-management of the media enterprise — three notions the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (1977) has underscored in regard to strategies of participatory communication. What this means is that among its media practitioners and other staff members, there is an emphasis on making Radio Bilingüe's facilities as well as its broadcast spectrum, or programs, available to members of the community it serves. In addition, everyone at Radio Bilingüe is dedicated to both (a) the production and representation of shared community interests and (b) keeping control of the enterprise in the hands of community members. Therefore, being situated in the community is significant to the work of Radio Bilingüe because, it allows media practitioners to reach and engage with the people who listen to them, and it offers community members a way of engaging in various aspects of radio production.

As a community-driven, public media institution, Radio Bilingüe's focus on communication is key to ensuring that access, participation, and self-management take place. In other words, by developing and implementing different channels through which members of the community can be in conversation with media practitioners — including community forums, volunteer opportunities, and channels for listener feedback — Radio Bilingüe can continue to operate as an institution shaped by the community and in service to the community.

One of the initial concerns of Radio Bilingüe was to establish a Latino-owned public radio station in California's Central Valley to fill a void in public broadcasting and

the commercial radio system. At the time Radio Bilingüe got its start, and well into the

1980s and 1990s, bilingual radio programming was slow to develop in the region —

despite the growing number of Latinos. Although radio stations were broadcasting in

either English or Spanish throughout the Central Valley, prior to the establishment of

Radio Bilingüe, no bilingual media enterprises existed that could satisfy the

entertainment and information needs of the region's growing bilingual community

(Ramirez, 1982).

According to Berrigan (1977, 1979) the concepts of access and participation are

vital to understanding how community-driven media operate. The idea of access is linked

to the reception of information; Berrigan states that it is "… the opportunities available to

the public to choose varied and relevant programs, and to have a means of feedback to

transmit its reactions and demands to production organizations" (as cited in Servaes &

Malikhao, 2005, p. 97). This approach suggests listeners have the choice to select the

type of programming they want and the ability to gain access to airwaves to express their

views. Radio Bilingüe goes even further, and for this organization access is about

providing the public with opportunities to have direct access to the radio's facilities, as

well as contribute to the different programs where processes of communication take

place.

One of Radio Bilingüe's first objectives for developing a public and

Latino-owned radio station was the idea that Latinos should be able to have some

control over the public airwaves. This means, that as a media enterprise, Radio

Bilingüe not only broadcasts programming that reflects the social and cultural

interests of its listeners, but they also been firm about having Latinos own and

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operate the radio station. "Media access includes controls of the airwaves. And in the San Joaquin Valley, no airwaves are controlled by Chicanos" said Hugo Morales (Visalia Times Delta, June 7, 1980). As a result of having a Latino-owned and -operated enterprise, Radio Bilingüe has been able to stay true to its fundamental and core interests of working with and serving minority populations, as well evolving in ways that reflects the needs of its listening community.

Additionally, giving access to the radio facilities helps ensure that community members feel Radio Bilingüe operates for their benefit; that is why it is physically located in Fresno, which is considered to be at the center of the Central Valley. It also means Radio Bilingüe has an open-door policy; members of the community are welcome to visit the radio station facilities and talk with media practitioners. At the same time, members of the community are encouraged to join the volunteer program at Radio Bilingüe so they can become familiar with the operations of the radio station, learn how to use the technology and develop radio programming.

By encouraging access, listeners, volunteers, and other community members alike can engage in conversation where individual and collective expression can take place; and it allows the community to enter into public discourse about the issues affecting their communities. Having an openness and ongoing dialogue with the public provides transparency of Radio Bilingüe's operations and influence the media practitioners' decision-making processes in regard to the production of content.

For example, in the 1980s, a group of women called *Mujeres Latinas* (*Latina Women*) contacted Radio Bilingüe to develop a program that would reflect the interests of minority women. The group believed Latina women's voices, and the Chicano

community, were being ignored in both commercial and public radio broadcasting. In response to this community concern, Radio Bilingüe entered into a conversation with *Mujeres Latinas* and decided it should promote, in a greater fashion, women's participation at the radio station, as well as incorporate programming that reflected the interests of the Chicano community. To do so, Radio Bilingüe made women hosts of radio shows, trained them as radio programmers, and made them part of the rank and file of the station. Radio Bilingüe also incorporated new programs to its schedule, such as *Onda Chicana* (*Chicano Wave*) and *Oldies but Goodies*, which play Mexican ballads, rock, Latin jazz, and salsa music from Los Lobos, Carlos Santana, Tierra, and other artists and groups popular among Chicanos in California.

This example demonstrates that access is about determining the type of programming that should be developed to serve the community, as it is also about reflecting the identity of the community through programming. As such, access is instrumental in helping accurately reflect and protect the cultural identity of a community.

For Radio Bilingüe, access is much more than having a place in the FM radio dial. It means granting members of the public the opportunity to choose radio programming that suits their interests; to have a means by which they can share their thoughts, ideas, and reactions; to request discussion of particular topics or types of music; and to help develop programming firsthand.

Radio Bilingüe gives communities who otherwise have little to no access to mainstream media outlets an outlet they can rely on to tell their stories, through which they can hear their own voices and use their distinct idioms and customs. These reasons

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make this type of media indispensable to protecting cultural identity in ways that are true to the community members who are participating actively in the process of communication.

In its most basic form, participation refers to community involvement in different processes of media production, as well as to the daily operations — whether formal or informal — at Radio Bilingüe. From the perspective of UNESCO, the function of participation is to have high levels of public involvement in the production, management, planning, and decision-making processes at the media outlet. In this sense, participation and self-management, which will be later discussed, are closely aligned. In the context of Radio Bilingüe, participation plays out in many ways: the production of programming that community members help design, the different events media practitioners hold to encourage civic engagement, and the interaction of media practitioners and community members on the radio shows.

Community participation in the production of radio programming helps solidify strong ties with Radio Bilingüe's media practitioners. It also provides insights into important issues that affect the community. For example, in 2011, Radio Bilingüe teamed up with the Family Acceptance Program at San Francisco State University and Proyecto Poderoso, a joint project of the National Center for Lesbian Rights and California Rural Legal Assistance (Sanchez, 2011), to develop a three-episode radio novela, or radio soap opera, titled *Bienvenidos a Casa* (*Welcome Home*) that served as a campaign to raise awareness about the importance of family acceptance of LGBT people within Latino immigrant communities. The radio soap was based on input from community focus groups. Out of the brainstorming sessions with community members — including men

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and women who work in the agricultural fields that surround the rural coastal community of Salinas, California — a few Spanish-language radio scripts were developed. They incorporated the experiences of community members into the storylines, and were later recorded with the voices of community volunteers.

The broadcasting of *Bienvenidos a Casa* (Welcome Home) was the first time information about lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender issues reached rural, Latino, farm-working communities in a language and format that was familiar and accessible. The format of radio novelas was an effective way to discuss these issues because, in many Latin American nations, radio novelas are popular radio shows.

The development of *Bienvenidos a Casa* (Welcome Home) not only helped address an issue considered taboo in immigrant Latino communities — it also sparked an ongoing conversation about LGBT-related issues at Radio Bilingüe, it cemented a deeper relationship between media practitioners and community members, and further promoted the valuable work of volunteers, which is also essential for keeping an open dialogue with community members.

Another way participation is demonstrated at Radio Bilingüe is in the ways media practitioners build community interest and encourage civic engagement through public forums. For example, in 2008, News Director Samuel Orozco and his team launched *Linea on the Road,* a series of live-broadcast shows around the country to comprehensively cover the 2008 presidential campaign, the nation's economic crisis, and the 2010 U.S. Census. The shows entailed visits to a number of cities with a large concentration of Latino immigrants, where public receptions and meetings were held with a number of leaders from community-based organizations, radio listeners and media

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representatives. Also, a number of public presentations took place at college campuses and farm labor camps around the country to discuss the role of Latino public media in the U.S. Some of the cities *Linea on the Road* visited are Chicago, Illinois; Blythe, California; Granger, Washington; Mount Vernon, Washington; Harlingen, Texas; Lancaster, Pennsylvania; and Woodburn, Oregon.

As a result of these community-outreach activities, Radio Bilingüe news division grew in popularity; this was reflected in the rise in the number of visitors to their website that Radio Bilingüe reported following the 2008 presidential election (Radio Bilingüe, 2010). In addition, with *Linea on the Road*, media practitioners were able to generate civic engagement among members of traditionally disenfranchised communities, who then took action in a wide variety of ways. For example, community members participated in informal conversations with media practitioners, organized groups to discuss collective concerns — such as immigration and voting rights — and many later collaborated to raise awareness about voting.

From a more practical standpoint, participation also takes place at Radio Bilingüe while programs are on the air; listeners have the opportunity to participate in shows by calling in and discussing issues of concern to them or sharing their own experiences and knowledge about any particular situation. In addition, listeners can simply call during a show and give a "shout-out" to their friends and family or make musical requests. What's more, during the radio shows, media practitioners repeatedly invite members of the community to call in and comment on what they want to talk about and hear on the radio — and offer feedback about the work of the practitioners themselves. These sorts of conversations are key to media practitioners because it is in sharing views and ideas that

the community members set the agenda of the programs while expressing their needs, concerns, and interests.

This form of participation by the community demonstrates that the flow of information at Radio Bilingüe is horizontal and it goes both ways, that is, between practitioners and community members, or it can emerge from the bottom up, that is, from within the local community and into the broader radio community. This is all to say that through participation, Radio Bilingüe's listeners, or community members, become to a great extent the decision-makers of radio content. And perhaps more important, community participation proves that the voice of the community is the most important aspect of the function of Radio Bilingüe.

Of the three functions UNESCO considers necessary to the operation of community-driven media, self-management is perhaps the one most limitedly observed at Radio Bilingüe. In general terms, the idea of self-management refers to the most advanced form of participation; it is the ability for the public "to exercise power of decision-making within communication enterprises and is also fully involved in the formulation of communication policies and plans" (Servaes & Malikhao, 2005, p. 96). This definition focuses on two main elements: power in decision-making and institutional administration.

In terms of decision making at Radio Bilingüe, the community holds great control over self-representation, both in the production and distribution of content; there is also, however, careful consideration in decision making by media practitioners, such as defining the types of cultural content to be presented on particular radio programs. For example, the program *Raíces* (Roots) focuses on intimate stories and achievements of

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Latino communities across the country. Media practitioners produce these stories, and the idea of focusing on Latinos cultural contributions, is in part, a way of breaking with stereotypical, negative representations of Latinos frequently found in mainstream media, for example, portrayals of Latinos as criminals. Since it is the members of the community who are the focus of the *Raíces* (Roots) programs, developing the programs, then, includes the participation of the community in telling their story.

Crafting these stories, places much of the decision making in the hands of the media practitioner. And although within Radio Bilingüe there are other opportunities where community members hold control over decision making processes — such as the types of programs where there are structured community groups and community volunteers— there are other programs where media practitioners hold most of the production responsibility and control. In this sense, the level of decision-making shifts according to the type of program that is produced, and does not, by definition, meet the criteria of self-determination that is proposed by UNESCO.

On the other hand, the idea of self-management focuses on the institution, which differs from participation in content-related matters, and places emphasis on community participation regarding the operation and management of Radio Bilingüe. From this perspective, self-management does play a part, albeit to varying degrees. For instance, the administrative power of Radio Bilingüe is primarily in the hands of the executive director, Hugo Morales; he directs and controls the business of the corporation, he has the power to bind the corporation, and he holds fiduciary power on behalf of the corporation. Hugo, however, reports to the board of directors, which is made up of members of the community Radio Bilingüe serves, as are the media practitioners. Hugo must report on all

activities carried out at Radio Bilingüe at an annual meeting, as stipulated in the corporation's bylaws, while the board of directors advises and votes on a number of issues, actions, and activities that are on the agenda for the annual meeting.

Although there can be additional calls for special meetings throughout the year, as well as consent to actions without an actual meeting taking place, the board of directors has limited participation in the day-to-day business of Radio Bilingüe. As mentioned in the previous chapter, board members give advice on fiscal matters and broad policy issues, but their main task is to act as guardians of the mission of Radio Bilingüe by being strong advocates for it; therefore, their operational involvement is limited. Rather, structural and financial oversight is mainly the responsibility of the executive director.

If part of what makes a media enterprise a participatory project is the incorporation of the community into the self-management and decision-making process. In this regard, Radio Bilingüe has largely, but not completely, succeeded.

In sum, the notions of access, participation, and self-management of community-driven media underscore an interest in "community-building by transforming individual experiences into a shared vision of [a better] reality" (Milan, 2009, p. 599). Ultimately, for Radio Bilingüe, the power of decision-making is about the democratization of the media enterprise because the power to influence decisions is centered on the community. The final decision on how most, but not all, of the programs are designed and executed are in the hands of media practitioners. So although self-management is understood as the most advanced and fullest form of community participation, at Radio Bilingüe, it is realized only to the degree that it allows media practitioners to determine the best choices about most of the programming content based on the opinion of the community.

CHAPTER VII

CONNECTED COMMUNITIES

This chapter embraces the idea of "connected communities" in order to examine the role of the radio in the lives of Latino immigrants as they construct identity and build community across local, national, and transnational places. The notion of connected communities broadly explores the meaning of connectivity as it occurs between and across communities that are both 'here' and 'there;' that is, those that are located across different geographies, but retain links with one another through the radio. It also highlights the importance of the radio in creating "spaces of identity" (Morley & Robins, 1995) where people can articulate a sense of being and belonging across space. In other words, as an oral medium, the radio creates dialogical and reflective spaces where members of the radio audience and community —who may live across local and national borders— come together to share stories, ideas, views, and the experiences that help define their identity. It is a space where identities are local and global, and communities are both imagined and experienced (Brah, 1996).

To probe the ways in which identity of the community is represented and linked through the radio, I begin by first examining the idea of connected communities for understanding how this applies to the case of Radio Bilingüe's community. I then describe the community of Latinos that make up the connected community in this study, and follow by discussing the 'immigrant' identity. I continue with a discussion of the place of radio in the lives of the community, and conclude by providing examples of the different social and cultural practices that come to define the identity of this community.

<u>Diasporic and Transnational Communities as Connected Communities</u>

Bonnerjee et al., (2012) first proposed to think of the idea of 'connected communities' in relation to diaspora and transnationality. Their intent was to investigate how immigrant communities in London retained connections across the politics of scale and cosmopolitanism; in other words, they were interested in the study of how immigrants linked to one another within and between their communities from local neighborhoods to wider diasporas living across multicultural cities. Their research drew on debates of community, diaspora and transnational studies, as well as from oral history and memory studies (Rodger and Herbert, 2008; Trim 2011). Researchers carried out four one-day workshops structured around different themes: community histories; home, migration and community; cities communities and connections; and faith communities and religious diasporas, and explored the experiences of connected communities in relationship to these themes.

Broadly, the findings of their study demonstrated that community histories "play an important role in connecting multiple roots and routes of diasporic and transnational communities" (Bonnerjee et al., 2012, p. 45). Researchers also found that the idea of connected communities can help map connections across time and space, such as sharing community histories across generations, and that through the act of dialogue —in this study interfaith dialogue was promoted— people can connect and find commonalities with one another across local and transnational borders.

There is an increasing interest in researching diasporic and transnational groups as "communities" who share a number of similar experiences as immigrant subjects, and who are involved in processes of globalization, localization, and identity formation

(Bonnerjee et al., 2012; Fazal & Tsagarousianou, 2002). For that reason, I draw on the idea of connected communities because it gives me a way for bringing together literature on diasporas and transnationality, which is used to examine how immigrants are linked to one another within, between, and across local, national, and transnational places. Similar to the previous case, I also focus on community stories, histories, and experiences shared among connected communities. I do this to understand how a community of people shapes and represents their identity through the radio. The difference between the Bonnerjee et al. case, and this case, is that I use the radio as the site through which the community connects and engages in conversation. In doing so, I hope to bring new insights about how the particular Latino community of Radio Bilingüe shapes their identity while living in diaspora.

A great deal of well-documented scholarship exists that investigates diasporic and transnational communities in relation to their historical, social, cultural, economic and political experiences (Stephen, 2009; Portes, 2001; Vertovec, 1999; Massey, 1995; Clifford, 1994). On the one hand, diasporic communities have been conceptualized as groups that have moved and settled around the globe throughout human history (Safran, 1991), and they have been studied as connections between "roots" and "routes" (Clifford, 1997). In addition, they have been theorized in relation to how they construct ideas of home, or as Brah (2005) puts it, the "homing desire," as well as processes of memory and nostalgia (Blunt, 2005), cultural practices (Kiwan & Meihhof, 2011), and community connections across space (Shi, 2005), among others. These areas of diasporic study are significant to understanding how diasporic communities develop a sense of being and belonging in their community of settlement. And this is largely due to the fact that

diasporic communities are viewed as imagined communities whose "cultural exchange is reflected in the mobility of ideas, artifacts and people through time and space" (Georgiou, 2007, p. 14), which the media facilitate.

On the other hand, transnational studies have largely focused on networks that link people or institutions across nation-states, or on other connections that occur across geographical, cultural, and political borders (Schiller et al., 1995). A key feature of transnationality, as Mitchell (2003) argues, is that it is about "movements and practices of migrants, of flows of commodities and capital, and about the cultural constructions of nation, citizen, and social life with respect to national borders" (p. 84). In addition, there have been recent concerns with thinking about transnationalism beyond the relationship to the nation-state. For example, Stephen (2010) has put forth the concept of "transborder" to include the multiple dimensions of identity of immigrant subjects, including ethnicity, class, gender, and race, aspects that impact the experiences of immigrants as they attempt to develop a greater sense of inclusion and participation within their local and transnational communities.

According to Georgiou (2007), "diasporas are transnational communities" since they depend on media and communication technologies for sustaining connections across places. In this sense, the idea of connected communities seeks to productively engage the complexities of both diasporic and transnational groups to understand how the media links a community that is dispersed across different places, and make sense of the ways a communal identity is constructed and publicly represented over the radio. This approach allows us to contextualize identity in a way that acknowledges people's relationship between nation-states as it occurs across the radio network; as well as examine other

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social and cultural aspects of identity, such as race, ethnicity, class, customs, beliefs, and language, that are part of the diasporic and transnational experience that are articulated over the radio. Taking into consideration that the radio provides a space of negotiation and dialogue where community come together, we can examine the way Radio Bilingüe's community asserts the identity of their community, while at the same time challenging mainstream media representations of marginalized communities by resisting the category of pan-latinidad that tends to erase cultural, social, and economic differences among Latinos.

I want to note that media practitioners are considered part of the connected community because they are part of the audience the radio serves. Put differently, media practitioners are Latino immigrants who share similar experiences to those of the radio's listening audience, and for that reason, have a stake in the type of programing that is produced at the radio. Furthermore, media practitioner's facilitate as well as contribute to the dialogues that take place over the radio, which means, they take part in shaping, contesting, and representing the identity of the broader radio community.

The idea of connected communities does not only pertain to Latino communities as it is discussed in this study; it can also be used to understand the diasporic and transnational experiences of diverse groups of immigrants who belong to varied cultures and ethnic backgrounds, who use the media or other communication technologies to link to one another across place and share the experiences that define and represent the identity of their community in a way that is relevant to them.

A Unique Community of Latinos

Mainstream media frequently portrays Latinos in stereotypical ways. For example, Rivadeneyra et al. (2007) assessed that on primetime television, Latino characters are more likely to be cast as domestic workers more than any other ethnic group. Latinos are also frequently represented in stories related to crime and violence on television, as well as having an accent, less articulate, and less professionally and appropriately dressed than other ethnic groups. Mainstream media has also described all peoples of Latin American descent living in the United States as "Hispanics" or "Latinos," which suggests a lumping together where all belong to the same cultural, economic, and political identity.

These depictions do little to distinguish the racial, ethnic, and generational diversity among Latinos, and it imposes a "pan-latino" image which "conflates cultural differences with homogenizing similarities, shared pasts with present realities, and reified identities with strategic identification" (Mayer, 2004, p. 115). Pan-latino constructions of identity by mainstream media are problematic because they tend to essentialize Latinos, and ignore the complexities of Latino cultures, like cultural differences between Mexican, Puerto Ricans, or Cubans, to name a few. A promotion of pan-latinidad also runs the risk of depoliticizing significant differences among Latino groups, like those of indigenous communities who continue to endure struggles over the ideology of *mestizaje*[23]*,* which includes the erasure of indigenous languages and gives prominence to the European side of the equation. This is all to say that mainstream media construct the

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[23] *Mestizaje* is as an ideology of racial and cultural mixture that has existed in Latin America that involves a process of national homogenization, particularly with regards to indigenous and non-white people, that hides a reality of racist exclusion behind a mask of inclusiveness frequently promoted through government (Wade, 2005).

collective identity of "Hispanics" or "Latinos," which draws upon racial, ethnic, and especially language, to set them apart from other communities living within the United States, but also, to unite them as one single and homogeneous group.

Then how do we define the Latino community that is part of Radio Bilingüe? To talk about the connected community of Radio Bilingüe is to talk about a minority population that is part of the broader Latino diaspora in the United States. They are: multi-generational, multi-ethnic, and linguistically diverse Latinos living primarily in and between the United States and Mexico. They are people who traditionally are from poor, farm-working, and working-class communities, including indigenous people from Mexico, who have been under-represented and marginalized by the mainstream media, and therefore, frequently remained invisible from broader public discourse.

They are a community of Latinos who are dispersed through the United States, namely due to the impact of neoliberal policies in much of Latin America that have driven them to migrate. It is the condition of migration and of being an immigrant that much of the Radio Bilingüe community shares with one another. They are drawn together around similar issues that affect their daily lives as immigrants, such as issues around citizenship and civic participation, feeling a need for social inclusion, representation of their communities in public spheres, and maintenance of a collective memory of the homeland.

And although second and later generations of U.S.-born Latinos might not share the experience of physically migrating to the United States, they share the feeling of being an immigrant because they are constantly crossing imaginary borders where they are negotiating their inherited culture and identity. Latinos who are born in the United

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States often take on many aspects of the culture of their parents and grow up learning the customs, traditions, and language (to varying degrees), that connect them to their parents native homes. At the same time, they also take on a number of customs and practices that are part of the society they live in, such as using English more predominantly than Spanish. Like the first generation of Latino immigrants, they are constantly moving between cultures and negotiate an identity that is both inside and outside of the United States.

The Radio Bilingüe community is unique in that it embraces cultural unity out of difference. In other words, it is a community that has banded together around the social experiences of being or feeling immigrants —whether in fact they are immigrants or not—who have strong attachments to Latin American culture, and who tend to be marginalized due to race, class, and ethnic differences. These are the characteristics that set this Latino community apart from other Latino communities in the United States. And often, what connects them to one another, are the shared cultural practices that are expressed over the radio, such as traditions, language, music, and storytelling, that come to define the identity that is unique to this community.

Caught Between and Crossing Identity

One of the most significant markers characterizing the identity of Radio Bilingüe's connected community is the experience of being immigrants; and by immigrants, I mean people who 'crossover' as well as those who are 'in between.' In other words, migration represents a 'crossover', in that people move from here to there, from South to the North, where people are faced with experiences that are uniquely a

result of the place they live. Anzaldúa (1987) reminds us that borderlands are comprised of spaces, places, moments, feelings and all other things people experience when they are "caught between" worlds and trying to navigate their sense of being and belonging. Together the experiences of crossing over and of being in between are part of what defines the immigrant identity. They are part of the experiences that the Radio Bilingüe community negotiates with on a daily basis.

Perhaps 'immigrant identity' is not the best term to use, since the word immigrant is often used in derogatory ways and can imply exclusion from many social contexts. However, for lack of a better term that can connect the ideas proposed by scholars who study immigrant identity, in this study, the term 'immigrant identity' is used to suggest that the Latino community of Radio Bilingüe shares similar experiences. They navigate cultures and retain similar social and cultural ties whether they are a first generation, or a U.S.-born Latino. The immigrant identity is always changing in relationship to the local and global exchanges people have with the broader connected community over the radio. And these exchanges that take place, come to define the identity of the community that is represented over the radio.

In essence, the exchanges that emerge out of the process of crossing and being caught between identities, are identity-making processes. Mato (1998) argues that in the age of globalization, identities are formed and transformed by the social actors who — whether consciously or unconsciously have produced identities based on their interconnection, both internationally and transnationally (p. 604).

An example that shows how identities are socially constituted can be exemplified in the experience of moving to "El Norte," of crossing borders, or of overcoming the

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struggles associated with relocation to a new country —such as attaining residency, or applying for a driver's license. Since most Radio Bilingüe's media practitioners have undergone similar circumstances of moving to the United States, whether legally or illegally, migration is a common experience, and it provides insights into understanding who their listening audience is and what kind of themes they may required in the programming.

While sitting at a table outside her office, Alma Martínez, who produces and hosts the show *Comunidad Alerta* (Alert Community), described how her experiences of being an undocumented child growing up in the United States have motivated her to work for the people of her community. Alma was born in the town of San Juan de los Lagos, Jalisco, Mexico, and at the age of 3, she came to the United States with her mother and little brother. She recalls:

> I remember crossing the border … it was my mom, my brother and I, *y estabamos con un grupo de hombres* [we were with a group of men]. [My mom] says we were lucky that nothing happened to us since *nos cruzamos con coyotes* [we crossed with a middleman] … I tell my mom I remember crossing at night *y como una grande luz* [and there was a big light].
> (personal communication, June 27, 2012)

After crossing the border, Alma and her family settled in Los Banos, California, a town located in the Central Valley, where her father had been living before the rest of them arrived. Today, after more than 20 years, Alma continues to live in Los Banos. She explained that as the years progressed, she saw, experienced, and began to understand — in a deeper way — the challenges of living as an undocumented person. From a young age, Alma felt prejudice for being a Latina in the United States. Her high school years were particularly sobering.

"[F]or me, the moment was when Prop. 187 happened. It was huge at my

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high school … *eran los Anglos contra los Latinos* [it was the Anglos against the Latinos] … That really opened my eyes to say, "You know what? As Latinos, we need to be together to show Anglos *que no venimos aquí para robarles nada, no venimos aquí ...* [we didn't come here to steal anything, we didn't come here …] to be the crime of society; we have a lot to offer." (personal communication, June 27, 2012)

Alma explains that because of her ethnic background, she had felt symptoms of discrimination in her local community, which were fueled by unfair public restrictions, such as the California ballot initiative Proposition 187, which sought to establish a citizenship screening system and prohibit undocumented immigrants access to health care, public education, and social services. This experience had a profound impact on the way Alma viewed the world, particularly as it pertained to Latino immigrants in the United States, whether they are documented or not. It cemented in her a desire for change, for helping those in her community who just like her, had experienced the challenges of being an immigrant.

Alma's motivation to "become something better," later led her to Fresno State University, where she took courses in mass communication. During that time, and upon her father's suggestion, volunteered at Radio Bilingüe. "My thing is that I really like to encourage civic participation. I always remind people that we have to vote, *y que tenemos que seguir educándonos* [we have to continue our education]," she says. Alma is now a staff member and has been part of the Radio Bilingüe family for more than 11 years.

Another aspect of immigrant life that connects media practitioners with the listening community is the use of the listener's native language. For the most part, Radio Bilingüe is transmitted in Spanish, which is the predominant language of most of the listening audience, although there is a frequent mix of Spanish, English, and indigenous languages. Juana Gómez, volunteer host of *La Hora Mixteca* (The Mixtec Hour),

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explains that the use of language is particularly important for the indigenous communities who listen to her show since it is the only of its kind in the United States.

Juana and her husband, Mario Gomez, produce the show together and they argue that one of the valuable functions of *La Hora Mixteca* (The Mixtec Hour), is that for Mixteco immigrant communities, as well as for other indigenous groups from Mexico who listen to the show, the radio is an important outlet where they can represent the community. Through the show, listeners can share their feelings, express their views, and tell stories that remind them of their homeland. In a sense, the show becomes an avenue for empowering the Mixteco community making it visible in the larger context of society.

They explain that for long time, the Mixteco language had been overtly repressed in Mexico, and indigenous communities had been required to learn and speak Spanish over their native tongue. They explain that while growing up in Oaxaca, there was a general view that people who spoke Spanish, and who were of Mestizo[24] ancestry, were educated and cultured; whereas indigenous communities, including *Oaxaqueños* (people from Oaxaca), were viewed as ignorant and as "dirty Indians" because they didn't speak Spanish, and were ethnically different than their 'white' Mestizo counterparts. "We were taught to learn Spanish when we were young" says Juana, "but we also maintained our mother tongue; it was a way of asserting our Mixteco identity," (personal communication, July 22, 2012).

Over the years, after having migrated to California, Juana and Mario find that the Mixteco community in the United States has developed a strong need for preserving the culture and traditions of their indigenous communities, including language.

"Not only do we celebrate the patron saints of our towns, but we make the food

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[24] Broadly defined, a mestizo is a person of Indian and Spanish ancestry.

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that is typical of our state, like *mole…* and through our Mixteco language, we [Mixteco immigrants to the United States] can stay connected to our roots and not forget where we come from," Juana adds. (personal communication, July 22, 2012)

In the course of hosting *La Hora Mixteca* (The Mixtec Hour)*,* and of being in

communication with many of the people from the Mixteco community who call and

participate in the show to share their thoughts and feelings on the particular topic being

discussed on the program, Juana and Mario have come to realize that as Mixtecos — they

include themselves— "[w]e are hungry for hearing our native language and for feeling

we deserve to hear ourselves represented on the radio," says Juana. While Mario adds

"we are the only station of the kind, there is nothing else around, radio or television, that

gives us the time to speak about the things that are important to our people" (personal

communication, July 22, 2012).

In realizing this, Juana and Mario try to give voice to the Mixteco community

through the show; but also point out there are other indigenous immigrant communities

who live in the region who also like to hear their own languages heard over the radio,

such as Zapotec, Trique, or Chatino. Juana and Mario, engage the different indigenous

communities in the best way they can, which often is in Spanish since it is the common

language used among indigenous groups. Juana and Mario call upon the audience to

participate by making musical requests, sharing stories or experiences, and to join the

conversation that is taking place on the radio program. Juana points out:

> "[I]t is not only the Mixtecos that we have heard from, there are also other indigenous groups who have reached out to us, like the Zapotec, Trique, Chatinos, etc., because we [at the Mixtec Hour] are the only one's on the radio in the U.S. who are speaking native languages and talking about indigenous cultural values and traditions. And as the host of the show, what I have tried to do [through the radio], is to be the voice of our towns, be the voice of our people, and to tell everyone that this is a space where we can talk and be heard, that we have value

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as human beings and our opinions count …" (personal communication, July 22, 2012).

Other cultural practices media practitioners take part in include celebrating culturally based festivities like *Viva el Mariachi* (Mariachi lives). This festival has not been organized in the last four years due to lack of funding, however, when it has taken place, it has been successful in rallying together the community. The festival celebrates the cultural heritage of Mexico through the traditional music of mariachi bands and workshops that teach youth Mexican traditions. This event, which is open to the public, signals the need for maintaining alive the culture and customs that media practitioner's, and its listening audience are part of, while also serving as a way to build stronger ties with members of the community.

A more obvious trait of media practitioners' identity, which in large part reflects their immigrant experience of living between cultures, is the interchangeability of Spanish and English in their everyday speech. Alma Garza, for example, who hosts the show *Arriba el Norte* (broadly translated as 'Up with Northern music'), says, "I grew up bilingual, I don't know what it is not to be bilingual, that's me" (personal communication, July 20, 2012). Alma explains that while she is on the air, she engages her listeners in both Spanish and English, because like her, they are bilingual as well. She notes:

> "[L]*a gente habla para mandar saludos, para platicar* (people call to send greetings, to talk). People [listeners] love to talk about *las memorias* (the memories) of where they came from, *y nos acordamos de esos tiempos* (and we remember those times), and I play the music that they like, like tejano music or polkas, … we all do it 'cause of the love of *cultura* (culture), of memory. (personal communication, July 20, 2012)

The use of Spanglish, that is, moving back and forth between Spanish and

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English, interchanging or adapting new words that combine both Spanish and English —

such as *"estás ready?"* meaning, are you ready?, or the word *"parquear,"* derived from

English, meaning "to park"—, is undeniably one of the strongest cultural markers of

media practitioners' local and transnational identity. It is, part of the unfolding of Latinos

within the context of English-speaking America. Spanglish, affords media practitioners

(and Latino immigrants as a whole), a way for participating in and identifying with their

increasingly bilingual communities. Spanglish is a symptomatic character of immigrants

experience since they perpetually live in-between cultures.

Through these different examples, we can appreciate how the experiences of

being an immigrant, including, what it means to cross the border, understanding how

language is maintained or interchanged, how community ties are built based on the values

and traditions of the Latino culture, are tightly interwoven with who media practitioners

are, and where they come from. These experiences also suggest that media practitioners

anchor their work in culture as a way of building and maintaining community ties, and

leverage community participation through cultural knowledge, experience, and traditions,

which reinforce their own, and that of the community's sense of being and belonging.

Radio of Connected Communities

Radio plays a significant role in the lives of Latinos living throughout the United

States. Community-driven radio in particular, is used as a tool for education and

entertainment; a tool to inform and mobilize communities and social movements, and as a

whole, it often serves as a vehicle through which marginalized communities can have a

voice and self-represent their communities. Additionally, Ramos Rodríguez (2005) points

out that radio serves as "a catalyst for social cohesion and cultural strength" since it plays a role in maintaining the language and culture of a community, within and outside of local boundaries.

To Latino immigrants living in the United States, the radio is significant to keeping their communities connected since it breaks down the boundaries of place. Radio Bilingüe has the capacity to transcend geographical borders and can operate across local, national, and transnational places because it has the technological advantage to do so. Namely, the acquisition of a satellite in 1995, made possible by a grant from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, helped Radio Bilingüe to expand its reach across national borders. This national and transnational feature is made possible because of the access to technology and economic support, such as state incentives or fundraising available to Western community radio stations through established public broadcasting policies. Therefore, as a community-driven, public, and transnational network, Radio Bilingüe has the technological capacity to transmit and exchange programming with affiliate radio stations across the United States, to have ties with journalists and radio co-hosts across the country and outside of it, as well as reach a number of Latino communities who live outside of the United States, like in Mexico and Canada.

The transnational feature of Radio Bilingüe has also been a response to the needs of the community they serve. They are a mobile community despite that many are settled throughout the United States and Canada. In other words, this is a community that is geographically dispersed, and for that reason, use the radio to "move" between places, to exchange information, and to create a space of connection that allows them to retain ties

to the homeland. They are, in Anderson's (1983) terms, an *imagined community* who are

connected through the radio.

Radio Bilingüe's headquarters was established in California's Central Valley

where the presence of Latino farmworkers, mainly from Mexico, is strong. Over the

years, principally between the 1980s, and up to the early 2000s, with the increase of

Latinos migrating to the United States, radio stations owned by Radio Bilingüe, as well as

many affiliate radio stations began to spread across the country in states like Texas,

Colorado, or New Mexico (Figure 4).

*Figure 4. Map representing many of the locations where
Radio Bilingüe programming can be heard.*

Through the radio, Latinos crossing into the United States —whether legally or

illegally— learned where they could potentially find jobs, the concentration of Latino

communities, or the state of immigration enforcement and raids along the border and

across the nation, among other things. Interestingly, to see the map of Radio Bilingüe-owned and affiliate radio stations is to trace the migratory path of Latinos in the country.

Later, as more communities of Latinos settled and spread across the country, in places where there is labor demand, Radio Bilingüe realized that its potential audience was no longer localized solely in the Central Valley or in California, and that the demand for the type of programming the radio offers in places where previously there had been little or no prior Latino settlements, such as Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Wyoming, and Canada, to name a few, was significant as the result of all these newer settlement trend. In these newer places of Latino settlement there is continual need for Spanish-language media sources where people can obtain news and information that pertains to their situation and in their language.

The radio is a particularly apt medium for the Latino community of Radio Bilingüe since it has the ability to "mediate the popular word" (Martín-Barbero, 1993, p. 235). Put differently, it speaks the language known by the community, and therefore, has the potential for communicating and exchanging ideas in ways that are culturally sensitive and relevant to them. Also, the radio provides a space of conversation, or dialogic space where the connected community can voice their needs and interests, and the staff working at the radio take on the role of 'cultural workers' (Karim, 2003) by designing messages and programs that express the realities of the world from their own perspective and against dominant United States or Western views. It is precisely the flow of information and content over the radio that provides the connected community a way of communicating, of creating links, and of asserting self-representation in ways that are closely tied to their own views and identity.

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Community Practices

The social and cultural practices of representation of the connected community are understood as the individual, as well as collective expressions of the home and the host culture that are conveyed and negotiated over the radio. These practices represent a diverse set of elements, such as language, music, customs, traditions, feelings, dialogues, etc., and can deal with a number of issues, such as immigration, community histories, or cultural festivities, that help illuminate various aspects of the culture of the community. In what follows, I provide examples of how social and cultural practices are presented and discuss their significance with regards to how identity is shaped by the Radio Bilingüe community across the radio space.

Language is one of the most powerful ways of defining the identity of a community. And for a community who utilizes an oral medium like radio, language is the dominant form of cultural production since it allows its members to acquire, produce, and transfer culture. Despite the fact that the Radio Bilingüe community is multi-lingual, and not bilingual as the radio's name might imply, Spanish is the preferred language of expression and common cultural trait used among them. Through language, it is possible to distinguish similarities and differences among the community. According to Zentella (2002) language "is a powerful lens through which we can detect the ways Latinos use different voices and speak as members of the same community, but also, as different groups" (p. 321). This is to say, that while Spanish can link together members of the Latino community, it also makes visible the diversity of groups that make up the broader Radio Bilingüe community.

For example, while Spanish brings into conversation Latinos with various histories and backgrounds, especially as it is the dominant language spoken throughout most of Latin America, the way language is expressed, or the 'accents' people have when speaking, can indicate the place a person is from. In other words, it is telling of their national identity. It is possible to discern whether a person is Mexican, Puerto Rican, Colombian, and so on, by the tonality and enunciation of the words or phrases they may use. Despite these differences, Spanish is used as the common thread among the community since it can cross linguistic differences, and bring them into conversation.

Spanish is clearly the obvious language of choice for Radio Bilingüe's community since, after all, Spanish-speaking Latinos are the radio's primary target audience. However, the practice of Spanish has become more than the obvious form of verbal expression. To speak Spanish is a meaningful way of asserting Latino identity and a way of claiming difference through similarity. To retain and to predominantly use Spanish, rather than English, means that the community can insist on the recognition of their Latino identity, or Latinidad, and publicly demand that their community be recognized as part of mainstream society and culture of the United States. The use of Spanish helps break down borders of difference that may exist among the Radio Bilingüe community and build alliance through language.

Spanish also helps distinguish some of the generational differences that exist among the community. For example, to the first-generation Latino immigrants to the United States, Spanish is preferred over English since it is their first learned language and most 'natural' to them. But also, Spanish is used as a way of retaining long-distance connection with their native countries. Perea (1995) suggests that Latinos embrace

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Spanish since it is a form of retaining cultural roots, although it could also subject them to the harsh price of difference in the United States. This idea is especially true among first-generation and second-generation Latinos who are expected to assimilate into the culture and society of the United States. However, to this day, Spanish is still viewed as a sign of 'foreignness' that continues to create divisions and segregation among the broader society in the country.

For second and subsequent generations of Latinos, but primarily for the second generation, there are interesting linguistic dynamics that can be appreciated over the radio. These dynamics are telling of how Latinos have re-adapted Spanish to fit into how they make sense of the current world they live in, and function in their local environments. For example, during many of the radio programs there is frequently a 'back and forth' that takes place between Spanish and English. The media practitioner fluctuates between the two languages to communicate a message. Say the radio host is explaining the process of applying for a driver's license and talks about the *Department of Motor Vehicles.* They may first (although not always in this order), refer to it in its English form, then, translate it to its Spanish form, *El Departamento de Vehículos,* and then further refer to it in its hybridized form "El DMV." To hear this active process of translation that occurs on the radio programs; a fluctuation between languages, is a sign that people recognize they are enmeshed within the boundaries of the culture of the United States, and as such, have learned to operate within it without dismissing their own linguistic roots. It is also a way of recognizing that not all of the members who belong to the broader Radio Bilingüe community speak English, and therefore, radio hosts help them make linguistic connections of things, places, events, etc.

To the newer generations of Latinos, whether U.S.-born or new arrivals to the country, *Spanglish* is a defining marker of their identity. Stavans (2004) describes it as "the new American language" because it represents a creative way through which Latino immigrants can say: "I am an American, and I have my own style, my own taste, my own tongue" (Suarez, September 22, 2003). A few examples of Spanglish include "backupear" (bah-koo-peh-ar), which means "to back up a car"; "jonrón" (khon-ron), a baseball term that means home run; and "chopin" (tcho-peen), which means "to go shopping at a mall or shopping center." Spanglish mirrors the culture of the generation of Latinos who have grown up in an environment where English is the primary language among their peers and in the community. In fact, a significant number of second- and later-generation Latinos are English dominant, and some do not speak Spanish at all (Oboler, 1995). As such, Spanglish becomes the linguistic connection through which they take on aspects of both Latino and United States' culture.

Part of what produces linguistic diversity within Radio Bilingüe is the presence and participation of indigenous communities on the radio. On the program *La Hora Mixteca* (*The Mixtec Hour*), for instance, the Mixteco language is practiced, although Triqui, and Zapoteco can be heard on occasion. The host of the show will frequently speak in two or three languages in the course of a radio show. If a listener submits an announcement or a greeting during the program, the host will relay the message in one language and then translate into another. On this program, there is an interesting mesh of languages that occurs where Mixteco is the principal language spoken, but there will also be frequent interjections of Spanish and 'hints' of English that can be appreciated on the program, even if a person is not an indigenous language speaker.

The linguistic plurality that Radio Bilingüe presents through its programs challenges the idea that Latinos are a primarily Spanish-speaking people. What's more, Spanish plays a dual role in that it is used as a sign of similarity and difference. While Spanish widely brings people together under the umbrella of Latinidad, it often conflates the notion that all Latinos share the same language; therefore, share similar histories and places of origin. For the radio community, Spanish is used as a way of uniting them; it is a cultural trait through which disenfranchised communities can find common ground and work together. However, Spanish also makes differences among the community visible. As previously mentioned, it is possible to appreciate the diversity of Latinos that exists through the expression of the language, while also making clear that Spanish does not fully represent all members of the Radio Bilingüe community. It is this sense of difference that contributes to the construction and reconstruction of a collective identity, and this can include generational difference, linguistic difference, ethnic difference, or difference of place of origin.

I should also note that, historically, the Hmong and some Native American communities living in the Central Valley have contributed to the multilingualism heard on Radio Bilingüe programs. The Hmong community currently has a radio show that broadcasts once a week, and Native American communities are frequently in collaboration with Radio Bilingüe's media practitioners to produce magazine-style or special-interest stories. In addition, the radio program *Carnaval*, which broadcasts on Saturday's and Sunday's, has incorporated segments of the program *Bonjour Africa,* which is hosted by a Senegalese DJ and features African music. The diversity of languages heard on various Radio Bilingüe programs today, is a sign of the heterogeneity

of Latino communities, as well as of the broader radio community. It will be interesting to see whether the linguistic pluralism that exists today will change over the years, and if so, what it may tell us about the culture of the community, and of the broader society in the United States.

<u>Sharing Community Stories</u>

The practice of sharing community stories serve as a way to empower a community since it is a way of writing history from below, from the community and for the community. Stories can tell us not only who we are, but who we have been, and who we can be. And for people and communities who are marginalized, who lack social, political, or economic power, the type of cultural narratives available to them are often "negative, narrow, written by others for them, or all of the above" (Rappaport, 1995, p. 795-796).

Telling stories over the radio gives legitimacy to the community because it brings their lives and histories to public spaces where they can be acknowledged. Some of the stories that have been shared include untold histories of immigrant experience of members of the community. In 2013, Tim Hernández, a local writer from Fresno, California, revealed the names of 28 migrant Mexican workers who died in a plane crash in 1948 as they were being deported back to Mexico. Hérnandez tells that in mainstream media this story was framed as "the deportees," thus burying in anonymity the names of these people for over 65 years. After conducting extensive research, Hernández recovered the names of the fallen immigrants and shared their story for the rest of the community to hear. Hernández pointed out that although the story of these immigrants had been known

among Central Valley community members for some time; their stories had not been formally documented, or told in a public way from the perspective of the community.

The act of publicly sharing this story represents a way of acknowledging the experience of Latinos as part of the history that impacts Latino communities in the United States and that shapes the culture of their communities. Their experiences cannot be denied:

> "[Storytelling] takes the message far, it extends history, it has the power of correcting history. It carries on the message, it carries on the story, and in doing so; it has the power to write history…" (Hernández, August 30, 2013).

Sharing stories over the radio legitimizes the history of Latinos as one that has long roots in the United States since part of its history is anchored in the immigrant experience. Therefore, to tell the stories of "deportees," or "immigrants," or "wetbacks" —terms that often are associated negatively with Latino immigrants— is to tell stories that are part of American history, especially as the nation has been built on the backs of immigrants (whether Latino or otherwise). In a way this is an exercise to somewhat correct history, and give Latino immigrants their right place. And aside from being part of history, these stories continue to tell us about how immigrants continue to shape our communities today. Furthermore, sharing stories gives power to the community because they are written and told 'from below;' from the voices and perspectives of those who are a part of them and have been affected by them. The practice of sharing stories over the radio plays a part in making the community visible and gives them the power to write their own history.

The radio has also been used as a way of telling the stories of community artists, who through artistic expression and experience help address issues that affect many of

the lives of members of the community. Papastergiadis (2008) has argued that artists often identify new trends long before they are articulated in mainstream debates, and therefore, hold the ability of reshaping them. For the Radio Bilingüe community, issues related to immigration, or being an immigrant, have long afflicted the identity of the community. The terms 'wetbacks,' or 'illegal aliens,' for example, have frequently been used to describe the members of Radio Bilingüe's community. These terms are a part of the inherited mainstream social identity of Latino immigrants. For this reason, artists within the community use their skills and experiences to open dialogues among the community where they can share their stories and explain what immigration, or being an immigrant, means to them.

Faviana Rodríguez, is an immigrant artist from Mexico who shared her story over the radio. She uses her art to redefine the meaning of immigration. Faviana describes how she uses the image of the monarch butterfly as a way of shifting the public's perception of immigration from something negative, to something that is beautiful and part of the lives of our communities. She describes how she uses a moving installation entitled "migration is beautiful," which she has taken around the country, often to the poor Latino communities who are most affected by issues related to immigration policy or who endure social stigma for being immigrants, and gets them to talk about their experiences as immigrants to the United States.

Faviana uses the image of the monarch butterfly whose wings depict the face of two people looking at each other. To her, the faces sketched on each one of the wings reflects two countries facing each other and communities who across borders can make a human connection. Sharing the story of this project over the radio raised awareness about

the way immigration policy in the country has become incoherent and inhumane. It highlights the issue of how deportations divide families, often separating parents from children, and how poor immigration laws continue to profile, isolate and criminalize immigrants.

Immigration issues, and the experiences of being an immigrant in the United States, are frequently part of the dialogue among the Radio Bilingüe listeners. Addressing stories like these shows the capacity the radio has for making the political views of the community to be heard. And while these stories make public immigrants' views about the unjust immigration system that erodes the social fabric of this country, it also opens up avenues for community engagement. It engages the community in conversation and affords them the opportunity for participating in projects, like Faviana's, which can help shift ideas and feelings about immigration among community members and the broader public.

The expression of social and cultural practices over the radio symbolizes a way of communicating and sharing information among the community. In this sense, the role of the radio is that of mediator of community experience. In this role, the radio calls our attention to the dialogues, stories, and voices that are heard over the radio's media space. It is also important to bear in mind that within connected communities, which can be diasporic and transnational, there is great value in cultural practice since it shows how both national identity and local community identity come to shape how they see and represent themselves. Many of the social and cultural practices expressed over the radio include paying tribute to patron saints, cultural or music festivals, family birthdays, artistic celebrations, and local community gatherings or festivities, among others.

As a mediator of community experience, the radio facilitates the flow of communication across local, national, or transnational spaces. This is partly due to the transnational capacity of the radio as a media system, but it is also due to the interest immigrant community members have in keeping ties with their families and communities from their native homes. The flow of cross-border communication, as Ramos-Rodríguez (2005) suggests, "is a pillar for the strategies of cultural reproduction and survival displayed by immigrant populations" (p. 163). By providing a space through which cross-border communication can take place, the radio keeps alive the cultural practices of its communities and engages them in transnational communication.

Radio Bilingüe has been used as a source of communication through which members of the indigenous Oaxacan communities residing across the U.S.-Mexico border can join together in conversation and share experiences over the radio. One significant event that has frequently covered by the radio is the festival of la *guelagetza*, which is an annual harvest festival traditionally celebrated in Oaxaca where indigenous communities come together to promote and preserve their identity through dance, music, food and art. To indigenous immigrants from Oaxaca who reside in the United States, to have the opportunity to celebrate la guelaguetza is a way of staying connected to their native home, so it is typical for indigenous immigrants of Mixteco descent to recreate the celebration in the United States.

In this sense, the radio plays a role in connecting people, communities and families across borders. In past years, media practitioners in the United States, along with their Mexican counterparts, have covered the guelagetza festival through live radio broadcasts of the event as it takes place in Oaxaca and across different places in the

United States. During the coverage of the festival, live feeds allow community members located in both Mexico and the United States the opportunity to speak to one another in their native languages, and share anecdotes about the celebration as it unfolds. The simultaneity of connection that is created through the radio allows members of common local and transnational communities a way of communicating with one another, while at the same time strengthening community ties through ethnic and linguistic self-identification as they celebrate la guelaguetza.

These transnational practices that take place over the radio are characteristic in this age of globalization. They are telling of the ways that people and communities construct identity and senses of belonging in imaginary ways, or outside of place. Certainly, identity is a complex thing to define, particularly to a community whose everyday experiences cross local, national, and transnational borders.

The process of socially constructing the identities of immigrant communities is based on the ways their cultural practices and forms of representation put the community at the center. In other words, identity is constructed around elements such as ethnicity, language, or experiences that are unique to the community. The role of the radio, then, is to help establish a sense of belonging around these elements that tie the community together because it has the potential of creating powerful images that self-represent their group (Husband, 1994). At the same time, it breaks the dominance of Latino representation in mainstream society and media as a singular identity, and it shows that in fact diversity is the most significant aspect that defines the Latino community.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The idea for establishing a community-driven, Spanish-language public radio that could be owned and operated by Latinos started out of the vision of one man, Hugo Morales. Born in Oaxaca, Mexico, Hugo is a self-identified indigenous Mixteco man who along with his family, grew up working as a farmworker in the Sonoma Valley. From an early age, Hugo understood that as a farmworker, he lived in a state of discrimination for being ethnically and linguistically different, and that poverty would hinder his ability to live to the fullest. But more than realizing his own place as an indigenous immigrant, he became acutely aware that his experiences and feelings where shared by hundreds of other farmworkers whose goal was to move to a position where they could fulfill their personal 'American dream'.

Having been born in Fresno, California, the heart of the Central Valley, Radio Bilingüe is rooted in serving underserved and under-represented Latino communities, such as poor, farm-working and indigenous groups who lacked representation in mainstream media, and therefore, had been silenced from participating in public discourse. Therefore, Hugo's vision for building a radio station aimed at giving farmworkers, as well as other disenfranchised communities, a space where they could "hear themselves." Over the years, what began as a single local radio station has transformed into a transnational network reaching thousands of Latinos across the United States, and in cities across Mexico and Canada. One of the remarkable aspects of the radio is that despite its growth and many changes, Radio Bilingüe has remained committed to the local needs of its community. And in fact they have been part of their

communities lives for nearly 34 years, signaling that there is a strong and continued need for having media institutions in service of disenfranchised communities across the United States.

Major Findings

Broadly, this dissertation brings together different, yet interrelated conversations to understand the role of Radio Bilingüe as a media organization and the place it holds in the lives of the Latino community it serves. As a way of unpacking this study, this research considered three primary areas: First, it chronicles the history and structure of Radio Bilingüe and describes the listening community; second, it discusses the profession of media practitioners, including participatory strategies for community engagement; and third, it addresses various practices of representation that bring together and define the identity of the community. In what follows, I summarize the findings corresponding to each one of the research questions:

RQ1: What is the history and function of Radio Bilingüe, from a single radio station to transnational radio network? And who is the listening community?

Hugo Morales, along with Latino activists, farmworkers and other members of the Central Valley community, founded Radio Bilingüe in 1976. However, it wouldn't be until July 4, 1980 when it officially went on the air. Radio Bilingüe (KSJV 97.5) became the first public, bilingual, non-profit, community-driven, full-power FM radio station to broadcast in Fresno, California, across the United States, and later, into México and Canada. The goal for establishing the radio station was to be able to serve farm-working

and poor communities living across the Central Valley; communities who are frequently underserved and under-represented in mainstream media. For most part, the primary target audiences of the radio have been first- and second-generation Latinos, mainly of Mexican descent (including Chicanos), who are predominantly Spanish speakers and who have little formal education. Over the years, however, the Radio Bilingüe audience has also included newer generations of U.S.-born Latinos, as well as other disenfranchised community members, such as ethnic minorities and low-income groups, who have had an interest in producing their own local radio programs.

For nearly 34 years, Radio Bilingüe has evolved from a single radio station, reaching local communities in the Central Valley, into a radio network with national and transnational coverage made possible with the acquisition of a satellite service in the 1990s. Currently, Radio Bilingüe owns and operates 13 radio stations in the states of Arizona, California, Colorado, and New Mexico, and has over 100 affiliates radio stations across the United States, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Canada.

Radio Bilingüe's programming includes diverse musical and cultural content, news and information programming, as well as a special interest stories —including a number of youth-produced programs— promoting civic engagement, health education, and the discussion of relevant issues that affect many Latino communities across the nation, such as immigration reform, pesticides, or driver license regulations. Additionally, Radio Bilingüe's transnational capacity, has led to the creation of two programs that have transnational reach and cross-border content production between Mexico and the United States; they are: *Linea Abierta (Open Line)*, a news program, and *La Hora Mixteca* (The Mixtec Hour) a music and entertainment radio show. Through

these programs there is frequent exchange of information between media practitioners across borders. Media practitioners discuss the topics to be discussed on a particular program, they often join in conversation while on air, they have guest speakers on both the Mexican and United States side who speak on the radio, and the radio content of the programs deals with news and information from both countries.

Structurally, Radio Bilingüe's leadership is headed by a board of directors whose primarily mission is to serve as an advisory board to the radio's station executive director, Hugo Morales. The board of directors is composed of members of the broader Central Valley community who are active in community activities and have a strong pulse of the needs of the community. The board of directors doesn't play a role in fundraising; that role has been assigned to the executive and development director. Rather, the board of directors serves as 'guardians' to the radio, in that they function as public figures representing the organization at public events, and advise Hugo on various matters with regarding the development of the radio. As executive director, Hugo is second in command at Radio Bilingüe and his role is much more managerial. Hugo's responsibility is to inform the board of directors about pertinent news or changes concerning any of the Radio Bilingüe's stations and seek their advice and approval. Hugo also chairs a formal management team, which includes the broadcasting and news director, the broadcasting director, business manager, and development director, among others, and holds full financial responsibility for the radio. Under the direction of the various directors are the media practitioners and volunteers.

Radio Bilingüe is a publicly funded media organization; this means, its programming is sustained by state and federal grants, foundations and philanthropic

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institutions, underwriters, and individuals contributions. Funding is perhaps the biggest

hurdle in the survival of the radio network. Over the years, Radio Bilingüe has struggled

to grow in the ever-changing economic environment of the United States, and there are

real challenges to seeking out funders who are interested in giving money to support the

programming and interests of its audience.

Radio Bilingüe's longevity is a testament to the need for having community-

driven media institutions that can serve the needs of marginalized communities in the

United States. They serve as an exceptional vehicle through which to explore the way

local populations engage in processes of civic participation. In this case, the radio has

served as an informational resource, as well as a site for sharing information among

community members, where participation plays an important role in building community

ties. It has also enabled the community, who often is excluded from public discourse, a

space through which they can participate in processes of information exchange and

knowledge building in ways that reflect the culture of their community.

RQ2: Who are media practitioners and what does their work involve?

In Chapter V, I address the media practitioners. I draw from the literature within

development communication, which discusses the role of communicators in projects of

media development in the Global South, to understand how the profession of media

practitioners as they work in the context of the Global North and with populations who

are both transnational and diasporic.

I've argued that media practitioners are individuals who are involved in processes

of developing media content aimed at fulfilling the news, information, social and cultural

needs of the community. They have a sensibility for working with the community because they are part of it. In other words, like much of their listening audience, they too are immigrants to the United States and share the experience of being an immigrant. They are also stakeholders in the development of the radio and have a vested interest in representing their community in socially and culturally relevant ways. Media practitioners also posses the technological know-how that allows them to be effective communicators and create avenues through with their engage the community in the process of developing media content.

I have also discussed that since media practitioners operate in the context of the Global North, there is a need to reconsider what 'development' means. I argued that development is no longer a process reserved for the Global South, but that it is found in highly developed nations as well. It is in fact a part of processes of globalization that have made it easier to reconsider how we think of the Global North and Global South. To this idea, Hemer and Tufte (2005) remind us all that societies are developing as part of a global processes, and that the dichotomy of the 'First' and 'Third' worlds are outdates in the geopolitical sense. In addition, culture and cultural practices no longer belong solely to a particular geography, but they are practice, retained, and reshape across the world by members of communities living in diaspora.

There are a couple of other aspects I discuss about the profession of media practitioners. First, I point to the significant role media practitioners have in the empowerment of their communities; and second, I discuss various participatory practices of communication media practitioners carry out to engage the community in the process of empowerment and change. This study is by no means a comprehensive analysis of the

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profession of media practitioners, however, it does provide a basis from which to further

discuss the valuable role of media practitioners in the process of community engagement

and civic participation in the United States, considering that most Latinos are usually

excluded from these processes in mainstream media and broader society. Equally

important, are the implementation of participatory approaches, which have proved to be

useful in giving members of the community a way of breaking with stereotypical

portrayals of Latinos and ownership over the content of radio programs. In other words,

participatory approaches have been invaluable to the production of media content

because it gives the community a sense of agency and ownership over their identity and

the representation of it.

RQ3: In what ways does the radio, as a mediator of diasporic and transnational

experience, give power to the community? And what sorts of dialogues, stories,

experiences, reflections, voices, inform how identity and community are constructed

through over the media space?

This study has demonstrated that Radio Bilingüe plays a significant role in

shaping and representing the identity of a Latino community who live in diaspora and

whose experiences take place over local, national, and transnational borders. I have

maintained that place is not a hindrance in building cross-border relationships among

communities, and that the radio is the link that keeps communities connected across

place. In other words, the radio has helped poor and marginalized communities bridge the

local-global divide.

I have also argued that since the radio is a way through which the community crosses imaginary borders that connect them to different people or places, it is also the space through which identity of the community is shaped and negotiated. To the Radio Bilingüe community, which is mainly a community of Latino immigrants who have been marginalized due to race, class, and ethnic differences, much of what defines their identity is the experience of living as immigrants. They are a community that holds strong attachments to Latin American culture, primarily from Mexico, who engage in a number of social and cultural practices as a way of asserting the identity of their community. And one of the stronger markers that define their identity, as well as make visible the changes they have experienced as immigrants to the United States, is language.

This work has also found that radio continues to play a significant role in the lives of Latino communities, despite much of the advancements of our technologically driven, globalized world. Although many consider radio an ancient technology, that is, in comparison to computers or smart phones, it continues to have great value for local and transnational communities because it gives them the power to represent and define their community from their own perspective, as well as challenge stereotypical representation of their community that are circulated in mainstream media. What's more, through the radio, we can get a sense of how the experiences of immigrant communities help us understand what it means to be Latino in the United States.

<u>Limitations</u>

The limitations to this study are a direct result of its focus and methodological scope. For example, this study could have been further supported with an audience research (outside of media practitioners) that could reveal the effectiveness and use of Radio Bilingüe's programming on its listening community. A focus group interview could have also been helpful in gauging the different levels of community participation in the production of various programs. I was also limited by having to exemplify many of my arguments by drawing from some of the radio programs and not all of them. Although I do not feel this has weakened the arguments I make in this study, it would be useful to have full assessments of the design and execution of each program carried out at the radio station. There is also the matter of archival research. Although the original intention was for me to carry out all of research of relevant materials for this study, the task would have been impossible within the timeline of this study. As it stands today, the Radio Bilingüe archive requires a high level of processing and inventory in order to sort out its entire contents. This alone requires the proper time and staffing I did not have.

These 'limitations' more clearly draw the lines of my own work, and in fact, help point to the many areas of potential research that can be carried out in the future. I feel that my humble contribution to understanding Radio Bilingüe, is but a stepping stone from which to depart.

<u>Future Research</u>

Since there is very limited research on Radio Bilingüe, there are a many areas for future research that can be carried out. For example, it would be useful to have the history

of Radio Bilingüe told from a political economic perspective to understand the role of U.S. policies and donor participation in the development of the radio. This may shed light on issues of media development in the United States and perhaps other Western countries. Further research on Radio Bilingüe's listening audience would be another area to consider; particularly to understand the ways younger generations of U.S.-born Latinos use the radio, and what the impact of Latino youth might be on the future of the organization.

I also believe there continues to be much more work needed in the areas that I have began to discuss in this dissertation. There continues to be a great need for discussing changes within development communication in relationship to the dynamics of globalization. This includes more research on the profession of media practitioners, especially as we consider their profession within Western contexts and with communities living in diaspora. Connected to this, is the need for further research on participatory practices of communication and how they take place across local, national, and transnational places and spaces.

This dissertation also opens up questions regarding our current definition of Latinos in scholarly writing. Within communication and media studies, there continues to be a great deal of work to be done in how we define Latinos or Latinidad. Frequently, Latinos are treated in the broadest sense of the word, and consideration towards the diversity among Latinos and what those differences might imply in multicultural societies requires further attention. Issues of class, race, ethnicity, and gender need to enter the discussion. Finally, this study by no means provided an exhaustive examination to thinking about identity in relationship to globalization and development. Rather, it has

provided a number of accounts to help us move toward thinking about the types of

methodologies and research strategies that can help us capture and describe the multiple

dynamics that take place when thinking about identity.

You are invited to participate in a research project on Radio Bilingüe. This project is conducted by Sonia De La Cruz, doctoral candidate in the School of Journalism and Communication at the University of Oregon.

This research will document a few important things: 1. The history of Radio Bilingüe, 2. The stories of the men and women who work or volunteer in making the radio programs possible, and 3. The ways Latino culture is produced through the radio. Through a combination of archival research, interviews, observation and analysis of current and historical events relevant to Radio Bilingüe, I will develop a scholarly documents, publications, a film, and a website to make the stories and contributions of those who participate in Radio Bilingüe available to the public.

You were selected as a possible participant for this research because you are a Latino man or woman who works or volunteers at Radio Bilingüe. Participants will be interviewed regarding the work they perform at the radio stations, their histories as immigrants, the ways they practice or celebrate their cultural heritage, their roles in cultural, political, or educational activities relevant to the work at Radio Bilingüe, and any personal experiences they may wan to share that are related to the ways they experience culture. The interviews will be conducted by Sonia De La Cruz.

a. Method of Data Collections

Interviews will take place at a site and time convenient to the interviewee. They will take an average of one to two hours. If you are agreeable to a follow-up interview, that may be also be scheduled at your convenience. IF you wish, as a participant you can be given a pseudonym to protect your anonymity. You can indicate this by signing at the bottom of the form in the specified place. Participants may, at any time, terminate the interview or protect confidential information by requesting that: 1. It be off the record, or 2. That the tape recorder be turned off (if one is being used with our consent) at any point during the interview.

b. Purpose of Project

The data collected in the course of this research will be used to produce professional publications (dissertation, articles, book chapters, reports, a book), a website, a film, and other educational materials (displayes, presentations, pamphlets). The stories and experiences of Latino immigrants are important elements of the social, cultural, economic, and political history of the United States. Your participation in this project is truly appreciated.

c. Confidentiality

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. Participant identities will be kept confidential by the use of pseudonyms (if desired).

d. Voluntary Participation

Your participation is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your relationship with the researcher, nor with any organizations, groups, or institutions profiled in this project. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time without penalty.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact Sonia De La Cruz, doctoral candidate, School of Journalism and Communication, University of Oregon. Email: delacruz@uoregon.edu. Phone number: 510-552-1770. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Human Subjects Compliance, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR, 97403 at 541-346-2510. You have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Signature:

Print Name:

Date:

SPANISH LANGUAGE CONSENT FORM

Documento de Permiso para el trabajo de investigación

Usted esta invitado(a) a participar en la investigación sobre Radio Bilingüe. Este proyecto es conducido por Sonia De La Cruz, candidata a doctorado de la escuela de periodismo y comunicación en la Universidad de Oregon.

Esta investigación documentará algunas cosas importantes: 1. La historia de Radio Bilingüe, 2. Las historias de los hombres y mujeres que trabajan ó que son voluntarios en la radio, y 3. Las maneras en que la cultura Latina es producida a través de la radio. Por medio de una combinación de investigación de archivos, entrevistas, observación, y análisis de eventos actuales e históricos, relevantes a Radio Bilingüe, desarrollaré un documento académico, publicaciones, una película estilo documental y una página web de para hacer las historias y las contribuciones de los Latinos que participan en Radio Bilingüe, disponible a el público.

Usted a sido seleccionado(a) como posible participante para esta investigación porque es un hombre o mujer que trabaja ó es voluntario con Radio Bilingüe. Los participantes serán entrevistados sobre el trabajo que realizan en la estación de radio, sobre sus historias como inmigrantes, sobre las formas que practican ó celebran su herencia cultural, sobre el tipo de actividades culturales, políticas ó educativas en las que estan involucrados ó desempeñan en Radio Bilingüe, y sobre experiencias personales que quisieran compartir que están relacionados con las formas que se expresa cultura. Las entrevistas serán conducidas por Sonia De La Cruz.

a. Colección de datos

Las entrevistas se llevarán a cabo en un lugar y durante una hora conveniente para el participante. Las entrevistas tomarán aproximadamente una a dos horas. Si usted acepta, es possible hacer una segunda entrevista a su conveniencia. Si lo desea, como participante usted puede usar un seudónimo para proteger su identidad. Si desea el seudónimo, favor de indicarlo con su firma en la parte inferior de éste formulario. Los participantes tienen el derecho, en cualquier momento, de poner fin a la entrevista y peidr que su informacion sea protegida en forma confidencial solicitando que: 1. La información no sea grabada, ó 2. Que la grabadora de voz o cámara de video sean apagados.

b. Propósito del proyecto

Los datos recopilados en el curso de esta investigación se utilizarán para producir publicaciones profesionales (tesis, artículos, capítulos de libros, informes, un posible libro), una página web, una película estilo documental y otros materiales educativos (como presentaciones ó folletos). Las historias y experiencias de los inmigrantes Latinos

son momentos importantes de la historia social, cultural, económica y política de los Estados Unidos. Realmente se le agradece su participación en este proyecto.

c. Derecho a privacidad

Cualquier información que se obtiene en relación con este estudio y que puede ser identificado con usted (el participante) se mantendrá de manera confidencial y sólo será publicada con su permiso. La identidad del participante puede hacerse privada con el uso de seudónimos (si así lo desea).

d. Participación voluntaria

Su participación en esta investación es voluntaria. Su decisión de participar ó no participar, no afectará su relación con el investigador, ni con organizaciones, grupos ó instituciones que puedan perfilar este proyecto. Si decide participar, usted es libre de retirar su permiso y suspender su participación en cualquier momento sin que sea penalizado.

Si tiene alguna pregunta, no dude en contactar a Sonia De La Cruz, candidata de doctorado en la escuela de periodismo y comunicación, Universidad de Oregon. Correo electrónico: delacruz@uoregon.edu - número de teléfono: 510-552-1770. Si tiene preguntas sobre sus derechos como participante de esta investigación, póngase en contacto con el departamento de Sujetos Humano de la Universidad de Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403, (541) 346-2510. Nota: Se le dará una copia de este documento.

Su firma indica que:

• Ha leído y entiende la información proporcionada en este documento.

• Voluntariamente acepta participar.

• Usted puede retirar su permiso en cualquier momento y dejar de participar sin ser penalizado.

• Ha recibido una copia de este formulario.

Nombre Completo: _____

Firma: _____ Fecha: _____

Por favor marque con una "X" si esta deacuerdo con lo siguiente:

_____ Si desea sea que se le asigne un seudónimo a toda la información relacionada con usted.

_____ DOY PERMISO para que se grabe el audio de la entrevista.

_____ DOY PERMISO para esta entrevista sea filmada. Iniciales: _____

Radio Bilingüe, Inc.

National Latino Public Radio Network
Listen Live! On the Web: http://www.radiobilingue.org

February 22, 2012

National Office
405 14ᵗʰ St., #414
Oakland, CA 94612
(510) 271-8880
(510) 271-8085 (fax)

Network Office
KSJV 91.5 FM,
KMPO 88.7 FM,
KTQX 90.1 FM
KVUH 88.5 FM
5005 E. Belmont Avenue
Fresno, CA 93727
(559) 455-5777 (ph)
(559) 455-5750 (admin. fax)
(559) 455-5778 (news fax)

Salinas Office
KHDC 90.9 FM
161 Main Street, Suite #4
Salinas, CA 93901
(831) 757-8039 (ph)
(831) 757-9854 (fax)

El Centro Office
KUBO 88.7 FM
531 Main St., Ste. #2
El Centro, CA 92243
(760) 337-8051 (ph)
(760) 337-8519 (fax)

Program Services

Linea Abierta

Noticiero Latino

La Placita Bilingüe

La Hora Mixteca

Partners

WRTU
San Juan, Puerto Rico

Radio Educación
Mexico City, MX

CSU
San Marcos, CA

School of Journalism & Communication
University of Oregon

Re: Sonia De La Cruz
Doctoral Candidate & GTF

To Whom It May Concern:

I understand that Ms. De La Cruz is proposing to conduct a research project on "Cultural Networks: Radio as a Site of Identity Construction in Transnational Lives" which she plans to investigate from April, 2012 through November, 2012.

As Executive Director of Radio Bilingüe, a network of community radio stations in California with affiliates throughout the United States, I grant Ms. De La Cruz permission to observe and record the activities involved in producing radio programs at Radio Bilingüe, Inc., to conduct interviews which may be audio and video recorded, and have access to archives and documents we may feel are pertinent to the development of the research.

Please let me know if you have questions or concerns. You may contact me at (559) 455-5757 or email me at hugom@pacbell.net.

Sincerely,

Hugo Morales
Executive Director

APPENDIX D

RADIO BILINGÜE STATIONS & AFFILIATES (NATIONAL)

RADIO BILINGÜE STATIONS & AFFILIATES
06.27.13

RADIO BILINGÜE OWNED and OPERATED STATIONS

State	City	Station	Noticiero Latino	Línea Abierta	Edición Semanaria	La Hora Mixteca
ARIZONA	Pirtleville-Douglas	KREE 88.1 FM	*	*	*	*
CALIFORNIA	Bakersfield - Lamont	KTQX 90.1 FM	*	*	*	*
	Calexico-El Centro	KUBO 88.7 FM	*	*	*	*
	Fresno	KSJV 91.5 FM	*	*	*	*
	Laytonville-Fort Bragg	KVUH 88.5 FM	*	*	*	*
	Modesto-Stockton	KMPO 88.7 FM	*	*	*	*
	Paso Robles	K233AV 94.5 FM	*	*	*	*
	Paso Robles	K246BO 97.1 FM	*	*	*	*
	Chualar-Salinas	KHDC 90.9 FM	*	*	*	*
COLORADO	Alamosa	KHUI 89.1 FM	*	*	*	*
NEW MEXICO	Chama	KYOL 91.7 FM	*	*	*	*
	Hurley	KQTO 88.1 FM	*	*	*	*
	Raton	KVMG 88.9 FM	*	*	*	*

UNITED STATES AFFILIATES & REACH

State	City	Station	Noticiero Latino	Línea Abierta	Edición Semanaria	La Hora Mixteca (LHM) & Other Notes
ALABAMA	Athens	WKAC 1080 AM	*			
	Russellville	WGOL 920 AM				
ALASKA	Anchorage	KSKA 91.1 FM			*	
ARIZONA	Douglas	KDAP 1450 AM	*			
	Phoenix	KBAQ-HD2 89.5-2FM	*	*	*	RB major blocks; LHM
ARKANSAS	Little Rock	KABF 88.3 FM				
CALIFORNIA	Blythe	KERU 88.5 FM	*	*	*	RB 20 Hours/day
	Cedarville	KVYA 88.9 FM	*	*	*	
	Los Angeles	Radio Oportunidad Online	*	*		
	Pasadena	KPCC-HD2 89.3-2FM	*	*		
	Sacramento	KATD 990 AM		*	*	
	San Diego		*	*		Via XHITT Tijuana, BC
	San Francisco	KIQI 1010 AM		*	*	
	Santa Maria	KSBQ 1480 AM				LHM
	Santa Rosa	KBBF 89.1 FM	*	*		LHM
COLORADO	Alamosa	KRZA 88.7 FM	*	*		
	Cohone	KSJD 90.9 FM	*	*		
	Cortez	KSJD 91.5 FM	*	*		
	Crawford	KVNF 98.3 FM	*	*		
	Del Norte	KRZA 100.9 FM	*	*		
	Dolores	KSJD 91.5 FM	*	*		
	Dove Creek	KSJD 90.5 FM	*	*		
	Grand Valley	KVNF 99.1 FM	*	*		
	Lake City	KVNF 88.7 FM	*	*		
	Mancos	KSJD 91.1 FM	*	*		
	Mancos	K281AC 104.1 FM	*	*		
	Montrose	KVNF 89.1 FM	*	*		
	Ouray	KVNF 90.1 FM	*	*		
	Paonia	KVNF 90.9 FM	*	*		
	Plesant View	KSJD 90.9 FM	*	*		
	Rico	KSJD 89.5 FM	*	*		
	Ridgway	KVNF 88.9 FM	*	*		
	Saguache	KRZA 98.7 FM	*	*		
	South Fork	KRZA 100.9 FM	*	*		
	Towaoc	KSJD 91.5 FM	*	*		

State	City	Station	Noticiero Latino	Línea Abierta	Edición Semanaria	La Hora Mixteca (LHM) & Other Notes
		UNITED STATES *AFFILIATES & REACH (continued...)*				
CONNECTICUT	Willimantic	WECS 90.1 FM	*	*	*	LHM
FLORIDA	Gainesville	Radio KUVA Online	*	*		
	Immokalee	WCIW-LP 107.9 FM	*	*	*	
	Miami	NWXAM 1000 AM	*	*	*	
	Panama City	WKGC 90.7 FM			*	
IDAHO	Boise	KBSX-HD3 91.5-3FM	*	*		
	Twin Falls	KEZJ 1450 AM	*	*		RB 24 hrs/day
ILLINOIS	Chicago	WMBI 90.1 FM	*		*	
	Urbana	WRFU-LP 104.5 FM	*	*		
INDIANA	Bloomington	WFHB 91.3 FM			*	
	Bloomington	WFHB 98.1 FM			*	
	Ellesttsville	WFHB 106.3 FM			*	
	Goshen	W293AZ 106.5 FM	*			
	Nashville	WFHB 100.7 FM			*	
	South Bend	WSBL-LP 93.5 FM	*			
	Vincennes	WVUB-HD3 91.1-3FM	*			RB 24 hrs/day
IOWA	Bettendorf	K288CY 105.5 FM	*	*		RB 24 hrs/day
	Davenport	KALA-HD2 106.1-2FM	*	*	*	RB major blocks
	Okoboji	KOJI 90.7 FM	*	*	*	Overnight programming
	Sioux City	KWIT-HD3 90.3-3FM	*	*	*	RB 24 hrs/day; LHM
	Sioux City	KWIT 90.3 FM	*	*	*	Overnight programming
KANSAS	Pittsburg	KRPS-DOS HD2 89.9-2FM	*	*		RB major blocks; LHM
MAINE	Bangor	W260CD 99.9 FM	*			
	Blue Hill	WERU 89.9 FM	*			
	Gorham	WMPG 90.9 FM			*	
	Portland	W281AC 104.1 FM			*	
MASSACHUSETTS	Boston	WUNR 1600 AM	*			
MISSOURI	Kansas City	KKFI 90.1 FM	*			
NEW MEXICO	Albuquerque	KUNM 89.9 FM			*	
	Arroyo Seco	KRRT 90.9 FM			*	
	Cuba	K216CU 91.1 FM			*	
	Eagle Nest	K213ET 90.5 FM			*	
	Español	KRAR 91.9 FM			*	
	Las Vegas	KRRE 91.9 FM			*	
	Nageezi	K220EM 91.9 FM			*	
	Silver City	KURU 89.1 FM			*	
	Socorro	KBOM 88.7 FM			*	
NEW YORK	E. Syracuse	WVOA 103.9 FM	*	*	*	
	Geneva	WHWS-LP 105.7 FM	*	*	*	
NORTH CAROLINA	Asheville	MAIN 103.7 FM-LP	*	*	*	
	Carrboro	WCOM-LP 103.5 FM	*	*		
	Greenville	WOOW 1340 AM			*	
OREGON	Astoria	KMUN 91.9 FM	*			
	Tillamook	KTCB 89.5 FM	*			
	Woodburn	KPCN-LP 95.9 FM	*	*		LHM
PENNSYLVANIA	Lancaster	WLCH 91.3 FM	*	*		
	Mount Cobb	WFTE 90.3 FM		*		
	Scranton	W289AU 105.7 FM		*		
	York	W262AQ 100.3 FM		*		
TEXAS	Merkel	KMXO 1500 AM	*	*		
	Midland	Radio Hispana 88.3 FM	*	*	*	
UTAH	Saint George	KOEZ-LP 105.1 FM	*	*	*	
WASHINGTON	Granger	KDNA 91.9 FM	*	*		
	Hamilton	KSVU 90.1 FM	*	*		
	Mount Vernon	KSVR 91.7 FM	*	*		LHM
WISCONSIN	Oshkosh	WRST 90.3 FM	*			
WYOMING	Laramie	KOCA-LP 93.5 FM	*	*	*	RB major blocks; LHM

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INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATES						
Country	City, State	Station	Noticiero Latino	Línea Abierta	Edición Semanaria	La Hora Mixteca (LHM) & Other Notes
CANADA	Vancouver, B.C.	Radio Voces de Mi Tierra Online	*			
	Vancouver, B.C.	CJSF 90.1 FM	*		*	
MEXICO	Ameca, Jalisco	XHUGA 105.5 FM	*	*		
	Cd. Acuña, COAH	XERF 1570 AM	*	*		
	Cd. Acuña, COAH	XERF-HD1 103.9-1FM	*	*		
	Cd. Acuña, COAH	XHRF 103.9 FM	*	*		
	Jamiltepec, Oaxaca	XEJAM 1260 AM				LHM
	Ocotlán, Jalisco	XHUGO 107.9 FM	*	*		
	Tijuana, B.C.	XHITT 88.7 FM	*	*		Reaches San Diego, CA
	San Quintin, B.C	XEQIN 1160 AM				LHM
	Tlapa, Guerrero	XEZV 800 AM				LHM
	Tlaxiaco, Oaxaca	XETLA 930 AM				LHM

SAMPLE LIST OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Where were you born? If born in Mexico, can you tell me what it was like growing up in your hometown?

2. In what year did you come to the U.S. for the first time? Are you first, second, third generation Latino?

3. What was the reason that you and your family came to the U.S.? How did you settle in Fresno, California?

4. What language(s) is/are spoken in your home? Do people continue to speak another language (indigenous language)) in your home community?

5. Are there important customs that you follow here that originate in your home community? What are these customs? Why are they important? Are there particular institutions or groups you have joined here that allow you to continue these customs and share them with others?

6. Do you speak another language besides Spanish? Does speaking that language affect how you identify yourself in your home country? In the U.S? In what way?

7. Do you use the terms Latino? Mexicano? Hispanic? Chicano? Do you use these terms to describe yourself? Others? Why or why not?

8. How did you get involved with Radio Bilingüe? How long have you worked and/or volunteered at the radio station?

9. What does your work involve? How do you produce your radio program? Who is involved in the decision making of the program?

10. Do you interact with the audience who listens to your radio program? How?

11. Do you think working with the radio contributes to connecting with Latino culture?

APPENDIX F

VOLUNTEER PROGRAMMER'S HANDBOOK

Radio Bilingüe, Inc.
Volunteer Programmer's Handbook
(Updated- January 2011)

Mission Statement

Radio Bilingüe serves as a voice to empower Latino and other underserved communities.

RADIO BILINGÜE

Radio Bilingüe, Inc. is a non-profit organization, incorporated in 1976. The organization operates and maintains six community bilingual radio stations in California.

- KSJV FM 91.5 in Fresno
- KMPO FM 88.7 in Modesto-Stockton
- KTQX FM 90.1 in Bakersfield-Lamont
- KHDC FM 90.9 in Chualar-Salinas
- KUBO FM 88.7 in El Centro-Calexico
- KVUH FM 88.5 in Laytonville-Fort Bragg

Radio Bilingüe also operates a 24/7 satellite service, Satélite Radio Bilingüe, which serves around 90 affiliate stations in the United States, México and Puerto Rico. Our satellite feed, originating in Fresno's KSJV, is part of the Public Radio Satellite System (PRSS) and it can also be heard live over the internet on our website at www.radiobilingue.org.

The six stations are operated through the non-profit organization of Radio Bilingüe Inc., which is overseen by a Board of Directors nominated and elected by the Board during the month of October, the start of the organization's fiscal year. Community and volunteer input is requested and encouraged in the nomination of candidates to sit on the Board.

Radio Bilingue's flagship station, KSJV, has a 16,000 watts transmitter and it broadcasts 24 hours a day with a signal covering the San Joaquín Valley, from Bakersfield to the south to Stockton in the north.

KSJV was the first bilingual community radio in a major market area. Community radio is commercial free and listener supported. Thus programming is determined more by listener needs than advertiser dollars. This difference between commercial and public radio allows Radio Bilingue to offer its listeners a wide variety of musical, cultural, informational and educational programs.

Community radio provides access to the media to groups of people who have heretofore had limited access, - minorities, women, low-income and farm workers. Radio Bilingüe's stations broadcast programs in Spanish, English, Mixtec, Triqui, Hawaiian and Hmong languages. While the true definition of bilingual would mean providing all programming and announcing in both languages, the language used depends on the program being broadcast as well as the skills of the volunteer.

Both paid employees and volunteers staff Radio Bilingüe's daily operation. Staff assumes primary responsibility for administration as well as news and information programming. Volunteer programmers, who are an integral and invaluable resource to RB stations, perform musical programming duties.

FUNDING FOR RADIO BILINGUE

Radio Bilingüe received its first funding in 1979 from the Campaign for Human Development to build and operate the station for the first year. The organization qualified for Corporation for Public Broadcasting funding in 1980, thus it was able to receive federal monies. Additional financial support is received from a number of foundations including The California Endowment, the Irvine Foundation and the Margaret Casey Foundation, as well as from government institutions like the National Endowment for the Arts, the California Arts Council and the U.S. Department of Commerce.

Underwriting allows businesses, organizations or individuals to make a monetary contribution in support of the station. The announcements give the name and address of the entity, the location and may include a slogan provided it does not directly invite or encourage the listener to patronize the business.

Radio Bilingüe sponsors one major event in the San Joaquín Valley, the Viva el Mariachi! Festival and Music Workshops. This festival serves to promote the stations and its activities, to raise money for the stations as well as providing wonderful cultural entertainment for the Valley Community.

OUR COMMITMENT TO YOU

1. Provide a Volunteer Resource Coordinator to assist you.

2. Provide initial orientation and training sessions as well as follow-up training.

3. Provide volunteers with assignments that have been planned to promote their learning and growth

4. Staff is always available to be helpful to volunteers

5. Periodic volunteer meetings are planned to provide updates for the volunteers

6. One of the production studios may be used by volunteer programmers who have signed up for a scheduled time.

7. We will always try to notify a programmer of any preemption of programs during his/her musical program. Every effort will be made to provide at least one week's notice of special programming.

8. Keep in contact with the volunteers through phone contact, letters, e-mail and posted messages in the studio.

9. Provide notice of job openings at Radio Bilingüe stations.

OUR EXPECTATIONS OF YOU

1. Complete the training sessions and the performance evaluation to the satisfaction of the Volunteer Coordinator.

2. Attend volunteer meetings to further your skills and knowledge about RB operations and public radio issues, as well as to share experiences with other volunteers.

3. Agree to commit to at least one year of on-air programming for Radio Bilingüe after your initial training.

4. Volunteers may not work for a commercial radio station while performing on-air duties at Radio Bilingüe.

5. Assist with special programming, such as marathons and festivals.

6. Represent the voice of Radio Bilingüe while on air.

7. Treat all studio equipment and furniture with respect, as if it belongs to you.

8. Air shifts are assigned for fixed periods. If you cannot make your shift - first, try to find a replacement, then notify your Coordinator. Replacements should be secured at least 36 hours before airtime.

VOLUNTEER CONDUCT

1. Violations of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) regulations, including use of obscene or inappropriate language, personal attacks, slander, and invasion of privacy by any paid staff or volunteers will not be tolerated.

2. All Volunteers of Radio Bilingüe are to adhere to the station's policies regarding sexual harassment and alcohol/drug use. Sexist, racist or prejudicial behavior is not acceptable anywhere in the station or at station fundraising events. This kind of behavior is cause for immediate dismissal.

3. No smoking, eating or drinking in the studios.

4. Programmers must not use the airwaves for personal use or personal gain, nor to make personal editorial comment during musical formats.
Payola (receiving money or favors in exchange for playing certain music), and *plugola* (announcing an event in which the programmer has an undisclosed personal interest) are prohibited by law.

5. Use of the phone is for station business only. Do not make personal phone calls during airtime.

6. Volunteers may not remove any CDs, DVD, flash cards, headphones or any equipment or materials belonging to the station without written permission from Operations staff.

7. A volunteer should not discuss station policy, decisions or other internal matters while on the air or at public functions. The internal workings of the radio station are not meant for public discussion. Please respect this professional code of ethics.

8. Any materials (CDs), gifts or donations acquired using Radio Bilingüe's accreditation are the property of Radio Bilingue, Inc. Volunteer who receive promotional CD's or music in other format at an address other than Radio Bilingüe will be suspended.

9. Per the FCC, Radio Bilingue programmers cannot raise funds for any other entity.

10. Programmers should get prior approval from Director of Broadcasting to bring guests to the studios and/or to conduct interviews on air.

11. Programmers should get prior approval from Director of Broadcasting to include events in the Community Calendar. Ad Lib community calendar announcements should not include a call to action, information on ticket prices, or the address of venues that sell liquor.

SUBSTANCE ABUSE POLICY & STATEMENT
(ALCOHOL, CHEMICALS, DRUGS)

1. Possession of, use of, being under the influence of, unlawful manufacture of, distribution of, dispensing of, and/or sale of illegal drugs, chemicals, legal drugs, illegally obtained and/or abuse of legal drugs is PROHIBITED.

2. Possession of, use of, being under the influence of, and/or sale of alcohol on the station's premises is PROHIBITED.

3. Violations of the above specified prohibitions would result in immediate and permanent suspension of a volunteer.

POLICY AGAINST HARASSMENT

Radio Bilingüe is committed to providing a work environment that is free of discrimination. In keeping with this commitment, Radio Bilingüe maintains a strict policy prohibiting harassment, including sexual harassment. This policy prohibits harassment in any form, including verbal, physical and visual harassment.

Sexual harassment is defined generally as unwelcome sexual advances either verbal or physical, whenever the conduct has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with the volunteer's work performance or making the job environment hostile, intimidating or offensive.

Sexual harassment is not limited to express demands for sexual favors. Other examples may include provocative or suggestive "kidding," teasing" or "jokes", offensive sexual flirtations, comments, advances, or propositions, continuous or repeated verbal abuse of a sexual nature; physical contact such as patting, pinching or brushing against another's body.

If a volunteer believes that he or she is the victim of any type of harassment, including sexual harassment, that volunteer should report the incident at once to an immediate supervisor. If the supervisor is involved in the reported misconduct, or if for some reason the volunteer feels uncomfortable about making a report to that level the report should be made to the Executive Director.

Radio Bilingüe will investigate any report made known through any means and will take whatever corrective action is deemed necessary, including disciplining or discharging any individual who is believed to have violated this prohibition against harassment. Radio Bilingüe does not tolerate harassment on the basis of any individual's sex, race, religion, national origin, disability, political affiliation, marital status, or sexual preference. Radio Bilingüe will take appropriate disciplinary action whenever such harassment is demonstrated. Any employee engaged in such conduct contrary to the station's policy

may also find themselves facing personal liability in any legal action brought against them.

GENERAL OPERATIONS

1. Maintain accurate operating logs and Emergency Alert System (EAS) logs. This is a Federal Communications Commission (FCC) requirement. Logs must be signed and filled out correctly and completely.

2. Perform continuous monitoring of meters, ETS signals, and off-air alarms. Check the log, transmitter readings and promptly report any mal-function to your volunteer coordinator or to our Chief Engineer.

3. Report all equipment malfunctions in the program log.

4. Programmers should answer right away the emergency phone (hotline). This line should not be used for personal conversations, nor should it be kept busy for more than a couple of minutes.

5. The studio should always be left clean and orderly (trash picked up, console clear, forms filled, and audios in place).

6. No food or drinks are allowed in the studios.

7. Follow all security procedures at all times. This is for your own protection.

8. Any materials produced by on-air volunteer programmers using Radio Bilingüe equipment automatically become the property of Radio Bilingüe, Inc. At minimum, Radio Bilingüe is provided with a copy of the production.

GOOD PROGRAMMING

1. Respect your fellow programmers and arrive on time. A good programmer arrives at the station before his/her air shift. This allows time to pull music, look over the traffic logs and just be ready.

2. Personal CD's, memory sticks, flash cards, laptops or other media to store and play music may be brought in and used as approved by the Volunteer Coordinator and/or Director of Broadcasting. We all work to maintain quality programming at all times.

3. A natural conversational, positive, pleasant voice style is encouraged. No "hyper" talk, no shouting to the listener, no" selling" or "advertising" style. Respect the musician and the listener, do not talk over programmed music.

4. Please back announce at least once every 15 minutes or every 2-3 songs. Keep your remarks brief and to the point. You will drive listeners away after 2 minutes of talking during a musical program.

5. Events. Promote the artist or artist's work, not the sponsor or the for-profit host. Promotions should have cultural/artistic merit and be related to program format.

Guide of Quality Control for Programs
Produced by Radio Bilingüe

MUSICAL FORMAT

- Established musical format should always be followed.
- Quality music that is not found, or is hard to find in commercial stations, should be selected for the air.
- Programmer should not talk over the music, nor after the legal ID or after pre-recorded messages.
- Programmer should always back announce (provide the title of the selection and the name of the artist).
- Programmer should not play the same song by the same artist repeatedly during the same program.
- Programmer should not play the same musical repertoire or same songs on consecutive programs.

PROGRAMMING

- Punctuality on the second is a must for opening and closing of the programs.
- Punctuality on the second is a must for playing of pre-recorded programs.
- Punctuality on the second is a must for playing station legal I.D.s. Legal ID runs at :59.
- Punctuality is a must for playing of announcements or short format productions.
- Stylized I.D's should always be played during the designated times: 14 to 16 min., 29 to 31 min., 44 to 46 min on the hour.
- Promotion of a commercial event or business is not permitted.
- Personal use of the airwaves is not allowed, including on air greetings to family members or friends.
- All interviews must be pre authorized before air time, by station manager or Director of Broadcasting.
- There should be no more than 3 seconds of dead air time at any time. A silence alarm will be triggered after 15 seconds of dead air. To turn off the silence alarm play audio or open the microphone and talk.
- Volume levels should always remain regular (max 0db, min 6db).
- Do not use defective audio material on the air.

- Attention to on-air operations is always the priority. Listener's calls should be answered only when it's possible without distracting the programmer.
- Every quarter, we are required by law to keep a playlist of all the songs played during a two week period. Staff will inform volunteers when it's playlist collection time. The information for the playlist needs to be entered in the designated computer, including name of song, artist, album, recording label, on air start time and total duration of each song.

Volunteer programmers who ignore station regulations and policies will be given verbal notice by the Volunteer Coordinator or Director of Broadcasting. On second violation, a written notice will be sent and the volunteer may be required to attend a re-training session. On a third violation he or she will be suspended. This suspension may be temporary or permanent.

Radio Bilingüe, Inc., has the right to evaluate and determine who can or cannot serve as a volunteer at its facilities.

RADIO BILINGUE
PHONE LIST

STAFF

KSJV Main Line	Weekdays- 8:00 am – 5:00 pm	(559) 455-5777
Hugo Morales	Executive Director	(559) 455-5757
María Eraña	Director of Broadcasting	(559) 455-5781 Cell- 977-0523
Bill Bach	Chief Engineer	(559) 455-5741 Cell- (559) 978-2305
Heriberto Meza	Traffic/Program Logs	Cell- (559)737-3054

KSJV Hotline   **(559) 455-5752**
 (Always answer this phone-*use it only for emergencies*)

KSJV Music Request line   (559) 264-9191

For talk shows-	1-800-200-5758
KHDC	
Station Manager: Delia Saldivar	(831) 757-8039
Request Lines	1-877-999-5432
	(831) 758-5432
KUBO	
Operations Assistant- Mario Espinoza	(760) 337-8051
KMPO - On- Air Studio	(831) 455-5765
KTQX On-Air Studio	(661) 845-1144

Website: www.radiobilingue.org, with live webcasting

For Facebook- search Radio Bilingue.

Radio Bilingüe, Inc.

VOLUNTEER ON-AIR PROGRAMMER CONTRACT

➢ I have been advised of Radio Bilingüe's policies as state in the Volunteer Handbook. I agree to abide by these while I am a volunteer here.

➢ As a programmer, I understand my responsibilities under FCC Regulations and I will adhere to these.

➢ I understand that while I am on the air I speak for Radio Bilingüe, and it is totally inappropriate to use the airwaves for personal use or personal gain

➢ As a member of a team, I will respect my fellow programmers by coming on time and making arrangements if I cannot come in.

➢ In exchange for the training that the Station is investing in me I will agree to volunteer my services for at least one year.

➢ As a Volunteer, I can expect the staff of Radio Bilingüe to assist and support me when I need it.

- ➢ I have been advised of the Station's strict policies on use of alcohol or drugs on the premises or at radio functions.

- ➢ I understand that if I fail to observe any of the regulations or policies included in the Volunteer's Handbook I can be suspended either temporarily or permanently.

This contract is made between Radio Bilingüe and

_____
Signature of Programmer   Date

_____
Director of Broadcasting   Date

FORMER PROGRAM SCHEDULE (1989)

RURAL EDITION

EL SOL DEL VALLE

MIERCOLES 22 de MARZO, 1989 $.25

radio bilingüe 91 FM

PROGRAM SCHEDULE

Durante la Semana/During the Week		Sabado/ Saturday	Domingo/ Sunday
6			
MAÑANITAS CAMPESINAS			
8			
		MUSICA NORTENA 9:00	
RITMOS DEL PUEBLO		ONDA CHICANA	AMANECER CON MARIACHI
12			
ENSALADA MUSICAL	NOTICIERO LATINO 1:30 La Voz Del Pueblo Th. 12		
2			
ARRIBA EL NORTE	NOTICIERO LATINO 3:00	NUEVO CANTO	MUSICA INTERNACIONAL
4			
	Tues. 4:00 Crossroads		
ACCENTO SABROSO	Thurs. 6:00 Nuestras Garantias Legales Tues. 6-7 Series on Education	FIESTA RANCHERA	MUSICA TRADICIONAL
7			
MUSICA POPULAR MEXICANA	NOTICIERO LATINO 7:00		
10		CARNAVAL	CARNAVAL
12			
1 **OLDIES BUT GOODIES**			
* Features			

APPENDIX H

CURRENT PROGRAM SCHEDULE (2014)

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	
12:00am	Ritmos del Pueblo	Oldies But Goodies					Ritmos del Pueblo	12:00am
1:00am								1:00am
2:00am								2:00am
3:00am		Línea Abierta (Repeat)						3:00am
4:00am		Ritmos del Pueblo — Classics of Mariachi & "Ranchera" Song						4:00am
5:00am							Amanecer Norteño — The best of traditional and contemporary accordion conjunto. Regional music from Northern Mexico & Texas	5:00am
6:00am	Cita con el Recuerdo	Mañanitas con Mariachi — Program showcasing traditional & contemporary tunes of mariachi groups						6:00am
7:00am								7:00am
8:00am								8:00am
9:00am	Música Folklórica	Ritmos del Pueblo — Traditional "ranchera" & Accordion ballads - Mexican & Latin American Folk Music					Onda Tejana — Contemporary Tex/Mex rhythms. Music which blends in "norteña," jazz and country.	9:00am
10:00am	La Hora Mixteca — A program relevant to migrant Mixtec workers and their families in Oaxaca		La Placita Bilingüe — Parenting Program	Comunidad Alerta				10:00am
11:00am								11:00am
12:00pm		Línea Abierta / Live call-in talk show on pressing issues — Friday - Voz Pública						12:00pm
1:00pm		News from the U.S., Mexico and the World						1:00pm
2:00pm								2:00pm
3:00pm	Música Internacional — World music South American Brazilian	Arriba el Norte — Program showcasing the best of traditional and contemporary accordion conjunto. Regional music from Northern Mexico and Texas						3:00pm
4:00pm		Son del Caribe	Acento Sabroso — Program showcasing salsa, merengue, son, cumbia and other Caribbean rhythms	Son del Caribe	Acento Sabroso — Program showcasing salsa, merengue, son, cumbia and other Caribbean rhythms	Rockin' Da House — Rock en Espanol and Youth Talk Show on Education and Prevention	Edición Semanaria and Latino USA	4:00pm
5:00pm	Hmong Program — Folk & contemporary music with live performances and public affairs talk	Son de Cuba		Son de Cuba			Nuevo Canto — Music from the U.S. & Latin America with lyrics about political protest and social aspirations.	5:00pm
6:00pm		Latinorama — Latin Jazz		Latinorama — Latin Jazz	Your Legal Rights			6:00pm
7:00pm		Rock en Español/Latin Alternative Music — Todo a Pulmón — Gritos de Silencio		Música Popular del Recuerdo — Mexican pop and romantic ballads	Música Romántica Popular — Boleros & other Romantic Mexican songs	El Mitote — Rock en Español		7:00pm
8:00pm	Carnaval — Latin Jazz, African music, and more						Carnaval — African Diaspora music, Latin Jazz, World music, Hip Hop and more	8:00pm
9:00pm								9:00pm
10:00pm		Línea Abierta (Repeat)				Electronic Trance-Mission — World electronica and progressive trance music		10:00pm
11:00pm		Oldies But Goodies						11:00pm
12:00am								12:00am

Noticiero Latino: M-Fri: 10 am, 11am, 12 pm, 1 pm, 2 pm, 3 pm
NL Edición Semanaria: Friday: 4 pm, Saturday: 7am, 9am & 4 pm. Sunday: 5 am & 10 am
Pulso de la tarde: M-Fri: 1:05 pm
Bonjour Africa: 3rd Sunday, 9 pm-12 am and 4th Sunday, 10 pm-12 am

☐ Informational Programs
☐ Musical Programs

Radio Bilingüe, Inc., 5005 E. Belmont Ave., Fresno CA 93727   www.radiobilingue.org

Program Schedule
Revised: June 2013

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APPENDIX I

LIST OF FUNDERS (AS OF 2014)

The following is a list of institutions that have publicly funded Radio Bilingüe's

operations. List retrieved from: http://radiobilingue.org/en/quienes-somos/patrocinadores/

- The California Emerging Technology Fund
- The California Endowment
- The California Wellness Foundation
- Cal/OSHA
- The Christensen Fund
- The Community Foundation of Monterey County
- La Cooperativa Campesina de California
- The Corporation for Public Broadcasting Community Service Grant Program
- The David and Lucille Packard Foundation
- The Evelyn and Walter Haas Jr. Fund
- First 5 California
- First 5 Santa Barbara
- The Ford Foundation
- Imperial County Behavioral Health Services
- The James Irvine Foundation
- The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation
- The Marguerite Casey Foundation
- The National Endowment for the Arts
- The Open Society Foundations
- PG&E
- The San Francisco Foundation
- Southern California Gas Company / GeM Communications
- Target Foundation
- The Wallace Alexander Gerbode Foundation
- WKF Giving Fund

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