The waves of the hills: community and radio in the everyday life of a Brazilian favela.

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THE WAVES OF THE HILLS: COMMUNITY AND RADIO IN THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF A BRAZILIAN FAVELA

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the everyday listening to community radio by residents of Pau da Lima, a working class neighbourhood with several favela areas, located in Salvador, Brazil. Drawing from ethnographic data, this project aims at exploring residents' listening experiences of community radio, focusing on how they use community radio programmes, assessing to what extent these programmes represent a public (social, political or familial) resource for its audiences.

In order to privilege depth over breadth, as it is the case with ethnographic work, the fieldwork was carried out in one community: Pau da Lima. The focus has been laid on the *community* rather than on the *radio stations*, and on the *audiences* rather than the *producers*. This was informed by the recognition that little attention has been devoted to the listening dimension of community radio. Thus, my research offers an important contribution to knowledge by bridging this research gap. In addition, this research brings in a methodological innovation to the study of community radio. Being able to capture the richness of everyday life, it aims at offering a nuanced analysis of the place of community radio in the favela.

The thesis explores the private and public dimensions of community radio listening, observing its use as a resource in the homes but also on the streets. In the context of the favelas, community radio programming is widely aired through street loudspeakers, making an interesting case study of radio's use in public spaces and challenging the well-accepted perspective of the medium as being essentially individual and domestic. The cacophony of the densely populated favela implies that one needs to attend closely to the conditions of reception and, specifically, how listening to radio in this context, needs to be understood as part of a continuous and complex spectrum of auditory culture.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Andrea Meyer Landulpho Medrado, hereby declare that all the material contained in this thesis is my own work.

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INTRODUCTION

For the people and *by* the people. Community radio claims to have a greater participatory nature, airing programmes that relate more closely to listeners' local realities and giving a voice to the voiceless. Brazilian Portuguese for slums or shantytowns, the favelas provide a unique setting for exploring the ways in which community radio programmes are received by audiences. The main question is: what is community radio's role in the day-to-day life of its listeners in the favelas?

This thesis aims at exploring the everyday uses of community radio in one selected favela – Pau da Lima, located in Salvador, Brazil. This study is of an ethnographic nature and focuses on the audiences rather than on the producers. By offering the residents' listening experiences, it aims at offering a relevant contribution to the field of radio and, especially, community radio studies, in which audiences have yet to receive more attention.

A brief clarification of my use of the term 'community radio' will be provided here. Firstly, there has been an extensive debate regarding the meaning of 'community' (Howley, 2005), a debate that can easily produce a doctoral thesis on its own. Similarly, several authors have employed other terms such as 'radical media' (Downing, 2001) and 'citizen's media' (Rodriguez, 2001), to cite only a couple of examples. As Lewis (2006) has noted, these different terms will depend on the various different historical and geographical contexts in which 'community radio' originates. Although I am aware of these debates as well as of the different schools of thought and traditions within the field of community media studies, arguing about semantics is not my objective here. Rather, having conducted a study that is based on ethnographic methods, my aim is to adopt the perspective of my informants as much as possible. Thus, the terms I am referring to in this thesis are the ones used by the residents of Pau da Lima themselves to describe the community radio stations that exist in their neighbourhood.

Basically, there are two types of 'community radio' in Pau da Lima. The first consists of loudspeakers attached to the lamp posts on the streets and, thus, it is referred to as 'lamp post radio' (*rádio de poste*). Although its programming is not broadcast via radio waves but, rather, by old fashioned loudspeakers, the residents of Pau da Lima tend to perceive the lamp post radio – Radio Pop Som – as their 'community radio station'. The second

type is FM community radio. There are two main stations in Pau da Lima, both unlicensed at the time of research – Planeta FM and Axé FM. Besides these two stations, there are also other unlicensed FM stations in neighbouring areas of Pau da Lima, such as Ouro FM, located in Vila Canária. The residents would often refer to these FM stations as community radio (*rádio comunitária*), neighbourhood radio (*rádio de bairro*) or even 'small radio' (*rádio pequena*). Therefore, I would like to clarify that whenever I mention 'community radio' in this thesis, I mean both 'lamp post' and FM community radio, unless I specify which one of these two types I am referring to. There are also a few instances in which I have used terms such as 'small radio' or 'local radio' if these were the terms used by my informants.

Basically, this thesis consists of two halves. The first half includes Chapters 1, 2, 3 and provides the context that is needed to set the scene on the ground. Chapter 1 has two aims – to discuss the different perspectives from which the favelas have been looked at in fields such as sociology, urban and media studies and to offer the reader information about the favela in which my fieldwork was conducted: Pau da Lima. It argues that the discussions about the favelas often rely on a sense of binary oppositions, which obscure their richness. Further, in Chapter 1, I suggest that community radio is a good place where one can look at the diversity and complexity of the favela.

Chapter 2 contains an analysis of the current mediascape in Brazil. It starts doing so by exploring some of the historical developments that have shaped the media in Brazil into what it looks like today. Finally, it attempts to map out the broadcasting and, particularly, the radio and community radio sectors, analysing the implications of this scenario for community radio in the favela. It emerges in Chapter 2 that community radio in the Brazilian favelas cannot be thought of as existing as a separate and distinct sector. Rather, community radio is often politicised, commercial and even religious in nature, and this is a result of the ways in which the Brazilian mediascape has developed.

My conceptual ideas for this thesis come on Chapter 3. It is worth noting here that this thesis, however, does not originate from one single theoretical perspective. My ideas are drawn from different areas of enquiry, which can be broadly identified as community media studies, the media and everyday life tradition, audience studies and auditory culture. In Chapter 3, I navigate between these different areas, searching for the issues and debates which are most relevant for my research on community radio in Pau da

Lima and identifying the ways in which each of these different areas complement and enrich each other. I argue that community media studies have a lot to benefit from drawing on audience studies and auditory culture, attending to the circumstances in which listening to community radio takes place.

Whilst the first half of my thesis relates to *contexts*, the second half analyses the data collected from my *fieldwork*. In Chapter 4, I explain my methodological approach, which draws on media ethnography, and discuss some of the main methodological issues that are relevant for this research. The chapter looks at the three main actors involved in my fieldwork in Pau da Lima, reflecting on my own role as a researcher, exploring 'the field' in which my research took place, and, finally, discussing issues of access and my relationship with the research participants. Out of these, 'reciprocity' emerged as a key issue from the very early stages of fieldwork as a result of the way in which I was perceived in Pau da Lima. Thus, I explain my rationale for adopting an approach to which I refer to as 'exchange research'.

The main premise of Chapter 5 is that radio can be best understood when placed within its wider sonic environment. Therefore, the chapter aims at providing a sonic immersion in Pau da Lima, exploring the different soundscapes that exist in the neighbourhood and analysing the implications of these for radio. I suggest that this exploration allows us to gain a deepened understanding of everyday life in the community in many ways. Finally, Chapter 5 shows that in the cacophonous favela, residents often act as 'aural architects', using sounds and music as tools to establish ownership, to affirm their identities, and to create, maintain or break boundaries.

Chapter 6 aims at exploring the various existing linkages between community radio and the local commerce in Pau da Lima. These relationships might be perceived as problematic because they contradict the ethos of community radio. Nevertheless, I suggest that, in the specific context of the favela, the realisation that the local stations are significantly commercial in nature does not automatically disqualify them as legitimate forms of community radio. Additionally, the chapter delves into the ways in which radio enacts and feeds an acoustemology of commerce and progress. Finally, I elaborate on the notion of 'exchange' as a crucial component of everyday life in the community. Indeed, during the process of making and listening to the radio, an

important process of exchange takes place between listeners and presenters and listeners and other listeners, which results in the creation of community bonds.

The relationships that exist between radio (and particularly FM community radio) with the Evangelical churches in Pau da Lima are analysed in Chapter 7. It becomes clear that Evangelical and community radio are often one and the same, broadcasting Evangelical programmes or simply becoming a so-called pan-Evangelical station. In addition, the chapter explores and analyses the listening experiences of people who tune in to Evangelical programmes, asking how, when and why they listen to these programmes.

In sum, this thesis is based on the premise that it is essential to listen to the listeners of what is often referred to as one of the most participatory of media forms: community radio. Hopefully, through listening, it will be possible to gain more knowledge about the complexities of everyday life in an environment that is frequently misunderstood and misrepresented: the favela. Therefore, in this thesis, I would like to make an invitation to the reader to climb up the hills of Pau da Lima by listening up.

CHAPTER 1

THE FAVELA

'Brazil is synonymous with samba, sunshine and sexiness, and Favela Chic injects a saucy shot of this Brazilian energy into Shoreditch. This East London hotspot is a venue with soul, which is why it has fast become a sizzling favourite among a sea of nondescript bars and clubs serving up designer wallpaper and house music'.

Review of a club called 'Favela Chic' with branches in London and Paris.
(Favela Chic Website: www.favelachic.com/London[1])

1. Introduction.

It is rather ironic to think of the favelas as being 'chic'. The word 'favela' is used to describe the pockets of poverty which constitute the urban landscapes of larger Brazilian cities. It is estimated that thirty three percent of the municipalities in the country (1,837 out of 55,640) report having favelas (Belchior, 2008[2]). Given their noticeable physical presence and their pervasiveness in Brazilian society, the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics gives the favelas the less flattering denomination of 'subnormal agglomerations' (Caldeira, 2000; Zaluar and Alvito, 1998). This is a reference to their 'abnormal' beehive-like appearance. The favelas are usually densely populated and located on hilly unstable areas or on the outskirts of a city. From a distance, they look like an undistinguishable mass of brick-coloured small boxes, built on top of each other.

What could possibly be chic about living in poverty, in houses that are crammed together? Or about living in a shack with no proper access to water, sanitation, health, employment or education? Or indeed about a city like Salvador, where the fieldwork of this research has taken place, in which forty percent of the population lives in favelas[3]? Yet we cannot simply replace the image of 'Favela Chic' with one of utter despair, no matter how much one might be tempted to focus on the favelas as the homes of the destitute, as impoverished places which are detached from the 'normal' functional city.

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[1] Date accessed: 01 March 2008
[2] Based on data from the 2008 IBGE Census
[3] Studies by the Universidade Federal da Bahia (UFBA) based on the 2000 IBGE Census

Such an approach can obscure a much more nuanced picture. There is much more to the favelas than poverty, crime and despair.

The aims of this chapter are twofold: a) to explore some of the theoretical perspectives and key academic debates that have revolved around the favelas and b) to show how these academic perspectives are now pointing the way to a new, more nuanced understanding of the dynamics of favela life – dynamics which, I will suggest, shape the way community radio is experienced in very specific forms by the thousands of favela residents. This chapter seeks to explore some of the different ways of thinking of the favelas in different fields of enquiry, such as anthropology, sociology, urban studies and media studies. At the same time, the chapter attempts to provide extensive information about the research site.

As for the various theoretical perspectives, studies of the favelas have been marked by a recurring sense of binary oppositions, as it is noted by scholars such as Valladares (2000, 2005). On the one hand, the favelas have been problematised (Abujamra, 1967), being called 'marginal'[4] and deemed chaotic and anti hygienic (Agache, 1930). On the other, they have been seen as solutions to difficult social problems (Mangin, 1967) and as cohesive and organised places where mutual solidarity is frequent. Further, a significant amount of the scholarly work is concerned with placing the favela in relation to the city. A common standpoint, illustrated by Ventura (1994), is that the favelas represent a form of parallel city, with a separate set of rules and codes of conduct. Yet, earlier writings by authors such as Mangin (1967) and Perlman (1976) as well as more recent ones (Ribeiro and Lago, 2001) have opposed this view, pointing out the various ways in which the favelas are integrated and contribute to the city. Perhaps, most significantly for the purposes of this study is the fact that the favelas must not be looked at from a distance. Authors have increasingly immersed themselves in the favelas (Goldstein, 2003), aiming to understand the complexities of everyday life in these environments, trying to avoid painting a black and white picture.

After exploring these debates, the chapter moves on to analysing the media (television, film, and the press) representations of the favelas. Films like City of God[5], which centres on one favela in Rio de Janeiro, have been very successful amongst Brazilian

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[4] As noted by Janice Perlman (1976)
[5] For a discussion of City of God, see the section on this chapter on the 'Representations of the Favela'

and international audiences, helping the favelas get more attention from the public and the media. Interestingly, whether Brazilians like it or not, the favelas have gradually come to metonymically represent the country (Zeiderman, 2006) with all of their attributed positive (energy, creativity, warmth) and negative aspects (crime, poverty, desolation). Such assumptions have implications for this study of community radio in one favela because it is often argued that the latter can play a crucial role in offering alternative representations of places which are often portrayed in a somewhat negative or sensationalist light by the mainstream media.

The final section of the chapter is the most descriptive in nature. The intention is to provide more specific and detailed background information on Pau da Lima, briefly addressing the history of the neighbourhood, its geographic location, and the socio-economic and demographic make up of the neighbourhood's population.

In terms of structure, the chapter moves along the different debates – from a Manicheistic perspective towards the kind of nuanced and multi-faceted interpretative framework which I adopt in my own approach to the subject. My aim is to avoid the dualistic and over simplified interpretations of the favelas, whether they are negative or positive. Moreover, the survey of the literature contributes to revealing some of the features that make the favelas unique environments for studying the role of community radio in everyday life. First, as impoverished communities, they are well-suited for testing out community radio's rhetoric of empowering the disenfranchised and 'giving a voice to the voiceless' (Lewis and Jones, 2006[6]). Secondly, it emerges that the favelas are places where popular initiative thrives, providing a fertile terrain for investigating the role of community radio, since community radio is about ordinary people *making* their own media. Finally, a review of the relevant literature triggers a series of questions which inform this research project. Given that: a) the *community* in which I will study *community radio is* a favela, and b) that the favela is a complex and heterogeneous environment, what would be the implications for community radio? How can community radio succeed in serving such a complex and mutable community?

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[6] Some of the definitions of community radio will be explored on Chapter 3

2. The Favela in Relation to the City.

2.1. The Favela as a Problem *Versus* the Favela as a Solution.

Studies that look at the origins of the Favelas have identified the 'problematic' aspects of the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation that took place in Brazil. Valladares (2000) argues that throughout their existence of over one hundred years, the favelas have been 'problematised' by scholars from various backgrounds, such as journalism, sociology, architecture, geography, public health and medicine (p.12). They first appeared in the literature as 'threats to the city's 'hygiene' (p.8), and were considered as a 'disease, a contagious illness, a social pathology that needs to be cured' (Agache, 1930, cited in Valladares, 2000, p.14). She notes that this perception dates back to 1906, in a report[7] written about the country's first favela, the Morro da Favela, which described the houses as places with no hygiene, no light and no water. The report recommended that, in order to promote progress and modernisation, the favelas should be subjected to immediate and urgent intervention by the government.

Another typical example of the favela as a source of problems for the city was Abujamra's (1967) study. Abujamra, the director of The State of São Paulo's Government Commission for De-Favelisation, stated: 'The favela *problem* has its origin in the shack. They appeared little by little, in many regions of Brazil, rudimentary housing made by wood and used materials, where poverty found a home. In the shacks, one was faced with promiscuity, hunger, disease, illiteracy'[8] (p. 13).

However, even in the late 1960s there was also opposition to these pessimistic views of the favela. One of the most cited scholars is the anthropologist William Mangin, who wrote a seminal text on squatter settlements in Latin America. Without minimising 'the problems of overpopulation, rapid urbanisation, poverty, prejudice, and lack of elementary health and social services', his aim was to present a 'more hopeful and realistic view' of these settlements (1967, p. 67). For Mangin, the development and growth of squatter settlements such as the Brazilian favelas should be viewed as solutions rather than problems: 'the formation of squatter settlements is a popular response to rapid urbanisation in countries that cannot or will not provide services for

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[7] Backheuser, E., (1906). *Habitacoes Populares*
[8] My translation

the increasing urban population' (Ibid). In other words, the favelas represented processes of social reconstruction through popular initiative. Further, Mangin's research challenged some misconceptions, such as the notion of the favela as a *marginal* area within the city, whose residents are excluded from city life. His work started a shift in the academic thinking of *favelas as problems* to *favelas as solutions* and was a source of inspiration for other scholars who also started to look at the favela from a more optimistic angle.

2.2. The Marginality Theory.

This theory was developed in the 1960's in Latin America as an attempt to address the problems of people who had been 'abandoned by the formal economy'. It states that social marginality is manifested in the urban spaces when different sectors of urban society are not integrated (Vekemans and Venegas, 1966, cited in Valladares, 2005, p. 129).

The term 'marginality' did not have a negative connotation when used by Robert Park (1928), who defined:

> 'The marginal man is a cultural hybrid, a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples yet quite never willing to break, even if he was permitted to do so, with his past and his traditions, and not quite accepted because of a racial prejudice, in the new society in which he now sought to find a place. He is a man on the margin of two cultures which never completely interpenetrated and fused' (p.892, cited in Perlman, 1976, p. 99).

Perlman (1976) notes that in this sense, 'marginality' is a source of hope for the human kind because it is able to bring cultural innovations and stimulate creativity. However, she adds, the term 'marginality' has been given a derogatory connotation in both Spanish and Portuguese. '*Um marginal*' (a marginal person, in Portuguese) is a shiftless, dangerous person, often linked to 'the underworld of crime, drugs and prostitution'. In Latin America, the urban poor have historically represented the 'dangerous classes' or invaders from the countryside which threaten the city's 'fortresses of high culture' or 'the citadel of the elites' (Perlman, 1976, p. 92). As a result of this perception, everything possible must be done in order to prevent the birth, stop the growth or lead to the disappearance of the favelas. A typical way to deal with

the growing barbarian masses in the city is to absorb them into the job market, but the city's economy is not capable to do so, which accentuates the perceived threat of social and political disruption. Perlman concludes then, that the ideology of marginality is paradoxical, because it attempts to integrate the dangerous classes into 'the very system that is producing the social and economic situation called marginal' (1976, p. 92).

In addition, the 'culture of poverty' contributes to the marginality theory. Based on the work of Oscar Lewis (1969), it establishes that people develop personality traits such as fatalism, apathy and parochialism as a consequence of the exposure to deprivation. Assigning blame to the poor for their own poverty, the 'culture of poverty' creates a vicious cycle that is more difficult to escape than the economic deprivation itself (Perlman, 1976, p. 114).

To sum up the discussion, the 'favela as a problem' *versus* 'the favela as a solution' debate has moved towards an acknowledgment that the favela is intrinsically paradoxical in nature. Scholars such as Perlman (1976) and Levine (1994) are critical of the determinism that underlies the thinking of the 'Marginality Theory'. Being a '*favelado'* (a resident of the favela) starts to be no longer perceived as leading to an inescapable route of poverty and despair. The residents of the favelas might have positive and negative qualities, dreams and aspirations that are not that different from those of people who do not live in the favelas. The favelas represent both problems and solutions, whilst their residents are 'marginalised', yet integrated to the larger society in several ways.

2.3. The Favela *Versus* the City.

Although contested, the 'Marginality Theory' paved the way for similarly dualistic subsequent theoretical and philosophical approaches to the favela – and often this was expressed most clearly in discussions of the favela's relationship with the nearby city. One noteworthy example is the work of Zuenir Ventura, a Brazilian journalist who spent ten months in the 'Favela do Vigário Geral' and published a book, Cidade Partida (Parted City). The book was written a short time after a massacre in which 21 innocent residents of this favela were murdered, allegedly by off-duty police officers. His descriptions of favela life are almost entirely expressed in the form of dualisms: 'the visible' and 'the invisible city', 'the official city' and 'the other city', 'laughter and

tears', 'violence and solidarity', 'drug dealing and honest life', 'suffering and hope'. According to him, these opposite elements are present in the favela all the time, all at once'. (Ventura, 1994, p. 12).

Although Ventura's dramatic and pessimistic tone can be justified by the appalling incident that inspired the book, his dichotomised views on the favela might also be interpreted as somewhat simplistic, and might give legitimacy to a dualist black and white view of the 'favela versus the city', which do not correspond to the multiple colours of reality (Ribeiro and Lago, 2001, p. 144-145). This idea of binary opposition – with the favela being opposed to the city and having a unitary kind of identity – has had an ample presence in the thinking of and writing on the favelas. Yet, it has also been increasingly revised. Hence, one of the aims of this research is to contribute to a greater reflection on the contradictions and nuances that exist *within* the favela rather than on the oppositions of the favela in relation to the city.

2.4. The Favela Integrated to the City.

When Mangin (1967) suggested that the squatter settlements are s*olutions* rather than problems, he was also (indirectly) opposing the ideas of the 'parted' city and of the 'parasite favela' and asserting that the favela is integrated to the city, rather than in opposition to it. One major aspect of this is that millions of people have solved their housing problems by themselves when the governments were unable to do anything (Mangin, 1967). The second contribution has been in the job market. Although there are large numbers of 'marginally' and self employed people, several studies (Leeds, 1966; Hoenack, 1966; SAGMACS, 1960; Mangin, 1967) have indicated that favela residents have a variety of occupations in the city or in the favela itself. Another important aspect is the squatter settlements' considerable level of entrepreneurship, revealed through the growth of several small businesses. Favelas are places where 'bars, restaurants, garages, repair shops, school supply stores, bakeries, groceries, fruit stores and newsstands flourish, creating a vibrant commercial atmosphere. The final contribution, which is less economic and more intangible, is the creation of a community, 'which involves the inhabitants of a settlement in the life of the nation with small but increasingly effective power base.' (Mangin, 1967, p. 76-77).

3. Inside the Favela.

3.1. The Favela as an Organised and Heterogeneous Environment.

The view of the favela as an organised and heterogeneous environment has slowly gained ascendancy over the myth that the slums are chaotic and lawless. Perlman (1976), for instance, suggested that the slums' degree of internal organisation in many countries such as Venezuela, Peru and Brazil can be quite strong. Earlier still, Leeds observed that some favelas in Rio de Janeiro have neighbourhood associations that have organised everything from 'private water systems, markets, labour division, and groups to raise money to buy the land on which they live, to Carnival dance groups'[9]. (Leeds, 1966, cited in Mangin, 1967, p. 70). These associations are also successful in obtaining some form of government assistance and represent a form of 'low-level, unofficial court for minor disputes', giving people a sense of 'controlling their own destinies.' (Ibid). According to Perlman (1976), the active participation of residents in the associations turns the favela into a cohesive complex at all social levels, and this mutual trust and cooperation 'totally discredits the marginality myths' (p.132-133). Although these ideas contributed to break some of the negative stereotypes of the favelas, they have been criticised for presenting a romanticised account and overemphasising the good qualities of the poor, as if there is a need for them to prove their virtues.

The cohesiveness and homogeneity of the favela have been questioned by authors such as Valladares (1978) and Medina (1964), who argue that, although a favela is perceived as homogeneous, there are several peculiar social and urban characteristics within it. As a general rule, the favela's more external areas, which usually border the city streets, have more resources and better standards of housing and living. Medina also notes that 'each area is named by the residents with precision and these names often translate the distinctions between the residents themselves and their different ways of life. It is common to find places reserved for the low-lives, the people from the Northeast, the people who are well-to-do and so on'. (1964, p. 68-69). As a consequence, different residents from different areas have different degrees of involvement in community life, and the degrees of 'perceived influence' also vary according to the different professions.

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[9] Rio de Janeiro Carnival is famous for its 'samba schools'. Each samba school is based on a particular favela and the communities are responsible for organising the floats, the performances, the costumes etc.

For instance, shop owners, local politicians or police officers are perceived to play more significant roles in the local associations than other professions. (Medina, 1964, p. 71).

This approach to the favela as a heterogeneous place also contradicts the idea that all favela residents are former farmers or people who have migrated from small villages to the city. Mangin (1967) suggests that although the general pattern is that the majority of slum dwellers are born in provinces, farms or small towns, they can also come from other neighbourhoods and slums within the city where they settled upon arrival (p. 68). This assertion is confirmed by Ribeiro and Lago (2001) in a more recent demographic analysis of favelas in Rio de Janeiro, which reveal that migration from the rural areas no longer explain the growth in the number of favelas in the city. Rather, the establishment of new favelas and the expansion of existing ones result from spacial mobility within the city.

To conclude, it is evident that the favelas are indeed complex and heterogeneous environments, with significant social, economic and demographic differences from favela to favela, neighbourhood to neighbourhood, zone to zone, city to city. This diversity might raise interesting questions in regard to the ways in which people listen to community radio in their everyday lives: to what extent are listeners' perceptions and opinions influenced by socio-demographic factors such as class, age, gender, race, occupation, status and so on? To what extent and in what ways is the community cohesive? How visible are these differences? How can community media effectively address these differences? To which groups are different community media outlets speaking to? Additionally, when exploring the listening experiences of 'community' media in Pau da Lima, it would also be relevant to examine in which terms the neighbourhood describes itself as a community.

3.2. Race in the Favela.

Studies have shown that the overwhelming majority of the social groups occupying favelas and poor neighbourhoods are of African descent (Goldstein, 2003, Zaluar and Alvito 1998). Paradoxically, as Vargas (2006) points out, race is rarely the central analytical category in such accounts. The author intends to break this 'silence' by defining the favela as 'the historical and spatial product of a racialised and institutionalised exclusion' in Brazil (2006, p. 60). Reflecting on the academic omission

about race and urban space, he suggests that this silence is part of a 'broader hegemonic intellectual and political framework that supports the Brazilian myth of racial democracy' (2006, p. 64).

The myth of racial democracy originated in the late 19th and early 20th century from a comparison with the racial situation in the United States at the time. It was advocated by the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre (1936)[10], who defended that the racial mixing between European, African, and Indigenous peoples enriched the Brazilian cultural heritage and that Brazil's inequality was created by economic differences rather than by race. Since then, these ideas have always been very strong in the Brazilian collective imagination. However, academics such as Caldeira (2000), Pino (1998, 2004), Vargas (2006) and Simões (2006) have agreed on fully rejecting earlier notions of Brazil's racial equality. They firmly oppose the ideas that racism in Brazil is not as virulent as in other countries or that racism is a problem associated with class and not with biology. As Simões argues, it is impossible not to refuse to acknowledge that most of the country's poor are blacks or '*pardos*'[11], and that blacks are still subject to disproportionately higher levels of violence, unemployment, and illiteracy and worse access to health care and housing.

Along the same lines, in an account of the life in a Rio de Janeiro favela, Goldstein (2003) argues that, 'in Brazil, where one can place oneself or be placed by others along a colour spectrum shifts in relation to who is speaking and to whom one is speaking, as well as other aspects such as signs of class perceptible in language, social manners and style of dress' (p. 106). Colour terms in the country can be rather complicated. Words like '*preto*' (black), '*neguinha*' (which, depending on the tone of speech, could be both an affectionate and a pejorative way to refer to a black woman), '*moreno*', '*mulato*' or '*pardo*' (brown or mixed), '*escuro*' (dark), '*claro*' (light), '*sarará*' (a person of light colour and curly hair like that of a black person), among others, are often used, making colour and race ambiguous. The racial discourses are contradictory: the favela residents showed pride in their heritage of racial miscegenation and, at the same time, seemed to believe that lighter-skinned mixed-race people had better chances in life (Goldstein, 2003).

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[10] Freyre became known for his book "Casa Grande and Senzala", firstpublished in 1933 .Casa Grande, or the big house, was the residence of the masters, while senzala was the shelter of the slaves.
[11] The designation for people of mixed black and white ethnic background

In sum, inferring that radio represents a good place in which to explore racial issues, this work might trigger an investigation into how, from the listeners' perspectives, community radio deals with racism and racial identities

3.3. Crime in the Favela.

In her ethnographic study of everyday life in the favela, Goldstein shows how large segments of the working class have experienced police brutality and, 'have come to rely on the gangs as an alternative to the state's rule of law in their neighbourhoods' (2003, p. 273). In addition, she believes that Brazil's democratic consolidation will not be fulfilled until the country reforms its police forces and puts an end to the human rights abuses and corruption within the institution. The rule of law needs to be credible, she adds, and needs to be applied to citizens without distinctions of class, race or gender (Ibid).

Similarly to Goldstein's observations, Elizabeth Leeds (1996) has found great levels of distrust of the police by favela residents, with 'increasingly difficult' dialogues between favela associations and the police. There is a perverse role reversal, 'where the absence of the state (in the form of the police) becomes beneficial' (p. 72). This absence gives rise to a 'parallel power system' in which drug traffickers fill in the gaps left by authorities and become rulers. They adopt the image of benevolent drug lords, guaranteeing the safety of the community and demanding, in return, to be left alone to expand their markets. As a consequence, the population is often trapped between two forms of violence - the one enforced by the 'official' forces and another enforced by the 'parallel power' (Leeds, 1996).

Teresa Caldeira (2000) adds that in situations of crime and violence, people from the working classes feel powerless and paralysed. They fear the police, they fear the criminals' vengeance and, at the same time, feel that they cannot trust the country's justice system. In order to protect themselves, all they can do is 'adopt silence as a way of maintaining good relations with criminals they might know personally'. (p. 187). She also identifies a context of constant 'uncertainty and confusion' in which workers are mistaken for criminals, policemen are mistaken for criminals and criminals are generally and arbitrarily associated with the poor. (p. 189).

In conclusion, although this is not the focus of this thesis, a discussion of crime in the favela is relevant because a lot of the media representation of the favelas revolves around crime. Community media has the potential for providing alternative representations of settings which are often portrayed in a negative or sensationalist way, as it often happens with the favelas. Therefore, it plays a central role in boosting the self-esteem of those who are members of misrepresented communities. These issues of representation will be discussed in the section that follows.

4. Media Representations of the Favela.

Ben Penglase (2007) analysed newspaper reports on two incidents in Rio de Janeiro – the 1992 beachside muggings[12] and the army's 1994 occupation of several favelas[13] – and suggested that a new discourse of violence emerged in Brazil in the 1990's. The author referred to this as a form of 'neo-racist discourse', because it revolves around 'images of infection and the creation of social stigmata' based on spatial rather than racial criteria, providing citizens with a new way of thinking about and experiencing crime and insecurity. He found several 'neo-racist' elements in the reports, such as metaphors of the danger of 'infection' and the need for 'prophylaxis'. The elements were illustrated by the invasion of the wealthy, white southern zone by the black poor favela youth and by the contamination of the police and the state through their close contacts and corrupt dealings with drug traffickers from the favela (Penglase, 2007, p. 305-307). Penglase noted that these 'medical' metaphors resonate with the early 20th century depictions of the favelas as 'threats to the hygiene' and 'social pathologies that need to be eradicated from the city', indicating that this early approach still underlines a lot of the thinking about the favelas in the Brazilian society.

This 'neo racist' discourse, according to Penglase, creates 'social stigmata that do not draw directly from biological racial difference but rather from spatial markers'. Thus, the fear of crime gains an extra dimension: it is the result of the violation of the proper organization of the city's space by stigmatised subjects that are out of place, and have invaded a space from which they were previously excluded (Penglase, 2007, p. 307).

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[12] The beach muggings (*arrastão* in Portuguese) took place when a crowd of poor youths, allegedly from the favelas in the poorer north zone, 'invaded' a beach located in the wealthier south zone, stealing watches and wallets from all of those they encountered on their way.
[13] Because there was a perception that the police were too corrupt and ineffective to deal with crime and drug dealing in the favelas, army troops were sent to occupy several of them in Rio de Janeiro. The occupation was called Operation Rio.

Their own space, the favela, is portrayed in this new discourse as dangerous to the city, and in a simplistic way, they become synonymous with drug trafficking and are vilified as hazardous entities spreading their 'tentacles' throughout the 'healthy' defenceless city (Ibid, p. 315).

In conclusion, Penglase's analysis of the reports of the muggings (1992) and Operation Rio point to 'the disruption of a divided Rio de Janeiro': on one side, the wealthy city with its beautiful beaches; on the other, the favela-filled city, the symbol of drug trafficking, crime and poverty. The government intervention, under the form of an armed invasion as a response to the panic and fear generated, placed favela and non-favela residents in opposition to each other, largely depicted favela youth as dangerous criminals and created a difference between 'legitimate violence' (perpetrated by the state through the army and the police) and 'illegitimate violence' (perpetrated by poor youth) (Penglase, 2007, p. 319). Further, it brought to light some paradoxical aspects of Brazil, a country that describes itself as a racial democracy, where the beaches and the sun are for everyone regardless of race or social status, yet people have to be aware of their proper place and to make sure that they are not crossing invisible social boundaries.

Moving from the press to film and documentary, Beatriz Jaguaribe (2005) analyses the way contemporary Brazilian cities are represented in film, exploring how what she calls the 'shock of the real' emerges in specific realist films that portray urban experiences. As an 'aesthetic response to the turmoil, uncertainty, risk, and violence of the metropolis in Brazil', the 'shock of the real' represents one of the key expressions of new forms of realist aesthetic representations (p. 67). The term 'shock of the real' refers to 'specific representations in both written narrative and visual imagery', which are able to generate 'an intense dramatic discharge', destabilising notions of reality itself. As Jaguaribe puts it, 'the shock element resides in the nature of the event that is portrayed and in the convincing usage that emphasises a reality effect that nevertheless disrupts normative patterns'. The shock of the real is connected to the quotidian, historical and social occurrences such as murders, fights, muggings or any sort of event that causes strong emotional responses (Jaguaribe, 2005, p. 70).

Jaguaribe argues that recent Brazilian realist productions of documentaries and films, such as the 2002 fiction film Cidade de Deus (City of God) have a tendency to focus on

favelas and the saga of marginal characters who are 'undermined by social violence, exclusion and poverty'. This can be attributed to a search for the 'real thing' (p. 73). She adds that since the 1990s, the Brazilian public has been exposed to a significant amount of 'realist literary and cinematic representations of urban marginality, largely centred on representations of the favela and conflicts of the drug trade' (p. 74). Nevertheless, she is struck by the discrepancy between these 'realist cinematic representations' of the favelas and 'the realms of fantasy that are often at the centre of so many Brazilian social fabrications ranging from carnival practices to religious beliefs' (p. 75) and suggests that 'the depictions of urban life in new realist cinema have become the most accessible form of reality making for Brazilians (Ibid). Jaguaribe believes that films like City of God have a lot of popular appeal precisely because they are perceived as convincing portrayals of a social reality. She argues that one of the film's merits is the possibility to provide a 'certain pedagogical shock of a reality that the urban middle classes have tried to absorb indifferently', by locking the doors of the cars, closing the windows, locking themselves in gated condominiums and 'hastening their steps away from the street kids' (Jaguaribe, 2005, p. 80).

Despite its merits and its success among both the Brazilian and international audiences[14], the film City of God was also dismissed by critics as being 'unrealistic' because it failed 'to highlight the different realities of the community by focusing exclusively on the warfare among the drug lords' (Jaguaribe, 2005, p. 75). Thus, Jaguaribe concludes that 'the blinding headlights of the shock register may well be eclipsing the nuanced existences, the bizarre imaginations, and the contradictions of cities and people that are still to be narrated' (p. 80).

The success achieved by City of God has contributed to opening doors for other Brazilian film and television productions, many of them also revolving around issues of urban violence. One such production is 'Elite Squad' (Tropa de Elite), directed by José Padilha. Like 'City of God', the film largely takes place in a Rio de Janeiro favela but instead of focusing on crime among the drug traffickers, it focuses on crime among the police. The title's 'Elite Squad' refers to BOPE, the paramilitary police force that combats crime in the favelas by any means necessary. The making of the film was 'as turbulent as the story within it'. Millions of pirated DVDs with copies of the film were

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[14] The Economist , 23 January 2003/ http://www3.economist.com/displayStory.cfm?Story_ID=E1_TVVDJVJ (Accessed 12 July 2007)

produced and circulated throughout the country. It is estimated that between 11 and 15 million people watched it before the film was officially released. However, amazingly, 'Elite Squad' still managed to become the country's highest-grossing movie of 2007[15].

Despite its outstanding popularity, the film was also criticised for being right-wing and fascist by the local media, such as O Globo, Rio's largest newspaper, as well as by international critics. 'The film presents its case by celebrating police psychopaths', said Variety[16]. This impression that the film embraces the 'real-life' Elite Squad's cruelty is enhanced by the fact that it is narrated in the first person by the main character, a ruthless officer who states that torture and human rights abuses are legitimate means of fighting crime in the slums.

The directors of City of God, Katia Lund and Fernando Meirelles also created a television series called City of Men[17], released shortly after the film. The series is referred to as a light-hearted version of the film and tells the story of two children and their everyday life in a Rio de Janeiro favela. In an analysis of the series, Simone Rocha (2005) reveals how the media can play a central role in tackling issues of exclusion by 'providing visibility to social phenomena' (p. 186). The author believes that the media can contribute to changing the stereotypical characteristics which are assigned to people who are excluded. She illustrates this point by arguing that City of Men shows the residents of the favela in a different, more positive and more complex light, and avoids 'mechanical associations that link violence and criminality to the favela without taking other factors into account' (Ibid). She observes that the programme focuses on the everyday dilemmas, the struggles, fears and concerns of ordinary people who live an ordinary life. It shows 'mothers going to work, grandmothers doing their house chores, little gestures of solidarity, children playing and going to school, young boys fancying young girls', revealing the everyday realities of those people who are 'often perceived as if they don't exist for the mere fact that they live in a favela' (Rocha, S., 2005, p. 192).

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[15] The Telegraph, 18 July 2008/ http://www.telegraph.co.uk/arts/main.jhtml?xml=/arts/2008/07/18/bfjose118.xml (Accessed 20 August 2008)
[16] The Telegraph, 18 July 2008/ http://www.telegraph.co.uk/arts/main.jhtml?xml=/arts/2008/07/18/bfjose118.xml (Accessed 20 August 2008)
[17] This was a co-production between Meirelles'studio, O2 Films, and TV Globo, Brazil's largest broadcasting network. The programme aired Friday evenings on Globo.

S. Rocha's analysis of City of Men's representation of the favelas touches upon some important points, such as the 'humanisation' of favela residents. However, when referring to them as the people who 'are excluded', her tone is, perhaps unconsciously, that of an outsider looking at the favelas. As authors such as Mangin and Leeds have suggested, the favela residents do not live 'separate' lives. They are, in fact, integrated to the routines of the city in several ways.

At this point, one cannot ignore that most of the press, film and television representations of the favelas revolve around the city of Rio de Janeiro, although the favelas are present in virtually *all* medium and large-sized Brazilian cities. This might be the case because the city is often considered, as the ex President of Brazil Fernando Henrique Cardoso said, 'the culture and expression of Brazil'[18]. It is undeniable that many of the issues the literature and the media deal with, such as poverty, racism and violence are applicable to favelas in other cities, but the fact that the majority of studies of favelas tends to take place in Rio de Janeiro might obscure some of the unique features of favelas in other cities, such as Salvador. The next section will further explore this issue.

5. The Favelas Outside of the Rio de Janeiro Context.

5.1. The Favelas in Salvador.

In comparison to Rio de Janeiro, a greater percentage of the population in Salvador lives in favelas. As previously mentioned, studies by the Federal University of Bahia and the 2000 IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) census indicate that approximately 40 percent of the city's population lives in favelas. According to the same census, in Rio de Janeiro, the percentage of the population who lives in favelas is 19 percent, or nearly half that of Salvador (Soares and Soares, 2005, p. 5).

This makes Salvador one of the most unequal cities in Brazil, as it is pointed out by Antônia Garcia (2002). Drawing on data from the Human Development Index (IDH – Índice de Desenvolvimento Urbano), from the Institute of Applied Economics Research (IPEA – Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada) and from IBGE, Garcia analyses

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[18] Quoted in Jornal do Brasil. (Penglase, 2007, p. 321).

some of the stark differences in income and access to adequate health and housing that exist in the city. She also describes Salvador as a paradoxical city. In the adverts to attract tourists, Salvador is branded as the 'land of happiness', where 'everyone is the same'. However, this fails to reveal the city's various structures of domination based on race, gender and class (Garcia, 2002, cited in Rocha, L.C., 2005, p. 54).

Garcia's arguments resonate with Marcos Paraguassu's (2002) distinctions between the visible and the invisible Salvador. According to him, it is ultimately up to the city's ruling elites to decide which areas should be made visible and which ones should be hidden. The author uses the analogy of a shop window, where everything that is beautiful and positive about the city is displayed for the tourists: the beaches of the Atlantic Coast, the 'Farol da Barra' Lighthouse and the historic district of Pelourinho, with its colourful colonial buildings. On the other hand, the official discourse says nothing about the city's peripheral areas and the abundance of favelas that exist along the city's BR-324, one of the state of Bahia's main motorways, and the 'Paralela', one of the city's busiest avenues (Paraguassu, 2002, cited in Rocha, L.C., 2005, p. 55). This 'invisible' side of the city was debated in the seminar 'Quem faz Salvador?' (Who makes Salvador?), held in 2001, and L.C. Rocha (2005) warns about the way the ignored 'peripheral' areas are hidden behind the 'luminous, happy and celebrated' Salvador, 'sold as a product for tourism' (Rocha, L.C., 2005, p. 56).

He goes further, and analyses the use of the word 'periphery', which is borrowed from Geography and would normally refer to 'the areas located outside the centre'. However,

Photo 1.1: A 'popular neighbourhood' next to the skyscrapers of a wealthy neighbourhood

in Salvador, many areas that are distant to the city centre are not perceived or understood as 'peripheral' areas. Therefore, he argues that the term seems to have been redefined. Nowadays, Salvador residents interpret 'peripheral areas' as the city's economically vulnerable areas, areas that lack infra-structure and host low-income communities. The urban 'peripheries' are then associated with impoverished residents. The peripheries set themselves apart from the other areas because they have 'deficient housing' and represent 'spaces

of social exclusion and segregation' (Rocha, L.C., 2005, p. 58). Besides being physically separated from other areas of the city, 'internal segregations' can also be found in the peripheral neighbourhoods. Rocha argues that the residents' social and income differences added to the lack of urban planning end up creating isolated areas within the communities. Thus, it is crucial that these neighbourhoods have common spaces in order to better integrate the various internal areas (Ibid).

5.2. Salvador: A Dissembling City.

This idea of there being a duality between the 'visible' and 'invisible' city is also present in the academic, public and journalistic discourse about the favelas in Rio de Janeiro, as it was previously revealed in this chapter. However, in this city, the favelas have been, perhaps uncomfortably, incorporated into the city's image. Austin Zeiderman (2006) describes his experience as a tourist visiting two favelas in Rio de Janeiro. Favela tours, he argues, 'are peculiar, yet increasingly popular forms of urban tourism in Brazil'. He adds that the favelas are 'where images of Rio are made for export'. Thus, for these 'global consumers', the favela 'comes to metonymically represent the city of Rio as a whole'. 'In the global imagination, favelas are as synonymous with Rio as mountains, beaches, samba and carnival' (Zeiderman, 2006, p. 19-20).

Unlike Rio de Janeiro, the favelas are not usually included as parts of the 'tour' in Salvador. Gey Espinheira (2002) calls Salvador a 'dissembling' city, which 'never fully corresponds to what is said about it' and 'which never shows itself in its entirety'. Salvador, he adds, 'is a city that puts on heavy make-up, it has been emptied from its most authentic forms of expression'. To use his words, 'this is a city that hides itself and that is embarrassed of itself. There are millions of people living in it. Many of these people see the Ocean from a distance but, when seen from the Ocean, they are part of a poverty-stricken landscape. The Ocean, which almost encircles the city, is a privilege in itself because the Ocean is not accessible to everyone, even if the beaches are Salvador's favourite places'. (Espinheira, 2002, p. 56-57).

Pau da Lima is part of this Salvador that Salvador is embarrassed about. Perhaps due to this 'embarrassment', the word 'favela' is not commonly used by the residents to describe their neighbourhood as a whole. Instead, Pau da Lima is called a 'popular' (as

of working class) neighbourhood or a neighbourhood in the 'periphery' of Salvador. However, the housing arrangements look very similar to that of a Rio de Janeiro favela. Further, the most impoverished areas of Pau da Lima are often referred to as 'invasion' areas. This generally means that the areas are occupied without legal permission by squatters who, in comparison to the residents of other areas, have moved there fairly recently. It also means that the houses (or shacks) are unstable and precariously built.

5.3. Pau da Lima.

Pau da Lima is situated in the geographical 'core' of Salvador (*miolo central*), which comprises forty one neighbourhoods and thirty five percent of the city's surface. (Fernandes, 2004). The neighbourhood is located between some of the city's busiest avenues, Avenida Luiz Viana Filho and Avenida Paralela, and an interstate motorway, the BR-324. Because of its geographical position, which offers easy connection to several parts of the city, Pau da Lima functions as a link between the neighbouring areas of Castelo Branco, Sete de Abril and Nova Brasilia. (Rios, 2006, p. 2). It is one of the eighteen Administrative Regions of Salvador, and has approximately 200,000 inhabitants, including the neighbouring areas. Pau da Lima itself has approximately 120,000[19] residents and is considered the third most populated district in Salvador (Rios, 2006). Although it is located in the geographical 'core' of Salvador, Pau da Lima is considered a 'peripheral' neighbourhood for socioeconomic reasons. This is consistent with L.C. Rocha's (2005) assertion that the word 'periphery' has been redefined. The neighbourhood is distant from the city's coastlines and tourists' preferred spots, lacks infra-structure and has several impoverished 'invasion' areas.[20]

According to an oral history research project conducted by the neighbourhood Association of Pau da Lima (AMPLI), the land where the neighbourhood is situated was once a large farm that belonged to the Emperor Don Pedro II. The name 'Pau da Lima' refers to a stick used to collect lemons. Salvador's 'core' was predominantly rural until the 1940s (Fernandes, 2004). From that point, the extraordinary transition towards an urban 'core' by the end of the 1950s that Pino (1997) discusses was certainly true for Salvador. Neighbourhoods such as Pau da Lima, Tancredo Neves and Cajazeiras, which

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[19] Source for both numbers: the 2000 Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatistica - IBGE) census

[20] [20] See Appendix 1.1 for a map of Salvador and explanatory notes regarding its socio-demographic organisation

have not developed along the city's coastlines and were not considered 'noble' areas, started to be occupied by informal settlers, squatters and migrants from the state's country side areas. According to Rios (2006, p.3), in Pau da Lima this occupation started taking place along the main streets, such as Jutaí Magalhães, São Marcos and Dr. Artur Gonzalez, which are located on the top areas of the neighbourhood, while the valleys were used for small plantations (Ibid, p.4). Eventually, these small 'farms' started being sold to people who moved in from other parts of Salvador. Pau da Lima then started to change from a 'rural' to a more residential working class neighbourhood, and a local commerce started to develop in order to meet the needs of the community (Ibid, p. 4).

5.4. Social, Economic and Demographic Aspects of Pau da Lima.

Confirming Medina's (1964) claim that the favelas are not homogenous and cohesive places, there are considerable social and economic disparities within Pau da Lima. The residents there are not necessarily all poor. Some people are legally employed in the formal sector and others are self-employed and own small businesses. However, a significant amount of the population is employed in low-paying occupations, such as construction work, domestic services, waste recycling, and security services, and, according to data from the IBGE 2000[21] census, 70% of the neighbourhood's households earn three minimum wages[22] or less. To understand what it means to live on a minimum wage per month, it is worthy to mention that, in July 2008, the cost of one 'basic' food basket (*cesta básica*)[23] in Salvador took up almost 42% of the minimum wage. Therefore, for the majority of families in Pau da Lima, especially the larger ones, it is extremely difficult to make ends meet.

Confirming Goldstein's reference to the feminisation of the workforce in the favelas (2003, p. 70), in which single women are increasingly becoming responsible for the households, in Pau da Lima the percentage of women who are heads of their households is significant – 36% against 64% of men (2000 IBGE Census). Goldstein also argues that women in the favelas are often faced with limited professional prospects and low

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[21] Table 1.1 in Appendix 1.2 shows the household income distribution in Pau da Lima.
[22] In July 2008 the minimum wage was 415 Reais (approximately 150 GBP as of 12 August 2010)
[23] The 'basic' food basket (*cesta básica*) is the Department of Statistics and Socio-economic Studies (DIEESE) parameter for measuring the city's cost of living, and includes essential items for a typical diet in Brazil, such as meat, beans, milk, rice, flour, tomato, bread, coffee, banana, sugar, oil, butter

paid occupations, and that domestic work, the most common category of employment for them, tends to be associated with 'slavery, dark skin and low social standard' (Ibid, p. 72). This seems to be the case in Pau da Lima, since, on average, women there earn 40% less than men, and 16,8% of women who are head of their households are illiterate, while among men this figure is 9% (2000 IBGE Census).

As for the ethnic and racial compositions of Pau da Lima, they conform to Salvador's consistent pattern of racial segregation. Whites tend to live in the wealthier neighbourhoods and blacks or '*pardos*' (people of mixed race, usually black and white) are the majority in the peripheral areas, 'popular neighbourhoods' and favelas.[24]

Therefore, whilst Brazilians celebrate their mixed racial origins as an integral part of the national identity, the statistics reveal substantial differences between blacks and whites in terms of education and employment. According to the 'Atlas Racial Brasileiro', a report published by the United Nations Development Programme in 2004, 65 % of those who are poor in Brazil are black. Even in Salvador, known as the African capital of Brazil[25], where blacks make up more than 80% of the population[26], there are virtually no blacks in government. A 2005 study by DIEESE[27] (Department of Statistics and Socio-economic Studies) indicates that, on average, whites earn three times more than blacks in the city. Regarding education, whites have more years of schooling than blacks, and more whites earn a university degree.[28] This contradicts the myth of Brazil as a 'racial democracy' (Caldeira, 2000; Pino, 1998, 2004; Vargas, 2006 and Simoes, 2006). The fact that many aspects of African culture are celebrated and that the manifestations of racism in the country tend to be subtle do not mean that Brazil is a paradise of racial equality or that Salvador is the city where 'everyone is the same'.

6. Conclusion.

The favelas have drawn attention and attracted controversy for over a century. At first, they were seen as a form of social pathology that needed to be cured or eradicated.

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[24] For a detailed distribution of the ethnic and racial compositions in some neighbourhoods in Salvador, see Table 1.2 in Appendix 1.2.
[25] Salvador is the oldest Brazilian city. It was the first capital to be 'found' by the Portuguese colonisers in 1549 and was a slave trade city for centuries, which explains why the majority of the population is either black or mixed.
[26] According to the 2000 IBGE Census
[27] www.dieese.org.br (date accessed 25 August 2007)
[28] Among the white population, 63.2 % has more than 11 years of schooling and 24.2% have a University degree, whereas 36.2% of blacks have more than 11 years of schooling and only 4.8 % earn a university degree. (DIEESE, 2005)

Although conveying rather prejudiced ideas, this perception was popular in the early 20th century and still has an enduring (but more limited) appeal. Even in the 21st century it is possible to read reports in prestigious Brazilian newspapers and magazines that use words such as 'infection' and 'prophylaxis', when referring to the 'invasion' of wealthy beaches by favela residents. According to Penglase (2007), this constitutes a neo-racist discourse, which has contributed to the perception of Rio de Janeiro as a city at war.

From the 1960s onwards, scholars such as Mangin (1967) started opposing the view of the favelas as problems. Rather, the favelas were seen as solutions. Instead of waiting for the government to provide adequate housing for the urban areas' growing population, residents actively engaged in solving their housing problems themselves. Besides Mangin, other authors, such as Perlman (1976) also disagreed with the notion of the '*favelado*' as a marginal citizen, or someone who lives in a community where the city's rules of conduct do not apply.

Along the same line of thought, other scholars also started to focus on presenting more positive views of the favela. They argue, for instance, that the favelas are much more than messy and cluttered living arrangements, displaying a significant degree of order and organisation (Medina, 1964). Ribeiro and Lago (2001) demonstrate that the populations can be quite heterogeneous as each favela has a considerable social and demographic diversity. In addition, it has been widely agreed that the favelas are fully integrated to the cities, contributing to the latter's economy in several ways, rather than being alien (or sick) bodies within it.

However, when shifting from one side to the other, there is a slight danger of replacing one (negative) over-simplification by another (positive) one. As it was previously stated, some of the debates on the favelas tend to be marked by a sense of binary opposition, either condemning the favelas and their residents or praising them. This research dismisses the discriminatory categorisation of the favela as a problem. At the same time, it acknowledges that the everyday life in a favela is often permeated with tensions and contradictions.

The themes of oppression, poverty and social inequality clearly emerge from an examination of the relevant literature. Teresa Caldeira (2000), for instance, discusses the ways in which residents of favela find themselves trapped between a ruthless police

force and the powerful drug lords. Unfortunately, as the author argues, statistics on crime and human rights abuses are plentiful in the favelas.

Additionally, reflecting the whole country's scenario, the data that specifically refer to the social and demographic characteristics of the favela in which I conducted my fieldwork – Pau da Lima[29] – reveal an impoverished area in which a significant number of the residents do not have a stable job or income. Clearly, the distribution of wealth is not even, with blacks and women earning less and having less access to good standards of housing, education and health.

All this helps validate a focus on community radio, making it particularly relevant in the context of the favelas. First, as David Hendy puts it (2000), it is fairly cheap and technically easy to start a radio station (p.2). The medium tends to thrive in many remote or impoverished areas of the so-called 'developing' world or in places wherever literacy is low (ibid). Importantly, one of the key tenets of community media is its ability to 'give a voice to the voiceless' (Lewis and Jones, 2006). The rhetoric of community media suggests that one of the things that they (community media) do best is to provide groups who have been historically oppressed or who are disenfranchised with a tool to express their own points of view and speak of issues which are relevant to them and which are often neglected by the mainstream media. Thus, the favelas constitute a very well-suited environment to investigate whether community radio is able to fulfil these social roles.

Another issue that becomes prominent is that of the media representations of the favelas. This issue has increasingly attracted more scholarly interest given the popularity of films like *City of God* and *Elite Squad,* which revolve around the favelas. Crime and drug trafficking seem to be constantly placed at the centre of attention whenever the favelas are seen through 'the dirty lenses of the shock of the real', as Jaguaribe (2005) puts it. It then becomes clear that the media representations of the favela often fail to represent their heterogeneity as well as the ways in which the residents might resist oppressive social structures in their everyday lives (Penglase, 2007).

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[29] Gathered from sources such as the City of Salvador and the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics.

Yet, whilst there have been various studies that look at the ways in which the favelas are represented in the press (Penglase, 2007), television (Rocha, S. 2005) and film (Jaguaribe, 2005), very little is known about radio and, particularly, about how favela residents might represent themselves through the medium of community radio. This is important for two reasons: a) as it was previously pointed out, being *for* the people and *by* the people, community radio has the potential of presenting an alternative representation of the favela's, and one that flourishes from the 'bottom-up' rather than top-down; b) the issue of 'representation' is often examined from the perspective of the 'visual', whilst what might be discovered through researching a sound medium, such as a radio, is often neglected. Therefore, this research takes on board the theoretical perspective of 'auditory culture', attending to the ways in which listening to the radio as well as the ways in which radio represents one layer amongst a rich layer of sounds might tell us a lot about life in the favela.

Having highlighted the importance of themes like poverty and oppression, it is important to note that there are also research projects which focus on more positive aspects such as the favelas' highly aggregational life (Perlman, 1976) as well as the residents' sense of self-organisation (Leeds, 1966) and popular initiative (Mangin, 1967). Hence, it is interesting to consider how the local radio stations in Pau da Lima fit into these dynamics of popular initiative and entrepreneurship. For instance, in what ways are the different community radios connected to the local economy?

Finally, the present research is well-aware of the richness and complexity of the favelas, which explain my choice to draw on ethnographic methods. Among the extensive literature which has been produced, it seems as if the studies which are based on a more immersive approach have fared better at capturing the contradictions, tensions and daily achievements which are part of favela life. In such studies (see Goldstein's, 2003, for instance) one does not get a sense of the favelas as unified idealised communities where people are poor but keep a smile on their faces. Rather, they fully recognise the hardships people have to go through in order to make ends meet. At the same time, it is revealed that favela residents are not 'passive victims of the structures and discourses of domination that constrict their lives'. 'While they do enact and reproduce these structures by living them, they also often strenuously and creatively resist them'. (Goldstein, 2003, p. 273).

What I would like to add is that radio, and, particularly, community radio – as a medium which is deeply embedded into everyday life – might be a good place to explore such complexity and heterogeneity. More specifically, it might allow us to test whether or not divisions are healed or reified, merely reflected or actually refracted by radio. For instance, as opposed to public service and commercial radio, community radio stations are not under as much pressure to satisfy license fee payers and/or advertisers[30]. This could potentially enable them to take more risks and target smaller diverse audiences who are not necessarily the audiences that advertisers care about.

This, in turn, prompts important questions regarding the role of community radio in the favela: How does community radio reflect the heterogeneity of the favela? Which groups does community radio succeed in speaking to? Which groups does it neglect or overlook? It also implies that community radio practitioners might not have an easy task: how can community radio do a good job in serving such a complex community? What are some of the tensions between different social groups in the favela and how do these different groups use/relate to community radio? Would it be fair to assume that, because of its ethos, community radio is able to deal with the heterogeneity of the favela in a way that other forms of radio cannot? Or would that be placing too many expectations on their shoulders? The point of departure for this research is an avoidance of Manichean categorisations. The favelas are *neither* hopelessly chaotic *nor* carefully organised, *neither* precarious *nor* 'chic'. Perhaps the same idea might apply to community radio.

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[30] The way in which community radio is placed within the larger media scenario in Brazil will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 2

THE MEDIA ECOLOGY IN BRAZIL

'The European Union debates on public broadcasting sound passé in Latin America.
This battle was fought (and lost) some twenty years ago.'

(Elizabeth Fox, 1997, p. 102)

1. Introduction.

Researchers of Latin American media, such as Elizabeth Fox (1988) and Joseph Straubhaar (2007) point out that, historically, the state has not played a *direct* role in controlling broadcasting. Yet, there are deep connections between media and politics in the region. When looking at some of the important players in the media industry in the continent, a creeping sense of both media politicisation and commercialisation becomes evident. Despite some attempts, mostly in the early years of broadcasting, the public service sector has not had a significant presence in most Latin American countries and especially not in Brazil. Rather, privately owned and commercially operated mass media have historically dominated the media landscape.

At the same time, the military regimes which were in power for most of the second half of the 20th century in many countries have had a form of bilateral agreement with the media corporations. These regimes have allowed the media enterprises to develop their businesses freely as long as the latter did not overtly criticise the former. This seems to have been the case in Brazil, which was under a military dictatorship from 1964 to 1985 and whose main television network, TV Globo, was founded in 1965, roughly one year after the military coup took place. Today, Globo is one of the largest media empires in the world.

This combination of politicisation and commercialisation presents this chapter with two main tasks. The first is to provide a historical overview of the media scenario in the country. The aim here is not to establish a chronology of the main developments in the broadcasting industry but rather to draw out some of the main themes and their implications for this research. Specifically, I suggest that the current patterns of media in Brazil still bear some of the imprints of this past history.

This then leads to the chapter's second task: to draw a map of the current mediascape in the country, and situate radio, in general, and community radio, in particular, within this mediascape. As Fox (1988) suggests, in Brazil, radio and television have always dominated the scene. Their diffusion and penetration have been much greater than that of the press. Newspapers and magazines are still considered as media for the elites – print is highly regarded among the urban, middle and upper class sectors. On the contrary, radio is much more widespread throughout the lower economic classes, being present in virtually every home (Fox, 1988, p.VIII).

In sum, an analysis of radio within the Brazilian mediascape reveals that: a) radio is a prevalent medium in the country; b) commercial radio is the strongest sector and c) there are many instances of radio stations linked to political and religious interests. It can be assumed that because the country does not have a significant experience of public service radio, community radio is somewhat expected to fulfil this role. Being aware of the main characteristics of the media scenario in Brazil and the ways in which business, politics and religion are played out, one would be tempted to think of community radio as being potentially *different* – non-commercial, non-political and non-religious. However, would this be realistic?

In describing the historical background and current contours of Brazil's media ecology, I will seek to argue in this chapter that community radio has to operate within an environment that is highly compromised by various interests other than serving the public in a local community. Moreover, I will suggest that community radio operates in geographically and historically specific context. Indeed, it might be useful to conclude that community radio needs to be understood more clearly as sometimes operating not in a separate realm but one thoroughly constrained by – contaminated by, one might say – a mixture of politics, religion and commercialism.

2. Important Historical Developments in the Brazilian Mediascape

2.1. The Early Years of Broadcasting.

The path of radio in Brazil was set by a number of past conditions that influenced the present scenario. Rocha (2007) reports that the Radio Sociedade do Rio de Janeiro, the first Brazilian radio station, was founded in 1923, and had an educational mission

established by its founder, who believed in technology as a tool for progress. Rádio Sociedade was maintained by the 'associates', listeners who paid monthly fees. This, added to the high quality of the educational programming and the high reputation built amongst artists and intellectuals, characterised an early tradition of public service broadcasting in Brazil. (Jung, 2004; Rocha, 2007).

With the increase in the number of radio stations and the attempt of the Brazilian Government to set regulations for radio broadcasting, making air time available for advertisers, radio started to assume a commercial nature, and non-profit stations maintained by its 'associates', such as Radio Sociedade, saw themselves in a terrible competitive disadvantage (Rocha, 2007). This business driven nature of radio in Brazil just followed the tendency described by Fox (1988) for radio in Latin America. She affirms that broadcasting in Latin America was never really able to resist 'the powerful national and international forces that were behind commercial broadcasting' (p.13).

Examining the diminutive role of the public service sector in Latin American media, several authors suggest that the predominance of a commercial media environment might be a result of ties with the region's most powerful neighbour – the United States, whose commercial networks and private media were keen on investing in Latin American broadcasting in order to create markets for their products (Fox, 1988; Rocha 2007 and Ferrareto 2001). Influenced by the 'American way of life', the investments in advertising grew significantly in Brazil, and advertising and the commercial broadcasting sectors established a relationship of mutual dependence. Besides, radio in Brazil depended on American technology and copied the U.S in terms of programming content. (Fox,1988; Rocha, 2007 and Ferrareto, 2001).

Radio in Brazil was also influenced by the ways in which it was used as a tool for propaganda. Haussen (2005) emphasises how the government of Getulio Vargas, from 1937 to 1945, made use of the radio and popular music to impose his political project of national unification. This use was not devoid of tensions and raised many questions regarding which main function should be attributed to the medium of radio. No definite answer was found. Although the general tenor of radio in Brazil has been increasingly organised commercially – and has a commercially flavoured output – there was never any *de jure* agreement or settlement. *De facto*, then, the system is somewhat 'mixed' or

open. Unfortunately, this lack of definition has exposed the radio sector in Brazil to near-continuous political and commercial exploitation. (Haussen, 2005; Rocha 2007).

2.2. The 'Golden Years' of Radio and the Rise of Television.

In the 1940's and 1950's radio experienced its so-called 'golden era'. Programmes such as the *rádio novelas* (radio soap operas), comic shows, sports events programmes and what were known as auditorium programmes were extremely popular, and radio was responsible for developing a notion of glamour in the country, which was later borrowed by television[1] (Rocha, 2007, p. 99). Actually, the end of these golden years for radio coincided with the introduction of television in 1950.

According to Cesar (2005), the rise of television worried radio entrepreneurs and producers who perceived the 'new' medium as a threat, 'stealing advertising revenue' as well as all the 'human talent' from radio (p. 199-200). This created an endless discussion as to whether television would cause the disappearance of radio, which proved to be an exaggerated concern. Yet, today television is by far the most dominant and influential medium in Brazil (Rocha, 2007; Straubhaar, 2007), but electronic media (radio and television) are much more influential than print media (newspapers) (Power and Roberts, 2000).

Similarly to what happened to radio, television was massively used for political purposes by the military dictatorship from 1964 to 1985, as a way to promote 'national unity', which might partially explain the historical dominance of television in Brazil (Reeves, 1993; Straubhaar, 1996). It is not surprising that the rise and consolidation of the largest television network and giant media corporation – Rede Globo (Globo Network) took place under the period of the military government.

2.3. The Military and the Globo Network.

The rise of the Globo Network can be best understood when related to the 1964 coup d'etat in Brazil, when, threatened by an allegedly imminent 'communist take-over',

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[1] However, Rocha points out that this notion did not correspond to the reality. As opposed to listeners' beliefs that radio staff consisted of rich and successful people, they were, in fact, overworked and underpaid. However, these notions of glamour helped create a radio celebrity culture.

Brazil's military decided to cast left-wing populists from power in a bloodless revolution that took place in 1964. After the coup, the military was in power in Brazil for 21 years. (Skidmore, 1999).

Reeves (1993) notes that the military dictatorships 'established firm control over the mass media while providing conditions for their expansion' (p. 98). Private broadcasting was under the military's rigid control and censorship, but at the same time, an ideology of economic growth left the commercial and transnational media alone to grow their business freely, as long as they did not attempt to defy the regime. Thus, investments in technology combined with an increase in advertising expenditure gave private broadcasting companies a significant boost (Reeves, 1993).

Founded in 1965, the Globo network started to put together its media empire during the military dictatorship period. Reeves (1993), Straubhaar (1996; 2007) and Amaral and Guimarães (1996) argue that TV Globo's commercial success has often been attributed to the network's intimate relationship with the government. The network managed to construct a broadcasting monopoly, not on the margins of the state, but rather with the support and protection of the successive military regimes (Amaral and Guimarães, 1996). Globo's steady growth was also made possible by the transfer of capital, technical and managerial expertise from the U.S. Time Life Group (Sousa, 1998), even though, according to the Brazilian law, foreign companies were not allowed to own or participate in the management of domestic broadcasting companies. This 'problem' was overcome by the use of political connections with the military in power and also by the interest of the government in developing a broadcasting network that would support its economic and industrial reforms (Sousa, 1998).

However, being a private broadcasting company that benefitted significantly from the economic policies pursued by the military dictatorships, TV Globo was caught in a contradictory situation (Reeves, 1993). In return for the economic incentives received, the TV station had to support the military dictatorships. At the same time and paradoxically the company embraced a capitalist ideology in which principles of competition, labour and other forces pushed for re-democratisation. As a result, the network ultimately identified with and supported the moves for full presidential elections, contradicting the orders and wishes of the military rulers. By the mid 1980s, Rede Globo emerged as a 'major independent political force able to exert considerable

pressure on the military regime through its support for civilian political forces' (Amaral and Guimarães, 1988, cited in Reeves, 1993).

This interdependency between the political system and the mass media had long-term consequences. Even after the re-democratisation process[2], the broadcasting industry in the country remained characterised by the dominance of a few privately owned television networks that also own other media outlets such as radio and newspapers. Among these networks, Globo is still by far the most powerful, having almost monopolised the market at times. Today, as Straubhaar (2007) points out, Globo is able to successfully compete in the world market with US and European communication industries.

Besides having an impressive position in the television broadcasting market both in Brazil and abroad, the presence of the Globo media group also extends to radio with its Globo Radio System (Sistema Globo de Radio – SGR). This includes well-established radio stations, such as Globo and CBN, which broadcast in over thirty Brazilian cities. In addition, Globo-owned stations such as Globo FM, Multishow FM, GNT are also available on the web (Globo Website – Corporate Information, 2010)[3].

Additionally, radio in the country has a marked commercial ethos, which results from a long tradition of privately owned media. This is significant because the dominance of a commercial model of broadcasting appears to leave little space for other forms of broadcasting that are not profit orientated, such as community radio. Thus, it is useful at this point to discuss how the military dictatorship influenced the emergency of FM stations and to explore how historical, political and economical events continue to limit the possibilities for a democratisation of the media.

2.4. The Emergence of FM Radio.

The 1970s brought some significant changes to the country's radio industry. Because radio was perceived as a carrier of governmental messages and propaganda, the military government was keen on spreading radio stations in the countryside of Brazil as a way to cover what they referred to as 'zones of silence', (César, 2005, p. 204). Having in

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[2] Direct elections were held in 1989
[3] http://globoradio.globo.com/institucional/quem-somos/QUEM-SOMOS.htm (Accessed on 25 May 2010)

mind the continental dimensions of Brazil, the strategy was to spread radio broadcasting activity around the country's remote areas. Thus, the limited reach of FM radio allowed for installing radio stations in all the municipalities, particularly in those areas that could not catch AM signals (Ibid).

However, FM radio was initially met with resistance by businessmen in the radio broadcasting industry, because of its limited territorial reach, which they perceived as an obstacle to targeting a wider 'mass' audience. To overcome this, the government created policies to facilitate the distribution of FM broadcasting licenses, and stimulated the national manufacturing of radio sets and equipments, which became significantly cheaper. This scheme proved to be successful: by the end of the 1970s, more than 85% of the Brazilian population had access to radio (César, 2005). This means that, although radio was becoming a 'secondary medium' compared with TV, it was also becoming more pervasive.

In the United States in the 1950s and 1960s, the FM radio audience grew and became fragmented in terms of preferences and behaviour. Similarly, FM radio in Brazil in the 1970s and 1980s started its process of 'audience segmentation in all levels: geographical, in terms of economic class, demographic profiles as well as different programming genres' (Cesar, 2005, p.205). As part of this segmentation, it started to cater for a younger audience by using a more colloquial, less formal style of speech (César, 2005).

This reinvigoration of radio made it more appealing for advertisers, which triggered a significant increase in the advertising budget spent on FM radio. As FM radio became a financially successful sector, there was a boost in the interest in obtaining licences. However, as it was previously mentioned in this chapter, the licensing process in Brazil has historically been problematic and controversial. The criteria of selection of those who receive licences have often been political. César (2005) notes that the practice of exchanging broadcasting licences for political support did not change with the re-democratisation of the country. He explains this problematic aspect by placing radio broadcasters in the following categories: a) businessmen or people who were interested in radio because it was a profitable business, b) politicians who were keen on promoting themselves and, c) Evangelical pastors who wanted to use the medium to propagate their religious beliefs.

These developments have had long term consequences, shaping the radio broadcasting map in the country into what it looks like today – it predominantly consists of commercial, privately-owned FM stations. This means that community radio has to operate within a highly competitive sector. Because community radio is not for profit and has a different raison d'etre as that of radio as a business, these stations have to survive in a rather hostile environment.

2.5. The Evangelical Media: Religion, Money and Politics.

The term 'Evangelical' appears coupled with the term 'media' frequently when discussing Brazil, but it is not always easy to define what different authors mean by the term. Freston (2001) tends to use the terms 'Protestants' and 'Evangelicals' interchangeably but he notes that the vast majority of these churches in Brazil would be called 'Evangelical' in the Anglophone sense (p.11). The author explains that the Protestants can be divided into Historical Churches or Historical Denominations[4],and Pentecostals[5]. According to Freston, there were three waves of Pentecostalism in Brazil, that happened in the 1910s, in the 1950s-early 1960s[6] and in the late 1970s-1980s. This last wave is often referred to as *Neo-Pentecostalism*, and its main representative is the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG). In general, 'Historical Churches attracted a membership higher in the social scale than the Pentecostals', and were numerically dominant and more socially influential in the past. Today Pentecostals (and Neo-Pentecostals) constitute two-thirds of all Protestants in Brazil. (Freston, 2001, p. 11-13).

According to Birman (2006), the UCKG in Brazil, in its early stages, was considered 'a disruptive presence, provoking conflict and disorder' (p. 57). However, later, this image gradually changed and so did their denomination. From Neo-Pentecostals or 'believers', the followers of the UCKG started to call themselves 'Evangelicals', and today, this term is used indiscriminately by all groups. By calling itself 'Evangelical', the UCKG can align itself with the broad spectrum of Pentecostal and Protestant-leaning groups now existing in Brazil' (Birman, 2006, p. 57).

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[4] Among Historical Churches are the Lutherans, Presbyterians and Baptists.
[5] Among Pentecostals are the Christian Congregation and the Assemblies of God.
[6] Three large groups were formed (among dozen of smaller ones): The Church of the Four-Square Gospel (1951), Brazil for Christ (1955) and God is Love (1962). All began in São Paulo. (Freston, 2001, p. 13).

Providing a detailed account of the main characteristics and denominations of the Evangelical churches in Brazil is beyond the scope of this thesis. The focus here is on two key issues. First, it has been identified that the Evangelical churches tend to thrive among the poor. As a consequence, in the Brazilian context, this is synonymous with having a marked presence in the favelas. Reis (2006) points that the UCKG is very successful in 'targeting unhappy, poor, disenfranchised urban populations, adapting its rituals and ceremonies to the local cultures and religions; buying and expertly using media channels (particularly broadcasting); and purchasing highly visible cultural landmarks, such as historic movie theatres and music venues' (p. 178). It seems as if the church fares well among the working classes because, rather than adopting a top-down approach, it listens to them carefully, delivering the messages that the audiences expect to hear. Thus, by being attentive to its public's needs, the UCKG represents a 'church of results', promising miracles and offering solutions to people's mundane and immediate requests (Campos, 1997, p. 222, cited in Reis, 2006, p.176).

The second issue that deserves attention is the Evangelical churches' (particularly, the UCKG's) links with the mass media in Brazil. This relationship tends to be paradoxical, as Freston (1993) and Figueredo Filho (2005) have argued. On one hand, the UCKG has had a significant amount of negative coverage in the Brazilian press. Both authors mention how powerful institutions such as the Catholic Church and the Globo Network perceive the Evangelical churches as a religious and business threat, and have been interested in treating Evangelicals, in general, and the UCKG followers, in particular, as a group of fundamentalists or religious fanatics.

On the other hand, churches such as the UCKG have managed to build an impressive media empire over the last decades. There has been an extensive amount of debate on the decline of the Catholic Church in Latin America and the ways in which the Evangelical churches have managed to attract large numbers of followers through their (competent) use of television and radio. Freston, for instance, believes that the UCKG's 'bold vision of penetration of cultural spaces' (2001, p. 15) resulted in a rapid growth in its membership numbers[7]. The author estimates that the Evangelicals currently represent fifteen percent of the country's population, or approximately twenty-three million

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[7] The growth of Evangelical churches and the decline of Catholicism in Brazil and other Latin American countries have been explained by authors such as Reis (2006), Bastian and Cuneen (1998). They claim that this is a result of a 'process of religious decentralization in which newly-urbanized and/or economically autonomous citizens move away from traditional (and in many cases oppressive) religious leaders' and 'the Catholic Church's hierarchical authoritarianism' (Reis, 2006, p. 171).

people. According to an article published by one of the country's most known newsmagazines, 'Revista Veja', the UCKG's membership grew by 280 percent in Brazil in the first half of the 1990s, going from 900,000 to 3.5 million members in only five years (cited in Reis, 2006, p. 171).

Additionally, a central portion of what has been written about the Neo-Pentecostals and the media focuses on one episode which was crucial for the emergence of the UCKG as a major player in the profitable Brazilian media market – its purchase of TV Record in 1989. At the time of purchase, the Record television network ranked at an unimpressive fifth place in terms of audience ratings (Freston, 2001, p. 17). However, being under the administration of the UCKG, by 2005 TV Record managed to consolidate its position as the country's second largest TV network, losing to TV Globo only[8]. Reis (2006) points out that 'it is impossible to understand that transformation without looking at the UCKG itself, since the Church provided the financial means, the religious-ideological backbone, and the built-in audience that rescued Record from its death throes' (p. 169).

Interestingly, the UCKG is often referred to as an 'entrepreneurially savvy' church, 'using religious marketing and the rational management of a multinational religious organisation to mobilise and reach several million people' (Bastian and Cuneen, 1998, p. 3, cited in Reis, 2006, p. 170). The UCKG's strategy includes taking full advantage of the globalisation and transnationalisation processes that have produced 'faster, globalised communication technologies' (Reis, 2006, p. 171). Thus, the church makes 'widespread use of telecommunication technologies for proselytising purposes' (Ibid). Furthermore, the church's aggressive business tactics have resulted in an impressive geographical expansion with temples being built in several countries[9], not to mention an increase in its number of 'followers' and an expansion of its media empire (Reis, 2006). Today, the UCKG-owned Record Network includes television, radio (such as Radio Record and Radio Aleluia), newspapers (such as Correio do Povo and Folha Universal) as well as publishing houses and recording studios (Rede Record, 2010[10]).

So far, the emergence of the Record network in the Brazilian media scenario reveals a combination of religion, business and power. Yet, there is another important factor to be

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[8] In 1997, for instance, TV Record established its own division for television drama, starting to produce *telenovelas* (soap operas) and stepping into an area that had traditionally been dominated by TV Globo.
[9] Such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Spain, Portugal, Italy and a host of Latin American and African countries (Reis, 2006, p. 172)
[10] Rede Record's website: http://redereord.r7.com (Accessed on 31 May 2010)

added to this equation: politics. Because there are such close links between media and politics in the country, this implies that, if the growth of Evangelical churches is connected to the media, these churches (and their growth) are, by association, also connected to politics. Freston suggests that this is a two-way street: media ownership enables the church to become politically robust, whilst politics helps the church gain more access to the media (2001, p.21). To quote him, 'the media are easily associated with political activity, through the visibility they give to their presenters, through the power of owners in relation to Protestant leaders who for various reasons (proselytism, status or business) desire access to them and through concession-holders' need for political support'(p. 17). This is made possible by the way in which the process of giving licences (often referred to as 'concessions') works in Brazil. As he explains, 'concessions of channels are a prerogative of the executive, with congressional approval. Although there are technical and financial criteria, ownership depends, in the last analysis, on political factors' (Ibid).

Freston also notes that 'nearly half of the Protestant congressmen since 1986 have had links with the media, whether as presenters of programmes or owners of stations' (2001, p.17). For some of these congressmen/pastors, the route has been from media into politics; for others, from politics into media. Additionally, the Chamber of Deputies' commission of communication has a high number of Protestant members who are often opposed to plans to democratise the media (Ibid).

Not surprisingly, this is also the case with the UCKG as the church's politics are also deeply linked to the media. The church was successful in establishing a solid parliamentary base in the 1990s and is known for its members' electoral discipline (Freston, 2001, p. 17). The purchase of TV Record is particularly helpful in illustrating the extent to which politics and the media are intertwined. When the UCKG's founder, Bishop Edir Macedo acquired TV Record in 1989, this was done by 'purchase of an existing channel; a route which postpones the political work to a second moment, that of government approval of the transfer' (Freston, 2001, p. 18). This was because, at the time, the church had the money but not yet the political power. Being aware of this, the Bishop supported Fernando Collor[11] for the presidential elections. However, when Collor was in power, he split with Macedo, aiming to obtain his own communication

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[11] He was the first president to be elected after the military dictatorship in 1989. In 1992, he had to resign in order to avoid being impeached due to corruption charges.

network. Macedo would have probably lost TV Record for Collor if it was not for the latter's impeachment in 1992. On this occasion, Collor turned to the UCKG parliamentary base in order to get their votes against his impeachment. In exchange, Macedo's ownership of TV Record was guaranteed (Ibid).

In conclusion, this discussion of Evangelical media and of the emergence of the UCKG as an important actor in Brazil's mediascape is relevant for this thesis in two ways. Firstly, it appears that Evangelical media might be successfully targeting the same audience that community media aims at speaking to in the favela. Thus, in subsequent chapters I will investigate further the impact of evangelical broadcasting in Pau da Lima and its relationship with community radio. More specifically, I will suggest that community radio in Pau da Lima has to be understood, at least in part, through its relationship with Evangelical movements. Certain questions come to the fore. What, for example, are the perceptions of listeners regarding Evangelical radio programmes? What do they like about it? If we think of community and Evangelical radio are there similarities in terms of programming?

In the second place, this might imply that the mutual links between media and politics also exist at the small-scale local levels (both in local politics and local media). Therefore, this leads to an exploration of the potential interference of politics in community radio in the favela and vice-versa. It might also be worth asking whether the dynamics of exchanging broadcasting licenses for political support apply to community radio in the favela.

3. The Brazilian Mediascape Today.

3.1. General Features.

So far, this chapter has identified the main themes which are crucial for an understanding of the Brazilian mediascape – a strong commercial ethos as well as links with religion and politics. In sum, the media scenario in the country can be described as:

a) Being dominated by a few large commercial media groups[12], which can be traced back to the period of military dictatorship and to the fact that Brazil has

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[12] A recent development has been the creation of the TV Brasil channel, a Public Service Broadcaster, in 2007. However, as of 2010 TV Brasil still has a very limited geographical reach as well as low audience ratings.

significantly 'imported' commercial media business models from the United States. It is also important to note that the public service sector has been virtually non-existent in the country;

b) Being dominated by the 'electronic' media, with television and radio being present in virtually every household;

c) Having an increasingly stronger presence of the Evangelical Churches, especially Neo-Pentescostal Churches, such as the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG), which is the owner of TV Record, the second largest television network in the country;

d) Being largely politicised with frequent instances of politicians who own various media outlets (including radio stations) as well as various instances of radio and television broadcasting 'concessions' being granted in exchange for political support.

A study of media concentration in Brazil from 1998 to 2002, conducted by the Institute of Communication Studies and Research[13], is helpful in illustrating the extent to which a few commercially orientated and privately-owned media groups are in control of most of the country's media. The study, which was called 'The Media Owners' (Os Donos da Mídia) revealed that 6 Brazilian private television networks – Globo, Sistema Brasileiro de Televisão (SBT or Brazilian System of Television), Record, Bandeirantes, Rede TV! and Central Nacional de Televisão (CNT or National Television Centre) alone are in control of 667 media outlets, which include 294 VHF (Very High Frequency) TV stations, 15 UHF (Ultra High Frequency) TV stations, 308 radio stations and 50 daily newspapers.

The study establishes a ranking from first to fourth, in terms of which groups own the most television and radio channels as well as newspapers and magazines. The first rank is occupied by the media groups with the largest amount of media outlets. These media groups are called the 'network-heads' (*cabeças de rede*) and are represented by the largest (all privately-owned) television networks - Globo, Record, SBT, Bandeirantes, Rede TV!, CNT. If one takes into consideration the television and radio affiliates (or franchises of local stations that carry these larger networks), the amount of media outlets owned by the network-heads is much larger.[14] In addition to the 'network-heads'

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[13] Instituto de Estudos e Pesquisa em Comunicação - EPCOM
[14] Tables 2.1 and 2.2 in Appendix 2.1 show in details the number of outlets owned by 'network-heads'.

that own television, radio stations and newspapers, the 'Media Owners' report reveals that in Brazil there are also powerful media groups which dominate the magazine and newspaper markets[15].

The second rank in terms of media ownership is represented by national and regional groups that have an impressive economic presence and political influence, such as the Brazilian Multimedia Company (CBM – Companhia Brasileira de Multimídia). CBM owns book publishing companies and the prestigious daily newspapers 'Jornal do Brasil' and 'Gazeta Mercantil', which specialises in financial news. The 'third rank' comprises smaller regional groups. The groups typically own franchises of local radio and television stations that carry the networks which belong to the 'network-heads'. Finally, the 'fourth rank' comprehends regional groups or independent media, which are not connected to the television sector.

Overall, the Report demonstrates that in Brazil, a few commercial and privately owned media groups are in control of a large amount of media outlets, such as television and radio stations, publishing companies, newspapers and magazines. The Public Service Broadcasting sector in the country is virtually non-existent. There is, however, one network whose format and ethos resembles that of a public service broadcaster – The Rede Cultura of radio and television (Cultura Network). The network belongs to the Padre Anchieta Foundation, which is connected to the Government of the State of São Paulo and presents itself as an independent and not-for-profit entity. Cultura claims to have a focus on the 'cultural, educational and artistic programming', rather than on the market'. [16]

What is most striking, however, is that the most powerful groups, with the exception of Editora Abril, are those in control of the largest amount of television and radio stations. This can be attributed to the fact that television and radio are by far the major source (and sometimes the only) source of information for most Brazilians. According to the 'Media Owners' report, television is present in 87.7% of the households while 88% of Brazilians listen to the radio and 81% of Brazilians watch television every day.

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[15] The publishing company Editora Abril, for instance, controls 69.3% of the magazine market while two groups from the state of Sao Paulo, *O Estado de Sao Paulo* and *Folha de Sao Paulo*, together, are responsible for 10% of the country's newspaper circulation. These companies are also placed within the first rank of media owners in Brazil.
[16] www.tvcultura.com.br

Contrastingly, 48% of Brazilians do not read newspapers or only have access to them once a week[17].

3.2. Politics and Broadcasting Licences.

In practical terms, political influence – whether secular or Evangelical – operates most vividly in terms of the granting of broadcasting licences. The extent to which this process has been mired in politics in Brazil has, for instance, been highlighted by Luis Fernando Moncau (2007), and Timothy Power and Timmons Roberts (2000).

In an article written for Hear Us Now[18], a consumer rights organization, Moncau points out that until the end of the military dictatorship in the mid 1980s, broadcasting licences were largely distributed among friends and sympathisers of the political regimes in office. Power and Roberts (2000) add that while the politicisation of the media was initiated by the military regime, it continued after the democratization of Brazil. Similarly to the licensing process described by Moncau, the authors state that 'since 1985, 'concessions to operate television and radio stations have routinely been awarded to federal legislators in return for political support'. As a consequence, they suggest, politicians who have obtained broadcasting 'concessions' from the Federal Government's Ministry of Communications have 'developed media empires in their home states', using them to 'subtly or overtly influence their coverage on local television and radio news and in major newspapers they own or control' (Power and Roberts, 2000, p. 258). The most striking evidence of this political control of broadcasting lies in the fact that, in some states, more than half of the local congressional delegation owns a television station, a radio station or both (Ibid, p. 259).

There are some important implications of this scenario for the relatively recent Brazilian democracy, as pointed by Power and Roberts (2000). On one hand, they suggest that television has inarguably made some important contributions to democracy, such as covering the mass mobilisations in favour of direct elections in 1984. On the other hand, they believe that the 'ongoing inequality in access to the electronic media weakens the Brazilian democracy in several ways'. First, the dubious nature of the concessions-awarding process means that 'politicians grant most television and radio licenses to

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[17] Sources: The National Telecommunications Agency (Agencia Nacional de Telecomunicacoes – ANATEL) and 'Grupo de Midia'.
[18] www.hearusnow.org (Acessed on 13 April 2009)

themselves', thus maintaining the political elites in power. Second, oligopolisation of television and radio help create a trend of 'political personalism', which, although not obvious at the federal level, is evident in subnational politics. As argued by Moncau, this process of 'oligopolisation' of the media is also facilitated by the fact that, in Brazil, there are no laws to prevent cross-ownership of the media. This means that the large media corporations and politicians are free to build their empires by acquiring newspapers, magazines, radio and television stations within the same geographical market. Finally this process of political manipulation of the media prevents the free flow of information and can be harmful to political pluralism[19]. (Ibid)

In conclusion, Power and Roberts articulate that greater levels of 'informational equality' lead to a more successful democratisation process. As they put it: 'when the public airwaves are consistently used for private ends', whether commercial or political, 'the quality of the political debate suffers'. It also becomes more difficult for 'non-elite actors, especially popular organizations and progressive movements' to express alternative viewpoints' (Power and Roberts, 2000, p. 259). The authors raise a point of particular importance to this study of community radio in the everyday life of a favela. Both the oligopolisation and politicisation of the media impose a series of constraints to what Power and Roberts refer to as 'non-elite' actors in the Brazilian media scenario. They represent a personal control of media for private ends, which contradicts the principles of community media.

3.3. The Radio Industry.

As it was previously noted, all radio stations in the country are under the regulation of one federal agency – The National Agency of Telecommunications, ANATEL. According to ANATEL, in 2009, there were 6,800 licensed FM stations in the country. The Agency only presents two general categories of FM stations: FM and community, and defines community FM radio stations as those that operate in low power, have a restricted coverage and whose concessions are awarded to not-for-profit community associations. The radio station's facilities have to be located in the community to whom they broadcast. ANATEL does not specify whether these non-community FM radio

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[19] One attempt to counter-balance this factor is awarding all parties free television and radio time during the 2 months prior to the elections. However, owners/politicians 'still have the upper hand when it comes to the day-to-day reporting of news'. (Power and Roberts, 2000, p. 259).

stations are commercial or not, but being aware of the broadcasting scenario in the country, it can be assumed that the vast majority are privately-owned.

Out of these 6,800 stations, 42.6%, or 2,903 stations were (non-community) FM radio stations[20]. Interestingly, community radio, with 3,897 stations represents the majority of the FM stations in the country – 57.3%. In 2002, this was not the case. There were 1,625 community radio stations or 45%. This means that, in 7 years, the number of community radio stations has more than doubled from 1,625 to 3,897.

The number of AM radio stations is smaller, with a total of 1,913 stations in the country in 2009. ANATEL divides the AM stations in three different frequency bands: Medium Wave (MW), Short Wave (SW) and Tropical Wave (TW)[21]. Out of the three bands, MW has by far the greatest share with 92.6% of the stations, or 1,773 in 2009.[22]

The ANATEL categorisations seem somewhat unclear. As it was previously suggested, the agency does not present distinctions in the FM radio sector other than non-community (privately-owned commercial) FM radio and community FM radio. The latter can be distinguished from the former in terms of its nature (since it cannot be profit orientated), ownership (since it needs to be registered by an 'association') and according to technical specifications (such as regulatory restrictions on the reach of its coverage and its power). This can be attributed to the overwhelming predominance of the commercial sector in Brazil and the country's unfamiliarity with the public service model. Additionally, in light of what we know about the Evangelical media in Brazil, other factors such as the religious motivations of broadcasters could be but are not yet taken into account by ANATEL.

Figueredo Filho (2008) investigated the relationships between media and religion in Brazil[23]. His research shows that, in 2006, 25.18% of the FM radio stations and 20.55% of the AM radio stations in Brazil's capital cities were owned by Evangelical Churches.

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[20] FM radio stations operate at the frequency band from 87.8 MHz to 108 MHz

[21] Onda Media (OM), Onda Curta (OC) and Onda Tropical (OT).
MW stations operate at the frequency band from 525 KHz to 1,605 KHz and 1,605 KHz to 1,705 KHz.
SW operates from 5,950 kHz to 6,200 kHz, 9,500 kHz to 9,775 kHz, 11,700 kHz to 11,975 kHz, 15,100 kHz to 15,450 kHz, 17,700 kHz to 17,900 kHz, 21,450 kHz to 21,750 kHz and 25,600 kHz to 26,100 kHz.
TW operate from 2,300 kHz to 2,495 kHz, 3,200 kHz to 3,400 kHz, 4,750 kHz to 4,995 kHz and 5,005 kHz to 5.060 kHz./ Source: ANATEL

[22] See Table 2.3 in Appendix2.1 for detailed information on the number of AM and FM radio in Brazil.

[23] Doctoral thesis titled 'Os três poderes das redes de comunicação evangélicas: simbólico, econômico e político' (The Three powers of the evangelical communication networks: symbolic, economic and political)

The author also reveals that the Pentecostal churches have the largest number of radio concessions. The most notable examples are the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG), with twenty-four FM radio stations, and the Assembly of God (AG), with nine AM stations.[24] His study only focuses on the urban radio markets, having analysed the presence of evangelical media in Brazil's state capitals. However, it does help provide a dimension of the considerable pervasiveness of evangelical radio in the country.

In a study of evangelical FM radio stations in the city of Belém, Brazil, Costa et al. (2003) looked at the stations' general style of programming. As opposed to their 'non-evangelical' FM stations, these stations are mostly about broadcasting the churches' worships and religious songs (Costa et al, 2003, p. 2). They note that the pastors are often trained in order to learn the radio style of speech and argue that the evangelical FM stations have a 'participatory' nature, giving the listeners the chance to participate intensively by telling personal stories and giving suggestions (p. 3).

This 'participatory' nature of evangelical radio is important because it connects to what is usually described as a characteristic of community radio. Authors such as David Hendy (2000) have generally described community radio as more 'participatory' than mainstream radio because it is smaller in scale, closer to the listening community and more concerned with 'communal' rather than individual interests and forms of expression (Hendy, 2000, p. 16).

In spite of the growth of the community radio sector, it is the commercial radio sector that is still the strongest in the Brazilian radio industry, raising an average of 262 million US Dollars per year in advertising revenue. [25] In the commercial radio sector, evangelical radio stations also have a strong presence with over 25% of the FM radio stations in Brazil's capital cities being owned by Evangelical and mainly Pentecostal Churches in 2006.

While ANATEL only distinguishes between general (commercial) FM and community radio, perhaps it could also differentiate between the non-evangelical stations and

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[24] See Tables 2.4 and 2.5 in Appendix 2.1 for more information about the number of Evangelical FM and AM Radios in Brazil's capitals.
[25] Anuário de Mídia (Media Annual Report), Grupo de Mídia. Television, however, has the much greater advertising revenue of more than 3 Billion US Dollars.

evangelical stations. Although the two share a similar business model (since they broadcast adverts), they bear significant differences in terms of motivations – with the latter aiming to spread the 'word of God', and programming – with religious songs and preaching on air. At the same time, community radio and evangelical radio overlap in a sense that they are more participatory in nature and run for a specific community, whether it is a geographic or a religious community.

3.4. The Community Radio Sector.

Similarly to radio researchers in Britain (Hendy, 2000; Lewis and Jones, 2006), scholars who have focused on community media in Brazil, such as Cicilia Peruzzo (2004), have described community radio in terms of their participatory ethos. Not only these stations are managed collectively, their aims are not to make profit but rather to address the needs of a specific community for whom they exist (p. 252).

ANATEL describes community radio stations as FM stations whose aim is 'to give an opportunity to local communities', broadcasting their ideas, culture, traditions and social habits. Community broadcasting should offer tools for building and integrating the community, stimulating leisure, culture and social rapport. It should allow citizens to express themselves in the most democratic manner'[26]. According to ANATEL, there were 3,897 community radio stations in Brazil in 2009. Nevertheless, Peruzzo estimates that, if we take into account the stations that are not yet legalised, the number of stations might be as high as over 10,000 stations (Peruzzo, 2004, p. 253).

It was not until 1998 that community radio was made legal in Brazil, with the approval of the law number 9,612. The law also establishes technical requirements such as stations having to operate on low power (25 watts) and only being allowed to broadcast within a radius of 1 km from the antenna. The stations have to be managed by civil entities whose members are representatives of neighbourhood and community associations.

Many Brazilian authors specialised in community radio are critical of this legislation. Coelho Neto (2002), for example, opposes the fact that only one federal agency,

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[26] Definition found on the Law number 9612, Decree Number 2615 of 3 June 1998, which made community radio legal in Brazil.

ANATEL, has the responsibility of granting 'concessions' to stations all over the country. In his opinion, community radio should be under local, 'municipal' laws which would be able to cope better with the high demand for licences and have a better understanding of the stations' local contexts (Coelho Neto, 2002, p. 124-25). This opinion is shared by De Lima and Lopes (2007) who argue that because community radio stations have much stronger local than national concerns, it would be more logical for the licensing process to be handled on a local rather than on a federal level. (p.5)

Coelho Neto (2002) also disagrees with some of the legislation's technical aspects, such as only allowing the stations to broadcast within a radius of one kilometre and limiting the power to 25 watts. He believes that this 'ignores the geographic specificities of each community' (p. 125). De Lima and Lopes (2007) add that while it may appear at first instance that the 1998 Community Radio Law was an innovation, it is far from being an adequate answer to Brazil's need for democratisation of the media. On the contrary, they believe that the law is restrictive, making it even more difficult for ordinary citizens to obtain broadcasting licenses. The authors point out that the process is extremely bureaucratic, slow and has a long list of requirements which often result in the concession requests being archived. In the majority of the cases, the requests fail for bureaucratic reasons rather than technical. According to De Lima and Lopes' research, out of 4,878 community radio license requests between August 1998 and May 2004, more than 80% were archived for not having met a bureaucratic demand, such as failing to provide all the (numerous) necessary documents (De Lima and Lopes, 2007, p. 16-17).

However, the licensing process can be much easier if the station in question finds someone who has a political connection to back it up. In their extensive research on community radio licensing from 1998 to 2004, De Lima and Lopes note that out of the 1,822 requests of stations which did not have a 'godfather' (the expression used in Portuguese, meaning a politician) behind it, only 146 were approved, or a success rate of 8%. As for the applicants that had a 'godfather', 357 out of 1,010 requests were approved, making it a 35% success rate. They conclude that an applicant with a political connection has a chance four times greater to obtain a 'concession' in Brazil than an applicant with no connection (De Lima and Lopes, 2007, p. 26-27).

3.5. The 'New Electronic *Coronelismo'*.

The term 'new electronic *coronelismo'* was coined by De Lima and Lopes to refer to the support given by politicians to radio stations, as mentioned above. The word '*coronelismo'* derives from the practices of land owners during the Old Republic period in Brazil. The '*coronéis'*, or land owners would buy votes by offering pieces of land and favours in exchange. After the 1950s and throughout the military dictatorship, this practice evolved to what the authors call 'electronic *coronelismo'*, in which politicians would obtain political support in exchange for giving away radio and television broadcasting concessions.

Politicians would also grant themselves concessions, starting their own radio and television empires. An often cited example of the 'electronic *coronelismo'* practice is that of former President of Brazil José Sarney in his home state of Maranhão. Sarney's family owns the media group Sistema Mirante de Comunicação, which consists of a local franchise of TV Globo, cable television, nine radio stations and one daily newspaper called 'O Estado do Maranhão' (De Lima and Lopes, 2007, p. 7). The 'new electronic *coronelismo'*, thus, works in the same way, with politicians helping small scale stations obtain their 'concessions' and, in exchange, using these stations for campaigning for votes during electoral times (Ibid).

De Lima and Lopes (2007) find evidence for this scenario by estimating that between 1998 and 2004, 1,106 out of the 2,205 legalised community radio stations they researched, or over 50% of the stations, has some sort of connection with a politician on a city level (p. 40). They also found that a significant number of stations – 120 stations, or 5.4 % had some form of religious connection. Out of these 120 stations, 83, or 69.2% were Catholic and 33 or 27.5% were Evangelical (Ibid, p. 44)[27].

To conclude, this would appear to pose serious threats, challenges and constraints to the community radio sector in Brazil and therefore needs to be explored further throughout my thesis. This scenario would appear to contradict traditional notions of what constitutes the ethos of community radio. On one hand, the Brazilian legislation and the

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[27] The authors suspect, however, that the number of religious stations were underestimated by their study because they could only rely on local news and information provided by the associations themselves, lacking more official sources.

academic literature define community radio as a not-for-profit sector, which must serve the needs of the community and which ought to be devoid of any political or religious agendas.

On the other hand, a whole different picture is revealed on the ground. As it can be inferred from De Lima and Lopes' study, community radio in Brazil is often controlled directly or indirectly by local politicians such as city councillors, mayors or party leaders. In addition, there are frequent instances of community radio stations being linked to Evangelical Churches.

4. Conclusion.

Brazil has a complex mediascape in which the commercial sector has always dominated the scene. There is also a high degree of politicisation as well as increasingly stronger links between the media and religious institutions such as the Catholic and Evangelical Churches. In order to better understand this scenario, this chapter has briefly examined the early years of radio and television broadcasting in Brazil.

This analysis reveals some of the factors which have played a role in making the Brazilian media so predominantly commercial. Various scholars such as Fox (1988), Rocha (2007), and Ferrareto (2001) attribute this commercially-orientated media environment to the influence that the United States has had in the development of Latin American media. Since the early years of radio broadcasting and during the period in which the 'the good neighbour policy' was in place, the United States invested heavily in Brazilian broadcasting, as a way to expand the market for North American products.

As suggested by Ferrareto (2001), the Brazilian radio industry was considerably reliant on American technology and capital. The author argues that early Brazilian radio had imported American radio's business model and often copied the American style of programming. Being located on 'the backyard' of the United States, Brazil's broadcasting system was significantly influenced by its powerful neighbour. Today the country is known for its highly profitable television and radio markets.

While a lot of debate has focused on Brazilian media's capitalistic nature, other authors such as Haussen (2005) have looked at the political elements of the media in the

country. According to the author, as early as in 1937, radio started being used as a tool for government propaganda by the populist dictator Getulio Vargas.

In addition, as suggested by Reeves (1993), Straubhaar (1996; 2007) and Amaral and Guimarães (1996), the twenty one years of military regime were paramount in shaping the Brazilian mediascape into what it is today. While the military did not directly control the private media sector, the former allowed the latter to expand its business and obtained, in exchange, the media's compliance to the regime. The most often cited result of this 'strategy' is the rise of the giant television network and media empire Rede Globo.

Another legacy of the military dictatorship for the Brazilian mediascape is the practice of distributing broadcasting licenses amongst friends and sympathisers of the regime (Moncau, 2007; Power and Roberts, 2000). This tradition continued after the re-democratisation of the country and has resulted in the present scenario of media concentration. This is evident in the 'Media Owners' report which shows that a large number of media oulets (including radio, television, newspapers, and publishing companies) are in the hands of a few large private media groups, such as Rede Globo and Rede Record.

While Rede Globo has attracted a lot of academic interest, researchers have also turned their attention to a more recent phenomenon: the emergence of Rede Record (owned by the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God – UCKG) and of the Evangelical churches as key players in the media industry. Furthermore, Freston (2001) shows that just as it happens with non-religious commercial media the Evangelical media also has close connections with politics.

These bonds between the media, politics and religion in Brazil raise important questions and debates. Authors such as Power and Roberts (2003) are concerned that the quality of the debate promoted by the media might suffer as a result of the media not being independent from the country's political actors. They also propose that the re-democratisation of the country is followed by a democratisation of the air waves, allowing 'non-elite' actors such as popular movements to express themselves and generating a greater diversity of viewpoints.

Consequently, supporting community radio is a logical choice for those who seek a more democratic media. Community radio's potential for giving a voice to the 'voiceless' becomes particularly valued in places like the favelas because they tend to host the most economically vulnerable and discriminated against populations. As it will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, it has been widely agreed amongst practitioners and academics that community radio can play an important role in serving the needs of the impoverished communities for whom the stations exist. Thus, favela residents can benefit considerably from community radio initiatives.

Given what we know about the highly commercial, political and/or religious nature of broadcasting in Brazil, community radio emerges as being potentially *different,* having a distinct set of purposes and objectives. In other words, community radio is not expected to be tainted by business, political or religious motivations.

However, a less optimistic scenario is suggested through this analysis of the current mediascape in Brazil. Community radio would appear to operate in a highly compromised environment with several problematic aspects. First, due to the lack of state subsidies, community radio often has to adopt a commercial model, which implies that the sector might not be independent from corporate interests. Second, the licensing process is often unfair, favouring stations that have political connections and possibly leaving out stations that have genuine community-orientated purposes but no political backing. Third, due to these political connections at the local level, the licensed stations might not be independent to criticise certain political parties or representatives. Fourth, Evangelical radio stations tend to thrive among low income communities, thus attracting a similar audience. And finally, these religious broadcasters aim at converting listeners into 'believers', which contradicts the idea that the media should be secular or at least plural in religious orientation. Therefore, all these elements indicate that any researcher on the ground might find community radio in Brazil to be suffering from a vicious cycle of limitations imposed by social, economic, political and religious forces.

Additionally, a survey of the literature on the Brazilian mediascape and an examination of the data provided by Brazil's media regulator ANATEL shows that the European model of placing broadcasting within well-defined sectors such as public service, commercial and community media does not really apply to Brazil. As it was previously argued, the country has had virtually no experience of public service broadcasting.

Besides, any strict separations between business, politics and religion appear to be somewhat artificial. Politics are often infused with religion and business whilst churches seem inherently political and are frequently run as businesses. This is also the case with the media which can be commercial, political and religious all at once. One goal of this thesis is to explore this potentially damaging brew through a focus on Pau da Lima. In so doing it will examine the question of whether community radio – in this instance at least - should be regarded as hopelessly compromised, or, rather, as something which is highly adaptable.

CHAPTER 3

COMMUNITY RADIO IN EVERYDAY LIFE

The Hills Don't Have Their Turn (O Morro Não Tem Vez)

Give way to the hills

...

It's one, it's two, it's three

It's one hundred, it's one thousand (people) drum-beating

The hills don't have their turn

But if the hills are given their turn

The entire city will sing

<div align="right">

From the song 'O Morro Não Tem Vez'
by Tom Jobim and Vinicius de Moraes,
my translation[1]

</div>

1. Introduction

The song 'O Morro Não Tem Vez' was created by Tom Jobim and Vinícius de Moraes, two well-known Brazilian musicians. It speaks of the day when the people from the favelas, who have been historically excluded and marginalised, will take over the city with their songs, drums and voices. Not surprisingly, the Brazilian 'elites' are not so keen on 'singing' about the day when 'thousands' of favela residents will 'come down' the hills and 'invade' the city. The tone of the song is that of a description of an unlikely event or a speculation—*if* only the hills *were* given a chance...

In general terms, community media have been written about as embodying the moment in which 'having their turn' is no longer a matter of *if* or an unfulfilled condition. 'Having their turn', it is suggested, can become a reality for those who are disenfranchised. Thus, to use an expression widely found in the academic literature, community media are taken to represent one of the rare instances in which 'the

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[1] Lyrics in Portuguese: *Abram alas pro morro/Tamborim vai falar/É um, é dois, é três/É cem, é mil a batucar/O morro não tem vez/ Mas se derem vez ao morro/Toda a cidade vai cantar.* There are many other versions of the song by several Brazilian artists and also an English version called 'Somewhere in the hills' in which the tunes are the same but the lyrics were not translated from the Portuguese original. To hear an excerpt of an instrumental version of the song:
http://www.last.fm/music/Antônio+Carlos+Jobim/_/O+Morro+Nao+Tem+Vez+(aka+%22Fave

voiceless are given a voice' (Lewis and Jones, 2006). Having the opportunity to voice their points of view, ordinary people are then able to take responsibility 'for distributing their own ideologies and representations' (Bailey et.al, 2008, p. 14). As it was briefly discussed in the previous chapter, the term 'community media' derives from a focus on the 'communal'. In general terms, community media are smaller in scale and not only interested in knowing well the community they address but also allowing this community to speak for itself.

In this thesis, I investigate the role that community radio plays in the lives of its listeners in the favela (such as potentially giving them a voice). In other words, my perspective is that of the listeners' own experiences, as they are conditioned by the culture and space of the favela. This points to a need to embrace three areas of enquiry, which complement each other: community media studies, audience studies and what has come to be labelled as 'auditory culture'. The chapter is organised in three main sections as follows (plus this introduction and conclusion):

a) Section 2 examines the literature on community media studies;

b) Section 3 tackles 'the listener', surveying the field of audience studies;

c) Section 4 deals with 'listening', and incorporates a range of academic works on 'auditory culture'.

The aim is to navigate through each of these areas to identify useful ideas and research gaps. For example, it has been noted that, despite the presence of a vigorous literature on community media, too little is still known about 'the audiences' perceptions and experiences of community media (Downing, 2003). Many studies of community media have been written from the angle of community media producers, but very little attention has been paid to community radio users, their reasons for tuning in and the ways in which radio is part of their daily lives. Consequently, this gap leads us to another field within media studies, that of audience/reception studies.

Researchers of media audiences ask questions which are very relevant for my research such as: why and how people use their media and how is it that radio and television find their 'way so profoundly and intimately into the fabric of our daily lives?' (Silverstone, 1994). Yet, many of these scholarly works are more concerned with television than radio. They also tend to focus on 'domesticity' as a key concept. My review of the studies of favelas and of the (less numerous) studies of audiences written from a non-

western perspective (Mano, 2004; De Oliveira, 2007) indicate that listening to the radio in the favela must go beyond the 'living rooms' and 'homes', moving to the streets and to the neighbourhoods. Radio then needs to be understood within its wider sonic environment, or 'soundscape' (Schafer, 1994). This unveils the need to incorporate yet another area of scholarship into my research: auditory culture (Bull and Back, 2003), and some aspects of the related field of 'sound studies' (Hilmes, 2005).

The potential benefits of adopting this three-fold approach seem to outnumber the challenges. The complexity of the issues that I face on the ground poses questions that defy black and white categorisations, making it difficult to find solutions within only one (clearly demarcated) disciplinary framework. Therefore, this research is empirically-driven, searching for ideas within various disciplines such as media studies, auditory culture studies, and anthropology, in an attempt to do justice to the richness of the listening experience.

2. Community Media.

2.1. What Makes it Community Radio?

The World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters' (known by its French acronym AMARC) lists a few of the denominations that are used in different places of the world. Besides community radio, practitioners, listeners and academics speak of 'participatory' radio, 'alternative' radio, 'rural' radio, 'free' radio, 'popular' radio and 'educational' radio.[2] Obviously there are countless community, or alternative, or participatory radio stations in the world, each with its own context, characteristics and experiences. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that there is a certain struggle to find a common ground that is able to encompass this wide range of practices. Given all the obstacles, and the fact that many 'community' stations are of a small scale and sometimes of a transitory nature, it makes sense to find a broad definition that to some extent is able to fit as many 'community' media initiatives, projects and stations as possible. As argued by AMARC's president, Michel Delorme[3], the diversity, richness and the large size of the participatory radio movement is exactly what makes it strong (Lewis, 2006, p. 26).

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[2] http://www.amarc.org/index.php?p=What_is_Community_radio?&l=EN (Accessed 02 July 2007)
[3] In 1990

When referring to AMARC's definition dilemma, Lewis indicates that, despite the fact that finding a 'one-size fits all' designation would be nearly impossible, the association has been pushed to agree on a 'tighter' definition. According to him, on the one hand, this has 'been influential with international funding agencies', on the other, it has put 'oppressive expectations upon systems that would prefer a more flexible definition' (Lewis, 2006, p. 26). Furthermore, one cannot talk about 'community' media without explaining what is meant by 'community'. Presenting a comprehensive definition of the term 'community' is beyond the aims of this chapter, though a clearer definition might be something that emerges organically through this thesis as a whole.

To Jankowski (2002), 'community is conventionally identified with a relatively limited geographical region—a neighbourhood, village, town, in some cases a city' (p. 5). However, 'community' might also be a 'community of interest', where members have cultural, social or political interests in common (Ibid). For the purposes of this discussion, Pau da Lima is conveniently circumscribed within geographical boundaries. Therefore, it is possible to argue that Pau da Lima is a community of neighbours. Based on what we know about favelas and Pau da Lima, one can also claim that Pau da Lima *is* a community in a sense that residents do share many socio-demographic traits. For example, similarly to other working-class peripheral areas in Salvador, Pau da Lima has a very significant black population. In addition, a considerable percentage of the population has low paid occupations and low levels of formal education. The fact that they live in a neighbourhood with several 'invasion areas' might suggest that residents are familiar with the social stigmas attached to being a *'favelado'*. Besides, being neighbours might also indicate that residents share interests, which relate to ways in which their lives can be affected.

On the other hand, as noted by the anthropologist Anthony Cohen, while communities are often perceived as expressions of 'commonality', they can also represent expressions of 'difference'. This means that communities are situated in symbolically constructed boundaries of symbolic practices (such as language, dress, customs and rituals) that both 'contain' and 'differentiate' (Cohen, 1985, cited in Howley, 2005, p.5). This connects to Medina's (1964) observations of the favelas as heterogeneous environments where sub-groups will make use of their own codes in order to 'differentiate' themselves. This is also the case with Pau da Lima. As pointed out in

Chapter 1, a great variety of occupations, lifestyles, ethnic backgrounds, education levels and religious beliefs, among other elements, can be found in the 'community'.

As noted in Chapter 2, there is an assumption that 'community' media *differ* from commercial or public service broadcasting because they are concerned with the peculiar needs of a specific community. Unlike public service broadcasting, their aim is not to serve society as a whole and, unlike commercial media, they are not business or profit orientated. Community media scholars such as Hollander and Stappers (1992) stress community media's distinctiveness from 'mass media' as something 'not intended for a mass audience and with no intention of becoming mass media' (p. 19). Rather, what is special about community media is their ability to cater for a specific community (geographical and/or community of interest). As a consequence, the assumption is that community media are capable, better than mainstream media, of addressing their audience's needs because of the shared relevance that community issues have for both senders and receivers, given that they are all part of the same community (Ibid).

This perception of locality as an 'advantage' of community media is also found in the work of Alfonso Gumucio Dagron (2001) who states that community media's outreach and geographic coverage are better than those of other media because 'they are cost efficient', convey 'the spoken language', reach the illiterate population that still remains marginalised and 'are relevant to local practices, traditions and cultures' (Gumucio Dagron, 2001, p. 19, cited in Lewis, 2006). Bailey et.al (2008) point out that AMARC puts a strong emphasis on the concept of 'community'. Along the lines of Gumucio Dagron's definition, which highlights the geographical aspect, AMARC states that a community radio station is a 'non-profit station which offers a service to the community in *which* it is *located*, or *to which it broadcasts*, while promoting the participation of this community in the radio' (AMARC Europe, 1994, p.4, cited in Bailey et. al, 2008). Thus, in addition to locality, the academic literature perceives participation as one of the backbones of any community media initiative.

From these definitions, then, a few points regarding community media emerge: community media are aimed at specific audiences, namely the communities in which the stations are located or to which these stations broadcast; they are smaller scale media (as in relation to mainstream media); and their strength is that, because of shared background and interests, they are able to better address the needs of the community.

If such definitions provide 'the core' of academic understanding of community media, they have rarely been sufficient. Much academic literature goes beyond the issues of 'size', 'specificity' and 'locality'. Hollander and Stappers (1992) indicate that, if compared to 'institutions like the press and broadcasting companies', there are also significant differences in style and content (p. 20). Thus, one can find in community media 'a deliberate antagonism towards institutionalised mass media which stems from a historical heritage' of social and political movements that were critical of most political and social institutions such as the government, the church, educational institutions and the mass media (Ibid). However, it would be too restrictive to categorise as community media only the media who are antagonistic to the mainstream 'institutionalised' media. The authors add that these forms of communication do not have to be necessarily 'aimed at a confrontation with the establishment'.

Another important trait of community media is to represent 'a local forum for articulation and discussion'. These forms of communication at the local level are important because the issues have a local significance and 'are usually dealt with by local government authorities. Through the use of community media, community groups are able to 'draw support from members of the community by pointing out the relevance of the topic for the community as a whole' (Hollander and Stappers, 1992, p.20).

2.2. Important Concepts and Areas of Theory.

These approaches lead to an exploration of the concept of the 'public sphere' or more specifically the 'local public sphere' (*lokale offentlichkeit* in German). Based on Habermas' (1989) ideas, this concept underlines several academic discussions of community media, such as in the writings of Hollander and Stappers (1992), Rodriguez (2001), Lewis and Jones (2006) and Bailey et.al (2008). In general terms, the public sphere is a form of meeting point or arena in social life where individuals and groups can get together and discuss issues which are of mutual interest. Through this process, these groups aim at influencing political action. According to early versions of public sphere theory[4], this area is distinctive from the 'sphere of public authority' or 'the state',

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[4] These concepts derive from the work of Jurgen Habermas. Lewis points out that his book 'The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere' was published in 1962 in German but was not translated to English until 1989, which represented a great loss for Anglo community media literature (Lewis, 2006, p. 22). Habermas' ideas regarding the 'Bourgeois Public Sphere' have been criticised and updated by authors such as Nancy Fraser who argued that the 'Bourgeois Public Sphere' was heavily based on exclusions against women and the lower social classes (Fraser, 1990).

because it can be critical of it, as well as from the 'private sphere' or 'the market', as it is an arena for debate rather than consumption.

Hollander and Stappers make an important point about the links between the concept of 'local public sphere' and community media theorisation. The authors argue that community media studies often take for granted that all communities have their own public spheres where issues that are locally relevant are debated, but this is not always the case. They believe that it is necessary to first 'investigate whether and at what level within the social system—within the city or village—a community of interests exists' before assuming that community media are able to create such a sphere (Hollander and Stappers, 1992, p. 23).

As it was argued in Chapter 1, the complex socio geography of the favelas provides a rich setting in which one can test this and further explore these issues. Each favela constitutes a heterogeneous environment with its own complex and sometimes seemingly contradictory patterns of social and cultural organisation. One example is the spatial segregation based on social class within a favela, where 'better off' residents tend to live closer to the city's paved streets, whereas the most impoverished residents live on unstable areas, with no access to water, electricity or sanitation. (Medina, 1964)

Similarly, as argued by Medina (1964), different sub-groups in the favela are perceived with different degrees of 'influence in community life'. Therefore, a shop owner or a neighbourhood association leader, for instance, might be seen as playing a more active role in the community than a housewife or an unemployed resident. This suggests that different public spheres might be formed in the favela at two levels. The first level is based on elements of identity, which means different public spheres might be formed on the basis of age, gender, ethnicity, income, social class, 'perceived influence' and so on. The second level is based on the issues to be discussed. Thus, issues such as racism, police brutality or government indifference might be able to gather people from different social classes, or who live in different areas of the favela, around the same public sphere. Hence, this research will investigate to what extent community radio in Pau da Lima reflects these different levels of public sphere. Are the stations addressing issues that are able to form public spheres around them?

Another concept that authors such as John Downing (2001) and Peter Lewis (2006) identify as being crucial to the study of community (or alternative) media is Gramsci's 'hegemony' or, to be more precise, the notion of 'counter-hegemony' that derives from it (Gramsci, 1971). As Lewis puts it, hegemony 'can explain manifestations of power that are inherently unstable, yet may be accepted as normal and unquestionable in any particular period' (2006, p. 31). Counter-hegemony, therefore, could be applicable to the goals of a feminist station, for example, or to social movements 'that oppose global economic domination by wealthy states and transnational corporations' (Ibid).

Therefore, Lewis sees community media as having a 'counter-hegemonic possibility' (2006, p. 31). What this means is that cultures that had always been under-represented have the opportunity to make themselves seen and heard. Community media are not about elite culture or culture from above. Rather, they are about a bottom-up communication process in which cultures that are often marginalised are allowed to breathe and express themselves.

As a consequence, Mattelart and Piemme argue that 'new social relationships' and 'new types of communication' are then able to develop in parallel, 'as the slow and lengthy effort to build a popular culture' (which is counter-hegemonic in nature) advances. To put it in their words, 'this popular culture will be the result of multiple contributions of groups in struggle, the intersection of economic resistance, the questioning of the forms of individual or social power, artistic practices and the practices of everyday life' (Mattelart and Piemme, 1980, cited in Lewis, 2006, p.31).

In his book 'Radical Media', John Downing adds to Lewis' (2006) discussion of counter-hegemonic community media practices by claiming that counter-hegemony has become a 'way to categorise attempts to challenge dominant ideological frameworks and to supplant them with a radical alternative vision' (Downing, 2001, p. 15). Drawing on Gramsci (1971), Downing points out that hegemony is not a 'frozen stiff' notion. There is always a 'negotiation between superior and subordinate social classes, that capitalist cultural hegemony is unstable' and might be vulnerable to periods of crises, yet at the same time 'it may enjoy a rarely questioned normalcy over long periods' (Downing, 2001, p. 16). Again, community media are perceived as offering a counter-hegemonic possibility. They are, then, assigned the responsibility of challenging the

dominant mainstream capitalist media to a certain extent, by proposing a 'radical' project with opposing perspectives and differing points of view.

Couldry and Curran (2003) see alternative media as something deeply intertwined with social movements, incorporating the concept of 'power' into their thinking. They argue that, as opposed to the idea that 'media only mediate what goes on in the rest of society, the media's representational power is of one of society's main forces in its own right'. The authors are aware that media power is not 'the first mover' of social action and that without other forces, such as economic and political power, 'there would be nothing for the media to represent'. Yet, they claim that 'media power remains a very significant dimension of contemporary reality' and one that is also an 'emergent social power in complex societies whose basic infrastructure depends increasingly on the fast circulation of information and images' (Couldry and Curran, p. 4, 2003).

Couldry and Curran's ideas on 'media power' have an emphasis on representation. The authors suggest that, although social movements rarely see media power as the 'explicit subject of social conflict', they believe that gaining control over the society's 'representational forces' (the media) is an important tool in their struggles. In some conflicts, parties see their lack of influence over how they are represented as being at stake in their struggle (Ibid). Thus, according to this perspective, alternative media represent a valuable opportunity for social movements and oppressed groups to be responsible for producing their own and perhaps fairer representations of themselves, which is crucial for their causes.

Based on both the first and second versions of 'Radical Media'[5], Atton (2002) incorporates Downing's combination of the notions of 'alternative public sphere', 'counter-hegemony' and 'resistance'. He agrees with Downing's description of alternative media as 'complex agents of developmental power, not simply as counter-information institutions' (Downing, 2001, cited in Atton, 2002, p. 21). Atton also highlights Downing's critique of his own previous[6] 'binarism (between radical and mainstream media). The latter saw radical media as a way forward beyond the then dominant opposition between Western capitalist media and the Soviet model, which had

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[5] Written in1984 and 2001
[6] Downing's first version of Radical Media was written in 1984, during the Cold War period

possibly prevented him from looking at alternative media from a more nuanced perspective. Atton argues that although Downing had made an effort in his later work to find a more 'impure and hybridised version' of alternative media, his attempt 'had been left unfulfilled' by focusing too much on radical media and social movements (Ibid). This call for more 'impure', 'hybridised' or 'nuanced' takes on community media is crucial for a less idealised and richer academic exploration.

2.3. The Freirean Perspective.

Lewis (2006) provides a helpful analysis of how community media theory has developed in various parts of the world. The author is aware that the body of literature produced will be a reflection of each region's geographical, political and historical specificities as in each region, 'community media arose in different circumstances, developed different forms and acquired different labels'. In addition, evidently, some parts of the world have been studied more than others (Lewis, 2006, p. 13).

Looking into community media and social movements in Brazil, Peruzzo (2004) points out that in 21 years of military dictatorship (1964-1985), the Brazilian working classes had their citizenship denied by an authoritarian regime. As a result, the popular movements and trade union organisations became stronger and more organised, resisting the oppression and fighting for their rights (p.31). It was in this context of oppression that the work of the Brazilian philosopher and adult educator Paulo Freire emerged. His work has been identified as a major source of inspiration for community media theory and was very influential, not only in Latin America, but also across the world (Lewis, 2006, p. 19-20). Downing (2001) also identifies Freire's work as 'a core philosophy within which to think through the nature of the active producer/active audience relationship' (cited in Lewis, 2006, p.30).

This relates to community media's key notion of 'participation', which is heavily permeated by Freire's thoughts on dialogical education. Freire criticised authoritarian educational models based on a strong dichotomy between students and teachers, and disagreed with what he called the 'banking' form of education, in which students were considered 'blank sheets' to be filled in by teachers (Freire, 1972), To him, teachers learn from students as much as students learn from teachers (Lewis, 2006, p. 19-20). These ideas were incorporated into community media studies by contesting the

dichotomy between 'producers' and 'audiences', since one of the key aspects of community media is to allow audiences to become producers.

These ideas regarding participation are still widely influential today. For instance, the extent to which the 'participation' ethos has been incorporated in mainstream sociology can be seen from the recent work of Richard Sennett (2008). He developed the idea that 'making is thinking'. He is critical of the belief that craftsmanship is a minor kind of human activity, in which no learning or mental development happens, whereas thinking is 'a higher way of life in which we stop producing and start discussing and judging together' (Sennett, 2008, p. 6-7). He suggests that, instead, 'every good craftsman conducts a dialogue between concrete practices and thinking'. The author adds that 'people can learn about themselves through the things they make' (Ibid, p. 8 - 9). A craftsman is more than a skilled labourer, and the term 'craftsmanship' is applicable to a wide range of fields and, especially, to community media. In all participatory processes, engagement must start at the initial levels, rather than 'leaving the public to sort out the problem after the work is done'. (Ibid, p. 7). Similarly, in community media, audiences become producers through practicing the 'craft' of engaging in the production of their own media content from the very early stages of decision making.

The Freirean notions of 'participation', 'conscientisation' (from the Portuguese '*conscientização*', which means 'raising consciousness') and 'empowerment' are prevalent in the literature of community media associations. For example, the resource guide 'What is Community Radio?', found in AMARC's website, makes clear that 'community radio is not about doing something *for* the community but about the community doing something *for itself*', thus 'owning and controlling its own means of communication'.

As for community media in Brazil, specifically, it has been agreed that the Catholic Church's 'Liberation Theology' has contributed significantly to their rise in the 1970s (Festa and Lins da Silva, 1986). Often referred to as a form of 'Christian socialism', the Liberation Theology emphasised the Christian mission to bring justice to the oppressed through social and political activism. It created a model of church practice through 'base communities' or CEBs, small gatherings in which members of impoverished communities could discuss the Bible and issues related to their conditions of spiritual, economic and social oppression. It was hoped that consciousness raising would

empower community members to overcome oppression. Besides being a forum to discuss daily struggles and community solidarity, the CEBs valued the popular (i.e. working class) culture, allowing people to voice the harsh reality of their oppressed condition. This emphasis on popular culture gave rise to an emphasis on popular communication, born from the activities of social movements, such as the CEBs in the rural areas and trade unions in the urban areas. The country therefore witnessed the rise of 'workers' bulletins', 'popular news agencies' and newspapers edited by popular education centres' (Festa and Lins da Silva, 1986, p. 26 and 27). As Peruzzo (2004) points out, the 'oppressed masses' (in Freire's terms) started to realise that they were not inferior or knew less, and that what they had to say was valuable (Peruzzo, 2004, p. 298-299). All this happened in a period of a military dictatorship that censored all kinds of public manifestations. The implication for community media was that, until today, the process of participation is slow, and in order to be successful in terms of participation, any community media initiative will need to know how to deal with these historical legacies of oppression and authoritarianism (Ibid).

In sum, the theoretical approaches that have shaped community media studies see community media as having the ability to: a) create a public sphere (Hollander and Stappers, 1992, Bailey et.al, 2008) by providing residents in a particular community with a local forum where they can discuss important issues and maybe agree on the necessary steps to bring change for the community; b) represent a counter-hegemonic media practice (Downing, 2001), challenging the dominant ideologies and focusing on the politically, socially or culturally radical; c) contest media power (Couldry and Curran, 2003) by giving social movements and disenfranchised groups of people the opportunity to be in control of society's representational sources (the media); d) empower the community (Freire, 1972) by allowing audiences to become producers and actively participate in their local stations, putting an end to the dichotomy between audiences and producers.

These theoretical approaches, while undoubtedly accurate and insightful, have also contributed to an account of community media that is, inevitably, somewhat celebratory in flavour, both among academics and practitioners. Community media researchers have added their voices to those of community media supporters – indeed, the two groups overlap considerably (Medrado, 2007, p. 124).

This 'optimism' is not unjustified. Indeed, empirical evidence from various studies demonstrates that community media do represent an important tool for strengthening a sense of unity among marginalised groups. One example is Birgitte Jallov's (2005) research on community radio in Mozambique. The study evaluates the work of eight community-owned radio stations in the country, in order to check whether the stations have actually managed to prompt social change in their communities. The results show that community radio helps 'generate an increased knowledge of the cultural identity and creates self-confidence in the community' and that most respondents feel like the community radio stations truly belong to them (Jallov, 2005, p. 30-31). She interprets these findings as a good indication of ownership and the re-establishment of a common identity (Ibid, p.34).

2.4. Towards a More Nuanced Approach to Community Media.

Most scholars in the field now recognise the need to search for a more nuanced approach to community media. Having revised his own earlier ideas, John Downing (2001), for instance proposes more complex and less binary interpretations of the subject. Following a similar line of thought, Rodriguez (2001) proposes a shift from 'alternative' media to 'citizens' media', because the term alternative assumes that these media are alternative to something. To her, 'this definition will easily entrap us into binary thinking: mainstream media and their alternative, that is alternative media.' She believes that this label limits the potential of these media to 'resisting the alienating power of the mainstream', blinding us from the other instances of change and transformation (Rodriguez, 2001, p. 33).

Carpentier et al. (2003) incorporate Deleuze and Guatari's (1987) metaphor of the 'rhizome' into civil society theory and put forward the label 'rhizomatic media'. They suggest that the linkages between 'alternative media', 'commercial' and 'public service' media (the equivalents of the 'market' and the 'state' in civil society debates) are far more multifaceted than the literature suggests and draw an analogy between these complex relationships and a 'rhizomatic', rather than an 'arbolic' way of thinking. While the arbolic is 'linear', 'hierarchical' and 'tree-like', the rhizome is 'non-linear, anarchic and nomadic', 'connecting any point to any other point' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, cited in Carpentier, et al., 2003, p. 61). Simply put, community media tend to cut across borders between 'commercial' and 'public service' media. To use one example

which I will explore more fully in Chapter 5, in Pau da Lima there are several loudspeakers placed on lamp posts which air public service announcements and information on how to prevent diseases but also less obviously public-service orientated messages such as adverts for local shops, in a clear 'rhizomatic' connection of alternative, commercial and public service features.

Though it recognises that the relationships between audiences and producers are not devoid of challenges, my study of community radio chooses to focus not on the producers but on the listeners. This choice is consistent with John Downing's (2003) ideas on how it is urgent to study community media audiences. To quote him, Downing is surprised that 'so little attention has been dedicated to the user dimension, given that alternative media activists represent in a sense the most active segment of the so-called active audience. One would imagine that they, above all, would be passionately concerned with their own media products being received and used'. According to him, this represents 'a paradox' which is significantly detrimental to our research knowledge (Downing, 2003, p. 625-626). One of the few exceptions is the Meadows et al.'s (2007) qualitative study of community media audiences in Australia, aimed at providing depth to two quantitative studies of community broadcasting audiences conducted by the McNair Ingenuity research group' (McNair Ingenuity, 2004; McNair Ingenuity, 2006, cited in Meadows et. al, 2007, p. 18). The choice for qualitative methods had the purpose to unveil listeners' reasons for tuning in to community media stations (Meadows et. al, 2007, p. 18).

To conclude, community media studies provide a firm contextual framework for my study but it also shows weaknesses and gaps in knowledge. On the positive side, this area reveals some of the roles that community media can play in their communities and in society, such as providing listeners with a forum where they can debate important issues, offering counter-hegemonic points of view and empowering listeners by allowing them not only to participate in producing programming for the stations but also in all other aspects of decision making. Firstly, this prompts the need to explore the ways in which several 'public spheres' might exist in Pau da Lima and at which levels these public spheres might exist. Second, the academic perception of community media as having a counter-hegemonic potential raises interesting questions that can be answered in the light of my empirical study of community radio uses in Pau da Lima. Some of these questions are: to what extent are the local community radio stations

counter-hegemonic in essence? Can these stations' alleged potential to challenge the dominant 'hegemony' be considered a way to measure its importance and significance for the community? And third, in regard to Freirean ideals, the favela provides a unique setting for examining community media's potential for empowerment and participation through the perspective of residents whose voices are seldom heard.

In terms of weaknesses, the community media literature often gets trapped in its focus on prescriptive notions on what community media are (or ought to be), do (or ought to do) for their audiences. This can lead to a neglect of the richest aspect of community media: the daily listening experiences. Why do listeners tune in to their community radio station? How do they listen to it? How do they interpret the programming? To what do extent these stations represent a social, political or familial resource for its listeners?

3. The Listener.

3.1. Audience Studies: The Passive Audience.

The early studies of media reception contributed to foster a negative attitude towards the media, especially radio and television. According to them, the media are to blame for manipulating, alienating and 'dumbing down' the audiences, in what is known as the 'effects model' paradigm. These ideas of the media as major sources of manipulation, endorsed by Theodor Adorno and Marx Horkheimer, from the Frankfurt school, emerge in the 'cultural industry theory'. This theory argues that 'cultural products' contribute to secure the status quo by creating an undistinguished mass of uncritical people who do not question political or social issues. The 'effects model' also became known as the 'hypodermic needle' model, in an analogy to the idea that the media, as a form of narcotic, injected messages into the audience (Brooker and Jermyn, 2003, p.5-6).

However, the work of some scholars such as Lazarsfeld et al. (1968)[7] and Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955), Herzog (1941) and Merton (1946) exposed the shortcomings of this 'hypodermic needle' model, questioning the audiences' passiveness and highlighting personal relationships and group membership as being more influential than the mass

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[7] The first edition was published in 1944.

media. These studies[8] can be regarded as precursors of the 'uses and gratifications' approach, in which rather than being *passive,* audiences are *actively* using the media to meet their own needs and wants. As noted by Brooker and Jermyn, the studies that led to this approach suggest that audiences might 'read or use the media in different, surprising, even aberrant ways, rather than responding in ways that might be predicted through controlled stimuli' (Brooker and Jermyn, 2003, p.9).

Two further academic perspectives, which have shaped recent academic thinking on listening, can be traced back to the work of Herta Herzog (1941). Her 'On Borrowed Experiences' has offered a model of 'listening to listeners'. Based on research with lower middle class and working class female listeners of daytime radio serials, rather than on an analysis of the content of the radio daytime serials, Herzog's work is regarded as a classic in the uses and gratifications tradition. Additionally, she attributes greater power to audiences than earlier research in which receivers were perceived as 'easy prey for brainwashing' (Liebes, 2003, p. 39).

On the other hand, by using Freudian categories to identify the psychological pleasures generated by listening to the radio, Herzog's study treats listeners as subjects of psychoanalysis, and show listeners as 'lonely, self-pitying women who are subconsciously driven by emotional forces of which they are unaware of' (Liebes, 2003, p.42). The implication is that the radio serials provide listeners with false and ultimately harmful fantasies that replace their somewhat miserable and even pathetic real lives (Ibid, p. 43). Thus, Liebes concludes that Herzog's works fits better into the Frankfurt school tradition, which blame popular consumerist culture for feeding disempowered and alienated individuals in mass society with illusions. Ultimately this school of thought represents a different starting point from that of my thesis as I am interested in what people do with community radio in their daily lives rather than what community radio might do to them.

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[8]These early contributions for media and audience studies are: Lazarsfeld et al.'s study entitled 'The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign', first published in 1944; Lazarsfeld's and Katz's book 'Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Study of Mass Communications', published in 1955; Merton's (1946) study 'Mass Persuasion: The Social Psychology of a War Bond Drive'; and Herzog's (1941) study 'On Borrowed Experiences'.

3.2. Audience Studies: The Active Audience and the Idea of Dailiness.

In an analysis of the two editions of Stuart Hall's Encoding/Decoding (1973 and 1980), Gurevitch and Scannell (2003) note that this text emerged as a response to the media effects research dominant tradition and contributed to a paradigm shift in reception studies—that of the *active audience* (p.235). According to them, in its earlier edition (1973), Encoding/Decoding argues for a 'semiotic decoding of elements of popular culture', and treats these elements as 'texts, messages and practices of signification' (Ibid, p. 237). The messages in popular culture (especially cinema and television) are not transparent. Rather, they should be considered as systematically distorted forms of communication, which disguise and hide the repressed content of a culture. Thus, decoding can be achieved by 'cracking open what is hidden' (disguised) in popular culture's codes (Hall, 1973, cited in Gurevitch and Scannell, 2003, p. 237). The later published edition (1980) was situated within a Marxist/class-based approach. Thus, it was concerned with the interpretations of texts by an audience constrained by its existence within a 'dominant ideology' (Gurevitch and Scannell, 2003, p. 238). In this edition, Hall proposes three different alternatives: decoding within a 'dominant hegemonic position', 'negotiated' decoding (containing a mixture of adaptive and oppositional elements) and an 'oppositional code' (decoding in a contrary way) (Hall, 1980, p. 136-138, cited in Gurevitch and Scannell, 2003, p. 240). This means that receivers can resist the ideological power and influence of the texts by producing oppositional readings and interpretations.

Encoding/Decoding laid the theoretical foundation for other studies which are considered key texts within the *active audiences'* tradition — David Morley's and Charlotte Brunsdon's 'Everyday Television: Nationwide' (1978) and 'The Nationwide Audience' (1980)[9]. The first consisted of a textual reading of an evening television newsmagazine programme broadcast on BBC1 from 1968 to 1984, while the latter was based on a range of discussions about the programme with different audience groups (Morley and Brunsdon, 1999, p. 1). These studies brought valuable contributions to the field of media studies because instead of exploring issues of ownership, they focused on what ordinary people made of a television 'text' which was regarded as 'unimportant and trivial'.

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[9] In 1999, the authors published 'the Nationwide Television Studies' based on these two earlier titles.

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This meaningfulness of radio and television broadcast in everyday life is explored in Scannell's works (1996, 2007).[10]His point of departure is the sociable dimension of radio and television broadcasting, as well as radio and TV's 'intelligibility', making it possible for 'anyone' and 'everyone' to understand them. 'Temporality' (with its specific character of 'dailiness') is key to understanding broadcasting (1996, p.5). To Scanner, dailiness is the 'unifying structure', the particular, distinctive, earliest mark of all the activities of radio and television (1996, p. 149). To illustrate this point, he compares the 'dailiness' of television and broadcasting with other mundane daily services. He states:

> 'Now it is one thing—complex enough—to produce a single good (a newspaper, a pint of milk) in such a way that it is there for anyone on their doorstep each morning. It is another thing to produce a daily service that fills each day, that runs right through the day, that appears as continuous, uninterrupted, never-ending flow—through all the hours of today, tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow.' (Scannell, 1996, p. 149)

Scannell's work is written from a media history rather than from an audience studies perspective. What is of interest here is the way in which he identifies 'dailiness' as precisely what works about broadcasting. This dailiness of broadcasting becomes something that people (audiences) incorporate into their own days. The time to which broadcasting directs its efforts is the viewer's time (1996, p. 152), and broadcasters and viewers mutually adjust their clocks. Thus the organisation of schedules becomes a complex business to broadcasters, since they are part of listeners' and viewers' lives, part of their 'my-time', which is disturbed when things change (Scannell, 1996, p.156).

The media and everyday life approach has been enthusiastically embraced by audience studies. Perhaps the major contribution of this approach to the field has been the recognition that what makes the media so special is not their potential *influence* on viewers or listeners. Rather, the media are fascinating because, just like everyday life itself, they are ubiquitous and taken for granted. Thus, various interesting and new areas of enquiry start to emerge. One key question raised by Silverstone (1994), when

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[10] Scannell's (1996) work draws from a wide range of sources, from Erving Goffman's sociology of interaction in 'The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life' (1959) to Sacks' (1992) conversation analysis to Heidegger's (1962) 'Being and Time'.

referring to television (which is not the central concern of this project) is: 'how is it that such a technology and medium has found its way so profoundly and intimately into the fabric of our daily lives?' (p. 2). Attempts to explore possible answers require attending to the *experience* of television and radio in their spatial and temporal significance, ingrained into the routines of daily life. (Silverstone, 1994, p. 3). Thus, I have embraced this 'experiential' approach in my research of community radio listeners in Pau da Lima.

3.3. Media and Everyday Life: The Home and the Family.

At this point, we need to briefly return to Morley and Brunsdon's Nationwide project (1978, 1980). As it was previously mentioned, this is considered a seminal text in audience studies. Yet, there have also been some relevant points of criticism. One of the key premises is that class might be an indicator of respondents' different 'readings' of the 'text' (Silverstone, 1994, p. 150). Thus, the study is often deemed a somewhat deterministic when it is revealed that it might *not* be possible to predict or explain people's different interpretations or 'decodings' of a given 'text' (and whether these decodings could be categorised as 'dominant', 'negotiated' or 'oppositional') based solely on factors such as gender, class and race.

However, there is another line of criticism that concerns us more here. Morley himself was very open about some of the shortcomings of 'Nationwide' in his subsequent books such as Family Television (1986). The project was based on focus groups with individuals in settings like 'colleges in which they were studying, or in other public locations where they came together, already constituted as groups' (Morley, 1986, p. 40). Therefore, the researchers were not talking to people in the context in which they normally watch television (Ibid). This means that the data was not collected in people's 'natural domestic viewing context' (Ibid).

This has major implications for audience research because it triggers a widespread recognition of the 'domestic' and the 'family' as concepts which are central to studies of media reception (and particularly television) in everyday life. Consequently, 'the individual centred' approaches to media audiences are rejected as 'the basic unity of television consumption' becomes the family/household rather than the individual viewer (Morley, 1992, p. 138, cited in Gauntlett and Hill, 1999, p. 4)

John Ellis (1982) makes an interesting observation regarding television as a 'domestic object'. He points out that 'television is often placed on the same spot where family photos would be put—the direction of the glance towards the personalities on the TV screen are supplemented by the presence of loved ones immediately above' (Ellis, 1982, p.113, cited in Moores, 2000, p. 14). So, as Shaun Moores (2000) suggests when contrasting it to cinema, 'broadcasting is intimate and familiar – it is part of the furniture of ordinary daily life in private homes, rather than a site of spectacular public entertainment' (p. 14).

This touches upon a crucial point, that of the *conditions of reception*. Often, researchers are quite aware of the immediate social settings in which audiences are situated when using their media. Thus, the importance of 'the home' and 'the family' has been widely recognised. Yet, it is also essential to take into consideration the physical conditions of media reception and the ways in which they shape the different levels of attention or distraction. For instance, where do people listen to the radio? Is it in their private bedrooms? Or is it in a house shared with a large family? Are there other sounds around?

So far, I have discussed the ways in which the media and everyday life approach have been incorporated into audience studies. Various scholars have provided useful conceptual tools for studies of viewers and listeners, such as the notion of 'dailiness' Scannell (1996), the idea of television and radio as being at the centre of domestic attention and the premise that the home is the 'natural' site of media use (Ellis, 1982; Moores, 2000; Morley, 1986). Yet, it is equally essential to examine some of the academic works that have actually taken these concepts and applied them to empirically grounded research. With the move towards placing reception research within the context of reception itself, many researchers have started seeking an immersion into the audiences' routines and their 'natural' sites of media use: their *homes*. The aim is to understand *how* this media use (television viewing, radio listening etc) takes place as a 'social activity'. At the same time, researchers start to pay attention to 'domestic' issues such as who chooses the programmes, who watches what kind of programmes, how do people talk about these programmes and so on (Morley, 1986, p. 41).

Two frequently cited studies that collected data from audiences are David Morley's (1986) Family Television and David Gauntlett and Annette Hill's (1999) TV Living. Although they are placed within a similar tradition of empirical audience studies, the two projects bear significant differences. Morley conducted in-depth interviews with a sample of nuclear families with married couples and dependent children from different social backgrounds[11] (Hall, 1986, p. 8). He draws on a qualitative methodology as an attempt to obtain richer and more comprehensive data than that produced by techniques such as fixed-choice questionnaires, sample surveys and self-recorded diaries (Ibid).

Among his findings, Morley often identifies a clear gender divide in terms of style of viewing: 'the man and the son preferring to watch attentively, in silence, and unable to understand how the wife and daughter can watch and talk at the same time' (1986, p.62). Additionally, he notes that the fathers (the men) often dominate the remote control devices. He quotes one of his male respondents who admit to being a heavy user of the channel control, being 'found flicking about all the time' (1986, p. 63).

Gauntlett and Hill (1999) conducted an extensive study of television viewing habits, asking 500 participants to complete questionnaire diaries over a period of five years. Unlike Morley, who focuses on nuclear families, the authors try to incorporate a variety of household forms into their research, such as of students living together and elderly people living alone (Gauntlet and Hill, 1999, p. 21). This is of particular relevance in the context of the favelas because, as we now know, they have an ample presence of networks which are not exclusively based on kinship, such as neighbourhood associations and churches. Additionally, rather than doing observations in the homes and in-depth interviews, Gauntlett and Hill are interested in getting people to produce texts about their media consumption (Ibid, p. 10). The idea is to have a more participatory research philosophy, getting people to produce texts about their media interpretation and consumption themselves (this idea will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 4).

Gauntlett and Hill disagree with Morley in regards to some of their key findings. Whilst Morley had argued that 'gender was the one factor that cut across all of the other

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[11] He acknowledges that this is a limitation but notes that 'all research samples must have their limits and these were the particular limits which I adopted'. He also notes that his respondents were predominantly of working class and lower middle class backgrounds (Morley, 1986, p.11)

differences in the households that he studied', this did not seem to be the case with Gauntlett and Hill's research (Gauntlett and Hill, 1999, p. 4). To the authors, Morley's work is not very helpful because it ends up 'reinforcing rather than breaking down the gender distinctions which Morley himself is critical of' (Ibid).

In this way, Gauntlett and Hill's work offers us some valuable additional dimensions to the television viewing experience. For example, they investigate the ways in which people organise their time around television (1999, p. 23). Consistent with Scannell's (1996) thoughts on 'dailiness', they find that 'television is heavily integrated into people's lives and routines' (Ibid). To quote the authors, 'because broadcast TV has set timetables, and so is the inflexible party in the TV-viewer relationship— leaving video time-shifting aside for the moment— people's everyday activities are shifted, elongated or cut short to accommodate the programmes that they watch' (Ibid). Thus, they cite the examples of respondents who wake-up to television in the morning, who use television as a tool to relax in the afternoon, or who regularly have the TV on whilst having their evening meal (Ibid, p. 24).

Gauntlett and Hill's book was published in 1999, before the Internet completely transformed our media habits. Silverstone (1994) had correctly predicted that his own book on television and everyday life would quickly become a 'historical curiosity', as a consequence of the dramatic changes in television technology and its regulation. Obviously a lot has changed with the rise of the web 1.0 and later the web 2.0. Thus, today, the argument that people structure their time around the media sounds quite old fashioned as the opposite situation is now becoming the norm. People now can watch or listen to their favourite shows with very few schedule constraints, via on-demand services, streaming programmes and/or downloading them to their laptops and other mobile devices.

Indeed, there has been a significant amount of hype around new technologies and new media. However, the fact that some of these audience studies are outdated is not what deserves most of my attention here. In the 'western world' there is often a tendency to forget that there are still many places in the world in which these technologies are not readily available; that there are still countless people in the world who cannot read or write and that there are millions who cannot afford to buy food, let alone a computer. This is the so-called 'digital divide', to use a very popular expression. If one thinks of

the favela residents in terms of the digital technologies they have access to, these residents would probably fit within the 'have-nots' much more than the 'haves' category. Therefore, this problematic aspect is not yet as relevant in the context of Pau da Lima as it is in London.

Both the more theoretically (Silverstone, 1994; Moores, 2000) and empirically-orientated (Morley, 1986; Gauntlett and Hill, 1999) audience studies reveal two major weaknesses for the purposes of my study of community radio in the favelas. The first has to do with the fact that their object of study (literally) has been television. This centrality of television leads to the second problematic dimension, that of 'domesticity', as the researchers enter the participants' homes, join them in their living rooms, sit on their sofas. Thus, these studies tend to fit within a somewhat Western idea of what it means to watch television within the safe confines of a 'home', surrounded by a more nuclear model of family than that found in the favelas.

At this point, De Oliveira's (2007) critique of British audience studies is insightful. She explains that the body of literature produced in the United Kingdom emphasises 'domesticity' simply because people had quicker and easier access to technologies such as televisions in the country. Therefore, this approach merely reflects their everyday relationships with the media (p. 198). However, in Latin America, both the access and the daily relationships with the media were quite different. To quote her, 'the scarcity of radio and, later, of television sets drove people out of their houses' (Ibid). Even in today's Brazil, for example, it is quite common to find loudspeaker systems on the streets, close to the churches and markets, and the habit of watching TV at the neighbours' houses or gathering in public squares is fairly common (Ibid).

Importantly, De Oliveira notes that she only became aware of the limitations of the British 'domestic' approach because her focus is on radio rather than on television (2007, p. 202). When she started carrying out her fieldwork, she realised that the ideas that derived from television audience studies could not really apply to the dynamics of radio listening. As the author puts it, 'unlike television, radio is not a predominantly domestic and familiar medium' (Ibid). Consequently, the researcher needs to be attentive, not only to the homes and families, but also to the streets and neighbourhoods, to the groups and crowds. When researching radio listening (and, particularly, in the context of the favela as I will demonstrate) it is crucial to take into consideration the

wider social spheres: the streets, corners, houses and bars as spaces where media reception intensively takes place (De Oliveira, 2007, p. 200).

Taking De Oliveira's lucid observations on board, I would like to suggest that although the domestic dimension of media consumption is certainly relevant, it should not be generalised to all forms of media and especially to radio listening in other parts of the world such as Brazil. Similarly, my research also points to a need to examine the use of community radio in a way that does not neglect the wide setting of the streets of the favela and the collective dimension of the listening experiences. To conclude, one of the key arguments I wish to pursue is that the architectural and social blurring of the 'domestic' and the 'public' in the favela and the fugitive, space-expanding, nature of sound, mean that in the context of the favela everyday life must be taken to mean something much wider than 'domestic'.

3.4. Radio and its Audiences.

Radio tends to suffer from an overall neglect in media studies. If compared to film and television, the body of literature devoted to radio is rather diminutive. Consequently, scholars such as Peter Lewis (1998) have come to the defence of the medium. He claims, for instance, that radio theory is underdeveloped because the medium is assigned a low status, often being perceived as an outdated medium that is dying out (Lewis, 1998, p. 1). Another potential reason would be an assumed hierarchy of senses, which places 'seeing' above 'hearing' (Hendy, 2000; Bull and Back, 2003).

Yet there are numerous studies that point to its cheapness, portability and convenience, especially in parts of the world where literacy is low. Radio is also a 'technically easy medium to master, allowing people otherwise excluded from the mainstream media a voice and a role, a real chance of interpreting the world for themselves' (O'Connor, 1990; Hochheimer, 1993, cited in Hendy, 2000, p. 2).

Nor, as many studies have suggested, is the radio listener often seen as passive. For instance, Douglas asserts that 'we can passively hear, but we must actively listen' (Douglas, 2004, p. 27). Indeed, she writes 'the more we work on making our own images, the more powerfully attached we become to them, arising from deep within us.

Processing external visual imagery is a very different - and more passive – cognitive mode from imagining one's own' (Douglas, 2004, p.27).

Hendy also identifies a paradoxical aspect of radio. Just like television, radio is produced for *mass audiences*, creating an 'unbridgeable gulf' between 'a concept of the audience as a community – and even a market – and the highly personal nature of the listening process' (Hendy, 2000, p. 115).

At this point, De Oliveira's (2007) critique of British Audience studies is also applicable to radio studies. She suggests that this perspective of radio as an individual phenomenon is predominantly 'western' and not entirely suitable to other parts of the world such as Latin America, where radio listening is often a collective rather than individual and public rather than private experience. This suggests a need for this research project to explore the collective dimensions of radio listening in Pau da Lima.

In this regard, Winston Mano's (2004) research offers a welcome 'non-western' perspective. In studying the role of Radio Zimbabwe in the everyday life of its listeners, Mano describes a context which one might expect to find in parts of Brazil (if compared to studies of radio in the United Kingdom, for example). When describing the routine of his respondents, for instance, he talks about school children listening to music early in the morning as a way to get them prepared to walk long distances to the nearest school (2004, p. 194). Similarly, a large number of favela residents live in quite inaccessible areas, having to climb several precarious sets of stairs in order to get to the 'asphalt' and be able to reach their schools or their jobs. Mano also discusses a programme called *Nguva yevarwere* (Music and Dedication for the Sick), broadcast on Radio Zimbabwe (Ibid). He discovers that many of his respondents are attracted to gospel music and quotes one of them, a 33-year-old unemployed housewife, who listened regularly to this programme because she thought that the music and messages of hope were 'comforting' (Ibid). As in Brazil, the role of religious broadcasting in daily life is identified as an obvious area for investigation.

Mano's research does not deal with community radio and is carried out in Zimbabwe, which is obviously very different from Brazil, even if both represent a 'non-western' perspective. Nevertheless, his work offers some useful insights into the reasons why people tune in to Christian programming and the importance of establishing a friendly

atmosphere on air for listeners. These are just a few examples of the various ways in which radio is heavily integrated into people's daily routines, playing various social roles such as helping listeners get into the right moods for different times of the day, providing spiritual/religious comfort in response to difficult situations, and greeting people and making them feel as if they are part of a community.

4. Listening

4.1. Hearing Cultures and Listening to the Soundscapes.

In the previous section, I suggested that it is essential to take into consideration the *conditions of reception* to which the audiences are subjected. I will argue here that this demands a close and sustained examination of the precise sonic landscape in which these listening audiences conduct their daily lives. This is important because different sonic environments lead to different types of listening. For example, the listeners' levels of attention and engagement with the sounds in an opera theatre are very distinct from those of a person who is walking on a loud street market. In this section (and given what we know about the public and collective dimensions of the listening experience in Brazil) I argue that we cannot fully understand the nature of an audience's relationship with community radio unless we attend to that audience's very precise – and highly contingent – much larger auditory world.

Michele Hilmes (2005) provides support for this approach in her review of two recent contributions to the field (Sterne, 2003 and Thompson, 2002, cited in Hilmes, 2005[12]). Hilmes believes that we should redefine the field and think of it 'less as the study of sound itself, or as practices of aurality within a particular industry of field' and more as 'the cultural contexts out of which sound media emerged and which they in turn work to create: sound culture' (Ibid). Additionally, drawing on Thompson's work (2002), Hilmes argues that a new dimension has been opened in the field we might call sound studies, 'breaking free of the notion that sound is the possession of particular forms of content, such as music, radio, or films, and placing it in the physical space of its production and consumption' (2005, p. 257)

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[12] The books are: 'The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction' by Jonathan Sterne (2003) and 'The Soundscape of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America, 1900 to 1930' by Emily Thompson (2002)

In sum, three key points emerge from Hilmes' observations: firstly, sounds can be an important means of getting to know a culture; secondly, sound and culture are intertwined; thirdly, radio should not be studied in isolation but rather placed within the wider physical context in which sounds are *made* and *listened to*. In fact, an implicit acceptance of these three points is starting to be seen in a wide range of disciplines such as sociology, cultural studies, media studies, anthropology, cultural history, philosophy and musicology (Bull and Back, 2003). One of the reasons for the 'non-emergence' of the field mentioned by Hilmes is a historical devaluation of sound. Several scholars such as Bull and Black (2003) and Julian Henriques (2003) have argued against this depreciation of sound, pointing out that this is a consequence of Western philosophy's rationality in which vision prevails (one has to see in order to believe). To quote Henriques, 'the thrust of much of the Western philosophical and social science tradition has been to privilege the visual sense as the source of knowledge above all others' (Henriques, 2003, p. 452).

Michael Bull and Les Back are also critical of visual metaphors being used to illustrate how understanding is identified with 'seeing' and suggest that rather than simply staring at its spectacle, we also apprehend society through hearing. According to the authors, the noisy contemporary city, with its multitude of mechanically reproduced sounds', calls for a greater attention to sound. Drawing on Joachim-Ernst Berendt's book 'The Third Ear' (1985), Bull and Back defend a 'democracy of senses' in which 'no sense is privileged in relation to its counterparts'. This is an effort to understand the world beyond 'what might be thought on first sight' (Bull and Back, 2003, p. 1-2). This prompts me to embrace what Veit Erlmann (2004) refers to as an 'ethnographic ear' (p. 1). The premise here, which is consistent with Hilmes' line of thought, is that ethnography 'needs more dialogue, more sensitised ears' and that it is possible to gain a deepened knowledge of a culture by taking into account the ways in which people relate to each other and to their environment through the sense of hearing and through the use of sounds (Erlmann, 2004, p. 3).

Additionally, the idea of placing listening within its physical space of production and consumption is crucial for this research. Raymond Murray Schafer (1994), a composer and writer, coined the term 'soundscape'[13] and is considered the father of 'acoustic

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[13] The term appeared in Schafer's book 'The Tuning of the World, originally published in 1977.

ecology' (Bull and Back, 2003, p. 21). A 'soundscape' can be defined as a particular environment's composition of sounds. It refers to both the natural acoustic environment (such as the weather, for example) and sounds created by humans and human activity (such as conversation or industrial technology). Here, Schafer elaborates on the notion of the 'soundscape' in comparison to a landscape:

> 'The soundscape is any acoustic field of study. We may speak of a musical composition as a soundscape, or a radio programme as a soundscape or an acoustic environment as a soundscape. We can isolate an acoustic environment as a field of study just as we can study the characteristics of a given landscape. However, it is less easy to formulate an exact impression of a soundscape than of a landscape. There is nothing in sonography corresponding to the instantaneous impression which photography can create. With a camera it is possible to catch the salient features of a visual panorama to create an impression that is immediately evident. The microphone does not operate this way. It samples details. It gives close-up but nothing corresponding to aerial photography'. (1994, p. 7)

Schafer is concerned with people's loss of ability in discriminating sounds or listening carefully, especially to the natural world. For him, technological sounds are damaging to humans, distancing them from the music of the environment. He provides a glossary of acoustic terms, which reveal a sense of rejection of industrial or urban sounds.

Sophie Arkette calls this an 'urban prejudice: a point of view whereby industrial, commercial and traffic sounds are deemed sonic pollutants, and subsequently allotted to the garbage heap' (2004, p. 161). She states: 'to say that the urban supervenes upon the natural soundscape, and that urban sounds can be cleaned up to resemble natural sounds is to misread the dynamics of city spaces' because a 'city would not exist if it mirrored agrarian sonic spaces' (2004, p. 162). Furthermore, the author criticises Schafer's 'sharply delineated' distinction between 'natural sounds' and 'urban manmade sounds' (Ibid). She asks: 'what exactly constitutes a purely natural sound?' and 'why are these natural sounds given a privileged status denied to urban sounds?' (Ibid). Arkette points out that the boundaries that separate natural from man-made sounds may not be as clear-cut as Schafer suggests. To illustrate this point, she cites the example of a row of trees 'chosen for their particular sound quality' and 'landscaped to run the circumference of a London city square' (Ibid). If the trees belong to the world of 'natural sounds', in

Schaferian terms, but were subjected to the acts of 'men' and incorporated to the 'urban' landscape, would the soundscape classify as 'man-made' or 'natural'? (Ibid).

In a way, one can draw an analogy between Schafer's dislike of urban noises and critical theory's scepticism towards popular music and later radio and television as 'lower', 'inferior' or even 'dangerous' cultural products. Nevertheless, Schafer's work has provided most of the conceptual tools and indeed the vocabulary necessary for studying the experience of listening to the radio within a broader sonic environment or 'soundscape'. What is important here is the realisation that listening can help us gain an in-depth understanding and knowledge of a given culture. The soundscapes are products of cultural practices just like they, in turn, contribute to shaping these practices in everyday life as well.

4.2. Sounds as Regulators and Markers.

I have already discussed some of the peculiar characteristics of radio, such as its intrinsic intimacy and its ability to trigger emotion, memory, and imaginativeness. In this section I will analyse some of the intrinsic features of sound, more generally, and with some of the roles that sound can play. Drawing from the work of Thorn (1997), Hendy (2000) suggests that different sounds are often associated with different times of the day, people and spaces. Thus, the aural boundaries of a soundscape can be marked temporally, personally and spatially (Thorn, 1997, p. 5-6, cited in Hendy, 2000, p. 118). This regulation of space and time through sound is demonstrated on studies such as Corbin's (2003) piece on the daily regulation of life through the ringing of the village bell in French communes in the nineteenth century and Moore's (2003) investigation of the structure of the year through the seasonal marching of Protestants in Northern Ireland (Bull and Back, 2003, p. 6).

Rowland Atkinson (2007) draws attention to urban sound specifically, stating that it has a 'tendency for order, spatial delimitation and daily chronology' (p. 1906). This suggests that 'we might view it (urban sound) in terms of a sonic ecology' (Ibid). He adds that 'urban sound, even in its complexity, has a tendency for repetition and spatial order which, while not fixed, also displays a patterning and persistence, even as these constellations and overlapping ambient fields collide and fade in occasionally unpredictable, multiple or purposeful ways' (Ibid). This idea of the city as sonically ordered is significant. It contradicts the ways in which we often think of city sounds as

merely producing chaos. As Atkinson puts it, the spaces of the city form 'an ecology of noise[14], sound and occasional silence and one which is regularly contested at both the individual and broader political scales' (2007, p. 1908). Indeed, as Bull and Back (2003) point out, 'sound is no respecter of space' (p. 3) and the space expanding nature of sound helps create different forms of *territories*. Atkinson (2007) refers to these as 'acoustic territories', which 'can be thought of as spaces defined, owned or contested by those who, relatively speaking, control the soundscape of public or private spaces' (p. 1910). He adds that 'such spaces serve territorial functions rather than being merely the result of randomly operating environmental or natural sounds' (Ibid).

This is important because it shows that soundscapes are not products of random sounds, noises (and silence). Often those who produce sounds are well aware of sound's ability to conquer physical spaces. Thus, controlling the soundscape might be an indication of controlling (or reveal an intention to control) physical space as well, even if acoustic and physical territories do not coincide.

'Space' and 'territories' (and the idea of deterritorialisation) are central in Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's (2004) book 'A Thousand Plateaus'[15], which explores the role of sounds in establishing territories and in creating a notion of 'home' (p. 343). They say that 'home does not pre-exist: it was necessary to draw a circle around that uncertain and fragile centre, to organise a limited space. Many, very diverse, components have a part in this, landmarks and marks of all kinds' (Ibid). Deleuze and Guattari state that in this process of organising a space, 'the forces of chaos have to be kept outside as much as possible, and the interior space protects the germinal forces of a task to fulfil or a deed to do' (Ibid). Thus, the authors add, this 'involves an activity of selection, elimination and extraction' (Ibid). What is relevant here is their observation that 'sonorous or vocal components are very important in this process of 'demarcation' (Ibid). These constitute a 'wall of sound, or at least a wall with sonic bricks in it' (Ibid). Deleuze and Guattari exemplify this point by evoking the housewife who 'sings to herself or listens to the radio as she marshals the antichaos forces of her work' (Ibid). Additionally, 'radios and television sets', they note, 'are like sound walls around every household and mark territories (the neighbour complains when it gets too loud)' (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, p. 343).

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[14] Noise is defined as 'a sound which is out of place' (Gurney, 1999, p. 6, cited in Atkinson, 2007, p. 1905).
[15] Originally published as 'Mille Plateaux' in French in 1980.

While Deleuze and Guattari draw attention to domestic space, there are also examples of sound walls in *public* spaces, which can trigger interesting questions of identity being constructed through sound markers. For instance, in his essay on football fans in South London and the sounds of the stadium, Back (2003) focuses on the songs that are sung during the matches. He is interested in 'how football clubs provide a means to ritualise community and represent locality' and how these issues connect with issues of ethnicity and race (2003, p. 312). Back found that amongst a group of fans of a particular football club, there was a song with a racist verse in it. In this verse, notions of Asianness were created by stigmatising and vilifying East London. The song offers a series of contrasts between self and other. South London is treated as a 'desired' part of the city, a place full of sex and football, while East London is 'sung about' through 'a language of racial and Oriental otherness'[16] (Back, 2003, p. 315).

The ways in which the perceptions of noise are shaped by class relations was explored by Mark Smith (2003) in his work on the 'historical construction and meaning of sound in antebellum America'. He noted that both northern and southern elites agreed on what constituted sound and noise. What was considered noise, and who was noisy, was influenced by notions of race and gender. Poor women who joined men in revolutionary military encampments, for example, would annoy military leaders and confront their views about women's place, 'and so these women were heard yelling in sluttish thrills'. By contrast, the middle class woman was a 'real' woman because she was quiet and submissive and was expected to 'work in silence', 'to suffer and be silent' (Smith, 2003, p. 140). Smith identifies one further aspect of the class dimensions of sound which – although emerging from the historical and geographical specificity of antebellum America – may have resonance with the contemporary experience of people living in the Pau da Lima Favela: the way in which elites define the lower classes through their production of noise. Indeed, 'when attempts by the elite to listen to good music were disrupted by those considered too uncouth to appreciate it, conflict was likely'. 'The elite classes in both South and North observed careful distinctions between the ordered sounds they created and the chaotic noisiness of lower orders, women and evangelical Christians'. (Ibid, p. 141-142).

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[16] The verses say: Oh South London is wonderful/ it's full of tits, fanny and Millwall, oh South London is wonderful/ Oh East London is like Bengal/it's like the back streets of Bombay/oh East London is like Bengal.

Both Back's and Smith's findings illustrate Deleuze and Guattari's ideas regarding the building of 'sound walls'. In the case of the Millwall football club fans, East London and its accompanying perception of Asian otherness were placed 'outside the circle' through the verses of the song. For antebellum America elites, it would be highly desirable to isolate themselves acoustically from the 'inferior' taste and noisiness of the lower classes. In both instances, there is an underlying feeling of being threatened by the figure of an alien whom they fail (and do not make effort to) understand and whose sounds stand out chaotically and defiantly.

4.3. Aural Architecture.

None of this noise is ever incidental. And one example of the way in which sonic space comes to have a particular configuration emerges in the literature on what is called 'aural architecture'. Barry Blesser and Linda Salter (2007) write that when people act as 'architects', designing and building spaces, the acoustic aspects of a structure become significant. Indeed, they argue, the 'ability of human beings to sense spaces by listening is often underestimated and rarely recognised (Blesser and Salter, 2007, p. 1). To use their words, an 'aural architecture' is created by 'the composite of numerous surfaces, objects and geometries in complicated environments' (Ibid). Each 'aural architecture' has a personality, which results from the ways in which 'sounds from different sources interact with the various spatial elements' (Ibid).

Blesser and Salter (2007) add that 'aural architecture can also have a social meaning', so, for example, 'the bare marble floors of an office lobby announce the arrival of visitors by the resounding echoes of their footsteps' while thick carpeting 'would mute that announcement' (p. 3). Therefore, the 'aural architecture of the lobby determines whether entering is a public or private event' (Ibid). Though much of Blesser and Salter's work focuses on a detailed analysis of architectural acoustics, which need not concern us here, they offer three useful analytical concepts for understanding the soundscape of an urban environment – 'acoustic horizons', 'acoustic arenas' and 'acoustic channels' (p. 21-22).

According to Blesser and Salter, 'acoustic horizon is the maximum distance between a listener and a source of sound where the sonic event can still be heard' (2007, p. 22). Beyond this horizon, a sound would be too weak to distinguish itself from the other

sounds. 'Acoustic horizons' are able to demarcate 'acoustic arenas', which they define as 'a region where listeners are part of a community that shares the ability to hear a sonic event' (Ibid). The writers add that 'every sonic event has an acoustic arena, and every listener has an acoustic horizon' and call the connection formed 'between a sonic event and a listener' an auditory channel (Ibid).

The notion of spaces having 'aural architectures' might imply that 'professionals' such as designers and planners create spaces by having in mind the 'aural impact of their choices' (2007, p. 5). Blesser and Salter do note, however, that this is often not the case as 'far more frequently, aural architecture is the incidental consequence of unrelated socio-cultural forces' (Ibid). Hence, the aural architecture of a city and, by implication an environment such as a Brazilian Favela', arises from its topography and geography as well as the 'uncoordinated construction of streets and buildings' (Ibid). This suggests the need to also think of favela residents as aural architects and to investigate the different 'aural personalities of different areas in Pau da Lima'.

The authors make some interesting considerations regarding the 'competitive' nature of acoustic arenas in environments with multiple sonic layers. In chapter 1, I had referred to some of the spatial and physical characteristics of the favelas with their crowded houses and blurred distinctions between public and private. Thus, I intend to apply some of Blesser and Salter's ideas to the favela, investigating the ways in which a crowded landscape can be echoed in the soundscapes through the occurrence of multiple sonic arenas, for instance.

4.4. The Personal Management of Sound in Public Spaces.

Not being restrained by very robust physical barriers, the sounds of the favela echo and amplify. There is a defining sonic characteristic of blurred boundaries: the sounds of the streets enter the favela homes, the sounds of one home enter another home and the sounds of the homes expand to the streets. For this reason, as well as because of what we know more generally about radio reception in the Brazilian context, it is key to pay attention to the public and collective dimensions of radio listening.

But, as Bull (2000, 2005) argues, there has been a natural tendency within academic work to remain within the confines of the living room. The result has been that studies

often ignore the way individuals use sound in their 'habitation of the street' – specifically the way in which personal stereos and iPods have allowed individuals to take 'their own personalised sounds with them virtually anywhere' (2000, p. 17). Such devices, Bull suggests, enable users to create 'manageable sites of habitation', represent a crucial tool for the 'management of space and time,' and help them 'construct boundaries around the self' (Bull, 2000, p. 2). They form an invisible shell, something that protects their personal space and filters unwanted urban noise (Bull, 2000, p. 22). Thus, through these devices, people gain a great control over the city and the latter becomes orientated towards each person's own soundtrack and schedule:

> 'iPod use re-orientates and re-spatialises experience which users often describe in solipsistic and aesthetic terms. Users frequently mention feelings of calm gained through listening to their iPod, in which the street is often represented as a mere backcloth, having minimal significance to the user. iPod functions to simplify the user's environment thus enabling them to focus more clearly on their own state of being precisely by minimising the contingency of the street' (Bull, 2005, p. 348)

In other words, people can enjoy a deeply personalised experience in public places. They can manage their times and 'clear space for thought, imagination and mood maintenance' (Bull, 2005, p. 349). Bull also refers to the creation of an 'auditory mnemonic', or the listeners' 'attempt to construct a sense of narrative within urban spaces' (Ibid). It is through this 'narrative' that iPod users can 'maintain a sense of pleasurable coherence through their journey' (Ibid). These situations, Bull suggests, represent 'a form of biographical travelling. The narrative quality that users attach to music permits them to reconstruct these narrative memories at will in places where they would otherwise have difficulty in summoning them up' (Ibid).

But, as we know from observing the Favela, each person's day is never lived entirely in public: there are always moments of transition between public and private. The significance of this has been investigated by Jean-Paul Thibaud (2003), who notes that 'the door of the house may also function as a sonic door' (p. 332). It represents a switch from one place to another and serves as an 'intermediary between two kinds of listening experience' (Ibid). Leaving one's home often leads to turning on the walkman (or iPod or MP3 player); coming home is usually linked with turning it off (Ibid). Thus, Thibaud sees a paradox in the fact that 'access to public space is associated with the beginning of

private listening whereas entering the private realm is associated with openness towards the surroundings' (Ibid). Hence, Bull and Thibaud alert us to the issue of mediated behaviour in public environments – a subject which, I will argue later, has a special pertinence to the favela.

At this point, it is worth paying attention to the slightly different focus of Julian Henriques' (2003) work. Henriques has looked at the uses of sound in public environments but the difference is that these spaces are used and these sounds are listened to collectively. His focus is on the reggae sound system sessions, which he refers to as his 'personal favourite site for the experience of sonic dominance' (p. 451). He uses the term 'sonic dominance' to describe their 'sheer physical force, volume, weight and mass'. On one hand, he argues, sonic dominance is hard, extreme and excessive'. On the other, it is also 'soft and embracing', making for 'an enveloping, immersive and intense experience'. In order to demonstrate the power of 'sonic dominance', Henriques uses the metaphor of an ocean wave: 'the sound crashes down on you', 'there's no escape, no cut off, no choice but to be there' (2003, p. 451-452)

Bull (2000, 2005) has explored the ways in which the iPod allows for a greater management of mood and personal narratives. However, the experience described by Henriques is distinct and not premeditated. With sonic dominance, there is not much room for rational processes (Henriques, 2003, p. 452). One does not have *control* over his or her mood but rather is taken by a powerful listening experience. As Henriques suggests, this experience is 'imminent, immediate and unmediated' and also 'impossible to ever be fully described' (Ibid). In his words, 'sonic dominance is visceral, stuff and guts. Sound at this level cannot but touch you and connect you to your body. It is not just heard in the ears but felt over the entire surface of the skin' (Ibid). Additionally, as the expression implies, 'sonic dominance occurs when and where the sonic medium displaces the usual or normal dominance of the visual medium' (Ibid). What happens is that sound monopolises the attention as the 'aural sensory modality becomes *the* sensory modality rather than one among the others of seeing, smelling, touching and tasting' (Ibid).

One of the ways in which the ideas of Bull and Henriques might be applied fruitfully to my own work in the Pau da Lima favela can be seen in the work of another author, Martin Oosterbann (2009). In his study of a favela in Rio de Janeiro, he focuses on the

way electro-acoustic technology allows for the representatives of different favela groups to 'claim space in the urban density of the *morro'* (hills of the favela) (2009, p. 86). 'As people loudly amplified their own music, they temporarily seized hold of the soundscape of the entire favela' (Ibid).

His main premise is that 'sound and music are essential to the constitution of identities and powerful tools to exercise a politics of presence in the favela' (Oosterbaan, 2009, p. 82). In the densely populated favela, 'different groups try to exercise a politics of presence through the sounds they produce' (Ibid). In order to illustrate this point, Oosterbaan contrasts two different groups in the favela and their corresponding sounds and music: the followers of the Pentecostal churches and gospel music and the 'traficantes' (drug dealers) and funk music. He finds that there is a fundamental sense of opposition between them: Gospel is 'Godly', Funk is 'worldly' (Ibid). This implies that these sounds 'reflected and constituted the power relations in the morro' (Ibid). In conclusion, Oosterbaan notes that these sonic battles and struggles are an indication of 'the complexity of life in favela-like neighbourhoods' (2009, p. 97). Again, this challenges the common idea that favela residents form one homogeneous group as they are, in fact, 'made up of many different social groups' (Ibid). The author concludes that 'though neighbourliness within certain micro-areas is indeed very important, it is certainly not always a binding element' (Ibid). Oosterbaan's (2009) research on the soundscapes of a favela in Rio de Janeiro offers useful insights into how music and sounds can express identity and social boundaries between the diverse groups of the favela. However, the place of radio within the favela's broader sonic environment is not central in this work[17].

To conclude this third (and last) part of my survey of the relevant literature, it emerges that a study of community radio in the everyday life of its listeners in the favela requires an 'ethnographic ear' (Erlmann, 2004). The realisation that radio is better understood if placed within the favela's soundscape has led me to an exploration of a growing body of literature on 'sound studies' (Hilmes, 2005) and 'auditory culture' (Bull and Back, 2003). Based on the premise that radio is an important component of the favela

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[17] Oosterbaan does mention radio briefly in his paper though. He notes, for instance, that 'besides the amplified prayers originating from the churches, there were many 'biroscas' (little shops) owned by Evangelicals, who played Evangelical radio to accompany them during their work, to evangelise and to demonstrate their religious affiliations to their customers' (2009, p. 92). Furthermore, he has an earlier article, published in 2008, which examines Pentecostal radio in the soundscape of a Favela in Rio. This earlier piece of work looks at the ways in which Evangelicals use radio to be in 'touch with God' (2008, p. 126) and will be incorporated in Chapter 7, where I deal specifically with the issue of listening to Evangelical radio. Yet, it is worth noting although our research projects bear a few similarities in terms of approach and context, my main focus is on community radio.

soundscape, this thesis investigates the ways in which radio used by the residents to manage their time and mood, seize space and perhaps engage in sonic struggles. Further, it will seek to place the favela residents' experience of radio within the wider auditory context of Pau de Lima's life.

5. Conclusion.

This chapter started by looking at scholarly work on community media. This body of literature allows us to gain various insights into the potential roles that community media can play in their communities. Amongst other things, community media can offer a 'local public sphere' (Hollander and Stappers, 1992), represent a counter-hegemonic form of communication (Downing, 2001; Lewis and Jones, 2006) and empower audiences (Freire, 1972) by allowing them to represent themselves (Couldry and Curran, 2003).

However, academics and practitioners often struggle – perhaps inevitably – to find an 'all-encompassing' definition able to include the incredibly diverse range of community media practices in the world. Consequently, many lines are drawn to determine what community media ought to be and ought to do: community media should represent a separate sector; they should not be contaminated by monetary or political aspects; they should stand in opposition to mainstream media. Whilst absorbed by the nearly impossible task of clarifying what is it that allows a given initiative to be called 'community media', the experiential richness of such initiatives on the ground have sometimes been given a low priority. Importantly, the audience experience of what is often defined as the most participatory of media forms has been under-investigated. Thus, authors such as Downing (2003) point to the urgency of filling in this paradoxical research gap.

This prompted an examination of another field of enquiry— audience studies—in order to understand the ways in which people engage with their media on a daily basis. One of the key debates in this field relates to a sense of worry with the audiences, asking: in what ways can the mass media produce an effect on people? To what extent are audiences easily duped and manipulated by the messages they read, see or listen to? To what extent can they make sense of these messages in an independent and critical way? Seminal texts such as Lazarsfeld et al.'s (1968) have shown that this concern with the

allegedly 'vulnerable' audiences is often exaggerated, and that, in fact, people might be more influenced by other people such as their friends and family or what he calls 'opinion leaders' than by the mass media. Ever since then, the broad thrust of audience studies has been to argue that rather than being worried about what the mass media can do to audiences, we should start looking at what the audiences do with their media.

The notion of 'everyday life' was then examined: an emphasis on media *within* daily routines and lives, such as Scannell's (1996) notion of 'dailiness'. This points to a methodological shift: as David Morley (1986) suggests, a need to attend more to people's daily media use by going to the very place where media use takes place: their homes. This notion of 'domesticity', however, reflects some of the Western ideas regarding media use and is an indirect result of a greater interest in television than in radio. De Oliveira (2007) suggests that this approach is not entirely suitable to radio listening in Latin American countries. This is even more the case with the favelas, with their thin walls and crammed together houses. It seems that in this context listening should be approached from the perspective of being less a 'private' and more a public and collective experience, which takes places beyond the realm of the 'domestic', on the streets and in the entire neighbourhood.

Thus, radio in the favela is not listened to in isolation but within a wider 'soundscape' (Schafer, 1994). The premise here is that we are all part of a 'sonic environment', which refers to both the natural acoustic environment and sounds created by human activity. However, Arkette's (2004) argument - that Schafer's (1994) distinction devalues the nature and complexity of human-made (and, specifically, urban) sounds – is persuasive. In any case, I argue, key literature in the field of sound studies urges us to value more the sense of hearing. We should, as Erlmann (2004) suggests, adopt an 'ethnographic ear', and, as Hilmes (2005) suggests, think further on the relationship between various sounds and the cultural contexts out of which they emerge. Scholars such as Bull (2000; 2005) and Atkinson (2007) are interested in analysing how people engage with the sounds of the city. Although we have moved on from the 'urban bias' displayed in Schafer's work, there is still a sense of people desiring to block out the sounds of the city. First with their walkmans and, later, with their MP3 players and iPods, the urban men and women feel the need to create a 'sensorial bubble' for themselves which enables them to better manage their moods and personal narratives.

Nevertheless, again, this research suggests that we need to think of the listening experience in light of the different cultural (and sonic) context of the favelas. Does the blurring of private and public boundaries mean that the sounds of the favela are also less filtered and more mixed? Here we can borrow several useful ideas from the academic works on sound and auditory culture, investigating the ways in which the favela residents act as 'aural architects' (Blesser and Salter, 2007) utilising sound and, particularly, radio to mark territories (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004), affirm their presence (Oosterbaan, 2009) and create a spatial and temporal pattern in their daily lives (Atkinson, 2007).

This is consistent with this thesis' choice to focus on the theme of *popular initiative*. The favelas themselves are perceived as a result of residents' decision to *act* and solve their housing problems, whilst community radio is a consequence of people's yearning for *making* their own media. Finally, I will argue that favela residents are not merely subjected to an overwhelming soundscape as they can often actively *use* sounds and radio as important tools to manage their daily life.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY: THE EXCHANGE RESEARCHER

'Ethnography can deliver empirically grounded knowledge of media audiences in a way that other, less socially encompassing methods cannot. At the same time, this type of research into TV audiences can generate the kind of ethnographic knowledge of local cultures which is usually considered to be the sole preserve of anthropologists – pointing to fruitful possibilities of interdisciplinary cross-fertilisation.'

Gillespie, 1995, p.54

1. Introduction.

Marie Gillespie's (1995) study was of young Punjabi's uses of television in Southall, West London. Although she focuses on television and I focus on radio, the author raises several important points about the ways in which ethnographic methods are able to offer very good answers to some of the dilemmas we find when studying the audiences to radio. Firstly, as Gillespie correctly points out, audience research is often marked by 'a polarisation of positivist and interpretivist perspectives, and of quantitative and qualitative methodologies'. On one hand, we have reception studies, which tend to draw upon literary theory and to be text-led. On the other, we have sociological approaches which frequently presume 'ideological effects'. At the same time, the broadcasting institutions continue relying upon quantitative data, such as monthly ratings and other 'number crunching devices'. The author notes that this polarisation is 'divisive and debilitating', creating obstacles to a 'more fruitful enquiry' (1995, p. 53-54).

Antonio La Pastina (2005) adds that when applied to media studies, ethnographic methods can offer the possibility of understanding the everyday experiences of audiences as embedded in their various wider contexts. This means that the examination of the phenomena can take place 'not only in its immediate social, political and economic contexts but also in a larger historical framework, as well as its insertion in the broader regional, national and global contexts' (p. 141).

Following these lines of thought, this research chooses *media ethnography* as its core methodology, not only for its ability to overcome some of the previously discussed

impasses but also for its intrinsic 'embededdness'. In general terms, scholars such as Gillespie define ethnography as 'the empirical description and analysis of cultures based on intensive and extensive fieldwork in a selected social setting' (1995, p.1). As Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) put it, the method involves 'the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions – in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research' (p. 1).

Ethnographic studies aim at knowing very much about a very small world. The focus is on 'the small-scale processes rather than the large-scale products, of people's perceptions, thoughts and actions' (Gillespie, 1995, p. 1). At the same time, ethnography also has the ability to make connections between micro and macroprocesses; 'between the public and private, the domestic, local, national and international spheres in contemporary societies; and between micro issues of power in everyday life and macro structural social features' (Marcus and Fisher, 1986; Morley, 1991, cited in Gillespie, 1995, p. 1).

This ability to provide in-depth knowledge of a 'culture' and, at the same time, offer a holistic perspective is what makes media ethnography the most appropriate methodological approach for my investigation. Clearly, a study of the role of community radio among residents of one favela in Brazil demands a good degree of immersion in their everyday lives. Thus, the 'how' and 'why' people listen to community radio cannot be explored unless the researcher has a thorough knowledge of his/her informants and their physical, spatial, and social environments. For instance, on a macro-level, listening to the radio is subjected to the wider media ecology of the city and the country – what kinds of stations are there? With which stations (or other media) do they compete? What are the wider regulatory and political factors which might have an impact on radio? In addition, someone's listening habits are likely to be influenced by their socio-demographic characteristics, such as gender, age, ethnicity and social class, by their personality, religious beliefs and life history, not to mention factors such as who this person lives with, what kind of radio set this person has and the sonic environment around him or her.

In this chapter, I will discuss the ways in which I developed, used and adapted my research methods. The fieldwork consisted of four months (from September 2007 to January 2008) in one favela, Pau da Lima, located in Salvador, Brazil, plus a follow-up visit of one further full month in May 2009. Whilst in the field, I visited a total of nine families on a regular basis (once a week with each family). The fieldwork also included participant observations in the homes and streets of Pau da Lima as well as one-time in-depth interviews with radio owners and presenters, neighbourhood association leaders and evangelical 'pastors'. In exchange for the community's participation in my project, I voluntarily taught a creative writing skills class for a group of ten favela youths. The students' writings also served as research data while the classes helped me broaden my network of contacts and to gain trust in the community.

As for the follow-up visit in May 2009, this was an opportunity to conduct in-depth interviews with some of my key informants and explore more thoroughly some of the issues that had arisen from my analysis of the data collected in 2007/2008. They also enabled me to fill-in some of the gaps that had been left during the previous four-month stay in Pau da Lima. I also had the chance to present some of my preliminary research findings to some of the participants and neighbourhood association leaders.

The chapter is divided in three sections, which represent the main 'actors' involved in the fieldwork process (the researcher and the participants) as well as the scenario in which the research takes place (the favela).

a) The researcher.

It has been agreed that ethnographic methodology demands a 'reflexive engagement' with the research participants (Coman and Rothenbuhler, 2005, p. 2). Thus, ethnography requires an open acknowledgment of the researcher's character, social and cultural backgrounds as well as her/his potential biases and motivations. Based on this premise, in this introductory section, the readers can hear my voice (the author's/researcher's) and find out more about the perspectives – personal, social, professional – with which I, specifically, approach the ethnographic task. I also discuss the ways in which my identity and perceived identity influenced the fieldwork relations. In the particular case of conducting research in Pau da Lima, I was perceived as a 'close other'. This position has disadvantages, such as initial reactions of puzzlement and hostility, but also many advantages, such as a good level of mutual cultural

understanding. Finally, I recognise that being a 'close other' has shaped my fieldwork experience in many ways, bringing the issue of *reciprocity* – which is usually treated as one item among many others under 'ethical considerations'— to the foreground of my fieldwork relations. Because of all this, the flavour of the writing in what follows in chapter 4 is, 'of necessity', more personal than many methodological treatises in doctoral theses.

b) The 'field'.

Given that 'fieldwork' is crucial in legitimating ethnography as a research methodology, this section aims at exploring some of the notions of the 'field'. The Globalisation phenomenon and the rise of the Internet have made the previous notions of 'field' less fixed and stable, and have called for the need of a more mobile and multi-sited ethnography. Nevertheless, most of my research revolves around solely one neighbourhood – Pau da Lima. Thus, I discuss the rationale behind choosing my research site and explain the ways in which I obtained access to Pau da Lima through key informants. I argue that access is a process of constant negotiation throughout the entire fieldwork and not just at initial stages. As the researcher becomes more immersed in the setting, he or she also finds new barriers, and overcoming these barriers can say a lot about the setting itself.

c) The participants.

The third section introduces some of the individuals who played a vital role in this research – the research participants. The section starts by presenting the sets of questions that informed my encounters with the informants. Then it moves on to a discussion of the strategies for broadening my network of contacts in Pau da Lima and the criteria for selecting the participant families, taking into consideration the socio-economic diversity of the favela. I will also explain how I adopted various roles in the field, ranging from an (almost) complete observer to an (almost) complete participant according to the different relationships I had with different families and our perceived identities. These identities were, in turn, influenced by factors such as gender, ethnicity, age, personal and professional backgrounds. Having established in the first section the importance of having mutually beneficial relationships with the participants, especially when one is a 'close other', I will provide further examples of gestures of reciprocity in the field. Finally, I will address the ways in which 'listening' emerges as a helpful and crucial notion for doing fieldwork in Pau da Lima.

To conclude, the most adequate methodology represents a set of strategies that enable the researcher to obtain answers for her/his questions. In my case, the research project required an in-depth engagement with residents, their habits and their settings in order to understand the place of radio in their everyday lives. Therefore, my choice of embracing media ethnography was consistent with my research aims. Unlike more positivistic approaches in which the researcher assumes an *objective* and detached position, ethnography is not only about being *subjective* but also taking on various different positions according to the different actors, times and environments. Ethnography is aware that *everything* is what it *is* in *relation* to *something*. This is why it is particularly well-suited for studies which aim at exploring the everyday dynamics and mechanisms of media use and, in my case, radio listening, which is a highly contextualised phenomenon.

2. The Researcher.

2.1. Reflexivity: the Researcher's Background.

In ethnography, there is a widespread consensus on the researcher's need to be reflexive, acknowledging the ways in which her/his personal journey might influence the fieldwork relations and shape her/his interpretation of the findings. Concerned with anthropology's colonialist heritage, Clifford Geertz, for instance, admitted that the task of 'interpreting cultures' is highly reliant on who is doing the interpreting. For Geertz, anthropologists are not objective observers, they are voices narrating stories to others: 'we begin with our own interpretation of what our informants are up to, or think they are up to, and then systematize those' (Geertz, 1973, p. 15).

Having agreed on the need for a critical and reflexive engagement with participants, scholars recognise the importance of placing themselves in relation to their researched community. For example, Gillespie (1995) discusses her own background as a white woman who grew up in London and as the daughter of Irish Catholic parents. In this way, she is able to find similarities between herself and her informants – Punjabi families in Southall – such as the 'centrality of religion' in their lives, as well as differences, such as the colour of her respondents' skin, which makes them an easy target for racism' (Ibid). In addition, the author explains how a combination of 'professional, personal and academic' interests have contributed to leading her to the

final shape of her research project – a two year 'media ethnography' of young people of Punjabi background's uses of television in Southall, London (Gillespie, 1995, p. 48).

In my own case, the most fundamental aspects of identity relevant to my ethnographic work are that I am Brazilian and was born in Salvador. However, unlike most favela residents, I come from a middle class background, having had access to university, and the opportunity to study abroad in the United States and in the United Kingdom. Regarding my ethnic background, Brazil is a country where most people are indeed very mixed in terms of their ancestry. Given this mixture, people tend to describe themselves in terms of their skin colour rather than ethnic origins (Goldstein, 2003). Thus, I fit in the 'white' category, especially in places with a predominant black population, such as Salvador. My degree of perceived darkness in Brazil increases as I travel South, where there is a greater percentage of people of European descent.

As for my early perception of the favelas, it can be linked to what Scheper-Hughes (1995) refers to as a sense of 'basic strangeness', reflected in the anthropologist's view of her subjects as unspeakably other' and belonging to a different world (p. 419). Coming from a middle class background, I have always been aware that the favelas were, in fact, part of *my* reality and *my* identity. Yet, they also seemed strangely other, distant, inhospitable and dangerous. Because of the negative way favelas are constantly portrayed in the media, as a place of extreme violence and perennial poverty, any curiosity an average middle class person (like me) might have about favela life ends up being replaced by fear and discomfort. Thus, it is not surprising that it was not until 2004 that I set foot in a favela for the first time.

2.2. Welcome to the Favela.

Despite the large numbers of favelas in my own city, Salvador, my first favela experience was in Rio de Janeiro. This can be traced back to my master's programme at the University of Oregon (from 2002 to 2004). Having read an article about TV Rocinha, a community television station located in the Favela da Rocinha, the largest favela in Latin America, I became fascinated with the idea of media being produced for and *by* the favela residents themselves, for their own purposes, and of the media painting a more positive picture of the favelas. Thus I decided this would be the theme of my master's thesis.

In April 2004, I entered a favela – Rocinha – for the first time. On one hand, I did see the poverty, the shacks and the children playing barefoot: the typical images that a middle class person would expect. On the other hand, I also met people with standards of living that were quite similar to that of a middle class family. In sum, the favela appeared much more colourful and vibrant than the favela I saw in the news, with a very busy local commerce, banks, internet cafes, shops. The favela also seemed very eventful, with several groups organising meetings with politicians and an intense political activity. Though in retrospect this might appear to be an obvious cliché, the overriding impression, nevertheless, was of the sheer diversity of the favela instead of the pre-conceived one of a homogenous mass of shacks inhabited by poor people. Life in the favela also seemed incredibly ordinary, with people getting on with their businesses, just like everyday life anywhere else.

On that occasion I stayed in Rocinha for twenty days. During this period, I would climb the hills and stay there the whole day, without feeling threatened. At night, I would go back to my friend's apartment in Rio's upper class area of Botafogo. In the upper-class neighbourhoods, I would often hear jokes about my Northeastern accent[1]. However, in Rocinha, despite the fact that I had come from a different background and that I am quite white for favela standards, many people seemed to identify with me, precisely because of my accent. There is a significant percentage of *Nordestinos* (immigrants from the impoverished Northeastern region of Brazil) in the favelas of Rio and São Paulo, and they are often discriminated against. Ironically this helped me be accepted and treated with empathy by many residents in Rocinha.

Nevertheless, the research in Rocinha also had its shortcomings. The person who opened the doors of the favela to me was TV Rocinha's director, which might have contributed to colouring the findings. The majority of my interviews were conducted with the stations' employees and collaborators, and this resulted in a very positive, even somewhat romantic account of the station and its relationship with the community, while the potentially more nuanced perspectives from TV Rocinha's audiences themselves were neglected.

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[1] Salvador is in the state of Bahia, in the Northeastern region of Brazil.

2.3. The Ph.D. Research Project: a Shift in Focus.

Two further decisions followed: the first one was to continue researching about community media in the favelas but from a different angle – the audiences. Secondly, I chose to shift from television to radio. Starting a radio station is much easier and cheaper and therefore, radio seems like a much more realistic option for people of low income, grassroots organisations and neighbourhood associations. Above all, I chose to focus on the listeners, instead of the producers. I decided to explore residents' listening experiences of community radio, focusing on how they use and interpret community radio programmes, within the context of the favela's social and acoustic ecology.

Though I discuss later in this chapter the various sociological and geographical reasons involved in selecting Pau da Lima as the particular favela for my research, it should be noted here that there were also personal factors involved. Firstly, the ethnographic nature of the research project required a much longer stay in the favela and a more intensive involvement with the community. Thus, researching a favela in Salvador, my hometown, where I could live with my family, was more viable in financial terms. Secondly, researching a favela in Salvador also had a symbolic personal dimension as it allowed me to finally get to know my own city, the real Salvador, in its entirety – with its beaches and colonial architecture but also with its favelas.

The fact that the fieldwork site is a favela in Salvador, however, has many implications and raises questions. In what ways would being a middle class 'white' woman from the same city influence the nature of my relationships and interactions with participants? On the positive side, I was not faced with language or cultural barriers, which can be serious issues for foreign researchers. Salvador is known as a city with a unique identity, and having grown up immersed in this culture, I can understand the cultural references, the humour, the life style and the slangs, which are often not easily understood even by Brazilian from other states[2]. In addition, I had the advantage of knowing the political, historical and social backgrounds, as well as the radio sector.

At the same time, being from the same city as my research participants meant that I did not have that 'underdog' factor which helped me in the Rio de Janeiro favela. I do speak

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[2] Nivaldo Lariu (1994) wrote a book called 'Dicionario de Baianês' (Dictionary of 'Bahianese'), which aimed at helping Brazilians learn some of the local expressions. The book became quite popular.

with the same accent as the Pau da Lima residents. However, my speech also revealed a different social background, making it evident that I was someone who had much more opportunities in life. This would often lead to a form of disguised resentment. Some people would jokingly refer to me as '*branquela*' ('whitey') or as the 'baroness' (a slang word for a 'rich' person, or in Portuguese, *barona*).

All these factors raise certain recurrent concerns in ethnographic work with the key one, perhaps, being: when does the researcher start becoming 'one of them'? (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; Fetterman, 1998). In my case, I would argue that my identity was clear from the very start: the neighbourhood my family lives in, the universities I had attended; all these were references the participants were quite familiar with. I decided to accept a somewhat awkward role as a 'close other'. The closeness had advantages, such as allowing a greater degree of honesty between us. The otherness meant that, whilst favela residents were quite used to interacting with foreign researchers from international NGOs, for instance, they found it somewhat unusual to have someone from the same city, someone who could be hanging out in the 'nice neighbourhoods' but who insisted instead on going to Pau da Lima every day. This was illustrated by what a man told me one day on the street: *'hey, baroness, what do you want hanging out with poor people like that?'*[3]

This initial attitude of puzzlement towards my 'close otherness' was crucial in determining my strategy for gaining access to the community and in helping me think about some of my ethical responsibilities, not only as a researcher, but as a person. I could not claim that there were cultural or language misunderstandings. Rather, our communication was very clear. I told my participants what I hoped I would be gaining from this research project (a Ph.D. title, the first step for following the path of an academic career etc) and they pragmatically told me that I should give them something back, obviously not a financial reward, but something more 'concrete' (in their terms) besides sharing my research findings.

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[3] Taken from my fieldnotes.

3. The 'Field'.

3.1 What constitutes the field?

Faye Ginsburg (2005) points out that after years of being seen as a 'taboo topic', anthropologists have finally recognised the need to pay attention to the media, their significance and ubiquity in the world (p.17). In addition, media ethnography, particularly, has been championed as a useful approach to explore audiences' daily experiences of their media (Gillespie, 1995; Moores, 1993; Morley, 1992; Silverstone, 1994). However, there have also been doubts over the extent to which media ethnography can be legitimately ethnographic. Author such as Gillespie (1995) and La Pastina (2005) argue that, in order to be truly ethnographic, media studies need to be characterised as intensive long-term participant observation, data-collection and analysis. Gillespie incisively suggests that what is often referred to as 'ethnographic methods' in audience studies should often 'be simply called qualitative methods', and that these studies not only commit a 'terminological usurpation', but also inhibit potential discussions of important methodological issues (Gillespie, 1995).

Nevertheless, Mihai Coman and Eric Rothenbuhler (2005) argue that even short periods of time spent in the field can provide valid ethnographic data. In their words, 'valuable interpretive accounts can be based on relatively small periods of observation, focusing on media texts as much as people and activities' (p. 3). They note that media ethnography does not necessarily need to fulfil 'all the requirements of the classical ethnographical field experience' in order be considered 'legitimately ethnographic' (Ibid). They claim that media ethnographies are worth the effort because 'these studies have yielded a lot of new and exciting information on the media, putting the classical assumptions of media studies, as well as ethnography, into new light' (Ibid).

Given that 'fieldwork' constitutes a practice that is located at the core of ethnography, a brief exploration of the concept of 'the field' becomes necessary. Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (1997) note that, whilst it is taken for granted that 'fieldwork' is what 'makes one a real anthropologist', the idea of the 'field' 'remains largely unexamined' in contemporary anthropology (p. 1-2). Traditionally, the word 'field' has been associated with an 'agrarian, pastoral, or maybe even a wild' place, or 'a place apart from the urban' (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997, p. 8). But anthropology has long moved on

from the western-centric idea that only the 'exotic' or remote fields are appropriate sites for fieldwork[4].

In addition, globalisation has brought further challenges to the notion of a field untouched by modernity. To quote Arjun Appadurai, 'the ethno in ethnography takes on a slippery, non- localised quality' and the task of ethnography now becomes the unravelling of a conundrum: what is the nature of locality, as lived experience, in a globalised, deterritorialised world?' (1991, p. 191-196). This raises interesting questions: if the 'field' is no longer a neatly defined geographical location and if the new technologies have changed the nature of communication, what are the implications for media ethnography? What are the difficulties and what are the new possibilities? Maren Hartmann (2007) defends George Marcus' (1995) ideas regarding 'multi-sited mobile ethnographies' and suggests that because media are no longer 'fixed in space' (and thus also time), being carried anywhere, anytime, media ethnographies themselves also need to be mobile (Hartman, 2007, p. 254).

Two points for discussion emerge from these debates on the 'field'. Why have I centred my project in *one* favela? And what makes a favela an appropriate site for researching listening to community radio? The rationale for choosing to focus solely on Pau da Lima, a conveniently located favela in a well-defined geographical area of Salvador was, as it is often the case with ethnographic studies, to privilege depth over breadth. My aim was to intensively engage with the listeners and to become as familiar as possible with their daily routines. This approach was suitable to my project's study of the uses of community radio, a medium that is predominantly local in nature. Therefore, it seemed a logical choice to focus on one 'favela' / one 'community' and the experiences of listening to community radio to be found there in order to provide a rich, thorough and detailed media ethnography. At the same time, the research takes on board the idea of 'mobility' by acknowledging the possibility that people living in this defined geographic space create their own 'bubble' of sensual experience and that this sometimes moves with them through the cityscape (Bull, 2004).

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[4] Margaret Mead (1928, 1943), for example shifted her focus from studying the peoples of the South Pacific, New Guinea and Indonesia to the study of contemporary societies of Europe and the United States[4]. More recently, scholars such as Jesus Martín Barbero (1988), who focuses on Latin America, have strongly argued that indigenous cultures are not primitive, frozen in time or static. Rather, they're dynamic, constantly evolving, and able to incorporate different elements from different cultures

Having discussed why I chose *one* favela, I will move on to answering the question: why *a favela*? Relating back to the discussion on what constitutes an appropriate site for 'fieldwork', I did not choose a favela thinking of it as an 'exotic' environment or as a place which is detached from the city. As discussed in chapter 1, the favelas are not alien bodies and are fully integrated to the urban tissue. Besides, in many Brazilian cities, such as Salvador, the number of favela residents is almost the same as the number of non-favela residents. Thus, favela residents often do not represent a 'minority' population, and the favelas constitute a pervasive aspect of Brazilian society that needs to be properly understood.

The field of community media studies is informed by the idea that community media can be used as a tool for promoting development and social empowerment amongst disenfranchised populations. The favelas provide a good setting for testing this. Even though the favelas are not homogenous environments in which all residents are equally poor, they are still marked by a high level of poverty and are often discriminated against in a society with stark socio-economic differences. Besides, the favelas are often regarded as sites where popular initiative thrives, which makes them suitable for studying 'do it yourself media'. At the same time, the spatial organisation of the favelas, with its dense population and crammed together houses, added to Brazil's strong tradition of aural culture, enable me to look at media consumption from a non-western angle.

In sum, the favelas represent a place of intersection for my personal, professional and intellectual interests (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997, p. 11). Just as there are virtually no studies of community media audiences, the same is true for community radio listeners in the context of the favelas. This represents a gap in knowledge that needs to be attended to given that the favelas, as previously mentioned, are known for being birthplaces of social movements and provide a unique setting for testing out community media's rhetoric of empowerment.

3.2 Choosing a favela.

Having decided that the research would take place in *one favela,* I then needed to decide in which favela the fieldwork should take place. The most important prerequisites were: a) that the chosen favela had community radio stations; b) that I would be able to gain

access to the favela; c) that the chosen favela displayed the socio-economic heterogeneity which is typical of the favelas, allowing for a rich exploration of listening to community radio in such a complex environment.

The reasons that led me to Pau da Lima were mainly the possibility of access to the favela's community and its demographic, socio-economic and geographical nature. I had met some students at the University of Berkeley who were part of a large public health project that was being conducted in Pau da Lima by the Oswaldo Cruz Foundation (Fio Cruz)[5] in partnership with American universities. During the initial process, one former student, Kelli,[6] was particularly helpful in putting me in touch with residents of Pau da Lima. She had worked closely with a woman from Pau da Lima, called Valéria[7], in an effort to gather money and supplies to rebuild a small school that had collapsed after the constant heavy rains, in one of the most impoverished areas of the favela. Kelli gave me Valéria's number and I called her whilst still in the U.K. She agreed to meet me once I was in Salvador and to introduce me to her neighbours and friends. This seemed like a very convenient approach for entry. My friend Kelli's efforts to remodel the school were appreciated in the community. At the same time, Valéria was a resident of Pau da Lima, someone who had a deep knowledge, not only of the place itself, but of what was like to be a favela resident. Thus, these initial interactions were crucial in shaping the ways in which my fieldwork was conducted from the start.

Kelli also gave me the number of Edson Sales[8], the founder of Pop Som, Pau da Lima' s 'lamp post' radio station. This is a station whose programmes are aired through loudspeakers attached to lamp-posts, and which I discuss in detail in Chapter 5. I also called Edson from London and talked to him about Pop Som. He informed me that, besides a 'lamp post' radio station, there were a few pirate FM community stations in Pau da Lima. At that point, I realised that Pau da Lima was the favela I was looking for: I had the contacts and the favela had the community radio stations which were necessary for conducting my fieldwork there.

In demographic and socio-economic terms, Pau da Lima constitutes a heterogeneous and multi-faceted community. With approximately 200,000 residents, it is one of the

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[5] Managed by the Federal Government's Ministry of Health. It is an institute of science and technology applied to public health.
[6] Name is fictitious.
[7] Name is fictitious.
[8] Name is fictitious.

most populous boroughs in Salvador, a city whose population was over 2.8 million in 2007[9]. As discussed in chapter 1, there is a significant diversity in Pau da Lima when it comes to factors such as income, occupation, education, race, religion, among others.

Often this diversity is also reflected in the spatial organisation of the community. The residents who are better off economically tend to live closer to the paved streets, and have better access to electricity, water, sanitation and public transport. The most impoverished live in the areas of the bottom of the hills, where the living conditions get worse. With no paved streets, the houses cannot be reached by car and the access is usually through sets of stairs built by residents themselves. These internal differences and its spatial and sonic consequences will be further analysed in Chapter 5. What is of importance here is the fact that this socio-demographic variety makes it particularly interesting to study *community radio* in such a complex *community*. It is by attending to the 'conditions of reception', exploring the tensions involved in the relationships between the stations and the different heterogeneous groups of the favela and by unveiling the 'messy' and sometimes contradictory patterns of listening, that my research aims to offer a contribution to knowledge within the field of radio and community media.

As for the geographical location, Pau da Lima is distant from Salvador's main business centres. For this reason, the neighbourhood has a thriving independent commercial activity with many small local shops and a strong culture of entrepreneurship, which is a key component of the identity of the neighbourhood. Thus, given the premise that community media ought to *not* be commercial in nature, this makes for an interesting case of exploring the connections and relationships between the local shops and business owners, the radio stations and its presenters and the listeners/consumers.

3.3. Access to Pau da Lima: Key Informants.

The first visit to Pau da Lima happened on a Saturday, 22 September 2007. Kelli's boyfriend, Valter[10] and I went to Valéria's house, which was situated in a narrow, semi-paved alley. He was able to park his car at her door. The impression was that of strangers calling a lot of attention as all the children who were playing in the alley

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[9] IBGE Census 2007.
[10] All the names of my informants are fictitious unless indicated otherwise.

started to approach us, surrounding the car. This seemed to be a sign that we were perceived as 'rich' people in a rather atypical 'visit' to a favela.

Valéria was forty-five at the time, had six children and six grandchildren and besides her role at the small school, she also worked selling plastic house ware products. She took me to her living room where we started chatting. I told her that I was interested in community radio and that I would need to be constantly visiting families in Pau da Lima in order to find out how and why people listen to these stations. At the same time, she told me more about the school, how she was happy it had been rebuilt, and invited me to 'go down the hills and have a look at it'.

We then proceeded to climb down the hills to reach Baixa Fria, the area where the school was located. It had rained heavily the night before, the hills were extremely muddy and I found myself clumsily slipping after each step and holding Valéria's arm to make my way down the hills. Lots of children appeared from every little corner. They all seemed a bit curious and puzzled by this tall clumsy woman – me. Valéria made fun of my situation by saying:

> '*Yeah, I know how it is, baronesses like you are not used to these muddy cliffs. Can you imagine doing that every day to get home? If you did that, you would be able to climb up and down these hills with your eyes closed and even with high hills, like some women around here do*'[11].

This moment was significant because it illustrated not only the social, but also the physical boundaries of my access to Pau da Lima. From the moment of my arrival in Pau da Lima, it seemed very clear that I was perceived as someone from a different social class, I was an eccentric 'visitor'. Even though I had tried to dress down and not to 'behave rich', my clumsiness in climbing down the hills immediately gave it away that I was not familiar to that type of reality.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) state that the 'process of achieving access is not merely a practical matter. Not only does its achievement depend upon theoretical understanding, often disguised as native wit, but the discovery of obstacles to access and perhaps of effective means of overcoming them, itself provides insights into the

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[11] From my fieldnotes.

social organisation of the setting' (p. 54). This seemed to be the case in Pau da Lima. Not being 'one of them' was not a determinant in gaining access to the community. Instead, the participants seemed much more interested in what I could offer in exchange for the community's participation in the research. Because of who I was, I could negotiate my access in very open terms. To quote Valéria:

> *"You can help us and we can help you. We are bringing you to get to know an environment which is not the one you live in, so this is like an exchange, we help you, you help us'.* [12]

We then agreed on our 'deal'. Valéria would introduce me to her friends' families so that my visits could start and I would start collecting new toys amongst my friends to donate to her school for Children's Day[13]. Again, the way in which I overcame the barrier of being introduced to my first families in Pau da Lima says a lot about life in the community. In Pau da Lima everything seems to be a trade-off, and that's how people manage to survive in the face of poverty. Whilst residents might lack the financial resources, they are used to finding the alternatives, often exchanging favours and workforce.

My fieldwork had started off quite well: I had met local people and was successful in getting Valéria to accompany me in my first field trips. However, the second week of fieldwork brought new challenges, news ways to overcome them and new insights into Pau da Lima's social structure. David Fetterman (1998) argues that 'negotiating access, data collection and analysis are not, then, distinct phases of the research process'. In fact, they are always overlapping and 'much can be learned from the problems involved in making contact with people as well as from how they respond to the researcher's approaches' (p. 55). Whilst I had no problem in getting my first interviews, some of the family members to whom I had been introduced seemed a bit wary of my return visits. A common reaction was to claim that *'they had already told me everything they knew about radio and that they weren't specialists'.*[14]

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[12] From my fieldnotes

[13] Children's day (*Dia das Crianças*) is a popular celebration in Brazil. It happens on 12 October. Valéria wanted to make sure each child of Baixa Fria would have a toy to bring home with them as the children are many and the toys are never enough.

[14] From my fieldnotes.

Additionally, I noticed that the families Valéria had introduced me to had very similar profiles. The majority were Evangelicals from the Baptist church, like she was, and they all lived on the same street. I still did not feel like I had access to Pau da Lima as a whole but just to certain types of people and certain areas. This resonates with Fetterman's (1998) remark that having a powerful member of the community as a point of entry could be like a double-edged sword. On one hand, having Valéria literally walk me through the streets of Pau da Lima was extremely useful. On the other hand, I felt that it was preventing me from establishing my independence in the field, 'cutting off other lines of communication' (Fetterman, 1998, p. 34). I decided then to look for alternative but complementary routes as I still needed many families for my sample.

Some Fio Cruz researchers I had met suggested that I contact Regina, a 39 year-old resident of Pau da Lima and member of Fio Cruz's field research team. She was extremely well-connected and knew Pau da Lima from the inside out. On 29 September 2007, one week after meeting Valéria, I met Regina at the food court of a small shopping mall located at the Avenida São Rafael, which is one of the entries to Pau da Lima.

I had written a summary of my research project in Portuguese, so I gave her a copy of it. Besides working at Fio Cruz, Regina was studying nutrition at university, which is still a fairly difficult achievement for a favela resident[15]. She read my summary carefully, asking questions about community radio. She told me that in Pau da Lima there was a 'lamp post' radio (which I knew from talking to Edson) and that all the local FM stations were pirate stations. During our conversation, Regina seemed interested in becoming involved in my project. However, similarly to Valéria, she was particularly interested in what I had written about the *reciprocity* of the researcher and giving something back to the community. She told me somewhat bitterly:

> *'Many people are curious about our poverty. There are researchers coming here all the time, people here are already tired of it. They come here, they get their titles, their jobs, but we still get very little out of it'.* [16]

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[15] Recently more residents of favelas have gradually started having greater access to university after the Federal Government created university quotas for blacks.
[16] From y fieldnotes.

Regina then explained to me what she thought would be the correct approach for gaining access to Pau da Lima. She would arrange for a meeting with some of Pau da Lima's neighbourhood association leaders, in which I would explain to them what my project was about. *'In this way'*, she said, *'everyone will know who you are, what you are up to, nobody will be wondering who is this woman? And what is she doing here?'*

The suggestion was useful and represented an early turning point. Authors such as Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), for instance, discuss the importance of gatekeepers for gaining full access to the field, 'taking the researcher to private settings where boundaries are clearly marked', and 'not easily penetrated'. They also mention that identifying the relevant gatekeepers, however, can be tricky and not always straight forward as the distinction is not always clear cut (p. 64). Therefore, although I did come across reactions of hostility towards 'research' and 'outsiders', I was able to get around it by being extremely careful in my initial contacts in Pau da Lima. Using a 'snowballing' approach, I was able to meet residents of Pau da Lima, who then introduced me to other residents, who, in turn, introduced me to the Neighbourhood Association leaders. If I had approached these leaders directly, I would probably be received with a much greater degree of scepticism.

3.4. Meeting at the Neighbourhood Association.

A meeting with the neighbourhood association leaders took place on Wednesday 3 October 2007. Besides Regina and I, there were five neighbourhood association male leaders from different areas of Pau da Lima: Coroado, Baixa Fria, and Colina Azul. The meeting took place at the Association of Residents of Pau da Lima[17] (known as AMPLI). Being located on the main avenue, Avenida São Rafael, AMPLI is Pau da Lima's largest association.

Regina introduced me to the men and they each introduced themselves. What followed was a brief presentation of my project, in which I handed them copies of my summary. After I presented my project and answered various questions, we started to talk about what I would do for them in exchange. Vando suggested that I should teach a literacy course for adults. I responded, quite honestly, that I was not capable or trained for doing

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[17] In Portuguese: Associação dos Moradores de Pau da Lima.

it, and offered to voluntarily teach a creative writing skills course to young people. They agreed and said that they would advertise it to the students. I pointed out that the course would only be able to last for four months. There were a few expressions of disappointment but Wilson ended the meeting by saying that volunteers were always welcome. My classes would start the following Wednesday, every Wednesday night from 6.30 to 8.30, for as long as I was doing research in Pau da Lima.

The issue of obtaining 'access' to the 'field' and, consequently, to the research data is obviously essential for any research project. Nevertheless, the word 'access' mistakenly gives an impression that this issue needs to be dealt with in the initial stages of the fieldwork. Consequently, many authors such as Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) have acknowledged that 'access' is a much more complex issue which needs to be negotiated not only in the beginning but throughout all stages of research (p.54).

Gaining access to a 'different' social world and becoming immersed in a new environment also triggers a series of ethical considerations. In order to protect participants from harm or exploitation, many research projects need to go through a process of ethical approval. This was also the case with my project, whose research design and methodology were submitted for the analysis of the University of Westminster's Ethical Committee. During this process, I demonstrated that all the necessary actions would be taken to respect the participants' privacy and confidentiality, such as using fictitious names to protect their anonymities. In addition, I addressed the issue of 'informed consent', making sure that people were well aware about the nature and aims of the research and that they were willing to participate, being totally free to withdraw from the project at any time. The fact that I would be going to family homes raised further concerns regarding the presence of children during the visits, since they are considered a vulnerable population. Consequently, I had to make it clear that, although older children and teenagers were *likely* to take part in the research, the project's focus was *not* on children. In order to address these concerns, measures were taken to ensure that, when interviewed, children were always in the company of family members. Besides revolving around issues of confidentiality and safety, the process of ethical approval included a discussion on how to offer benefits to the participants, such as sharing the research knowledge with the community. However, whilst acknowledging that this is crucial, I would argue that, often, it might not be enough. In the case of Pau da Lima, residents spoke of many instances of encounters with

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researchers in which they felt that they were giving more than they were receiving and that they appreciated when researchers were also willing to give them a bit of their skills and their time.

In conclusion, the experience in Pau da Lima confirms Hammersley and Atkinson's (1995) ideas about fieldwork as a constant negotiation of access(es) and identity(ies) with different groups and at different stages of the research. Rather than being concerned about changing my perceived identity as an 'upper class woman from Salvador', I decided to focus on not being perceived as 'another researcher who is taking advantage of people'. In fact, I never felt that being 'different' was an obstruction for my gaining access to the research data whilst 'not giving anything to them in return' certainly would be. This suggests that more attention should be devoted to the issue of *reciprocity* in research. Whilst many research projects do not have the funding to financially reward its participants, researchers should always be concerned about doing research in such a way that the information is not 'taken' but 'given'. Because Pau da Lima, particularly, is an environment with such a strong trading culture, it seemed that research ought to be exchange research.

4. The Participants.

4.1. The Research Questions.

This section is about the people who, in a sense, *are* also the 'field' of investigation. As it happens when one initiates her/his 'fieldwork', my encounters with the research participants were informed by a set of questions to be investigated. These questions were in turn informed by who I am and what I wanted to find out – the research aims – as well as by a preliminary exploration of the field through the favela literature, my previous experience at Rocinha and some initial impressions of Pau da Lima.

The overarching research question is:

- ***What is community radio's role in the day-to-day life of its listeners in the favela?***

The central aim is to ask how community radio is listened to, commented on, talked about and imbued with meaning, both in the homes and on the streets of the favela.

As the project evolved, however, further questions have been raised. The literature on the favelas, for instance, has identified that the favelas are more heterogeneous than previously perceived. Thus, my research aims at finding out:

- *How does community radio deal with the heterogeneity of the favela? Which groups does it represent? Which group does it succeed in speaking to? Which groups does it neglect?*

Studies of community media have suggested that often there are no clear-cut distinctions between community media, the market (commercial media) and the state (public service media) and that community media frequently make connections with these other sectors to survive. In addition, an analysis of the Brazilian mediascape (discussed in chapter 2) reveals that Evangelical radio has emerged as a strong sector, whose boundaries are also blurred with community and commercial radio. Thus, bearing in mind that this research focuses on the perspectives of listeners:

- *How are these differences/connections between the sectors perceived by listeners? What are the implications of the favela's predominant market-driven culture for community radio?*

- *How do listeners perceive Evangelical radio? What does Evangelical radio have to offer to listeners? What can community radio offer them that other types of radio cannot? And how do Evangelical programmes fit into community radio's larger schedule?*

Finally, the discussions in Chapter 3, which revolve around domesticity as opposed to radio listening as a collective experience lead us to the realisation that it is key to attend to the soundscapes as a way to understand the environment's dynamics. Therefore, it is important to pay attention to the ways in which sounds, in general, and radio, in particular, affect listeners' management of time and space. This triggers questions such as:

- *In which ways is community radio used to encourage collective identity and in which ways is it used to foster individuality and differences? What are the*

relationships between community radio and music and a sense of local pride and self-esteem?

- *Why is it that paying attention to soundscapes might reveal something about the favela? How does community radio sound stand in relation to the favela soundscapes?*

- *How do favela residents use sounds and radio to manage their time and space and to position themselves socially?*

At this point, it is worth bringing up Joke Hermes' (1995) warnings of the dangers of imposing research questions on participants. Repeatedly, researchers walk into the field with a set of pre-determined questions, which are regarded as senseless or unimportant by the informants. Being attentive to this problem, I have allowed some flexibility in my research questions, adjusting some of the questions not only in light of the literature but also, importantly, in light of the collected data, letting further sets of questions emerge from the findings. For example, I was struck by the frequency with which my informants made reference to sounds to describe favela life. Thus, this aural dimension of the favela clearly could not be ignored. This prompted me to add a new area of enquiry to my literature review – auditory culture – and to include research questions about the specific implications of the favela soundscapes for radio.

4.2. Choosing the Families and Participants.

As Amanda Coffey (1999) points out, one cannot dissociate the pursuit of obtaining field data from the task of being able to successfully develop social relationships in the field. She suggests that while we tend to think about the relationship between the 'researcher' and the 'field' in collective terms, what we are really apprehensive about is whether 'individual social actors' can get along or not. Thus, as the author puts it, field relations do not 'simply happen'. In fact, these relations are 'crafted' and are 'the outcome of negotiations of the social researchers and the social actors in the field'. (p. 48). Throughout the fieldwork, researchers naturally seek 'relationships with key individuals. The selection of these individuals, however, can often vary – from relationships that are sought out in the early stages of the research process to occasions in which we 'may have no choice as to whom we rely upon as key individuals'. Thus,

these relationships serve to automatically link us to 'one or a small number of people' (p. 40-41)

In sum, I had three main 'door openers' into the everyday life of Pau da Lima: a) Valéria, b) Regina, and c) a group of creative writing students. It is worth mentioning that my research design did not consist of visiting families that were statistically representative of Pau da Lima (and this, in fact, would not be possible given the small number of families and the ethnographic nature of my research project). However, I still wanted to keep the diversity of the favela in mind when I selected my participant families. Therefore, I included in my sample families who were from different religious backgrounds as well as social.

I was also interested in families in different life cycles: from newly-wed couples with young children to older couples with adult sons and daughters as this might play a role in the degree to which they are socially well-established in the neighbourhood. Additionally, I included people who lived in different areas of Pau da Lima, such as Coroado, Recanto São Rafael and Baixa Fria. This allowed me to learn about the different issues that were most relevant in each of these different areas. The geographical location of the homes was also important given that, according to the legislation, community radio stations are limited in terms of the distance they can reach. Therefore, when researching about the local radio stations, I took into consideration the physical proximity of the stations to the homes of my participants, paying extra attention to the stations whose signals each home was able to catch.

In the section that follows, I will provide some brief information about each one of my participant families. In order to protect their anonymity, I am using fictitious names.

a) Through Valeria:

a.1) Juliana, Julia and Jurema

Juliana (32) and Júlia (known as Preta) (19) are sisters. Jurema (21) is married to their brother. They live in three small houses very close to each other, in a sort of 'family village' arrangement. They live in an area located at the bottom of the hill, called 'Pistão'. As most of the families in this area, they are quite impoverished. None of the three women have much schooling (they did not complete the 'primário' or elementary

school) and they usually spend their days at home, looking after their children. According to Brazilian standards, Juliana and Preta are black and Jurema is 'morena' (light brown skin). Juliana is Evangelical and knows Valéria from church. However, Jurema and Preta rarely go to church. Preta declares herself a 'radio addict' and is familiar with the community FM stations, so I decided to focus my attention more on her than on the other women.

a.2) Dona Flávia and Edu

Dona Flávia (58) is a black widower who lives with her family, seven adults and nine children, in a small house also in the 'Pistão' area[18]. She used to work as a maid, but has stopped due to back problems, and today stays at home most of the time taking care of her big family. She is Evangelical, but not all the members in the family have converted to this religion.

Her 22 year-old son Edu is a professional *pagode* dancer. This is curious, because *pagode* is considered a sinful rhythm by Evangelicals, but as he seems to be doing well in his profession, Dona Flávia is supportive of his dancing. Edu lives in his own house, next door to his mother. He describes himself as a 'heavy radio listener' and is familiar with the neighbourhood's community FM stations, so I chose him as my key contact in the family.

a.3) Maria Tereza

Maria Tereza (27) lives in Baixa Fria, and helps Valéria run the school. She lives with her husband, a construction worker, and three children. She has never had a formal job and sometimes gets paid by Valéria in exchange for her help in the school. Maria Tereza is not religious. She didn't think of herself as 'a big radio listener' and was not familiar with all the community FM stations. However, she did listen to commercial FM stations, such as Piatã FM, on the weekends.

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[18] She has three adult daughters who live there with their husbands, one son, who is single and does not have children. Each one of the daughters has three children

b) Through Regina

b.1) Dona Rosa and Guilherme

Dona Rosa lives in a spacious two-story house located on Avenida São Rafael, with her two adult sons. She is white (by Pau da Lima standards), 52 years old, and divorced. Dona Rosa is a 'practising Catholic'[19], being active in the Church, and helping organise various charity events. Currently[20], she works as a hairdresser and prepares cakes, sweets and pastries for parties such as weddings, birthdays etc. Her family is quite well-to-do for Pau da Lima standards, as can be confirmed by the location and size of her house.

I chose her son Guilherme, 28, as my key informant in the family. He is well educated, has finished high school and plans to take the university entrance exam[21] to study drama. Guilherme is an active participant in the community. He started a theatre group for youths called Stage Art[22], and also teaches acting to favela children in a City Hall Foundation. Guilherme listens to various commercial FM radio stations and sometimes to the community FM stations. Living close to one of the speakers of the 'lamp post' radio station makes him and his mother (even if involuntarily) frequent listeners of Radio Pop Som. Because of his involvement with the theatre group, Guilherme often seeks the collaboration from the local stations (both FM and lamp post) and is, in fact, good friends with both Edson, the owner of Pop Som, and Dilan, the owner of Planeta FM.

b.2) Seu Carlito and Dona Joana .

Seu Carlito is a black 57 year-old electrician who lives in a spacious house, close to the house that hosts the Residents of Pau da Lima Association – AMPLI. His house is located on an intermediate area[23], on a precariously paved street, parallel to the main avenue and accessible by car. He lives with his wife, Dona Joana, a primary school teacher, his daughter, Lúcia, and her husband, who are also teachers and their 3 months old baby. He also has a 30 year-old son who is a mechanic and lives on the second floor with his wife and their 4 year-old child. Similarly to Dona Rosa, he is quite privileged

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[19] In Brazil, many people declare themselves 'Catholic', even though they may never attend church or particularly follow the religion.
[20] At the time of research.
[21] In order to enter university in Brazil, it is necessary to take the entrance exam known as 'vestibular'. In Federal (public) universities, it is very difficult to pass this exam.
[22] Fictitious name.
[23] These distinctions between the different areas of Pau da Lima will be further explained in Chapter 5.

by neighbourhood standards. Another sign of the family's social status is their concern with education. Seu Carlitos made sure his sons and daughters went to private schools, and now two of his children go to university. The family is Evangelical, and attend Church regularly. They only listen to Radio Novo Tempo, an Adventist AM radio station, and Dona Joana does not allow listening to any other station in their collective sound system. However, Seu Carlito likes to listen to the football coverage on Radio Sociedade[24], which he does in his own battery pocket radio. Sometimes, they listen to a community radio station 'from a neighbourhood nearby' which plays old songs, but they are not always able to find its signal.

c) Writing course

As it was agreed with the neighbourhood association leaders, I taught a creative writing course throughout my four months of fieldwork[25]. I left it up to the neighbourhood leaders to select the students, and each one of the leaders selected two or three students whom they judged to be motivated and committed. The group consisted of ten students from various areas of Pau da Lima. The youngest student was Lily a 16 year-old who was completing secondary education, and the oldest was Araújo, 35, a mechanic and former member of AMPLI.

During the classes we would debate issues which were relevant to their everyday lives and which were suggested by the students. A few examples of issues were racism, unemployment, AIDS and access to university. After the debate, I would usually ask them to write one page on the topic from any angle and style they wanted (one student would often write poems, for instance). On the following week, I would return their writings, pointing out the grammar, punctuation or spelling mistakes they had made. I would then ask them to correct these mistakes themselves, bringing the relevant material (such as Grammar books) to help them. I tried to give them a good degree of freedom, and usually would not interfere much with their writing styles. I also avoided being too strict with grammar, but tried to make them see their own mistakes and fix them themselves.

In two sessions, I asked the students to act like 'radio professionals' and record their own programmes. I gave them some time to prepare the scripts, search for songs in their

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[24] The oldest AM broadcaster in the state of Bahia, which started to operate in 1924.
[25] I returned to the UK on 19 January 2008.

mobile phones and then present the programmes to the group. The results of this 'experiment' were quite interesting, allowing me to get a good idea about some of the topics that mattered the most to them, which in turn, made it easier to assess whether the local radio stations were addressing these topics. Some of the students, for example, created programmes that were critical of societal issues, such as their lack of access to education whilst others focused on health issues, such as HIV/AIDS prevention. One student also came up with a cookery show, giving recipes that could be prepared with 'leftovers' and cheap ingredients. These 'programmes' tended to be a reflection of life in the favela, in general, and also an indication of the different expectations students had from their radio programming. In addition, a few themes consistently emerged from these writings and exercises, such as the importance of the local commerce for the community.

Out of the group of students, I also started regularly visiting the homes of two women: Carina, 22 and Graça, 24. I chose them mainly for three reasons: a) they were committed students; b) they were interested in radio and frequent radio listeners; c) they represented a 'middle class in Pau da Lima'. They both live in areas that are located on the middle of the hills, not accessible by car, close to 'Coroado'. Carina lives on the second floor of her mother's house with her husband and two children. Graça is single and lives in a two-bedroom two-story house with her parents, two younger brothers and one older sister. Her parents run a small shop in the front area of their house, which sells cigarettes, fruits and candy. Graça completed secondary education and dreams of joining a city hall programme that promotes the education of poor illiterate adults. For that, the family is remodelling the second floor of the house to become a classroom.

Carina and Graça were also selected to take part in an educational programme called 'Escola de Fábrica'[26], sponsored by the Federal Government. They explained to me that programmes such as 'Escola de Fábrica' are signs that poor people are being given more opportunities. At the same time, they believe that they contribute to creating a culture of 'professional students', in which young people start focusing on joining one of these programmes more than finding actual jobs. In Graça's opinion:

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[26] The programme is aimed at low income youths who have the opportunity to learn a professional skill and receive a scholarship in the amount of 150.00 Reais (approximately 40 GBP) per month. For more information, see the Caixa Economica Federal website: http://www1.caixa.gov.br/gov/gov_social/estadual/educacao_turismo_saude/escola_fabrica/saiba_mais.asp (accessed on 1 September 2009)

'This is making people not want to study anymore unless they get paid for it. In the long term, it's not a realistic expectation. You're not going to get paid to go to university, for instance '[27].

This made me realise how often people with 'good intentions' (like me) have mistaken ideas about what to do in order to 'help' people from lower economic classes. I thought, for example, that the fact that my course was free would make it attractive to young people in Pau da Lima. Looking back, I acknowledge that I was working with a somewhat atypical group of very motivated students. Yet, the classes were crucial in my constantly being seen in Pau da Lima, which helped authorise my presence in the field. Besides being a 'researcher', I also became a 'teacher', which made me more approachable and relatable to most families, even those whose members were not part of my classes. In addition, people could see that I was making effort into giving some of my time and work back to the community, which helped overcome some of the perceived social barriers that separated me from favela residents.

In sum, I regularly visited a total of nine families[28] who I had met via three 'channels': Valéria, Regina and my writing course students. Although I selected a key person in each family, the encounters usually happened with the presence of many family members, who contributed with their ideas as they wanted. As a general trend, the people I had met through Regina tended to be better educated and belonged to a higher socio-economic class (according to the standards of Pau da Lima) than the people I had met through Valéria. By visiting families from varied social and economic backgrounds and different areas of Pau da Lima, I was able to get a good sense of the local standards and explore how these might relate to people's listening habits.

Nevertheless, although the listeners were my starting point, it was also crucial at some points to contrast these perspectives with those of the producers. Thus, I also conducted one-time in-depth interviews with the owners and presenters of some of the community FM radio stations as well as the lamp post radio station[29]. In the following section, I will briefly provide some background information on Pau da Lima's radio stations, which

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[27] Interview on 10 November
[28] 1. Juliana, Julia and Jurema; 2. Dona Flavia and Edu; 3. Maria Tereza; 4. Dona Rosa and Guilherme; 5. Seu Carlito and Dona Joana; 6. Carina; 7. Graca, plus 8. Valeria's and 9. Regina's families)
[29] The FM stations are unlicensed and, for this reason, are subject to police intervention. Their staff are, therefore, at risk of being arrested and having their equipment confiscated. For this reason, I am using fictitious names for the people to protect their anonymities.

were based on the interviews I conducted[30]. At this point I am relying on the staff's accounts of these stations but in my findings chapters these perspectives will be contrasted to those of listeners.

d) One-time interviews.

d.1) Planeta FM – interviewed the owner and one presenter
Planeta FM was founded in 2001 by Dilan Andrade, an engineering student and resident of Pau da Lima. Besides Dilan, there are 6 other community members working as radio presenters at the station. Planeta FM airs daily, from 6 am to 11 pm. The programming consists of various Brazilian and non-Brazilian music genres, ranging from Gospel to *'Pagode'* to mainstream American Pop Music. The choice of music genres varies according to the DJ's tastes and to listeners' requests, which contributes to a lack of a well-defined format. The programming also includes news bulletins about community events, current affairs and health tips. Besides phoning in, listeners can participate in the station's programming by calling the presenters on their mobile phones or talking to them face-to-face.

Planeta FM has a close relationship with some of Pau da Lima's social movements, such as the Community Resistance Group (Grupo Resistência Comunitária)[31]. Working together with the group, the station airs a weekly reggae program called Planeta Reggae. During the program, presenters explain the origins of reggae and draw on the cultural similarities between Jamaica and Brazil, and on these two countries' African roots. In a city known as the African capital of Brazil, Planeta Reggae attracts a loyal audience, not only in Pau da Lima but also in other neighbouring districts.

d.2) Axé FM – interview with the coordinator and two presenters
Axé FM was founded in 2004 and currently[32] relies on a staff of 28 volunteers. The station is part of a larger project, which includes an 'entertainment house' called 'Espaço Axé', where (sometimes famous) *pagode* and *'partido alto'* bands play every weekend, charging an entry fee. Hosting the 'entertainment house' and the radio station, the 'space' consists of a large patio with a stage, bar stalls and a house with a radio

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[30] Interview at Planeta FM was conducted on 28 November 2008 . Interview at Axé FM was conducted on 10 November 2007. Interview at Pop Som was conducted on 19 October 2008.
[31] The members are young residents who meet regularly in order to discuss issues such as racism, religious intolerance and social inequality
[32] At the time of research

studio and a few rooms. In these rooms, they offer free dance, *capoeira* and boxing classes for young people from the community.

Espaço Axé and Axé FM are owned by a city of Salvador councilman (vereador)[33]. According to Axé FM's coordinator, Téo Bahia, the station operates 24 hours a day every day[34]. The programming includes shows with local news and current affairs, such as 'Acorda Comunidade' (Wake up, Community) in which they discuss issues like domestic violence against women. They also have shows entirely devoted to playing the 'most requested songs', in which listeners phone in, and one comedy show, whose presenter is Téo himself. In the shows he does impressions of characters, such as an elderly couple, a transvestite called Susan and even the transvestite's gay dog (!). On Saturdays and Sundays, the programming consists almost entirely of 'party-like' music.

According to Téo Bahia and Leandro, who is a presenter at the station, Axé FM also offers free training to community youths who are interested in having a career in radio. They claim that the station is also currently going through the process of obtaining its license from the National Agency of Telecommunications (ANATEL)[35]. Similarly to Edson, they complain that the process is bureaucratic and time consuming. They also tell me that they have already suffered a police intervention, in which their transmitter was apprehended.

d.3) Radio Pop Som – interviewed the owner

Radio Pop Som is Pau da Lima's 'lamp post radio' station. It was founded in 1998 by Edson Sales, who has lived in Pau da Lima for over 25 years. There are 22 loudspeakers in busy places, such as bus stops, grocery stores and churches. By starting a 'lamp post radio' station rather than a FM radio station, Edson wanted to avoid the bureaucratic and time-consuming licensing process. Instead of applying for a FM radio station license through ANATEL, which centralises all the decisions at a federal level, for the 'lamp post' station, he only needed an authorisation from the City Hall, which was cheaper and easier.

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[33] Although I did not hear this from the coordinators or the presenters, all residents of Pau da Lima I spoke to were aware of the fact that both Espaço Axé and Axé FM were owned by a city of Salvador council man

[34] However, many residents said that the station would often be off-air or perhaps they could not manage to catch its signal with regularity

[35] See ANATEL's website: www.anatel.gov.br

The station employs three residents of Pau da Lima and is on-air Monday through Friday, from 9 am to 12 pm and 3 pm to 6 pm, and Saturdays, from 9 am to 12 pm. The station plays eclectic music genres, such as Brazilian country music, '*Música Popular Brasileira*' (MPB) and dance music. The station's DJ plays different styles according to, in his words, *'the moods of the day'*. In addition, Radio Pop Som has connections with the City Hall's Public Health Department and with the Oswaldo Cruz Foundation – Fiocruz. As the institution has been conducting research on infectious diseases in Pau da Lima for over 10 years, members of their field research team often meet with the station's staff in order to suggest health campaigns.

Radio Pop Som is funded by selling advertising slots to local shop owners. This price is R$ 50.00 (approximately 30 US Dollars), almost 300 times cheaper than the price of advertising on a mainstream FM radio station, such as Piatã FM. According to Edson, this revenue guarantees the financial sustainability of the station but does not allow him to make significant profits.

d.4) Other one-time interviews: radio owners in other neighbourhoods, an Evangelical 'pastor' (priest), a shop owner in Pau da Lima and a member of the black movement.

Besides interviewing the owners and some of the presenters who worked at Pau da Lima's FM and lamp post radio stations, I also interviewed the owner of both a FM and lamp post station in the popular neighbourhood of Nordeste de Amaralina and the owner of a lamp post radio which was operating at the Feira de São Joaquim, a famous market in Salvador. As I realized that lamp post radio was a common phenomenon in several popular neighbourhoods, I wanted to find out whether what I had observed in Pau da Lima was similar to what was happening in other favelas, and could explore more the view of radio owners about their listeners and the circumstances in which they listened.

Having noticed that Pau da Lima's FM stations had quite a few programmes which were presented by Evangelical 'pastors' (priests), I thought it would be important to hear their points of view. My aim was to find out more about these Evangelical programmes and how they fit into the larger schedule of the stations. I was also interested in learning more about the presenters' perceptions of their listeners and then I wanted to contrast these perceptions to what listeners thought of the programmes. Thus,

I interviewed one of such priest-presenters, Pastor José, 35, who used to present a radio programme at one of the local FM stations, Radio Itapevi, for two years, before the station went off air[36]. This was useful in helping me understand the ways in which the Evangelical Churches use the medium of radio to 'spread the word of God' and attract more followers.

Similarly, my family visits and participant observations in Pau da Lima pointed to a need to understand the relationships between the radio stations and the local commerce. Many of my informants, for example, told me that broadcasting adverts for the local shops was important in keeping the local economy healthy. I found this interesting because it contradicts some of the assumptions made about community media, in which community media and commercial media are placed in very distinct categories. Therefore, I interviewed Tatiana, 34, the owner of a local business[37] who advertised her shop services on the lamp post radio. Besides talking to me at her shop, Tatiana took me to Radio Pop Som's station, where I could observe the process of negotiation between her and the presenter. This enabled me to learn not only about the favela's culture of entrepreneurship and the role that radio plays in this culture but also about the business side of the local stations.

Finally, I also wanted to learn to what extent the lamp post and FM stations were being used as tools for social activism in Pau da Lima. From my visits, I learned that some of the stations had connections with social movements and community groups, which had a focus on racial issues and social inequality. Regina knew one of the founders of one of such social movement groups, Jonas, 26. Interviewing Jonas allowed me to learn more about how black favela residents dealt with issues of racism and also the extent to which the stations were open for the participation of members of social movements in Pau da Lima.

4.3. Participating Versus Observing.

In my research, my role varied between being close to what Hammersley and Atkinson (1995, citing Junker [1960] and Gold [1958]) call a 'complete participant' with some families and informants – being nearly as close as friends - to being what the same

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[36] Due to an accident involving one member of staff who was struck by lightning when fixing the antenna.
[37] A pay point in which residents who did not have bank accounts could pay their bills.

authors call a 'complete observer', such as when I was on the streets, merely listening and trying to make sense of the soundscapes of Pau da Lima. My degree of participation varied according to the different levels of closeness that I had with different people, which were in turn influenced by my perceived identity and issues such as gender, race, age, reciprocity and trust.

But, as Amanda Coffey (1999) reminds us, the issue of friendship and fieldwork is not without complications and dangers. Crick (1992), for instance, sees the relationships between ethnographer and informant as 'mutual exploitation' and 'falsehood', because they work to create a shared world of meaning, but when the field agreements are finished, each one returns to their 'separate and mutually incomprehensible social world' (Crick, 1992, p. 176-177, cited in Coffey, 1999, p. 42-43). Yet, in my own case, the world of Regina, with whom I developed a friendship, and my own world, never appeared mutually incomprehensible. The relationship could best be described as 'different' but close. Indeed, an assumption that the creation of a shared world between the ethnographer and the informants is always a 'falsehood' seems somewhat elitist and patronising, as if informants did not have enough social skills to avoid exploitative relationships.

In practical terms, the fact that my relationship with Regina was both professional and personal had many advantages. Because we got on well, I could stay in her home for longer periods and this allowed me to have a good grasp of her family's media use and radio listening habits, not only because they told me but because I could observe it myself. In addition, I used 'participatory' methods with her and her family, giving them my camera and asking them to take photos of places that had special significance for them. This proved to be a useful methodological tool in a sense that it provided an alternative to qualitative research that draws solely on language-driven methods. Gauntlett (2007) discusses how complicated notions such as 'identity' and 'community' might be difficult to explain in spoken/verbal form through interviews. Listening to the radio, a medium which is often taken for granted as just being in background, also falls within this category, thus, the idea was to get my informants to 'make things' symbolic or metaphorical (such as photographs) and ask them to reflect on what they were making (Ibid). This allowed me to access their experiences of what it meant to live in Pau da Lima, how they viewed Pau da Lima as a community and, as a consequence,

how community radio fitted into the community, in effective ways other than through language (Gauntlett, 2007, p. 2).

Obviously, there are many factors, such as gender, age, race etc, which influence the different types of relationships and levels of 'closeness' or 'distance' in the field. Guilherme, for example, is nearly my age (28 at the time of research, I was 30), is also a teacher, and, like Regina, has a good ability to bridge between different social 'worlds'.. Seu Carlito, an older man, often treated me in a somewhat 'fatherly' way. There was one day, for instance, in which he helped me buy a portable battery radio similar to the one he had. He took me to a shop in which he knew the owner and made sure they sold it to me at a fair price, *'not ripping me off'* because I *'looked rich'*. He would also behave in a protective manner, being concerned when I stayed in Pau da Lima until the evening and taking me to the bus stop to catch my bus home.

Some of my fieldwork relations in Pau da Lima were significantly permeated by a sense of mutual reciprocity. This was certainly the case with Valéria as we had a somewhat contractual relationship. She would introduce me to people, I would help her collect toys for the school, she would take me to a radio station, I would show her how to send e-mails. With the students (Carina and Graça) whose families I started to visit regularly there was also an underlined, although less blatant, sense of reciprocity. In the beginning they might have felt like they had to help me in exchange for the classes. However, I believe that towards the final stages of my fieldwork, they were genuinely interested and involved in the project. Besides, we also managed to establish a relationship which was a bit closer than that of a student-teacher and/or researcher-researched since they were both women and not that much younger than me.

In general, with all the participant families, I was always concerned with 'giving them something back'. I also made sure that I was not a burden, and paid attention to the household's schedules and customs. During my visits, I would always bring fruits as a sign of politeness. I also found that giving them print outs of the photos that I and they had taken was something they really appreciated. Many of these families could not afford cameras or printing photos and had very little records of themselves, their homes, and their children growing up. In fact, Valéria used many of our photos to create a photo collage on the walls of her nursery/school. One of them, a close-up shot of the faces of three black boys received the caption 'Black is Beautiful'. Whilst their photos,

descriptions and stories enabled me to see and hear the favela through their eyes and ears, my photos allowed them not only to see themselves but to see how I saw them.

Further, sharing the research findings with the community is another important form of reciprocity. This happened in my second visit (May 2009), when I could present some of my research findings to the neighbourhood association leaders, some participants and former writing students. Having in mind Gauntlett's (2009) argument that researchers and research councils do not work hard enough on finding ways in which 'research can be communicated in clear, intelligent ways to the public'[38], I tried to present my findings in a simple, straightforward and interactive manner, welcoming the audience's interruptions with questions, comments or criticism. Not only was this experience reassuring in terms of my research findings, it was intended as a gesture of consideration and a sign that I would not just cut all the links with the community once I had gathered the data.

Whilst I was able to create personal bonds with some of my informants, there were also cases in which I was cautious not to intrude too much in their lives. In these instances, I remained a 'visitor' until the end of my fieldwork as the socio-economic barriers that existed between me and my informants might have been perceived as more significant. My visits to Juliana, Julia and Jurema are an example of this. Their defensive reactions to my presence and to my questions in the first visits were an indication that perhaps I was somewhat dissonant in their world – someone who was 'rich' and whose research project was about radio, an outdated subject. This led me to a strategy of remaining more on the background, observing more than participating. Yet, this does not mean I was 'observing' them through a 'glass windows', in a passive or detached way. To put it simply, I felt the need to listen and let them do the talking.

Jo Tacchi (2003) touches on a key issue for anthropological research on radio: how can one carry out participant observations? (p. 295). It would certainly be somewhat artificial to sit around the radio and talk about it with informants (as it could be done with television, for instance). This is further complicated by the nature of ethnographic research, which requires the researcher to get to know the informants and their routines on a deeper level than that provided by in-depth interviews (Tacchi, 2003, p. 295).

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[38] Article published on 6 August 2009. See URL:
http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/story.asp?sectioncode=26&storycode=407678&c=1 (Accessed on 9 September 2009)

Being unable to stay in the favela for a more extended period of time, I also had to figure out a way to 'observe listening' in a natural and non-invasive way during my visits to Juliana, Julia and Jurema. My strategy was to sit on the floor and do drawings with the kids (thus reducing the perceptions of 'power') and eventually take part in conversations. I preferred to ask questions about the community radio programmes instead of asking directly if they listened to community radio. What they said about the programs, and their level of familiarity with them would tell me if they listened or not to the community radio. I also learned to be attentive to both the practices and discourses of my informants (as they might not coincide as in the case of Jurema claiming that 'radio is dead' but listening to it all day long).

This also led me to the realisation that, as Penny O'Donnell et al. (2009) suggest, listening itself 'is a collective, embodied and discursive practice' (p. 427). Coffey (1999) states that 'our body in the field is often a participating body', being 'present and active' and 'taking part in the everyday life of the world we are observing' (p. 70). In my research, the participant observations also involved a good degree of embodiment and a constant physical presence in the public spaces of Pau da Lima. As discussed in Chapters 1 and 3, the favela is a densely populated place with crammed together houses that have porous walls. This, combined to the fact that sound does not respect space, means that the practice of listening in Pau da Lima has dimensions that go beyond the private and the domestic. For this reason, I would dedicate at least one hour per day walking around the different areas of Pau da Lima both alone or in the company of residents, before or after my family visits. My aim was to observe how sounds contributed to shaping the public and private social dynamics of favela life, attending to ways in which the sounds of the homes 'escaped' to the streets and how the sounds of the streets entered the homes. I was struck by the cacophony of the favela and by the multiple layers of competing sounds in places like Pau da Lima's main avenue and Coroado. After writing field notes with my (sonic) impressions, it became evident that the favela had an extremely rich aural culture and that, therefore, the role of radio in the everyday life of the favela could only be fully understood if placed within the wider sonic environments (soundscapes).

5. Conclusion.

Media ethnography offers a very useful methodological approach for research projects that focus on the micro processes of media use in everyday life, such as my study of community radio listening in one favela. At the same time, media ethnography's intrinsic 'socially encompassing' nature is consistent with the holistic approach that I am adopting. The listening experiences in Pau da Lima can then be placed in context, allowing me to explore interesting questions and issues, such as: if the favela is a densely populated space with porous walls, how does that affect listening to the radio at 'home'? Given that the houses are often inhabited by a large number of people, how do they negotiate their radio use? These questions would not have arisen and could not be explored if the researcher was not 'embedded' in the informants' social world and familiar with their routines.

Media ethnography's strength lies in treating the observed social phenomena in relational terms. Thus, when discussing the main 'actors' of my fieldwork and placing then in relation to the 'scenario' of the favela, I acknowledge that these relationships are dynamic, organic and constantly changing in the absence or presence of one or more actors. Whilst some fieldwork relationships led to a predominantly 'observer' role, others led to a more 'participant' roles. I also had different levels of closeness and friendships with different people, which were influenced by our mutual 'perceived identities'. In my experience, friendship was not incompatible with fieldwork. In many cases, the 'fieldwork' and 'home' spheres merged as I gave some participants access to my 'world' like they had given access to theirs.

Being from Salvador but unfamiliar with the reality of living in the favela, I was perceived as a 'close other'. This in turn, highlighted the need to establish relationships which were based on reciprocity. Actually, in a community where money is scarce, creating other forms of currency such as the exchange of skills, knowledge, time, social and political influence, and contacts is a natural consequence. Teaching a writing course to favela youths was extremely helpful, not only in gaining trust, but also as a way of obtaining data. My presence as a researcher in the field was authorised by going through ethics committees which informed me of procedures, but was also legitimated by the reciprocal relationship that was created.

As for the 'field', my decision to carry out a study of community radio in a favela was *not* based on a premise that the favela is an exotic or alien 'field'. Rather, I was interested in the favela's 'ordinariness' and how the medium of radio fits within this 'ordinariness'. Conducting fieldwork in one neighbourhood – Pau da Lima – was the most viable option, and one that was consistent with the ethnographic nature of my project and the 'local'/geographically circumscribed nature of community radio. This approach might seem somewhat old fashioned if we take into consideration, for instance, recent debates on mobile and 'multi-sited' ethnography (Marcus, 1995; Hartmann, 2007). Nevertheless, having 'close' relationships and blurring the boundaries between my 'fieldwork' and 'personal' circles, meant that the informants themselves also became my field. As Gillespie (1995) puts it, if the researcher him/herself becomes part of the field because he/she is integral to 'what' is being studied, this is also true for the people who are part of the research project.

Indeed, it is possible to conclude that, whilst commentators often debate issues which have to do with the perceived identity of the ethnographer – his/her subjectivity, who he/she *is* – not enough is said about what he/she *does* in the field, or the 'crafted' nature of fieldwork relations, which are in fact not that different from other forms of social relations. Fieldwork relationships, like any relationship, are based on elements like empathy, affection, trust and need to be mutually satisfactory.

Finally, if one thinks of fieldwork as both 'embodied' and 'emotional' (Coffey, 1999), the sense of 'hearing' becomes particularly well-suited for experiencing the field. As Storr (1992) suggests, 'there is something deeper about hearing', 'hearing' is particularly able to trigger our imagination and it is deeply connected to our emotions (Douglas, 2004). In addition, as Husband (2009) puts it, 'listening is an act of attention' and shows a willingness to focus on the other, to heed both their presence and their communication' (p. 441). Thus, by listening to the people and to the sounds of Pau da Lima, I hope to engage with the community on a deeper level, 'listening' to their listening to the radio and assessing the medium's place in their everyday lives.

CHAPTER 5

SOUND SALAD: THE SOUNDSCAPES OF PAU DA LIMA

4,000 flash mob dancers startle commuters at Victoria

More than 4,000 clubbers danced through the rush hour at Victoria station in Britain's biggest flash mob stunt. Revellers responded to e-bulletins urging them to 'dance like you've never danced before' at 6.53pm. There were knowing looks and giggles among the casually dressed crowd that gathered from 6.30pm, wearing earphones. A deafening 10-second countdown startled station staff and commuters before the concourse erupted in whoops and cheers. MP3 players and iPods emerged and the crowd danced wildly to their soundtracks in silence - for two hours.

By Tim Stewart, Evening Standard, 05.04.07

Pau da Lima residents describe areas of the neighbourhood by its sounds.

- Man, it's insane! It's such a mix of sounds… There are situations in which… when I go to Coroado on Sundays, all you can listen is a big noise, you can't… There are, sometimes, four or five songs playing at the same time, the bars one in front of the other, those loudspeakers on the streets, people dancing, people have lost their minds.

- Not to mention the cars and the people who sell knock-off CDs. Sometimes they decide to bring a loudspeaker to demonstrate that the CD is working, things like that, and they play loud music.

Regina and her son Nelson, talking about the sounds of an area of Pau da Lima called Coroado

1. Introduction.

In April 2007, a crowd of London commuters decided to gather in a tube station. Together, thousands of people started to dance but, strangely, each person to a different rhythm. Although their bodies were sharing the same space, each commuter's ears were tuned to the music of their private headphones. This unusual scene of a crowd dancing in silence represents the antithesis of Pau da Lima. There are areas in the neighbourhood, such as Coroado, in which one would experience a form of anti-iPod experience. Similarly to the London commuters at the Victoria station, people play

different music styles, according to their own taste and mood. However, instead of each person listening and dancing privately to their own music, in Coroado, everyone listens to everyone's music. As one informant puts it, this happens to such an extent that all the sounds become 'mixed', forming one 'big noise', in which it is sometimes hard to distinguish where one sound begins and where the other ends. Rather than dancing to their favourite iPod or MP3 tunes coming out of their headphones, people dance to the sounds of various competing loudspeakers blasting in the air. Rather than switching tracks by clicking on a button, people move closer to the loudspeaker playing their favourite rhythm. In this context, silence might not be an option.

This sonic environment indicates that, as opposed to the ways in which much 'Western' literature tends to treat listening as individual and private, in the favelas, listening can often be a collective and public activity (De Oliveira, 2007). Thus, in this chapter I would like to test out some of the conceptual tools identified in my previous discussion of sound studies. How are 'sound walls' used to manage space and establish ownership in the favela? How must people experience 'acoustic horizon', 'acoustic arenas' and 'acoustic channels' (Blesser and Salter, 2007). Being guided by residents' accounts of their listening perceptions and by my own attentive listening to the residents, I will argue in this chapter that the everyday reception of radio can only be understood as part of Pau da Lima's sonic ecology. It asks: how does radio fit in the multiple layers of sound (produced by the various loudspeakers, music and so on) in the favela? Does radio have any distinct or special qualities within the favela's complex range of sounds?

2. Spatial Organisation.

There is not one single unified soundscape of Pau da Lima as they shift from place to place. In terms of spatial organisation, the busiest areas of Pau da Lima are located on the borders of the neighbourhood's main avenue—Avenida São Rafael, a long avenue which becomes Rua São Marcos, when it reaches a school called Clériston Andrade. In the areas in which it is called São Rafael, located close to a hospital with the same name, the avenue is less busy. However, as soon as we pass the school, the avenue shows a vibrant commercial activity with all kinds of shops, churches, bars, internet cafes, among other small commercial establishments. The buses, cars and people create a hectic flow on the street. As soon as one turns in any of the main avenue's side streets, the scenery changes and becomes more residential. There are semi-paved alleys or

narrow streets with houses which are built quite closely to each other as well as fewer shops and bars. As a general rule, in the favelas and peripheral neighbourhoods, the presence of 'pavement' on the streets is a sign of status. The closer one's house is to the paved streets, the better, because this means this house will have better access to power and running water services as well as public transportation.

As one keeps exploring these areas of semi-paved side streets, a point is reached where cars can no longer go. From then on, one has to continue by foot and climb down the hills in order to reach the houses. In some areas, there are improvised sets of 'stairs' built by residents to help the task of climbing up and down. The alleys are no longer paved and are indeed covered by mud. From the top of the hills, the view is

Photo 5.1 A panoramic photo of Pau da Lima seen from a side street on the 'upper area'.

astonishing: an indistinguishable mass of brick-coloured houses and shacks crammed together and built on top of each other occupy every available space down the hills.

As one climbs down the hills, people's living conditions gets worse with lack of access to safe water, sanitation, poorer housing and overcrowding. A serious problem residents from these bottom areas, also known as the 'invasion' areas (*invasões*), have to face is the danger of mudslides which can destroy and bury their unstable houses and shacks. Salvador's heavy rains, which are typical of its tropical weather, can also bring rubbish from the top areas and flood the neighbourhood's polluted river, worsening the health and sanitation conditions of thousands of families.

In general terms, it is possible to divide the neighbourhood according to its topography and social organisation into the three main areas —a) the main avenue; b) the intermediate residential areas; c) the 'invasion' areas. Each of these areas has its own 'sonic character'. This is significant because the soundscapes provide a particular context within which the reception of radio and its place in everyday life need to be understood. In addition, as it will be demonstrated throughout this chapter, radio sound

constitutes an important element of Pau da Lima's soundscape both on the streets with what is known by residents as the 'lamp post' radio and in the homes with the AM, mainstream commercial radio and FM community radio stations.

The 'lamp post' radio, which is managed by people from the community, broadcasts health messages and public announcements and works closely with some of the community's social movements. At the same time, the 'lamp post' radio does not entirely fit some of the stricter definitions of community media because the station has a commercial business model, allowing advertisements for the community's local shops and establishments. Moreover, as it will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter, unlike the FM community radio stations to which people listen to in their homes, the 'lamp post' radio is listened to on the streets, competing with many other sounds. This has implications for the style and programming of the station as well as for our general understanding of listening to community radio.

Finally, I will suggest that the architectural features and physical properties of each of these areas have sonic consequences. The main avenue, for example, allows traffic and cars, which generate the sounds of horns and street life, which can in turn be interpreted as a sign of the status of affording a car in the favela, or living in an accessible area where it is possible to drive. Therefore, my argument is that, just like physical objects, such as a wall or a street, sounds are important indications of the formation, maintenance and breaking of social boundaries.

3. Arrival in Pau da Lima.

On my arrival, I decided to use Salvador's somewhat precarious public transportation system, so I took the bus. This journey has a symbolic meaning because it represents a space of transition from a sheltered middle class world to the 'unfamiliar' world of the favelas. The bus I took was crowded, standing room only. It is Saturday, eleven o' clock in the morning and the sun is merciless. The driving is somewhat reckless and every time the bus makes a turn, the squashed passengers bump into each other. My thoughts are interrupted by a little boy who is carrying a tray and trying to sell candy and chocolate: *'1 Real, 1 Real, gum, candy, chocolate, mint, buy it to help me!'* The way he says the sentence is very musical and the pace of his speech matches the pace of the bus well: it is very quick and then suddenly it stops, then it picks up the rhythm again.

Finally, the bus takes a right on *Avenida Paralela*. As it moves up the hill towards Pau da Lima, I realise I did not know how easy it is to get there. From the bus window, I see people walking, mothers holding hands with their children in uniform, women carrying grocery bags, young men laughing. Avenida São Rafael is a typical busy avenue. The bus continues on the main avenue. I squeeze past a few people in order to get off at a small local shopping mall where I am supposed to meet Regina[1].

I enter the mall and walk towards the food court. There are four loudspeakers, one at each corner of the court. They are playing *forró*, a rhythm typical of the Northeast of Brazil. There is a small indoors kids' playground close to the food court. The sounds of children playing and of the parents calling their names are added to the forró music. The volume of the music is too loud to be merely on the background but not loud enough to prevent the chatting of the people who are sitting at the food court's tables. Apparently indifferent to the music, some people have lively conversations. A waiter brings a tray with two tall glasses filled with foamy looking orange juice. He is humming along with the music. A little boy in the playground is also clumsily dancing to the sound of *forró*.

Regina arrives thirty minutes later but still within what is referred to as the 'Bahian time tolerance', which is usually more flexible than in other places in Brazil. Regina sits down and apologises for being late. If we ought to apply the concept of 'acoustic horizons' to our sitting in the middle of the food court, there would not be only one horizon, one given distance between us and the source of sound. Rather, we would be situated in something like an island of sound, surrounded by sounds on all sides. She explains to me that 'usually the mall is not a quiet place on a Saturday morning, when some parents are off work and take their kids out'. Still, Regina and I manage to create a small arena, just for our conversation. She is softly spoken but the forró music does not prevent us from hearing each other. What I have to say concerns the two of us: I have a project and she has the ability to help me.

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[1] In chapter 4, I provide an introduction to my key informants.

4. Avenida São Rafael/Rua São Marcos.

4.1. General Sonic Characteristics.

On 10 November 2007, Regina guides me on an unusual tour of Pau da Lima. I had asked her to walk around with me describing each part of the neighbourhood by its sounds. Again, it is Saturday and we meet at the food court. We head towards an area known as São Marcos where the traffic becomes more intense, with all the buses and as the avenue becomes narrower and narrower. It gets increasingly more difficult to keep walking on the pavement, which also becomes narrower.

Before we reach a large hospital called São Rafael, neither the landscape nor the soundscape could be said to differ dramatically from those of a middle class neighbourhood. The avenue is properly paved and on each side, there are small gated residential developments. Sonically, the environment consists mostly of car, bus and motorcycle noises, honks, traffic. There are no loudspeakers on each side of the street and there are no street vendors or a market-like atmosphere. After we pass the hospital, the area becomes more impoverished. The quality of the asphalt gets worse, with some potholes and depressions. Hundreds of small shops sell all kinds of things from food to electronic goods, from furniture to clothes and even animals like rabbits or birds. There are various beauty parlours, car repair shops, churches, Internet cafes (known as LAN houses where young people can get internet access or play videogames), restaurants, bars etc.

When I ask her permission to record her 'sonic' description of the neighbourhood, Regina agrees but warns me that: *'it will be hard for you to tell my voice apart from the other sounds, my voice will compete with lots of shouting'*. We are now definitely in a 'popular' neighbourhood, a very colourful and noisy landscape. Regina starts describing it:

> *'This is the main avenue, the core of Pau da Lima. This is where most of the commercial activity takes place: all the shops, people selling knock off DVDs and CDs, people walking and shopping around or running to catch their buses. You can hear the traffic, the sound of buses, honks and all kinds of speakers. There are speakers on the lamp posts playing music, announcements and advertisements, speakers on the back of the cars yelling something about an*

event on the weekend, people with loudspeakers trying to attract customers to the shops they work for and even a guy riding a bicycle with a loudspeaker attached to it. All the shouting is mostly about advertising the shops, the goods they are selling, these are the sounds of what moves Pau da Lima economically'.[2]

Photo 5.2 The traffic at Rua São Marcos

Photo 5.3 Shops on the main avenue

Photo 5.4 Shops selling electronic products

Photo 5.5 Street vendor selling pirated DVDs

Regina's sonic portrayal of the avenue raises some interesting issues. Firstly, through the sounds, we can get a sense of the main avenue's 'competitiveness'. As the sidewalks are narrow, people have to physically compete for the space. Children are rushed to walk in front of their mothers rather than on their side, where they do not fit without bumping into other people. Some people run to the bus stops not to miss their buses, doing the best they can not to knock down the fruits from the vendors' fruit stands.

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[2]From my fieldnotes taken on 10 November 2007.

Moreover, not only people are 'competing' for space on the crowded sidewalks and streets, they are producing sounds which compete with each other, yet somehow, simultaneously coexist in chaotic harmony. One can hear voices, chatting, shouting, laughing, crying. There is music blasting from the loudspeakers, often interrupted by a male voice advertising a shop or a bargain. On the sidewalks, there are also people shouting, selling their products without loudspeakers, some of them have megaphones, with their words sounding like they are passing through a funnel. At one point, it is no longer possible to understand the sentences, just isolated words: *'Lemons! Shoes! Television sets! Two Reais one kilogram! Ten installments of fifty Reais!'*. Brazil has a very strong oral culture. As opposed to New York's Times Square's or London's Piccadilly Circus' bright colours, neon signs and giant video screens, Pau da Lima's main avenue functions as a market place in which the appeals are mostly auditory. Each street vendor tries to put on a memorable oral performance, using rhymes, catchy phrases, jokes or simply shouting.

Exploring the 'soundworlds' of antebellum America, Mark Smith (2003) makes reference to the 'sounds of progress' – sounds of the economic activity and industriousness – to the 'silence of the looms' – the silence of economic depression (2003, p. 139). Similarly, Regina speaks of loudspeakers and people 'screaming' to sell things as the 'sounds of what moves Pau da Lima' or an integral part of the neighbourhood's economic dynamics. She continues:

> *'On Sundays, the shops are closed, so this is the only day of the week when the avenue is real quiet. Then, in the afternoon, when it's not so hot anymore, it gets louder in other parts of Pau da Lima and the noises are no longer for bread-winning but for fun-having. Then it's pagode, arrocha, car drivers blasting music and drunk people'.[3]*

Regina creates a clear distinction between the work-days' sounds of 'bread winning', and weekend-like sounds of fun, of rhythms and of 'drunk people'. Thus, sounds not only serve as time markers for the days and times of the week but are an indication of community's shifting from work mode to leisure mode.

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[3] From my fieldnotes taken on 10 November 2007.

Regina continues talking about the avenue's sounds when she is interrupted by a car with a blasting loudspeaker on top of it pass by. The message is about a band which will play at a local venue called Espaço Axé[4].

> *'On 19 October, you can't miss it! The band Black Style will play at Espaço Axé. You will dance all night long. Women don't have to pay! Black Style, the new revelation of Bahian pagode, right here, in Espaço Axé. Don't miss it!'*

Photo 5.6 Loudspeakers on cars and bicycles

According to Regina, the Espaço Axé loudspeaker car drives around the entire neighbourhood constantly every day. However, besides Espaço Axé's car there are many other cars with loudspeakers going around and playing songs and pre-recorded adverts of shops and events. Regina, however, does not let herself be interrupted:

> *'Oh, my god, I hate these annoying loudspeaker cars, they are really disrespectful and don't drive carefully. They think they own the streets and just want to show off their powerful loudspeakers, one louder than the other. The other day, somewhere close to my house, a little kid was almost run over by one of these cars'.[5]*

It becomes evident that the loudspeakers are a source of 'annoyance' but also a sign of status. The louder or the 'more powerful' the loudspeaker, the better. Not only are people 'displaying' themselves, they are 'playing' their sounds and a sense of 'owning the place' can be associated with 'playing' in the loudest possible way. This echoes Bull's assertion that sound has a spatial nature that needs to be recognised (Bull, 2004, p. 173). The author argues that the 'use of sound technologies can be understood as part

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[4] There is a description of Espaço Axé and Axé FM in Chapter 4.
[5] From my fieldnotes taken on 10 November 2007.

of the Western project of the appropriation of space and place' (Ibid, p. 174). In this way, the speakers represent a mean of 'appropriation' of the streets and it is the way found by a particular group, such as the Espaco Axé staff, to demarcate their territory. To refer back to Deleuze and Guattari (2004), these are sonic marks, which contribute to creating (invisible) multiple layers or 'walls of sound'.

Further, this 'loudspeaker culture' is deeply connected to the fact that commerce is the community's main economic source and an integral part of Pau da Lima's identity as a neighbourhood. Successful commercial activity is often residents' most common route to achieving social mobility, as described by Regina:

> *'People mostly start small, they open some sort of commercial establishment. For example, when I moved to Pau da Lima, some 30 years ago, there was a man, Seu Antonio, who had a fruit stand. He started like this, just selling fruit. Then he started earning money, until he was finally able to buy a piece of land. He built a house, the first floor became a mini-market and he rents the other floors to other business owners and families.'[6]*

Moving along the avenue, the amount of street vendors shouting both with and without loudspeakers keeps increasing. They use humour (sometimes of questionable taste), onomatopoeic words, rhymes and catchy phrases.

> *'Don't miss today's offer. DVD Philips! Only 149 Reais, divided in 6 payments of 24.98 Reais. No interest rates. It's a bargain! Come and check it out.'*

> *'Banana, papaya, pineapple!'*

> *'Buy the Garoto Chocolate (the name of the chocolate brand, which means little boy). They're Michael Jackson's favourite!'*

> *'SSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSS Cigarettes'*

This is a reminder that we are indeed in a community with a rich aural culture and where aural performance plays an important role and can be associated with masculinity and macho culture, as demonstrated in the joke about Michael Jackson's chocolate. Moreover, the people who produce their sounds most creatively are appreciated and

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[6] From my fieldnotes taken on 10 November 2007.

rewarded (with better sales, for instance). The potential downside to it is that this 'abundance' of choices of products and sounds being offered becomes noise pollution. Regina explains how she feels about the street noises: [7]

> *'Yes, I get annoyed by the noises, of course, but then there are days in which I'm in a hurry and just want to get to work and catch my bus as soon as possible. My mind is somewhere else, so I don't really listen to anything. Buses, cars, trucks, honks, loudspeakers, shouting everywhere, people walking, people talking, we end up becoming a little insensitive to them. This is an avenue like a catwalk where people and cars display themselves'.*

Audience researchers such as James Lull (1990) have addressed the social use of domestic media as a 'background' noise, while Gauntlett and Hill (1999) have pointed out the different ways in which people use television: they may 'sit down' and focus on it or they might 'engage in unrelated activities and watch less closely' (p.50). Referring specifically to radio, Susan Douglas (2004) describes how it can activate 'people's imaginations in powerful and freeing ways' but also be a 'less demanding medium' because people can do other things while listening (p. 31).

In Pau da Lima, Regina is also hinting at how as an 'active' listener, she is able to easily shift between different modes of attention, from 'being annoyed' to just choosing not to listen and trying to get to work as quickly as possible. The difference here is that Regina is not a listener of radio but of the sounds of her neighbourhood streets. An analogy can be established between her listening experience on the streets and that of a radio dial. The streets are like the different channels but rather than switching the dial, she has to physically move according to her like or dislike of the sounds. When that is not a choice because the 'ears are helpless', as Bull and Back put it (2003), or she is 'condemned to hear', to use the words of Schwartz (2003), Regina has to 'defend herself' from these 'channels of annoyance' by mentally disconnecting from them. Therefore, in the same way that radio and sound can connect people with their own memories, different times and places (Tacchi, 2003)[8], they perhaps can also create abrupt forms of disconnection.

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[7] From my fieldnotes taken on 10 November 2007.

[8] For example, Tacchi discusses the experience of one of her informants who listens to a radio station that plays music from the past forty years. The informant, Jenny, states that listening to the station has helped with her grieving process since her mother died. According to her, listening brings back memories of the past (2003, p. 283). Another informant, Lynne, makes a connection with the world of Jamaican reggae through radio sound (2003, p. 287).

This leads to another important aspect of the listening experience in Pau da Lima. Regina mentions 'becoming insensitive' as a result of the overexposure to sound. Fran Tonkiss (2003) argues that 'acquired indifference is both the side-effect and a defence' to the city's noises (p. 304). To the author, 'individuals' relation to sound in the everyday spaces of the city tends to be one of distraction rather than attention' (Ibid). On the streets of Pau da Lima, this constant tension between attention and distraction is particularly noticeable and triggers interesting questions: would the abundance of aural stimuli generate an indifference to sound? It also has direct implications for radio: If radio is merely a layer within other layers of sound, how can it stand out? How can it succeed in getting the listeners' attention?

4.2. The Lamp Post Radio.

**Photo 5.7 The 'Lamp Post Radio' –
Radio Pop Som**
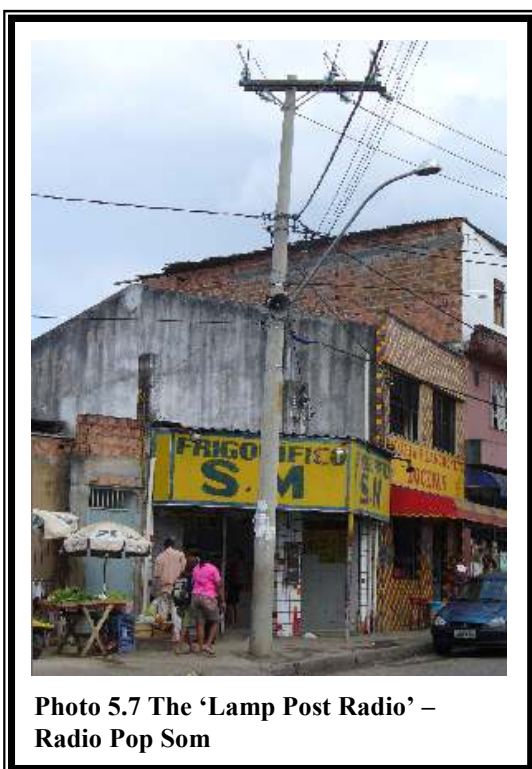
Pop Som, Pau da Lima's 'lamp post radio'[9] is a clear demonstration that the term radio might have a more fluid meaning in the context of the Salvador favelas. Pop Som plays different styles of music, a large amount of adverts for the local shops, health messages such as tips on how to prevent *'dengue'* fever and public service messages for the community, such as reminding them of rubbish collection times and spots.

Given that the lamp post radio is constantly competing with other forms of loudspeakers (the ones on the cars, bicycles, megaphones and so on), it becomes difficult to use the metaphor of an 'acoustic horizon' (Blesser and Salter, 2007). In this context, it becomes challenging to identify the line that separates where one sound begins and the other ends – the more loudspeakers, the smaller the distance that each speaker reaches and the acoustic arenas it encompasses. This can be illustrated by my frustrated attempt to record the sounds of the lamp post radio in one my first trips to the favela. However, one could still hear its messages 'in

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[9] A detailed description of Pau da Lima's lamp post radio is provided in Chapter 4.

passing' as they were short and well-adjusted to the pace of the avenue. Late in the afternoon, around 5.30 pm, the speakers would start to quiet down, layer of sound by layer of sound. When the sound of the lamp post radio finally went off, this was a signal that the working day was over, also marking the transition from the chaos of the streets to residents' quiet (er) homes.

The boundaries of different sounds are not the only blurred concept in Pau da Lima. The term 'community radio' is also not clear among residents. In the months of fieldwork, when asked about 'community radio', most residents assumed I was talking about the 'lamp post radio'. One example is this dialogue with two of my creative writing students which took place on 10 November 2007:

> Andrea: 'Do you listen to the community radio stations in Pau da Lima?'
>
> Graça: 'Do you mean the lamp post radio'? There is one (speaker) on the street I live'.
>
> Andrea: 'Well, I meant Planeta or Axé FM, but since you mentioned the lamp post radio, do you listen to it?
>
> Nino: 'Only when I'm on the streets'.
>
> Graça: 'It's good because people listen to information on the streets'
>
> Andrea: 'Information? About what?'
>
> Graça: 'What's going on in the neighbourhood, if there's any party, something for free, isn't it?'[10]

Since the National Agency of Telecommunications, ANATEL can only grant community radio licenses to FM radio stations, I had taken for granted that the residents knew that the expression referred to the neighbourhood's unlicensed 'community' FM stations, such as Planeta and Axé FM. However, this did not always seem to be the case. I often heard my students use the expression 'neighbourhood radio' (*rádio de bairro*) to describe the local FM stations and 'community radio' (*radio comunitária*) to describe Pop Som. This might be the case because the latter is perceived as an important element of an efficient system of information in the neighbourhood, broadcasting information that the residents should not miss (such as free goods or services).

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[10] From my fieldnotes taken on 10 November 2007.

When commenting on the fact that Pop Som is commonly referred to as Pau da Lima's 'community station', even though it is not an FM station, its owner, Edson, proudly states that:

> *'It is a community station because Pop Som addresses issues that are of interest to Pau da Lima, such as how to prevent dengue and leptospirosis, which are common problems here. I know about these issues because I've lived here all my life and have raised my children here. However, if you ask me: 'whose radio is this', I'll tell you: 'it is mine'. I pay the bills, right?* [11]

This statement is paradoxical. On one hand, Edson refers to Pop Som as Pau da Lima's station because it is the result of the initiative of people who have always lived there and therefore are extremely knowledgeable about the local issues. On the other hand, he makes it very clear that the station is indeed his. Ultimately, he is the one paying the bills. In any case, Edson's efforts seem to have been recognised in Pau da Lima. He is a form of local celebrity, being well-known for both his work at the 'lamp post' radio and his work as a community leader, in which he has a partnership with the City Hall's Public Health Secretariat. Curiously, when Radio Pop Som is giving health tips to the community, his name is often mentioned:

> *'Attention, everybody, Edson is warning you: if it's not collection day, you should not leave your rubbish bags on the street. You will get an ugly fine from the City Hall. Edson is warning you: collection day is Monday'.*[12]

Dona Rosa, a friend of Regina's, lives close to one of Pop Som's loudspeakers. Her opinions about Pop Som reflect some of the tensions involved in listening to the 'lamp post radio' station:

> *'In a way, I think lamp post radio is a form of community radio because it works for the community, for the benefit of the people. It brings information to the people and it helps residents when they need. The lamp post radio here is good because it brings information sometimes but sometimes the songs are annoying. In my case, sometimes I have to listen about Edson's warnings (laughing ironically). On the good side, they do open up for the community. My son,*

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[11] Interview on 19 October 2007. My translation.
[12] From my fieldnotes.

Guilherme, is involved in Stage Art, the community theatre group and they're always chasing Robson, asking for him to mention stuff about Stage Art. They always air stuff about the church as well, they don't charge. They just charge for the adverts of the local shops, that's fair enough. If the radio is just about adverts, then that's bad but it also serves to inform the community, that's OK.'[13]

Interesting issues arise from Edson's and Dona Rosa's comments. Firstly, she seems to agree with him that Pop Som does serve as a community radio station although it does not conform to many of the academic and activist definitions discussed in chapter 3 For listeners in Pau da Lima, the fact that Pop Som has a commercial business model and lives off advertising revenue does not automatically disqualify it as a 'community' station. What earns Pop Som the denomination of 'community radio' is its ease of access and keeping the door open for residents who want to bring in their announcements and information which they see as relevant. As a listener (and mother), Dona Rosa is happy about Pop Som 'airing stuff' about her son's community theatre group. Importantly, she shows an understanding that 'it is fair enough' for the station to charge for their adverts. This is an indication that, realistically, this is simply how things have to work in Pau da Lima.

In sum, the fact that Pop Som has a clear commercial side to it does not seem to be perceived as problematic by listeners like Dona Rosa. She seems aware that like any other radio producers, Edson's family has to make a living. Given the Brazilian context in which the local stations receive no government subsidies and there are no regulations regarding licensing or subscription fees to be paid by residents, airing adverts for local shops seems like a rather logical solution. Yet, the station needs to have a community orientated side to it in order to be perceived positively.

It would be difficult for Pop Som to fit into any clear-cut type of definition. On one hand, it is about Edson, his 'warnings', his health tips, and his family. On the other hand, it would be unfair to say that it is not about Pau da Lima. It is about airing public health messages but also adverts. It is also very much about music. Regina's son, Nelson, who has recently started studying engineering at the Federal University of

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[13] Visit on 3 November 2007. My translation.

Bahia, appreciates the station providing what he calls 'a soundtrack to the streets' and his attention is captured when they play a song he likes.

> *'I remember listening to good songs on the lamp post radio when I came back from school last year, around 5 or 6 o'clock. They had a programme, something about slow romantic songs. The music was good, calm, soothing, not noisy, usually Música Popular Brasileira[14] and it made me feel good coming home from a day at school'.[15]*

In the loud environment of the main avenue, a 'calm' MPB song is a form of 'desired noise' and a marker of Nelson's end of the day, making a smooth transition from school to home. Interestingly, this resonates with some of Scannell's (1996) thoughts on the 'dailiness' of broadcasting. It appears that when it plays a soothing song at the end of a working day, Pop Som is aware of the listeners' 'my-time' and displays a good knowledge of the routines of the neighbourhood. The difference here is that this 'dailiness' does not refer to the listeners' experiences in a domestic setting but rather on the streets. Therefore, it is reasonable to argue that, just as it happens with radio at home, 'dailiness' is a key element of lamp post radio in Pau da Lima. This seems to confirm some of the residents' perceptions that in order to be considered 'community', it is really important that people who work in 'community radio' know intimately the rhythms and characteristics of the neighbourhood.

5. Intermediate Residential Areas.

5.1. General Sonic Characteristics.

Off to the right and left sides of the main avenue, there are several smaller and narrower paved streets. These areas are usually more residential and the people who live there have better living conditions than those living in the 'invasion' areas, such as better structured houses, running water, electricity and easier access to transportation. It also makes a big difference that the streets can be accessed by car, although they are usually too narrow to be accessed by bus. In some areas, there are also small squares or football

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[14] Known by the abbreviation MPB, it is a classy type of Brazilian music, usually poetic, with elaborate lyrics, often associated with a more 'elite' musical taste.
[15] From my fieldnotes.

fields where the kids play. Besides the houses, there are many food shops, bars, schools, one public health clinic and churches.

Some of the houses have 'lajes', a rooftop or a form of house annex which is built on top of the ground floor. Usually, the families can afford to build lajes when they have achieved more financial stability. Sometimes the family rents the other floors to other families or open commercial establishments on the ground floor and move upstairs. Sometimes they don't build anything on the rooftops or the lajes remain unfinished, becoming the places where families can host open air parties. It is a very common practice for families to have barbecues in their lajes, playing music from their DVD, CD players or radio and dancing.

Photo 5.8 House with a '*laje*' being built

While exploring the residential areas, Regina explains the meanings of the words 'favela', 'periphery' and 'invasion'.

> Regina: *'You can say that Pau da Lima is in the periphery but at least the whole neighbourhood is not located inside an invasion area, do you get me? There's a difference if you live close to the main avenue or if you live where I live'.*
>
> Andrea: *'Do you live in an invasion area?'*
>
> Regina: *'Well, sort of in the middle. Well, rationally speaking the entire neighbourhood is an invasion because virtually nobody owned the land when they first moved here. But if you live close to the main avenue, it's different. The area of Coroado, for example, people who live there are discriminated against, it's considered a violent place. I know people who live in the invasion areas and yet discriminate themselves. They say: these people from the 'low lands'. They think those who live in the upper areas are superior. They associate all the bad things with the low lands. So, Nelson, for example, he's embarrassed to bring his college*

> *friends home. We don't live in the low lands but it's not so close to the main avenue, do you see what I mean?*

She then moves from the mechanisms of internal to external spatial discrimination. She refers to the perspective of those who live outside the 'periphery', translating the derogatory meaning of the word favela. Regina also speaks of the challenges someone like her and her son have to face in order to overcome the stigma attached to being someone who lives in a favela.

> *'Nelson tells me: 'They will say I live in a favela... because none of us want to call it favela but the rich people... they call it favela, that's the reality. People from Salvador talk about the favelas in Rio and how violent they are and they feel better about themselves. We forget that the invasions of Salvador are favelas too. If Nelson's rich classmates learn that he lives in Pau da Lima, they might call him favelado. One time Nelson went to a birthday party with his friend. They almost drowned at the beach. The friend's parents called me and I ran there to meet them. Then, they asked me: do you want us to take Nelson to the private hospital? I said: no, I can't pay for it. That's when they found out where we live. They started giving us a funny look. I thought they would say something mean but then his friend's father told Nelson: You're the man! It's one thing to be accepted at the Federal University of Bahia when the kid has his own room, has everything... That's not much merit! It's so difficult to do what Nelson did... to study while the neighbour is listening to his loud pagode music.'*

What is striking about this quote is the fact that one of the ways in which the difficulty of life in Pau da Lima is defined has been precisely through sounds. Not being able to concentrate and study because of neighbour's loud music is located amongst the various hardships in life, such as not having proper transportation, sanitation, health care, being afraid of having their house flooded during the heavy rain periods and sometimes not knowing what might be on the table for lunch tomorrow.

5.2. Listening to the Neighbour's Sounds and Music.

In the residential areas close to the main avenue as well as in the 'low lands', the doors and windows of all houses are open all day long. A possible reason might be to allow more ventilation as many houses have roofings made of galvanised steel-sheets, which

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makes the indoor hot. As a general rule, neighbours are not shy about coming in and out of each other's homes anytime they want. Each household has several children who are not necessarily members of the family. Maria Tereza, who has five children between the ages of eleven months and ten years old, explains it to me:

> *'There are days in which I have ten children in my living room. They're the neighbour's, the neighbour's cousin's, they come from all over to hang out. The noise is unbearable and sometimes I see myself going crazy but I got used to it.'*

In the residential areas, besides the mixture of music, one can also hear the sounds of people speaking, laughing, shouting, children crying, mothers screaming, dogs barking, men hitting bar tables with domino pieces and making comments to the women passing by. Regina points out that on working days these areas are much quieter. I would often return to these areas with Valéria on week days and noticed that Regina is right: the mood tends to be much calmer on working days. Still the boundaries between the 'home' and the 'street' are much more fluid than in middle class neighbourhoods. There are many instances, for example, in which Maria Tereza talks to her neighbour without leaving her own kitchen, and she does not need to see the neighbour in order to hear her answers.

Valéria's house is located in an intermediate residential area, above 'Baixa Fria', one of Pau da Lima's most impoverished invasion areas. She is responsible for a community nursery/school in Baixa Fria. Besides Valeria's 6 grandchildren, there are always other children playing in front of the house as well as several women. It is often quite difficult to figure out who is related to whom. As previously

Photo 5. 9 Example of the 'home' being on the 'street': the clothes are hanging outside of the house.

mentioned, Pau da Lima's unique sense of private space refers to children as well. Valéria would watch the neighbours' kids and sometimes her children would go to other peoples' houses. As for the sense of privacy, often there are no doors between the living room and the bedroom, which are separated by a curtain. People are used to hearing

each other talking, fighting and playing music. The music enters their homes just like the neighbours themselves do.

Although Pau da Lima's residents are often unable to filter out all the neighbouring music they dislike, they seem to have become skilled listeners, hearing but choosing not to listen to certain sounds and selectively directing their attention to their preferred sounds. This was previously illustrated by Regina when she talked about 'not listening to anything and just wanting to catch her bus to work. Valéria also exemplifies this notion of the 'skilled listener':

> *'My neighbour's son likes to stand in front of our house playing these horrible, indecent funk carioca songs[16] on his mobile phone. He stands close to the tank where I do my laundry. What can I do? Nothing, except choosing not to listen. Do you know what I do? I start humming some songs to myself, which makes me disconnect from the funk. You see?'[17]*

It seems like this tolerance to the neighbour's sounds is a reflection of the community's sense of property and privacy, which is somewhat different from that of Salvador's middle class neighbourhoods or that of a 'Western' metropolis. In addition to choosing not to listen, Pau da Lima residents choose not to complain to the neighbours about their noise and music, as illustrated by Nelson:

> *'I can understand why they play music so loud. Some of the neighbours cannot choose the best time for playing music. For example, my neighbour here works during the day but at night he wants to listen to his songs and I understand that because I also want to listen to mine. Sometimes it's loud but this has to do with his moment. I'm not going to spoil his moment. I'm not going to annoy the guy, asking him to turn it down. Besides, I might ask him to turn his music down but then my sister will not turn her music down, in fact, she might play it even louder, so it's not going to make much difference anyway.'*

By avoiding the complaining, residents also seem to be avoiding conflict with those who are members of their network of support. Living in a place where there is not much

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[16] A rhythm typical of favelas from Rio de Janeiro.
[17] Visit on 18 October 2007.

support from the state, one learns to tolerate the neighbour's music as well as the importance of mutual help and solidarity, as pointed out by Valéria:

> *'This is the place where we live, where we share not just the noise but a little bit of everything: the problems, the happiness, even our tragedies because everyone knows everyone in this place, right? For example, this is how it is here: if we close the door and a neighbour knocks on the door at 2 in the morning, we have to open the door and say: 'what's the matter? You need help?' We'll put the neighbour in our old car and take him somewhere, if that's the case because we have also knocked on other people's door at 2 in the morning. That's just how it is, we can't complain.'*

On one hand, many residents speak of being 'tolerant' to the neighbour's music as a consequence of the social dynamics of the favelas. The houses are physically close and neighbours frequently need each other's help, which might be leading to a greater degree of acceptance to each other's music. However, this is not to say that there are no tensions in terms of listening habits or tastes in music. Similarly to the loudspeakers on the main avenue, the music and sounds of the neighbours might also cause reactions of annoyance and conflict. Nelson had mentioned, for instance, that his sister Tatiana often turns up the volume of the radio to compete with the neighbour's music. In this way, it is possible to conclude that radio is being used to seize space. Given that the walls of their house are quite porous and cannot block the neighbour's sounds, Tatiana builds her own sound walls (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004) with the loud music she listens to on the radio. She tells me how this sonic competition takes place:

> *I listen to Piatã and Nova Salvador FM. I like to listen to everything, many different styles: pagode, axé, forró, sertanejo. But Dona Rita (the neighbour) also plays music really loud, sometimes she's playing similar songs but I turn the volume up. For a moment I just say: this is my song! My song! I want to dance, I don't care. Sometimes she responds turning up her volume as well and I do the same thing here, she does it there, the dog starts to bark and my mother gets really angry, so sometimes she just storms in and switches everything off[18].*

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[18] Visit on 6 January 2008.

Interestingly, this experience is somewhat different from that described by Oosterbaan (2009) in relation to a favela in Rio de Janeiro. The author had referred to opposing music styles—Gospel and Funk— being used to establish the presence of two divergent groups in the favela – the 'religious' Evangelicals and the 'sinful' drug traffickers. However, in Tatiana's street, this does not seem to be the case. She and her neighbour listen to similar musical styles, but the territorial spaces seem to be essential: when the radio is playing 'her song', the space automatically becomes hers. Her spatial and sonic boundaries (a small living room, and rules of politeness, for instance) are forgotten, and her 'sonic horizon' is expanded (Blesses and Salter, 2007).

5.3. Negotiating Listening at Home.

So far, I have discussed the ways in which the sounds of Regina's house find their way into the neighbour's and vice-versa. However, besides the sonic competition between the neighbours, there is also a competition taking place inside of Regina's house in terms of different media use habits and tastes in music. Regina's house is quite small but compared to other houses I visited in Pau da Lima it has a more marked division between the different rooms with doors rather than curtains. Yet, Regina shares a small bedroom with her daughter. The two sons share the other room and sleep on a bunk bed. Just like in many other houses I observed, there is a TV stand where they keep the television on top. They also have a DVD player, and a sound system with small speakers, which stay on the bottom shelves. These are the only TV and radio sets that they own. In addition, there is also a small desk in the boys' bedroom where they have an old computer. In order to find a way to 'share' the TV, radio and computer and accommodate everyone, Regina established a media consumption schedule for the household. She explains how it works:

> *Regina: Each one gets their media time. They're at home at different times of the day and they have very different tastes. One is crazy about computers and likes to download songs from the internet, the other is crazy about radio and the other one only likes MPB, he has lots of CDs. In this way, they don't fight, everyone is happy. But sometimes I get home in a very bad mood and I don't want to hear anything, so I say: no one is listening to anything today and that's it, end of story.*

Tatiana: Yeah, it's because we share the radio, the television and the computer. In the morning it's my time. I can do whatever I want, I can watch TV, I can listen to the radio, do whatever, you see?

Andrea: And usually you do both, watch TV and listen to the radio?

Tatiana: No, I only listen to the radio. It's the best feeling, much better than having a programmed thing... we might be here like this, doing nothing, and then all of sudden they play that song you love, it's the best feeling.

Andrea: And your brothers?

Tatiana: André's time starts at 1 pm when I go to school. He doesn't listen to the radio much. He just likes to sit in front of the computer and play rock very loud. Linkin Park.

Regina: Linkin Park, yeaaaahhh (starts to scream as if doing an impersonation of heavy metal).

Andrea: And Nelson?

Regina: Nelson's time starts in the end of the afternoon, 4 or 5 when he comes home from university. He listens to Marisa Monte, MPB, calm stuff, I like it.[19]

This schedule of media use has a democratic purpose, ensuring that all three of Regina's children get their time to listen to their favourite music styles. However, Regina seems to identify the most with Nelson's taste and the least with Tatiana's. Coincidentally or not, when she gets home it is usually the end of Nelson's time. She tells me more about her opinions about their tastes:

'In the morning it's like this: pagode, 'Toda Boa, Toda Boa', 'Beber Cair e Levantar[20]*' (referring to the refrain of the songs), all this bad stuff that Tatiana likes. And she dances to everything, unbelievable. But when I get home in the evening, it's Nelson's time, really calm, soothing, MPB, Marisa Monte*[21]*, Jack Johnson. It's really good because that's when the church people start screaming, so I say: enough of shouting.*[22]

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[19] Visit on 6 January 2008.
[20] 'Beber Cair e Levantar' is a *forró* song by the band Aviões do Forró. It could be loosely translated as 'to drink, to fall down, to get up'. Toda Boa is a song by a popular *pagode* group called Psirico. It could be loosely translated as 'all sexy'.
[21] Marisa Monte is considered a MPB (Musica Popular Brasileira) diva. She was trained in opera singing but her songs draw from various influences such as traditional samba, folk tunes and pop rock.
[22] Visit on 6 January 2008.

There are a few aspects to discuss in relation to Regina's judgement of her daughter and son's tastes in music. The first one has to do with age and has a moral dimension to it. *Pagode* is usually very popular amongst younger people for dancing and partying. *Pagode* is all about the rhythm rather than the lyrics, which are often full of sexual wordplay. The dancing style also involves sexual/sensuous moves. Milton Araújo Moura (2002) suggests that 'the musical and choreographic repertoires of *pagode* groups set the standards by which young people in Salvador display their sensuality in public' (p. 170). Thus, Regina, as a mother, shows some degree of moral condemnation of the fact that Tatiana, her female daughter, enjoys listening and dancing *pagode*. She does that, for instance, when comparing the 'music of today' with the music she listened to in her youth.

> *Regina: We had Roupa Nova[23], these things, I can show it to my kids, good protest songs, Cazuza[24] and so on. How about them? What are they going to play for their kids?*
>
> *Tatiana: My friend Nati was saying that in the future her daughter will tell her: oh mum, you're so old fashioned... imagine the songs they're going to have!*
>
> *Regina: I can't see it, how much further can they go? Unless there's a bed on stage and people are there having sex and someone is singing...[25]*

This moral repression of 'dirty' rhythms and dancing is quite common, especially between people of different generations. Mano (2004), for instance, mentions the example of Zairean Rhumba music in Zimbabwe. Health workers alleged that it 'corrupted the morals of Zimbabwean society' whilst the country's former Minister of Health, Dr Timothy Stamps, argued that the dance associated with the music 'was too sexually suggestive and not good for the gullible Zimbabwean youths' (p. 203). This also seemed to be the case with *pagode* music in Pau da Lima.

Mano also discusses how Radio Zimbabwe introduced local music quotas across all its radio stations (2004, p. 177). 'Local music' was understood as music from within

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[23] Roupa Nova is a Brazilian pop band. They are well-known for having many hits and were popular mostly in the 1980s and 1990s.
[24] Cazuza is a Brazilian singer and composer. His style is associated with Brazilian Rock and some of his songs had a political nature, protesting against corruption, for instance.
[25] Visit on 6 January 2008.

Zimbabwe, or music played by local musicians[26] (p. 173). Nevertheless, what I observed at Regina's house is not so much a tension between 'Psirico' (a *pagode* band from Salvador) and Linkin Park, or between 'local' and 'imported' music. The Brazilian context is quite peculiar in this sense. Actually, as Charles Perrone and Christopher Dunn (2002) point out, 'the Brazilian music market is dominated by national acts' (p. 30). Thus, to go back to Regina's opinions about her daughter and son's listening habits, the contrast that is being established is not so much between national and international music since the former seems to be ahead of the latter in terms of preferences. Rather, there is a subtle element of class distinction involved. Nelson's favourite style, MPB, is often associated with a narrower, predominantly white elite audience (Perrone and Dunn, 2002, p. 30), whereas *pagode* is 'reproduced at all social levels, from the poorest *bairros* to the most sophisticated apartment buildings' (Moura, 2002, p. 170). Yet, similarly to *samba*, *pagode baiano* has originated in the black popular neighbourhoods and favelas. Although it has made it to the mainstream, it is still considered a lowbrow music style, being associated with the working classes. Therefore, the fact that Regina and Nelson enjoy MPB might be due to their higher exposure to middle class social circles. Attending university, Nelson has many friends who live in upper class neighbourhoods and the same it true for Regina, who has daily contact with researchers who live in the 'nice neighbourhoods' of Salvador.

Finally, Regina's preference for Nelson's songs is also a reaction to the songs being produced in the wider soundscape at that same time. She mentions that, in the evenings, there are loud church services taking place nearby. Therefore, Nelson's calm music functions as a form of antidote to the energetic screams and songs of the church followers. This implies that the act of listening to music and to the radio in Regina's house is shaped, at least in part, according to the sounds of the streets.

5.4. The Soundscapes of Coroado

It is also in an 'intermediate' area, not too far from Rua Sao Marcos, that the Coroado, one of the most famous sub-areas of Pau da Lima, is located. Coroado is well-known amongst Pau da Lima residents for one main reason: it represents the neighbourhood's

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[26] However, as Mano notes, this notion is of 'local' is not devoid of problems. Citing Wa Thiongo (1981, p. 60), he asks, for example: what about a Non-African who wrote about Africa: did his work qualify as African literature? What if African sets his work in Greenland, did it qualify as African literature? (Mano, 2004, p. 183)

party centre. Unlike Rua São Marcos, which gets very quiet on Sundays, these are busy days at Coroado. The soundscape is also remarkable. There are several bars right next to each other, each one with their own loudspeaker, playing a different kind of music. Walking through the streets of Coroado, Regina explains:

> *'This is where everyone comes to party. The bar owners compete for who's got the strongest loudspeaker: one is playing reggae, the other is playing pagode, the other is playing arrocha[27], the other is playing forró. It's a complete sound salad, everything mixed. And the people walk up and down the street stopping and dancing to each one of the loudspeakers. Sometimes if they like reggae better, they will just stay in front of the reggae bar. Or they just keep walking and dancing to everything. At some point, you can't even distinguish which rhythm you're dancing to anymore. In the favela, sometimes silence is not a choice. I, for example, hate pagode but I know I have to listen to it because on Sunday everyone is going crazy, drinking and dancing.'*

Photo 5.10 Women dancing to a live band. When the band stops playing, they dance to the music of the bars' loudspeakers.

To some extent, the 'sound salad' of Coroado resonates with some of Oosterbaan's (2009) findings in a favela in Rio de Janeiro. He argues that the sounds of the favela 'embodied an assertive identity politics and the preference for certain music was often indistinguishable from the music's ability to epitomise the socio-political position of the enthusiasts' (Oosterbaan, 2009, p. 81). In this way, *forró* was thought to belong to the

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[27] *Arrocha* is another 'popular' dance and music style. It is originally from the country side of Bahia but it is now very popular in Salvador as well. It derives from another style called *Seresta* but played in a faster pace.

immigrants from the Northeast, Funk belonged to the youth and Gospel belonged to the Evangelicals (Ibid).

In the context of Pau da Lima, each music and dance style has a slightly different connotation because of the regional characteristics, which determine diverse musical preferences. Yet, in Coroado, we can still witness a similar phenomenon in which different social groups are associated with different music styles. Regina and Tatiana elaborate on this idea.

> *Tatiana: In Coroado we see all the different little groups. Some people gather around the speakers playing pagode, others prefer forró, arrocha and so on.*
>
> *Regina: It's very easy to spot a 'pagodeiro' (someone who likes pagode).*
>
> *Tatiana: They have that style, that body, they're fit, they die their hair blonde. And that's it, they hook up with a lot of girls, just because of that, because they sing and dance pagode, so they're considered very hot.*
>
> *Andrea: So, pagode is a style for young people, right?*
>
> *Regina: Yes, it is a teenager thing. The girls, they go to school like this, they roll up their uniform shirts to show off their bellies and sometimes they dance as they walk. The other day I saw two of these girls and I told André: if I was these girls' mother, they would get a spanking.*
>
> *Andrea: How about arrocha? Does it have this sexiness to it as well?*
>
> *Regina: Not so much. Arrocha is popular in places where Seresta is popular. You see a lot of couples, older people dancing arrocha. There's also reggae for the pot smokers... It's true! My boyfriend loves reggae but he has a community (on Orkut) which says: I love reggae, not marijuana. But reggae also has to do with the black pride movement. I know that Planeta FM, for example, they have a popular reggae programme and the people behind it, they really value blackness, being black, our African roots.*
>
> *Andrea: So reggae, in a way, has a more activist side to it...*
>
> *Regina: Yes, black is beautiful, that sort of thing.*

Before we analyse this musical aspect of identity politics in Coroado, it is necessary to provide a brief historical context on race and music in Salvador. Moura notes that 'the destiny of the majority of the inhabitants of Salvador was fundamentally linked to a

terrible, forced displacement through the traffic of slaves from Africa to Brazil' (2002, p. 171)[28]. The city was the first capital of Brazil until 1763. After that, with the transference of the political power to the new capital, Rio de Janeiro, Salvador began to gradually lose its economic importance and political power (Ibid, p. 162). As a consequence, the city of Salvador (and the state of Bahia) started to represent a place that had 'remained on the margins of modernity', and to function as a 'reserve of traditional identity' (Ibid, p. 164). Bahia was associated with the notion of ethnic integration and with the ascension of Afro-descendants on the national scene (Ibid, p.164). Until today, Salvador has been known as the black capital of Brazil, referred as the 'land of happiness', where people are 'laid-back and relaxed, oriented toward immediate and primary experience' (Moura, 2002, p. 163).

Today, as Moura suggests, 'the music and dance of black performers in the city, above all those forms associated with carnival are omnipresent' (2002, p. 174). The Afro-Bahian musical and choreographic practices have entered the mass media circuit, which opened 'a space for the legitimisation of their presence in the cultural scene of Bahian society' (Ibid). At the same time, the carnival celebrations reveal a problematic dynamic of exclusion. The occupation of spaces, for instance, is highly problematic. Afro-Bahian music is now widely popular and consumed by all. At the same time, to quote Moura, 'the individual Afro-Bahian does not have access to the groups that play this music, for lack of sufficient material resources' (Ibid).

This is relevant for the context of Pau da Lima for several reasons. Firstly, being a working class neighbourhood, its population is predominantly of African descent (as it was demonstrated in Chapter 1). Rhythms such as *pagode* and reggae can be considered 'black' in nature. However, their fans show a different attitude to blackness.

Moura argues that '*pagode* lyrics and choreography often associate being black and Bahian with sexual innuendo and sensual dancing' (2002, p. 172). He also observes that these groups tend to celebrate the image of the '*negão*' (big black guy). Thus, he concludes that these 'references to blackness have less to do with a notion of African origin than with the eroticism of black bodies' (Ibid). Thus, *pagode* represents an apolitical, hedonistic approach to being black and Bahian.

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[28] The Portuguese started bringing African slaves in the sixteenth century to labour on sugar plantations and in networks of domestic and urban services (Moura, 2002, p. 163). For the next three centuries the city remained as an important slave trade centre.

Contrary to *pagode*, reggae constitutes more of an activists' music style. Osmundo de Araújo Pinho states that 'interest in reggae music has flourished in Salvador in a context of racial inequality' (2002, p. 193). The songs of Edson Gomes, a famous Bahian reggae singer, for example, 'reflect a concrete and real link between social status and symbolic practice' (Ibid). Pinho adds that reggae provides the opportunity for young blacks 'to develop a relationship with the iconography and symbolism of a transnational reggae culture' (2002, p. 195). Thus, the reggae dancers of Coroado also seem to be making a transnational connection with their African heritage. It is also very significant that Planeta FM, one of Pau da Lima's community radio stations feeds into these dynamics, broadcasting a reggae programme which seems to attract quite a larger listenership in the neighbourhood.

In sum, each of the different rhythms played at Coroado symbolises a different social, demographic, political, ethnic or religious group. The *pagodeiros* move around the streets of Coroado and stop by the *pagode* loudspeaker, whilst the *'regueiros'* (reggae fans) will be found next to the reggae-playing bars. However, similary to what happens in Rio de Janeiro, where funk represents the loudest music in the soundscape of the hills (Oosterbaan, 2009, p. 86), *pagode* seems to be winning the sonic battle at Coroado. One pagode song, particularly, stands out. The song, whose Portuguese title can be translated as "What I want is to have a good time", emphasizes how the Bahian people, despite all the suffering and problems, enjoy partying, and invites everyone to have a good time.[29]

This song seems very representative of the atmosphere of Coroado. Despite the various music styles and different social groups, there is a general willingness to share a collective experience of 'partying'. In a way, there is a sense of resistance through partying, as the residents of the favela simply refuse to let the hardships of life get them down. This collective attitude is reflected on the 'sound salad' soundscapes. It represents a form of anti-iPod listening experience. In Coroado, there are no private listening devices being used to filter out the undesired sounds and music (Bull, 2005). There are no clearly demarcated sonic horizons and arenas (Blesser and Salter, 2007). The Coroado goers possess the desire and ability to navigate between the multiple sound layers. They simply allow themselves to be dominated by the 'sound salad'. As

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[29] See Appendix 5.1 for original lyrics in Portuguese and the English translation.

sounds mix with each other, it becomes difficult to distinguish where one layer of sound starts and the other ends. However, the overall spirit is easily identifiable: to have a good time.

6. The 'Low Land' Areas.

6.1. General Sonic Characteristics.

We have now arrived at the final sonic environment to be discussed in this chapter, that of the 'low lands' (*baixadas*) or invasion (*invasões*) areas. As the side streets reach a dead end, the only way to reach the houses is by foot, going downhill. This is where the poverty becomes acute. There are thousands of brick-coloured shacks crammed together and the access is very difficult. Narrow muddy alleys or precarious stairways are the only connections to the top areas. Some residents have to endure something like 100 steps to climb up before they reach the paved upper areas.

Photo 5.11 View of an invasion area from Valéria's nursery. We can see the different levels and the improvised steps built by residents.
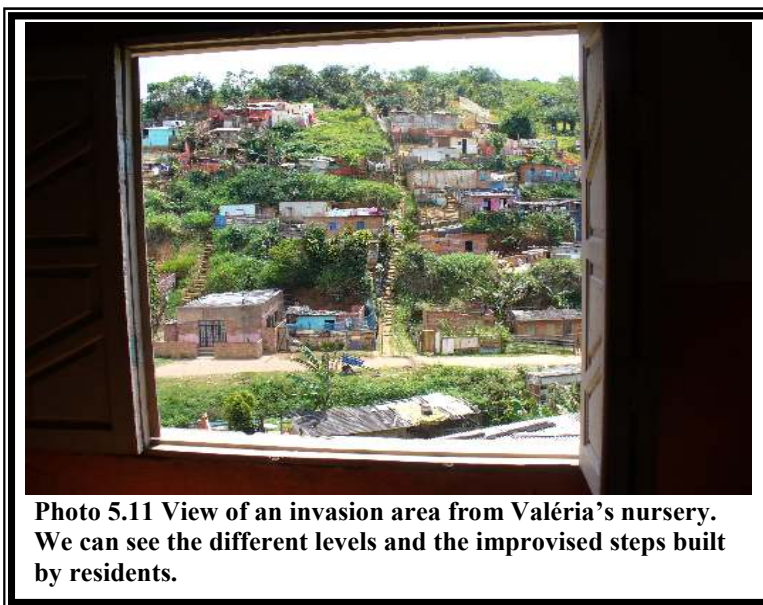
Some houses do not have proper toilets, they have cesspools. Residents themselves build their sewage system. Wires and pipes are everywhere. The sewer from the upper areas often runs down the hills polluting the low lands. Some of these areas have an unbearably bad smell and a lot of people are constantly ill from the lack of sanitation. The tropical rains worsen the situation by flooding the open sewers and carrying with it all the rubbish. In the summer, the heat is suffocating. These areas are often referred to as invasions because the first residents were squatters who settled there and started building their shacks. Most of the residents who live there now are second or third generation 'squatters', they are no longer the ones who 'invaded' the hills and have usually bought the shack from somebody else.

Regina heads to what people who work at Fio Cruz call Zone 12, one of the areas in the favela with the worst record of infectious diseases. The paths are slippery and unstable.

Zone 12 is much quieter. There are fewer and smaller bars and shops. Despite their poverty, most residents do own a TV and radio set. As a general rule, the radio is on early in the morning and late at night while the TV is on later in the morning, in the afternoon and in the early evening for the telenovelas.

The fact that the 'invasion' areas are not accessible by car contributes to making them less loud. The absence of pavement also means that there are very few lamp posts on which to

Photo 5.12 TV and radio sets, CD player, speakers. Photo taken in a house located in an invasion area.

place loudspeakers. In addition, the residents often lack the financial means to purchase the 'powerful speakers' which are signs of status. As the homes tend to be close together and built on hilly terrains, there are fewer areas which can be used collectively for leisure. Therefore, these few areas are commonly used as precarious arenas in which residents gather around one 'unifying' sound, such as a Sunday gig. This is explained by Regina:

> *'Here it's quieter, less chaotic, people are competing less to see who's got the best sound system, they are poorer as well. I don't like the noise up there but here the silence makes me a little sad. People do play their music and DVDs, have their TV and radio sets but they are not flashy, usually they're quite simple. Here there's less of a sense of showing off, I think they might be embarrassed to do that. Several of my patients live here. I know everyone, you can see that everyone greets me. I feel a sense of country side here: I see the chickens, people looking out of their windows, watching life go by, sitting in front of their houses and chatting to each other. While in Coroado it's chaotic and everyone wants to have a good time, here it's more melancholic. The pace is slower. Perhaps I get sad because I remember my childhood in the country side.'*

Regina is aware of sounds' mood generating qualities or, as Tacchi (2003) puts it when referring to radio, its power to connect across time and memories. The sound of a quieter environment, the 'slower pace' of everyday life and the sight of people

'watching life go by' connect her across two times and two settings she is extremely familiar with: the past in the country side and the present in the low lands of Pau da Lima where she knows everyone and everyone greets her.

As it is also the case in the intermediate residential areas, there are no big separations between 'inside' and 'outside', the 'home' and the 'street'. We can see old furniture and clothes lines hanging outside of the houses, kids playing with broken toys and also often playing with the rubbish and open sewers. There are so many children everywhere that every little corner sounds like a playground. People are singing or talking, just hanging out in front of the doors and watching curiously. Regina greets everyone by their names. She says:

> *'People here have their own little independent life, they have their own stuff. There is a central area over there with a small stage they built, that's where they have their events and gigs. Some Sundays they might all gather to listen to the bands and dance. I think there's less competition of sounds, there's more of gathering around one unifying sound.'*

What emerges from this quote is the idea that different spatial, temporal and social identities are being constructed in Pau da Lima based on zones of 'unifying sound' and 'competing sound'. This idea will be discussed further in the concluding section of this chapter.

In sum, the intermediate areas and the invasion areas have in common a somewhat blurred line between private and public. This is physical as the homes are close to each other, the windows and doors are constantly open. There is a popular Brazilian saying which states that the 'dirty laundry has to be done at home'[30]. The 'dirty laundry' is a metaphor for the personal issues and problems which should not be made public and shared with others. In the favela context, however, the 'dirty laundry' is literally displayed outside. This is reflected on the soundscapes of both the intermediate and invasion areas, as the sounds of neighbours enter each other's homes just like they physically do themselves.

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[30] Translated from the Portuguese: '*Roupa suja se lava em casa*'

This also applies to radio. One resident of an invasion area, Jackeline, comments on how she is exposed to her neighbour's music taste and listening habits on a daily basis. She usually spends the afternoons listening to Piatã FM, a commercial radio station that targets working class listeners[31] while doing her house chores and taking care of her 2-year-old daughter. Her next door neighbour, Renata, however, frequently tunes in to Planeta FM. While Jackeline listens to 'Tarde Livre' (Free Afternoon), one of her favourite programmes on Piatã, Renata likes to listen to 'As Dez Mais' (The Ten Most... in a reference to the day's most requested songs). Jackeline tells me that Renata loves to participate in radio phone-ins.

> *Here, there are some people like Renata who spend entire days just calling the radio stations, they are always trying to be on air. Sometimes it happens that someone calls and they go on air, then everyone else in the neighbourhood tunes in to listen to them, do you understand? Sometimes it happens that someone wants to know about somebody else's life, so they tune in to our neighbourhood radio (in Portuguese, rádio do bairro, in a reference to Planeta FM). I live here and if there is something happening on the other side, in São Rafael... I find out about it, a lot of people find out too... if someone died... people find out through the neighbourhood radio.[32]*

This echoes some of Meadows' (2007) findings on why audiences tune in to community media stations in Australia. The author notes that often community stations are the only ones to provide local news and information within their broadcast footprint. He adds that 'local news/local information was the predominant reason for listening to community radio in non-metropolitan areas'. (p. 34). Here there is an interesting parallel with the 'low land' areas of Pau da Lima. These areas are obviously 'metropolitan', in a sense that they are located in a city. Yet, they represent the most remote areas of Pau da Lima, which is itself somewhat independent from other neighbourhoods. Talking to some of the families, sometimes I got the impression that going up to the main avenue took so much effort that it was like a small trip to another city. Besides, the cost of public transportation was definitely an issue for some of the families. For this reason, they would go out of Pau da Lima very rarely. Therefore, as these are, to use Regina's

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[31] In Salvador, the criteria for targeting different audiences in largely based on socio economic factors, thus stations such as Piatã FM are referred to as 'radios populares'.
[32] Interview on 4 December 2007

words, like small areas of 'country side' within Pau da Lima, local news and information become essential to listeners.

In addition, it becomes clear that Planeta FM can sometimes find a common ground between the neighbours. For instance, even if Renata and Jackeline's musical tastes do not always coincide, they are both interested in finding out about 'people's lives' and hearing familiar voices, as suggested by Jackeline's explanation of how she coordinates her listening of Piatã FM with Renata's listening of Planeta FM.

> *Now that I am not working, when I have a bit of time, around 5 pm, I turn on the radio and I know what's on. Then I remember that Renata is also listening to Planeta FM and someone we know from around here will go on air or something like that, and I know she's listening, so I tell her: turn up your volume and I'll switch off my radio here'.*

Jackeline is referring to an instance in which community radio succeeds in creating a 'unified' soundscape. During that moment, when they are drawn together by wanting to listen to 'something' about 'someone they know', Jackeline puts aside her preference for Piatã and listens to Planeta FM through the thin walls that separate her house from Renata's. Suddenly, then, the acoustic horizon of the community station is amplified and both Jackeline and Renata are included in its acoustic arena.

6.2. Word of Mouth.

Betinha is a 7-year old girl, whose mother has a mental illness and never leaves her shack. As the woman is in a really precarious state, she can no longer take proper care of Betinha and has recently become aggressive, although there has never been an instance of her hurting the girl. Betinha's father is an alcoholic and is also unable to care for her. As a consequence, Betinha is always hanging out on the streets.

In another indication of the community's sense of mutual help, the neighbours and especially Valéria are the ones responsible for washing, dressing and feeding Betinha. She comes up from her shack in the Baixa Fria low lands to Valéria's street every day. When she does not, Valéria goes down the hill to her shack to check on her. She has been practically adopted by the people on Valéria's street but she does not live with

them or sleep in their houses. Nobody can really take Betinha in because she does have a family. Just as much as her mother's shack, the street is Betinha's home.

Often Valéria has to climb down to the 'low lands' to look for Betinha. She stops in front of every shack and asks about the girl. Without leaving their homes, people start sticking their heads out of the windows and asking each other: 'have you seen Betinha, Jucinha?', 'I saw her earlier, she was playing with Tais'. The word spreads quickly that Valéria is looking for Betinha. One neighbour shouts to the next door or to the downstairs neighbour, who shouts to the other, who shouts to the other.

What I witness reminds me of that childhood game where you whisper a sentence into someone's ear and the person next to you whispers the same sentence into someone else's ear, and so on. In the end, the sentence is whispered back into your ear and you are surprised to hear how distorted the sentence is. In Betinha's case, this 'word of mouth' mechanism is very similar but there is no distortion as she is quickly found by Valéria and her 'circle' of neighbours. This indicates that although in the invasion areas, people cannot count on the lamp post radio or loudspeakers to make announcements about lost children, they do manage to come up with their own and very efficient 'word of mouth' communication system. Again, this is a reminder of the competence and richness of oral cultures found in Pau da Lima.

7. Conclusion.

The soundscapes of Pau da Lima are able to help us gain a deepened understanding of everyday life in the community in several ways. This is a competitive sonic environment where loudspeakers and megaphones, cars and buses, vendors and pedestrians, chatting and shouting manage to coexist in chaotic harmony. As it becomes evident through a sonic exploration of the 'Coroado' area on Sundays, the sounds of the loudspeakers are used as tools to establish ownership and to affirm peoples' identities as well as their political and social standing in the neighbourhood. In this context, sounds and music are not only working as markers of space, they also represent important means of social identification, being used by residents as tools to create, maintain or break boundaries. The Sundays in Coroado, with its various competing rhythms on the loudspeakers, can illustrate these ideas very well. First, given the heterogeneity of Pau da Lima, different groups often identify with different musical

styles. In general terms, reggae, for instance, can be associated with the black pride movement, forro with the countryside origins and pagode with expressing one's sexuality.

However, as Stokes puts it (1997, p. 6), it is not so much that one can find deterministic traces of identity in music but rather that one must try and see the ways in which music and sounds can be like sonic bricks for building social boundaries (and also maintain and destroy these boundaries). In this way, the different owners of different bars use their powerful loudspeakers to build their sonic walls and create acoustic arenas which include the lovers of each rhythm. At the same time, all the Coroado goers are subjected to a collective listening experience whose overall philosophy is to have a good time. This reiterates my previous argument that different identities can be constructed around competing or unifying sounds.

The Sundays in Coroado do not constitute instances of 'sonic dominance' as described by Henriques (2003) in a reference to the Jamaican sound systems. Rather, this is an instance of 'a complete sound salad', with all the sounds mixed, as Regina vividly puts it. At the same time, the Coroado sessions share with the sound systems a 'sheer physical force' of sound (Henriques, 2003, p. 451,). The 'super saturation of sound' has physical properties. Not only can it be 'heard in the ears', it can be 'felt over the entire surface of the skin' (Ibid, p. 452).

In Pau da Lima, the loudness of the speakers on the main avenue is also closely associated with energy, progress and success. All the shouting about shops, products and bargains are an integral part of the neighbourhood's marketplace culture. Residents are quite proud of the vibrant and independent local commerce, which is the neighbourhood's main economic activity. The loudspeakers and megaphones help keep this economy moving and can also be important signs of status. They might mean that the owner of the local establishment is doing well, as it is the case with the Espaco Axé and its 'sound cars' with loudspeakers which can be heard everywhere all the time. This connection between 'noise', energy, success and progress is consistent with Smith's sonic exploration of antebellum America, where the sounds of 'rattling urban hammers and spinning wheels' echoed progress by offering 'aural testimony to the effect of industry' (Smith, p. 139, 2003).

However, the sounds of progress and entrepreneurship in Pau da Lima also echo tensions. The main avenue's overwhelming and competitive sonic environment seems to be also producing the cumulative effect of indifference to noise pollution. Regina, for instance, talks about how she often has no choice but to pay no attention to the soundscapes. This 'insensitivity' is demonstrated by the fact that she has become used to the sound pollution to the point that she just has the automatic reaction to ignore it. This cumulative effect might have problematic implications for radio as it has to really fight for attention.

In sum, this adds up to a sense of struggle between attention and distraction, which reveals a very different condition of reception from that discussed in much of the 'western' literature on radio. It would be quite difficult for people in Pau da Lima to be alone in the privacy of their bedrooms, listening to a programme that demands concentration. Rather, as the lines between public and private are much more blurred, they are likely to be in a noisy environment in which the acoustic horizons do not reach very far. This means that listeners in Pau da Lima need to develop a form of listenership which is active and complex (Schwartz, 2003), directing their attention and/or indifference to sounds according to their preferences and needs

In this situation, oral performances gain extra importance. In order to gain attention, one needs to be skilled at using words and voices. This can be illustrated by the plethora of street vendors and their attempts at making inventive aural appeals. Further, the 'word of mouth' used by Valéria and her circle of friends in order to find Betinha demonstrates the efficiency of oral culture. It also reminds us of how the richness of this oral culture is underestimated in any academic perspectives that privilege 'visual' forms of understanding the world.

In addition to helping us apprehend the sonic nuances of everyday life in Pau da Lima, the soundscapes are helpful in understanding the place of radio in the community. Firstly, it tells us what radio needs to do in order to successfully compete in what is an overwhelming sonic environment. This idea was illustrated by Regina, for instance, when she stated the listening choices in her home are significantly influenced by the sounds of the street.

In this context, the 'community' lamp post radio station needs to really demonstrate it knows well the community for whom it exists. The station has to be very well tuned to the everyday routine of the community in order to fit within its sonic rhythms. This often does not happen. This is the case, for example, when the lamp post radio is just adding one extra layer of sound, contributing with meaningless sounds to a multitude of disconnected words: lemons! shoes! television sets! However, when the lamp post radio station manages to be successful in its 'dailiness', it can provide a 'soundtrack to the streets', playing a song which perfectly matches the mood of a late afternoon, when one more day of school or work is finished, helping listeners with their transition from the 'outside' public world to their private (although not so private) world when they are walking home. At the same time, the lamp post radio station works as an internal communication system, which despite all the noise, has a rather powerful reach. It can tell people about free events they want to hear about, where to place their rubbish, where to go for the cheapest kilogram of beans. Furthermore, the fact that the 'lamp post radio' is perceived by many residents as *their* community radio station also suggests a more elastic definition of community radio than that assigned by the regulatory agencies and by much of the academic literature.

The way in which radio operates *despite* the sonic surroundings in Pau da Lima also suggests that the literature on sound studies perhaps needs to be less sceptical in regard to *noise*. My research suggests that, in the context of the favelas, noises can have negative but also positive meanings and that radio (and community radio, in particular) constitute a special layer among the multiple layers of sound.

In a loud or silent soundscape, radio still manages to reveal its distinctive qualities, such as its 'capacity for liveness' (Hilmes, 2005) its ability to cut across time (such as when a listener is transported to his past) and space (such as when a resident of the 'invasion' feels connected to the main avenue or when a reggae fan feels connected to his African roots). As for community radio, it has the ability to create local public spheres, as it was demonstrated in the case of the 'low land' listeners who are interested in local news. When that happens, radio can have a significant interference in the soundscape: a neighbour can even switch off her/his radio to listen to her neighbour's. In this way, the 'competition' is put aside for a moment, the acoustic horizon is stretched and the acoustic arena welcomes more listeners. And, so it seems, community radio still constitutes an important ingredient of the sound salad.

CHAPTER 6

EVERYTHING IS A TRADE-OFF:
COMMUNITY RADIO AND THE LOCAL ECONOMY

'The commerce is like the heart of Pau da Lima. And the radio stations help to keep it beating. So, if you take away the radio, you take away the heart and Pau da Lima stops.'

Conversation with Graça, one of the students in my writing course on 17 December 2007

1. Introduction.

The quote above is Graça's response to the following question: what would happen to Pau da Lima if we take away all the local radio stations? The answer, which is quite straightforward, carries a simple logic: commerce is the heart, radio keeps it beating, so take away the radio and you take away the heart.

This idea has important implications for my study of community radio in the everyday life of residents in Pau da Lima. First, it stands in contrast to a lot of thinking about community media which assumes that community and commerce do not belong together in the same sentence. I would like to argue here that even if they are significantly commercial in nature, the radio stations in Pau da Lima should still be regarded legitimately as community radio. Further, I suggest that radio enacts and feeds an acoustemology of commerce and progress. These arguments are based on the residents' listening experiences to both the neighbourhood's lamp post radio (Radio Pop Som) and unlicensed FM stations (Axé FM and Planeta FM). The chapter also expands on the discussion of lamp post radio as a form of community radio, which was introduced in Chapter 5. This has emerged from the perspectives of the residents of Pau da Lima. They often refer to the lamp post radio as the 'true community radio', even though the station broadcasts via speakers rather than radio waves and is not categorised as such by the country's regulatory body (ANATEL) or by most of the scholarly work on community media. The intention here is not so much to offer alternative definitions or argue about semantics. I am aware that different terms have emerged from different

historical and geographical contexts (Lewis, 2006) and that there are various strands of literature, which focus on different concepts[1].

However, in this chapter (and indeed in this thesis) I am much more interested in exploring residents' notions of community radio on the ground. This has been an attempt to engage in a bottom-up research process and to listen to the listeners, delving into their ideas of and expectations for community radio and asking: what should it offer them on a daily basis? The aim is to explore the linkages between commerce and community radio in both the lamp post and FM radio sectors but also, and more importantly, to show the ways in which these linkages (even if sometimes problematic) are precisely what enable the stations to serve the communities in which they exist. Finally, this chapter elaborates on the notion of exchange, which is a crucial component of everyday life in Pau da Lima. It looks at the ways in which the radio stations draw on this notion, acting as a facilitator of exchange between residents and presenters and residents and other residents. Some of the findings might sound slightly 'pragmatic' rather than 'idealist', as both presenters and listeners often make reference to community radio as a way to make a living in the community or as something that can make life easier. However, rather than seeing this as something that takes away from the ideals of community media, such as empowering the disenfranchised or offering them an outlet to protest against injustices, I would like to suggest that these 'mundane' aspects are precisely what make community radio such a useful resource for people in Pau da Lima. In other words, community radio does not need to be altruistic in order to function as community radio but it does need to fit within the community's logic of exchange. One might conclude that not enough attention is given to what community radio is able to do on a micro-level, such as employing residents or broadcasting useful spoken classifying ads. Such micro-practices represent more than charity or mere marketing strategies, they are fully integrated into the social dynamics of Pau da Lima. Thus, the close interactions between presenters of various radio stations and their listeners and the fact that they know each other mean that these rituals of exchange also take place in a personal level.

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[1] For example, as Hadl (2009) notes, the social movements approach revolves around concepts of social political change (Downing, 2001), whilst the 'alternative journalism' approach is more concerned with free speech' (Couldry and Curran, 2003) and the 'citizens' media approach is more interested in issues of empowerment and self-representation (Rodriguez, 2001)

2. Commercial, Therefore Not Community?

As I have suggested, there is a general tendency to consider *community* and *commerce* as being mutually exclusive. Nicholas Jankowski (2002) provides an overview of the general characteristics found in community media. This includes their objectives, such as engaging the members of the community in public communication; their ownership, which must be shared by 'community residents, local governments and community-based organisations', and their production, which must involve 'non-professionals and volunteers' (p.7). What is particularly useful here are Jankowski's remarks regarding the financing aspects of community media. According to him, the financing is 'essentially non-commercial, although the overall budget may involve corporate sponsorship, advertising and corporate subsidies' (p.8). Generally speaking, media which are fully funded by advertising are not considered to be *true* 'community' media. Focusing on community radio in the United States, David Dunaway (2002) believes that commercialism has the ability to undermine the mission of public and community radio and that it must be avoided. He states that 'the marketplace has not proven an effective protector of America's air, water, and its land; what it will do to the airways and to community broadcasting is worthy of dread' (p.80).

Another common assumption is that most of the people working behind-the-scene in community radio are volunteers, people who are highly committed to their communities and whose aims (similarly to those of the stations) are not making money. Stefania Milan's (2008) study of community radio practitioners' motivations illustrates well this idea. The article's title –'What makes you happy'— refers to the question posed by the researcher to more than forty community radio practitioners from various different countries during the 9th World Conference of AMARC, held in Amman, Jordan (p. 25-26). The findings suggest that what makes community radio practitioners happy are things like: listening to other people's stories (p.31), 'working for a better world' by supporting political and social struggles (p.33), 'working more for the others' than for themselves' (p.36), having a good degree of freedom 'that cannot be found in any mainstream media, constrained by commercial requirements and/or by the owner's beliefs' (p.30). Again, any commercial element is seen as a restraining force that takes away from the station's freedom and damages its political and social struggles.

Even in the rare instances in which research in the field of alternative media does acknowledge their commercial aspects, it tends to be wary of calling it 'community'. If one takes as an example Algan's (2005) research on local commercial stations in the Turkish city of Sanliurfa, and the way they function as alternative media for young people, it could be argued that the local stations are providing a voice to the voiceless youth of Sanliurfa and offering them a much needed local public sphere to discuss their 'growing pains'. As I have discussed earlier, these are both integral aspects that constitute community media. Yet, the author avoids the term 'community radio', using instead the term 'local radio'. No matter how locally relevant and liberating these stations are for their communities, it is almost as if they are no longer being worthy the 'community' denomination for having accepted advertising money.

One root of this assumption lies with the Marxist notion that by promoting individualism, money can cause the destruction of solidary communities (Marx, 1964, cited in Parry and Bloch, 1989, p. 4). Jonathan Parry and Maurice Bloch (1989) note that 'Marx's condemnation of money and market exchange reflects a certain romantic nostalgia for a world in which production was for use and the interdependence of the human community had not been shattered by exchange' (Ibid). Thus, as the authors put it, money is seen as 'a kind of acid which inexorably dissolves cherished cultural discriminations, eats away at qualitative differences and reduces personal relations to impersonality' (p.6).

Clearly, there is a strong logic to this point. Sociologists and economists from Marx onwards have drawn attention to the ways in which money destroys the 'collective' and the 'community'. Vincent Mosco (1996), for instance, offers a critique of commercial media. He argues that commercialisation leads to a 'greater emphasis in broadcasting on audience size and advertising revenue, producing programmes that anticipate an international market and linkages to other revenue-generating media' (p. 202). Thus, commercialisation means 'a greater concern for those customers, principally business, likely to increase revenue' (Ibid). Unlike commercial media, community media exist to represent the underprivileged groups— precisely the ones that cannot be perceived as revenue generators. And in a specifically Latin American context, we notice that some of the most influential thinkers, such as Paulo Freire[2] produced their key texts, such as

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[2] Other prominent Latin American scholars include Jesus Martin Barbero, Luis Ramiro Beltran, Juan Diaz Bordenave, Fernando Reyes Matta, and Rafael Roncagliolo (Lewis, 2006, p. 20).

Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1972) and *Literacy and the Possible Dream* (1976) at a time in which violent military dictatorships were at their peak in the continent. As Peter Lewis (2006) suggests, alternative, community and grassroots media represented a more than necessary rebellious response to a scenario of authoritarianism, as opposed to the compliant and subservient mass media (p. 19).

In the meantime, privately owned media giants such as the Globo network have grown even larger and more powerful, while there are virtually no government subsidies or funding being offered to community or local media. Consequently, in this scenario dominated by private and commercially orientated media, the popular media initiatives to be found in Pau da Lima are left with no alternatives but to also embrace a commercial model on a small scale.

3. The Lamp Post Radio.

3.1. The Lamp Post Radio in Salvador.

One can barely find any reference to lamp post radio stations in academic books or articles. One exception is De Oliveira's (2007) research on community media and social movements in the Northeast of Brazil. Instead of using the expression lamp post radio, the author refers to 'community loudspeaker systems'[3]. She noticed that these loudspeaker systems always operate in harmony with the daily routine of the neighbourhood, not airing at times in which the programmes would clash with the church masses, for instance (p. 15). This is consistent with some of my findings discussed in Chapter 5.

During my observations in Pau da Lima, for example, I noticed that the station would broadcast the most important community announcements earlier in the morning. It was around 9 am, the time in which Pop Som starts their daily operations. Dozens of men and women dressed for work, holding on to paper folders or handbags under their armpits, were squeezed at the bus stop. They kept looking towards the direction from which the bus would arrive and then looking down at their wrist watches, anxiously

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[3] In Portuguese, '*sistemas de alto falantes*' or '*radiadoras comunitárias*'.

waiting for the bus. In the meantime, Robson, Pop Som's main presenter, was shouting through the speakers which are strategically placed close to the bus shelter:

> *Attention! Our next public health fair will take place this Friday. The event will be from 8 o'clock in the morning until 5 o'clock in the afternoon at the Cleriston Andrade School. You will find out more: how to prevent and treat infectious diseases. There will also be dance, theatre, capoeira, hip hop. You have to participate. This Friday, from 8 until 5. Check out the public health fair of Pau da Lima[4].*

The Pop Som Radio staff chose to broadcast this important announcement at 9am because they knew that at this time there would be a large number of people on the streets, so they would be able to speak to a large audience. This reveals that the lamp post radio station seems to be well aware of the everyday habits of the residents of Pau da Lima.

Yet, although the lamp post radio has a marked presence in the daily life of the community, it seems to struggle to fit within a category or sector – they are not considered radio, nor are they referred to as community media. In addition, so far, there have been no clear policies for regulating them. However, this is precisely what allows these stations to have a certain degree of freedom in terms of how they operate and the type of programming that they broadcast. Their only obligation is to respect a certain noise limit. Unlike FM community radio, lamp post radio can openly embrace their connections with the local markets and business, showing a somewhat strong commercial ethos[5].

It should be also noted that the occurrence of lamp post loudspeakers on the streets is not exclusive to Pau da Lima. In fact, these lamp post radio stations seem to be common in other less affluent communities and working class neighbourhoods of Salvador. As a general trend, this surge in lamp post radio stations results from the time and bureaucracy involved in obtaining a FM community radio broadcasting license. This is further complicated by the widespread practice of 'electronic coronelismo' (De Lima

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[4] From my fieldnotes, taken on 4 December 2007.

[5] In chapter 3, I discuss the defining boundaries of community media. For instance, one of the definitions by Lopez Vigil (1997), found in the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC) website states that 'radio stations that bear this name do not fit the logic of money or advertising'. Their purpose is different, their best efforts are put at the disposal of civil society". (Vigil, 1997, in AMARC, 2010).

and Lopes, 2007) in which broadcasting licenses are given out as a way to 'buy' political support or in which politicians who own television and radio stations themselves are favoured when it comes to obtaining licenses. The licensing process for the lamp post radio stations is much simpler, cheaper, quicker and done at the local level, via the city administration (ARCOBA, 2007[6]). Such stations are officially called LM stations (for *Linha Modulada*, in Portuguese, or Modulated Line). They are under the supervision of a superintendence called SUCOM[7], which gives them permission to broadcast and is also responsible for preventing sound pollution by controlling their sound levels[8] (Erhardt, 2007). In an article for A Tarde, the largest newspaper in Salvador, Erhardt (2007)[9] suggests that lamp post radio stations can be efficient alternatives to FM community radio. They can be observed in various working class areas, and have been expanding their reach considerably in recent years, with an expressive increase in the numbers of loudspeakers on lamp posts in a short period.[10]

This is confirmed by an interview that I conducted with the president of the Association of Alternative and Community Radio Stations of Bahia (ARCOBA) – Manoel Ávila. The Association was founded in 1996 and aims at providing professional training and legal support to its affiliates. The majority of members consist of LM radio stations. According to Manoel[11], the number of community FM stations that are members of ARCOBA is much smaller (Pau da Lima's Planeta FM is one of them). He believes that the number of lamp post radio stations in Salvador has increased in recent years because many FM community radio practitioners are giving up on waiting for their licenses. Another important factor that drives them to start lamp post radio stations is that the owners of illegal or not yet legalised FM stations are constantly in danger of being arrested or having their transmitters confiscated by the Federal Police. Manoel explains the risks these stations face:

> *'In regard to the FM radio stations, I have a feeling that there has been a decrease in membership but we can't really have an accurate number (of FM*

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[6] Associação de Rádios Alternativas e Comunitárias da Bahia (Association of Alternative and Community Radio Stations of Bahia). Based on an interview with the president – Manoel – on 12 December 2007.
[7] Under the City of Salvador's Urban Development, Housing and Environment (SEDHAM) Secretariat.
[8] The noise limit is seventy decibels. According to the superintendence, sixty decibels corresponds to a conversation between two people standing close to an air-conditioner. Seventy decibels corresponds to the average noise level of a busy street. The noise level of a club, for example, can reach 110 decibels.
[9] The article is called 'Modulated Line is an Alternative to FM', written by Marta Erhardt, and can be found at http://www.atarde.com.br/cidades/noticia.jsf?id=756126 (Accessed 16 January 2010) .
[10] She cites the example of a station located in the neighbourhood of Engenho Velho de Brotas, which has managed to increase its number of loudspeakers on lamp posts from three to twenty five in five years.
[11] I will refer to him using his first name as this is very common in Brazil.

stations) because a lot of people are not willing to take risks or show their faces. Sometimes the man already has a well-structured station, everything put together, and then, all of a sudden, he sees himself losing everything. This guy has the financial loss of having the equipment confiscated for the first time and if he loses the equipment for the second time, he won't have the motivation to keep going. They know that ANATEL can act in a very arbitrary way. I have even heard stories of beatings. At the moment, in Salvador, I think that there are around fifty LM radio stations, all over the city, usually in the working class neighbourhoods. LM is so much easier because it is under the control of the City Hall[12], so the radio people don't have to deal with so much bureaucracy, there is no danger of being arrested. All they need to worry about is being in good terms with SUCOM and not disrespecting their noise limits'[13]

The president of ARCOBA also notes that, similarly to the FM community radio stations, the LM stations have a history of oppression by the authorities, with the shutting down of stations and the persecution of the people behind them. Nevertheless, in the present scenario, unlike the FM stations, the LM stations have not yet managed to establish themselves as a distinct sector.

'When Antônio Imbassahy was the mayor of Salvador[14], there was a lot of harassment. It was like: Are you a street vendor? Are you poor? We'll mistreat you then. The same thing applied to the radio stations. That's why we started to think about coming up with a proper classification for the LM stations. We thought they could be called 'alternative' radio because we are not FM and with the passing of the Law 9.612[15], we could not be called community radio anymore. We had this idea, you see? There is a project about this already, we only need to do more rallying. We want to call LM radio alternative radio, once and for all, so that we distinguish ourselves from the other types of radio.' [16]

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[12] The City of Salvador is governed by a mayor and a city council (Câmera de Vereadores). There are elections for mayor every 4 years. In 2007 the Mayor was João Henrique Barradas Carneiro, from PMDB (Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro or Democratic Movement Party). He was re-elected for a second term in 2008.
[13] Interview on 12 December 2007.
[14] Mayor from 1997 to 2004.
[15] The 1998 Law that acknowledged the existence of FM community radio in Brazil, making it legal.
[16] Interview on 12 December 2007.

On one hand, it emerges that the lamp post radio stations (or LM, in technical terms) and professionals are increasingly feeling the need to legitimate themselves. They seem to be often deemed as a form of improvised/amateur media driven by popular initiative but without being attributed all the merits of community media, such as being able to empower the disenfranchised. Because their reach is confined to the streets of the working class neighbourhoods and favelas (rather than being broadcast via radio waves, which can always, even if unintentionally, go further) these stations are not as celebrated as the FM stations. They are usually perceived as not having the potential to be as threatening to the order (from a conservative point of view) or as change provoking (from an activist point of view). In other words, if community media are the underdogs in relation to mainstream media, lamp post radio seems to be the underdogs of community radio.

My visit to the Association of Alternative and Community Radio Stations of Bahia (ARCOBA) confirms this point. Firstly, it is quite revealing that the office of the Association is located at Salvador's famous popular food market – Feira de São Joaquim. When I interviewed Manoel, I had to walk through a colourful labyrinth made of dozens of stands which display everything from seafood to fruits and vegetables, medicinal herbs and roots, religious artefacts and even animal parts. Interestingly, in every corner of the market, similarly to what I had observed in Pau da Lima, there were loudspeakers with their disembodied voices inside a box shouting out the market's best bargains, speaking about local events and reading out news from the local newspapers.

Found in a hidden corner of the market, a small flight of stairs led me to ARCOBA's office, which also serves as a studio for the Feira de São Joaquim's lamp post radio station – Rádio Pinguim. Besides being the president of ARCOBA, Manoel is also the owner and main presenter of Rádio Pinguim. He talks to me in the office, which is so small that it can barely fit a small desk with an ancient computer, a telephone and a tilted office chair. The wall paint is coming off and the place smells of mould. There is a small bulletin board on the wall, where Manoel keeps wrinkled pieces of paper of different sizes and colours with his notes and messages that he needs to read on air. He tells me about how Rádio Pinguim works:

> *'Radio Pinguim's objective here is really just to speak to people in São Joaquim. It's kind of reserved, it only reaches these people, but it represents*

an important service for the market. It works like this: markets need loudspeakers and loudspeakers need markets and so on...[17]

Here there seems to be a clear belief in a symbiotic relationship between the 'markets' and the 'loudspeakers'. In both the São Joaquim Market and Pau da Lima's Rua São Marcos I was struck by a very rich sonic environment. The variety of sounds was as wide as the variety of products being offered. Vendors would shout to the people passing, often using rhythmic sentences:

> *Picolé capelinha aí ó, picolé capelinha aí ó (Capelinha ice lolly)*
> *Queeem pediiiiiu? Queeem pediiiiiu? (Who asked for it? Who asked for it?)*
> *É só 1 Real, É só 1 Real! (It's just 1 Real, It's just 1 Real[18])*
> *Compre senão acaba, viu? Compre senão acaba (Buy it or it will finish, understood? buy or it will finish)[19].*

There was chatter and music everywhere. In São Joaquim, many stands had portable radios playing songs. The same was true for many shops in Rua São Marcos. The loudspeakers on the lamp post radio also functioned as an acoustically amplified version of the vendors, yelling about bargains, prices, telling the customers not to miss a shop's best offers.

Thus, it emerges that with its predominantly auditory appeals, the market creates a well-suited environment for the loudspeakers. In addition, oral performance plays a crucial role in the everyday life of places with a strong informal economy and market culture, such as the 'São Joaquim' Market and Pau da Lima's avenue, Rua São Marcos[20]. The more efficiently the market vendors and loudspeaker presenters use creativity and musicality in their sentences, the more likely they are to win the sonic competition.

In my visit to ARCOBA and Radio Pinguim, Manoel speaks of another key issue which revolves around the lamp post radio stations, that of partnerships:

> *We have commercials, we have news. We also have a partnership with the newspaper ATarde, so we get the paper everyday and we read the news. Most*

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[17] Interview on 12 December 2007.
[18] Real is the currency in Brazil.
[19] From my fieldnotes, taken on 4 and 12 December 2007.
[20] Discussed in Chapter 5.

vendors are here since really early in the morning, so that's how they get to know what's going on. We also have partnerships with SESC-SENAC[21], so they send us job adverts and we read them out loud. We do whatever we can, always forming partnerships and helping people out.'[22]

This reveals a pragmatic way of dealing with the everyday operations of the lamp post radio station. Because the station often lacks the financial means to 'pay' for things, they have to seek out partnerships. Manoel knows, for instance, that it is expected of Radio Pinguim to function as a source of local news for the vendors who spend their whole days at the market since early in the morning. In a way, he is the first one to bring them the news. This is made possible by the 'partnership' established with the newspaper ATarde. The newspaper provides him with free copies of the papers in 'exchange' for his mentioning of the newspaper on the lamp post radio. The same applies to the partnership with SESC-SENAC. Manoel establishes a frequent dialogue with them, receiving information about various training courses for the unemployed and job openings. He reads this information to his audience in the market every day. He knows that this is relevant for people who often do not have a profession or a stable income.

In sum, what local media professionals such as Manoel mean by the word 'partnership' is the fact that something (not necessarily money) can be obtained in exchange for a mention in the radio. However, these 'partnerships' also show that the stations are somewhat vulnerable to instances in which money might be buying influence. The word 'partnership' implies that both parties have an equal voice and power in the negotiations. Yet, this is not always the case.

This is seen, for example, in the station's 'partnership' with the newspaper ATarde. The newspaper belongs to a large media corporation called Grupo ATarde (ATarde Group). Besides the newspaper, the group owns various businesses. This includes a radio station (ATarde FM 103.9), a news agency (ATarde Agência de Notícias) and a printing company (ATarde Serviços Gráficos). Thus, when ATarde gives away free papers in 'exchange' for being mentioned in the lamp post radio, this seems like a rather cheap

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[21] Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Comercial (which could be translated as National Service of Commercial Learning). This institution offers professional education to people of low income.
[22] Interview on 12 December 2007.

price to pay for an advert, particularly if we think about the prices that the newspaper itself charges from its advertisers.

Therefore, an uncomfortable scenario is unveiled. The lamp post radio stations are aware of their status as the 'underdogs' of the 'underdogs'. Being able to cater for their audiences or merely surviving requires establishing deals with various partners, such as other lamp post radio stations, local merchants and large media groups. Yet, many of these partnerships do *not* seem equally fair for both (the more and the less economically powerful) parties. Thus, whilst these partnerships are integral to the stations' daily operations, they also have a problematic dimension which must be acknowledged.

3.2. The Local Commerce in Pau da Lima.

The identity of Pau da Lima as a neighbourhood seems to be deeply linked to the development of its independent commerce. In Chapter 1, I provided a brief overview of the history of the neighbourhood and how it stood in relation to Salvador. In the 1950s, the area in which Pau da Lima is situated, known as the 'core' (*miolo*) was fairly isolated from the city's business and commercial centres (Rios, 2006). Because of the long distances and precarious transport system, it was not convenient for the residents to have to do their shopping in other areas on a daily basis. Thus, Pau da Lima was pushed to develop its own commerce.

This idea that a local and economically healthy commerce is a central characteristic of Pau da Lima frequently came up in the writings of my students. During one session, I asked them to describe the neighbourhood, comparing it to other areas in Salvador.

> *'Pau da Lima is part of the periphery of Salvador. Just like any place, it has its pros and cons. However, the neighbourhood is constantly growing and becoming economically active. It can be compared to Barroquinha (another famous commercial area) because of the large number of shops that we can find here. There are grocery stores, clothing shops, post offices, churches, everything you can imagine. The streets are very busy and those who are not moving enjoy observing the (other people's) movement'.*[23]

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[23] Essay by Eliana Rios on 14 November 2007.

What predominantly emerges from the students' writings, residents' discourses, as well as my observations in Pau da Lima, is the idea that the local commerce enables the residents to have a certain degree of economic independence from other neighbourhoods. In one of my visits to Carina's family, for instance, I wanted to buy fruits for us to snack on. Carina immediately suggested that Tania, her little sister, takes me 'up there' (to Rua São Marcos) to one of the local small shops. When we started to climb up the tortuous path full of steps that connects Carina's house to the main avenue, Tania told me:

> *Sometimes mum or Carina give me transport money. But I have to ask a lot. Mum always says that the transport is really expensive. And you can use the money to... sometimes I use it to buy sweets and I don't go anywhere.* [24]

It appears that for Carina's family, it is often a matter of spending money on food and groceries *or* on transportation. Thus, the fact that there are shops available nearby does not only represent a *convenience* but also a *necessity*. Some of the families that I met in Pau da Lima are very limited in terms of what they can buy but also where they can go. Obviously it is a serious issue for people looking for work if they simply cannot afford to pay for the transportation to and from their employments. Thus, the presence of a strong local commerce is vital for two key reasons: a) it represents the cheapest and most viable option for the residents to buy what they need, and b) the commerce often also offers an opportune source of employment for residents.

One of my participant households – Dona Rosa and Guilherme's family – represented a good example of social and economic progress in Pau da Lima being achieved through local commerce. During one of my visits, I was drinking a passion fruit juice and talking to Dona Rosa in her house's spacious 'laje', or an unroofed, open-air area on the top floor, which is still under construction. From Dona Rosa's laje, whose house is located on the main avenue[25], one can have a very privileged view of Pau da Lima's lowland areas. From a distance, the scenario looks like an ant's nest with hundreds of little houses crammed together, women hanging clothes and children running,

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[24] Notes from my visit to Carina's house on 4 December 2007.

[25] The place where Dona Rosa and Guilherme live is exactly where Avenida São Rafael starts to be called Rua São Marcos.

seemingly unaware that they were being observed from the top of the hills. Noticing that I was impressed by the view, she started to tell me:

> *Well, every time I look at this view I remember that we are now up here but we were once down there. I remember when we first moved to Pau da Lima and I lived in a tiny house in the São Rafael lowlands with two young children. It took a lot of effort, a lot of work, with God's grace, to arrive at where we are now. So, I like to look at this view every day. We should never forget where we came from.* [26]

Her comment leads to a reflection about Rosa's trajectory in Pau da Lima – from the lowlands to the two-story house on the main avenue. Her ex-husband used to work in construction when they were raising their two sons Osvaldo and Guilherme. Rosa told me that, despite being very modest, her house was always very full. Many times she would find herself doing the hair and make-up of all her neighbours. Soon she decided to follow a close friend's suggestion and start an improvised hairdressing salon in her own house. At the same time, during the weekends, she would often spend her time baking cakes and sweets for weddings and parties. With the money she was earning, she and her husband decided to rent a small house on the main avenue and to open a proper beauty parlour.

Photo 6.1. A small shop at Rua São Marcos

Going 'up' to the main avenue on a daily basis enabled Rosa to meet some of the neighbourhood leaders and people who were active in the Catholic Church. She then became a member of the church herself, often leading Bible discussions and charities (such as preparing and distributing soup for the poorer families). At this point, according to her own words, she had already become a sort of opinion leader amongst

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[26] Visit on 3 November 2007.

some of the women. Working at a beauty parlour she would often hear their stories and give them advice. When their children were teenagers, the couple was finally able to afford buying a two-story house on Avenida São Rafael. The first floor was turned into a snack shop that sold pastries, cakes, sandwiches and juices, and was run by Rosa's ex husband. The second floor was their home but also worked as the new place for her beauty parlour. Things became sour between Rosa and her ex husband when her youngest son, Guilherme, was about eighteen. The couple split up and Rosa decided that Guilherme and Osvaldo would take over running the snack shop from their father, who had moved out.

Photo 6.2: A two-story house at Rua São Marcos – the first floor is a house ware products shop and the second floor is a residence.

Guilherme took his responsibilities seriously, juggling study and work for several years. He managed to finish high school and also took a 2-year professional course at SESC. Eventually, the shop became too expensive to run. Guilherme then got a job as a drama teacher for Cidade Mãe, a foundation linked to the Municipal Government, and decided to close the shop. Currently, the first floor serves as the home of Guilherme, Osvaldo, his wife and two children, whilst the second floor is still Rosa's home and her improvised beauty parlour.

By hearing Rosa and Guilherme's personal stories, one deducts that, although they are no longer business owners, this was the route to their economic and social rise in Pau da Lima. By starting her beauty parlour, Rosa had access to the main avenue, met people who were influential in the neighbourhood and became involved in the church and in the neighbourhood association. Besides, she managed to support her family and provide them with better living standards. The house the family currently lives in is fully furnished and well decorated. It is located on the main avenue, fully accessible by car, and very close to various shops and to a bus stop, with easy access to public transport.

This was also true for Guilherme, who managed to support himself through his studies, which is a difficult achievement for the context of Pau da Lima. He took an interest in theatre and started to study the subject, writing plays. Three years ago, he started a community theatre group, called Stage Art. Through Rosa and her contacts at the church, they got a space to rehearse their plays (at the church itself), later moving their rehearsals to the Cidade Mãe Foundation. The theatre group has fifteen participants who are either teenagers or young adults. They have put together and performed plays about various themes and social issues, such as slavery, racism, and AIDS.

In conclusion, it appears that the local commerce constitutes an important part of Pau da Lima's identity. It plays several roles in the everyday life of residents. It provides residents with their daily essentials within the surroundings of their neighbourhood, thus helping them save money on transportation, and represents viable professional activities, either working in a local shop or opening one themselves.

Having lived all his life in Pau da Lima, Guilherme also managed to develop a solid relationship with the staff at Radio Pop Som. Interestingly, it was precisely during his years as the manager of the family's snack shop that Guilherme became acquainted with Robson, who works at Radio Pop Som as a presenter and sound engineer. Guilherme describes how they met each other.

> *'When I had the snack shop, I started to advertise in the lamp post radio. We were hoping that by broadcasting announcements on the speakers we could attract more people to the shop. Some people were bored, waiting for the bus and they didn't know about us. So, then, they would hear the advert and come to the shop, have a sandwich before the bus arrived. That's how I met Robson and Edson, the owner, and became friends with them. Because the shop was so close to their studio, Robson himself would often come for a coffee, a sandwich. Then, later, I started to ask them if they could cooperate with some stuff that Stage Art needed, with our events. They would broadcast announcements, tell people to come to Stage Art's plays. He would go to the shop and I wouldn't charge him, I'd just give him a sandwich for free as a way to say thank you. They never charge me when it's something for the theatre group because they know that this is a cultural event, these events are*

a boost for the community. But with the snack shop, they charged me because that was about commerce really, fair enough.'[27]

Guilherme shows a good understanding of the way in which the lamp post radio station operates, charging for running adverts for his snack shop. At the same time, he seems to appreciate the consistent support that the theatre group receives from them. He also emphasises that the lamp post radio is an effective community medium because people 'are forced to listen' and, therefore, they cannot miss important information:

'They are really helpful in making the theatre known here. This is the main issue. We always use them to let people know about Stage Art. The lamp post radio works quite well, especially because of the loudspeakers. Sometimes it is difficult for someone to tune in to one of the local (FM) stations but with the loudspeakers sometimes they are forced to listen.'[28]

This underscores some of the observations that I mentioned earlier in this chapter. The people at the bus stops where the lamp post radio speakers were located had no choice but to listen to the announcements. De Oliveira (2007), in her research on loudspeaker systems in the Northeast of Brazil, decided not to focus on these systems precisely because they do not offer listeners a choice not to listen. However, in my research, it seems that we cannot ignore the fact that residents often find the lamp post radio stations more competent than the FM stations when it comes to communicating important messages for precisely this reason.

The word 'partnership' is recurrently used in Pau da Lima. Because of the absence of financial resources and the strong market-orientated culture of the favela, having a well-developed and reliable network of contacts can be an invaluable resource. This resonates with my observations in chapter 4 regarding the importance of exchanging and having mutually beneficial relationships in Pau da Lima.

In fact, my interviews with Pop Som's owner and presenter reveal that there is a relationship of interdependence and mutual reinforcement between the radio and local commerce. The lamp post radio station would not be able to survive financially without

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[27] Interview on 14 November 2007.
[28] Interview on 14 November 2007.

running adverts for the local shops, whilst these adverts, which have a low price suitable for the small size of these businesses, help attract consumers and keep the local economy buoyant. Edson Sales, the owner of Pop Som, explains how this works.

> *'Pop Som charges 50 Reais per month for airing 10 adverts per day. That's a very good price. The effects are immediate for them. For us, that's how we pay our bills. The loudspeakers are close to the bus stops and that's where the listener is. Everyone pays attention. The radio airs commercials because we are interested in helping the shops sell. It's good for us, of course, but it's also good for the community if the shops sell. They will make money, employ people, the commerce will grow, and this benefits the community as a whole.'*[29]

Edson pragmatically acknowledges that these advertisements are Pop Som's source of income. In a way, he is astute to notice that running a lamp post radio station also represents a fairly good business opportunity for Pau da Lima's marketplace. The price of 50 Reais (approximately 30 US Dollars) is almost 300 times cheaper than the price of running an advert in a mainstream FM station. Nevertheless, whilst this business model guarantees the sustainability of the station, it does not allow for significant profits. In my visit to Pop Som's studio, for instance, I noticed that it is quite modest and even smaller than that of Radio Pinguim. It is located in a very narrow alley and not easily accessible.

As for the employees' forms of compensation, usually each presenter is responsible for attracting/establishing their own range of advertisers for the station. Once the advertiser agrees to pay for airing commercials or asking the presenter to 'say hello' to their shop on air, the advertising revenue is split in half between the station and the presenter. Thus, the presenters' wages consist of these fifty percent advertising commissions.

I was able to witness this process when interviewing Robson at Radio Pop Som's studio. We were interrupted by Jorge, one of Robson's acquaintances in the neighbourhood. He came in and they started to discuss some advertising for Jorge's restaurant, which had been recently inaugurated. Robson starts to make an offer to Jorge:

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[29] Interview on 19 October 2007.

'I will give you a free day today, deal? I will fix that part that's taking 3 minutes, that commercial over there, otherwise it's too long, no one will listen, so I'll give you today and then starting tomorrow we can stick to our usual date, the 12th and leave the commercial on air until the 12th of next month, do you get it? Early in the morning, when we have our news, we'll air the commercial. You'll see. It works really well.'[30]

Because Jorge is a new client for the station, Robson is willing to give him a bonus, offering him one day of advertising insertions free of charge. Jorge accepts the proposal and is willing to pay for one month worth of daily adverts. He then leaves a hand written piece of paper with Robson containing some information about the restaurant – home cooked meals, acoustic guitar playing on Fridays, *pagode* on Sundays. When he leaves the studio, Robson tells me in a very business-like tone:

'Do you know how it works? I do it like this, I help him out and then his restaurant grows, his business improves and then he says: damn, that guy... someone else goes there, starts a business and he tells this person: mate, that radio guy is a cool guy, you can count on him. So, he grows, I grow with him, everyone gains.'[31]

He then calls people like Jorge the station's 'supporters' and explains how they manage the challenge of keeping Pop Som on air:

We don't have any sponsors. What we have is like... supporters from the neighbourhood... they help us with the everyday expenses, paying the rent, paying the bills, water, electricity, the equipment, the broadband. There are a lot of expenses, a lot of challenges. As you know, advertising with us costs what? 50 Reais per month. We can't increase the price because we feel that the neighbourhood's economy wouldn't be able to keep up with this. If you ask a guy like Jorge to pay a bit more, say, 80 Reais per month, he's going to stay with us for 2 months at the most and then he'll leave. But if you charge them 50 Reais they manage somehow to find a balance and to pay us. Then they stick around for 6, 7 months, for sure for more than 3 months. So if someone arrives today at Pau da Lima and we charge them, say, three times

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[30] Visit on 10 December 2007.
[31] Visit on 10 December 2007.

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more, they only stay with us for two months, so it's not worth it. If we charge
a fair price, they become loyal. We can pay our bills, sometimes we have a
little bit left, not much, but we can pay our bills, after all, we live off this![32]

On one hand it is striking that Robson tends to avoid business jargon to describe the station's activities. Words like 'supporters' or 'cultural supporters' convey this idea that the radio is much more than merely business. They are providing the community with an important 'cultural' service that needs their support, and, in fact, the thought is not far removed from reality. At the same time, the people behind Pop Som also show a good degree of business expertise. Robson, for example, seems to have an extensive knowledge of the local market, having done various calculations in order to arrive at the correct pricing and to keep his advertisers coming back. One can sense that besides being willing to succeed financially, the radio practitioners also wish for a form of collective success, even if for pragmatic reasons. If the shop owners 'grow' and 'succeed', this is positive for the local economy as a whole. They might buy more from local suppliers, advertise more on the local stations, recommend more advertisers to these stations, and, as Robson puts it, 'everyone gains' with this. Finally, Robson emphasises that he knows what he is doing but, more than that, he needs to know because this is how he makes a living. It seems that, in the context of the favela, community radio can be a tool for 'empowerment' through being a tool for making a living.

Talking and experiencing everyday life in Pau da Lima suggests that 'working for free' was a rather abstract, not to say even insulting idea for people who were sharing a precarious shack with ten relatives and struggling to make ends meet. This also applies to the people working in radio. Interestingly, many residents were sympathetic with the radio practitioners and showed a good understanding of the fact that the stations needed to be sustainable and that they needed to make a living. There was one instance in which I was walking around in the company of one of my students, Graça, and listening to the non-stop adverts being aired by the lamp post radio, I asked her if this did not annoy her. To my surprise, she replied:

'No, I don't care if they air adverts... that's how they get their money, isn't it?
And without the money, how can they pay their bills? If the station was just

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[32] Visit on 10 December 2007.

commercials, commercials, then that wouldn't be nice, but if they have commercials to support themselves, that's okay. Actually, the commercials are good sometimes. That's how we find out about the sales. That's how we know what's cheap, what's expensive... When I come up here to buy something, I always do some research before I go into the shops. I listen to find out what's cheap and what's not.'[33]

Besides being pragmatic about the radio stations having 'to pay their bills' (a recurrent theme in my research in Pau da Lima), Graça suggests that there is even an element of public service in these adverts. For the residents of Pau da Lima, it is important to first gather all the information about the local market and prices in order to make an informed buying decision. When one has such a tight budget to work with, having a consciousness of money and cost seems like rather useful knowledge to have. This theme frequently emerged in my daily engagements with some of the women who were head of their households. Dona Rosa, for instance, would often leave the house with a small notebook in her handbag in order to take notes of all the different prices before buying anything. Thus, the lamp post radio made this process easier for these residents because it allowed them to get a better idea of which shops were offering the best bargains beforehand.

R.A Radford (1945) has written an article about a Prisoner of War (P. O. W.) Camp and what happens when the economic system is completely altered due to extreme circumstances. He observed how the camp's economic system evolved from prisoners bartering amongst themselves to the establishment of an Exchange and Mart board and suggested that the provision of the necessities depended less on prisoners effort and more on exchange and the media of exchange. (Radford, 1945, p. 191).

Obviously, the point here is not to compare a War Camp with the favela. Rather, based on my daily observations, I would like to suggest that given the scarcity of money in Pau da Lima, people often have come up with alternative sets of currencies and values. Friendship, for example, can be a valuable resource, as it happened to Guilherme. His relationship with the people who work at Pop Som is based on reciprocity and an exchange of benefits, and he acknowledges that by saying:

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[33] Visit to Graça's house on 17 December.

'Pau da Lima would not be the same without the lamp post radio. They are our true community radio station because one can count on them, as I said. They are there. We know that they will open up their doors. I know a lot of people around here and I always spread a good word about Pop Som. I tell people to go there too. When other shop owners ask if advertising there is worth it, I always say good things'. I'm grateful to them.'[34]

3.3. The Limitations of the Local Commerce.

Radio Pop Som's presenter Robson believes that there is an organic growth taking place in Pau da Lima. The lamp post radio is playing an active role in this process by being supported and supporting the local commerce, which is seen as the 'heart' of the neighbourhood. However, these dynamics are not equally favourable for all the different groups in the favela. In my writing classes, for instance, one of the recurrent themes was opportunity (or lack of it). The theme was introduced by a poem written by Nino, one of my students, which centres on the idea of young people in the favelas being 'allowed' to have dreams.

As long as people in this world have dreams, it is worth living. Because wherever there are dreams, there is hope. The eyes of those who have dreams have the ability to become intoxicated just by looking at a star. These eyes smile. By smiling, they spread happiness. Happiness which is much needed in a world that is so complex.

It has never been forbidden to become attached to a dream that can move us forward and colour the horizon, as long as this dream means more than a mere escape from reality. This is the true beauty of dreams.[35]

Nino's poem deeply moved all the other students in the class and was chosen to be published on the blog that we had created: www.linhasdalima.blogspot.com. It triggered a debate about whether young people in Pau da Lima felt discouraged to dream. The students started to speak about all the barriers that they have to face in their lives in order to fulfil their dreams.

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[34] Interview on 14 November 2007.
[35] Poem written by Nino on 6 December 2007.

Andrea: Do you think that there are opportunities of professional and financial achievement for people here in the neighbourhood?

Carina: It's very rare.

Jamile: The opportunities are very few.

Carina: Very few, for sure, there are just shops, we should have other things, there are much more shops than anything else

Jamile: Some shops, they just want to pay you commissions, but what if in that day you don't have any customers? Some of the shops here sell things that are very expensive and they're not busy, so how can we make a living?

Andrea: So, there's not much to do around here other than working in a shop...

Carina: Exactly. Sometimes we find out about stuff through her father (Jamile's) because he works at a neighbourhood association. But there's so little happening here: no courses, no job openings, nothing. It's just the commerce, the shops, the stores. And sometimes the shop owners don't even want to hire people from here. They hire people from other neighbourhoods.[36]

This debate points to a sad and frustrating scenario in which young people at the peak of their thirst for opportunities are constantly denied them. Whilst the local commerce was frequently identified as a key characteristic of the neighbourhood, for Carina and Jamile, it also epitomised the limitations to which they were subjected in their daily lives. These were very talented young men and women who had big dreams, in an age in which everyone, despite of their economic class, should 'be allowed' to have such dreams. Working in the local commerce did not appeal to all of them financially or professionally and they seemed bothered and sometimes angry that there was so little available. Besides, not everyone is a natural entrepreneur or merchant.

The conversation also reveals quite a lot about the ways in which relevant information is communicated in the neighbourhood. Jamile and Carina had found out about my writing course through Jamile's father, who took part in the meeting in which I presented my research project to the neighbourhood associations. Therefore, in a way,

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[36] Dialogue recorded during my writing class on 6 December 2007.

they are part of a privileged group in Pau da Lima, having more access to information about courses and events than residents who have no involvement in the local politics.

The same dynamics apply to the lamp post radio and to the local FM radio stations. Jonas, a member of Pau da Lima's community resistance group, which organises events and discussions about topics such as racism and social inequality, was also critical of the ways in which certain groups seem to have more access to these stations. This emerges in our conversation about who is entitled to knock at the station's doors:

> *Andrea: So, you know the people at Planeta FM quite well, right?*
>
> *Jonas: Yes, I have access to them, I know the medium, I know how it works.*
>
> *Andrea: So, you can just go there. For example, if there is an event organised by the resistance group coming up, they are open for you to go there and talk to them?*
>
> *Jonas: Yes, with no shame. I'm not embarrassed at all because their space belongs to the community. We've developed some friendship ties and I'm an interesting character for them. I'm a reference here. I'm not being pretentious but I am an interesting person for the community station. I can function quite well in terms of articulation, politicisation, knowledge, I represent the community resistance group.*
>
> *Andrea: So, the people who work at the radio often come and talk to you?*
>
> *Jonas: Yes, they talk to me but they could do so much more. They could offer us much more, they could truly open their doors, not just for me, but for the whole community in general.*[37]

Again, we can conclude that Jonas has greater access to the community radio stations because of his position as a community group leader and his friendship ties. Therefore, if we refer back to the 'Gramscian' notions of 'hegemony', found in the writings of community media scholars such as Peter Lewis (2006) and John Downing (2001), it appears that the local stations of Pau da Lima are counter-hegemonic if we think of the larger society, but not at the micro-level. Indeed, the lamp post and FM radio stations seem to be reinforcing some of the existing power structures in the neighbourhood by favouring groups which belong to the social and economic 'elites' of Pau da Lima, such as the shop owners, neighbourhood association leaders, and local politicians. The under-

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[37] Interview 6 November 2007.

represented and marginalised groups, such as the residents who live at the bottom of the hills and are not involved in the local politics and/or commerce, do not find it as easy to 'knock at the stations' doors'. Furthermore, all of the stations are located on the main avenue, in the 'upper areas', which offers additional challenges for those who live in the most impoverished areas.

This can be illustrated by a conversation that I had with Juliana, Preta and Jurema. They live in a very precarious area of Pau da Lima, far away from Rua São Marcos and the neighbourhood's commercial centre. In one occasion, I asked them in what ways the community radio stations could improve. This was Preta's reply:

> *'They need to come down here more often. There are a few presenters, Guga, for example, who worked at Planeta FM. He would come here, greet people, talk to everyone. He's a cool guy but he's an exception unfortunately. So, I don't think they should always stay up there.'*[38]

What we see is a clear difference in terms of access for those who live 'down here' and those who live 'up there'. Although the FM and the lamp post radio stations are well integrated into the social and economic dynamics of the neighbourhood as a whole, they are not always fully capable to cater for all the diverse groups in Pau da Lima, showing a problematic dimension of the role of these radio stations in the neighbourhood.

4. Radio and Exchange.

4.1. Exchanging in Pau da Lima.

Why is *exchanging* important? And in what ways are exchanging and commerce different? In the vast field of economic anthropology, the question of giving (as opposed to strictly negotiated barter) often emerges. Classic texts such as Malinowski's 'Argonauts of the Western Pacific' (1922), for instance, deal with a system of ritual exchange in the Trobriand Islands: the *kula*. Another commonly cited book, 'The Gift', written by Marcel Mauss (1954[39]) deals with the act of

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[38] Recorded during my visit to Juliana, Preta and Jurema's house on 3 December 2007.
[39] The first edition, published by Cohen and West. However, I will be referring to the 1990 edition in this thesis.

exchanging gifts and rendering services, and the reciprocating or return of these gifts and services in so-called primitive societies.

Discussing Mauss's work, Mary Douglas (1990) argues that one of his major contributions was noting that *commerce* and *gift* are not 'two separate kinds of activity, the first based on exact recompense, the second spontaneous, pure of ulterior motive' (p. x). For Mauss, 'the idea of a pure gift is a contradiction. By ignoring the universal custom of compulsory gifts we make our own record incomprehensible to ourselves: right across the globe and as far back as we can go in history of human civilisation, the major transfer of goods has been by cycles of obligatory returns of gifts' (Ibid).

Mauss (1990) conducted an ethnographic study in selected areas such as Polynesia, Melanesia and the American Northwest (p. 5). One of his study's recurrent themes is the 'obligation to give and the obligation to receive' (p. 16). The author refers to 'institutions of total services' which 'do not merely carry with it the obligation to reciprocate presents received' (Ibid). They also include two other equally important obligations: 'on the one hand, to give presents, and on the other, to receive them' (Mauss, 1990, p. 16-17). Mauss then proposes a 'theory of these three obligations' (p. 17). Firstly, he suggests, it is easy to find many occurrences of the obligation to receive. For example, 'a clan, a household, a group of people, a guest, have no option but to ask for hospitality, to receive presents, to enter into trading' (Ibid). Yet, the obligation to give is just as important. To quote Mauss: 'to refuse to give, to fail to invite, just as to refuse to accept, is tantamount to declaring war; it is to reject the bond of alliance and commonality' (Ibid).

Therefore, we can conclude that often there is not a marked dichotomy between the activity of exchanging gifts (or favours or whatever) and the activity or selling and buying goods. Like commerce, exchanging is not a completely disinterested or spontaneous act. Additionally, Mauss touches upon some key points: exchanging is defined in terms of the obligations to receive and to give and these are integral to the constitution of bonds of commonality. Thus, even if this sounds somewhat cynical, if there were no rituals of exchanging (giving, receiving) and, importantly, if there was no such a thing as the *obligation* to do both, living in community would simply not be possible.

Linda-Anne Rebhun (1999) takes some of these ideas on board and applies them to the Northeast of Brazil, a context which is much more similar to that of Pau da Lima. She looks at how the urbanisation and the expansion of a cash economy have transformed the social and emotional relationships in the city of Caruaru (p. 1). She describes a culture of market and exchange, noting that 'many of the urban poor, residents of small towns in the rural zone, and rural smallholders operate largely in an old-fashioned economy of tips, favours, debts and gifts' (Rebhun, 1999, p. 65).

To elaborate on this idea, Rebhun explains the meaning of the term *jeitinho*. '*Dar um jeitinho*' means to find a way; arrange, repair, manipulate, or swindle; to be *jeitoso* is to be resourceful, to have a way about one' (Rebhun, 1999, p. 69). The author argues that 'anywhere poverty, discrimination, bureaucracy, and government control get in people's way, the clever find some *jeitinho* to get around it' (Ibid, p. 70). The *jeitoso* individual is a person who is able to find or arrange 'whatever is needed by whatever means necessary, be it a commodity, a service, or another person' (Ibid, p. 71). She observed that the people in Northeast Brazil would often speak of 'arranging food, employment, housing, wives, husbands, mistresses, children, clothing, anything' (Ibid).

From the very start of my fieldwork, I could observe this process of constant arrangement, or *jeitinho,* and the need that people had to be *jeitoso* or *jeitosa*[40]. One of my key contacts in Pau da Lima, Valéria, for example, always insisted on explaining to me the importance of exchanging – giving something in return for obtained favours. It is also this frequent exchanging that enables her to keep the community nursery going. It all started when Valéria, together with a group of mothers who live in the São Rafael area decided to occupy an abandoned house in the impoverished lowlands of Baixa Fria.

Valéria felt that the community needed to do something to help the mothers who could not leave their houses to go to work. The nearest school was very distant and demanded climbing up the hills, which is not an easy task when a mother has five or six small children. So, she decided to turn the abandoned house – which was being used as a selling point by drug dealers— into a nursery. Valéria and her friends

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[40] *Jeitoso* and *jeitosa* are adjectives. *Jeitoso* is the masculine form. *Jeitosa* is the feminine form.

started taking turns gathering the children from this area in the house and teaching pre-school lessons such as reading, counting, and drawing. Mostly, though, they were looking after the children, feeding them, and keeping them away from the streets.

In order to do this, she would go around all the local shops, asking for donations. One shop would donate a few packages of biscuits, the other, five pairs of children's sandals, the other, some crayons. Similarly to Dona Rosa, she was also well-connected with some of the neighbourhood association leaders and involved in the organisation of various local events and meetings. During these events, she would mention the names of these shops from which she obtained donations, thanking them in public.

> *'I am not embarrassed to ask. I have no shame to knock on people's doors. As people say, the squeaky wheel gets the grease. I buy my vegetables everyday from the same vendor up there. I always ask him for some extra fruits for the children at the nursery. And he has never said no to me. Why would I be embarrassed? He doesn't want to lose his customer and I'm a good one (customer), so why not ask? That's how we get our school to work – asking here and there, doing this in exchange for that. Let's say, if we look after this couple's children and the father is working in construction, we ask him to help us repair something that's broken. Then if I notice that the man does the work well and if he's unemployed, I'll help find a job, I'll ask people around. Now, you need to be very clear with people and tell them: this is what I need and this is what I can do for you. That's how I do it, upfront.'[41]*

Indeed, it was by asking that Valéria got my friend Kelli to help her raise funds to rebuild the house where they were holding classes for the nursery[42]. From 2004 to 2005, after Kelli returned to the United States from her public health research with Fiocruz in Pau da Lima, she led a campaign to gather donations amongst her colleagues and through a website[43]. The efforts were successful and resulted in a newly built nursery. Moreover, I witnessed Valéria's asking and exchanging rituals

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[41] Visit to Valéria's house on 18 October 2007.
[42] See chapter 4 for a discussion of how I gained access to Pau da Lima through Kelli and Valéria.
[43] http://www.brazilreads.com.

during my weekly visits to her home in Pau da Lima. As we walked together on the streets, I would hear her say to her neighbours:

> '*So, Maria, did you send your daughter to the neighbourhood association? I heard that they have a new government programme for young people. They can take classes and they can also get paid. Works well for her, doesn't it? Later I'll stop by to collect Betinha's clothes. Did you have a chance to repair them yet?*'[44]

The ways in which Valéria was constantly working on assembling a puzzle of needs and requests was remarkable. She would then search into her network of contacts and try to find the correct pieces which could fit together— the course offered by the neighbourhood association matches the needs of her friend's daughter who is not doing anything at the moment; the girl's mother, in turn, can sew well and these abilities match Valéria's own needs as she can then repair Betinha's (the little girl Valéria was often looking after) clothes.

Another interesting example is the common practice of *mutirão*, which can be loosely translated as a 'collective effort'. This means that a group of residents from a particular area, mostly neighbours, get together and work on improving that area's infrastructure, such as paving flights of stairs on the hills for residents to have easier access to their houses, working on the drainage, sewage, electricity, water supply or land-filling.

Graça lives in the middle of the hills of Coroado with her family and dreams of being accepted in a City Hall programme, which would allow her to teach illiterate adults how to read [45]. In one of my visits to her house, she explained how the process of collective effort works. As we were going down the hills, using a set of stairs which had been paved during one of these 'efforts', she kept pointing to her neighbours' houses and indicating who had helped with doing what.

> '*Everyone around here is cool and they all have a lot of respect for my dad. He was the leader of the collective effort, fixed the sewer, built the stairs... The one we had here before was made of clay, so it was really slippery when it rained. It was dad who improved the stairs with the help of a lady who used*

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[44] Visit to Valéria's house on 18 October 2007.
[45] For more background information about her, please refer to Chapter 4.

to live here. This neighbour over here did some improvements as well. He paved this area in front of the door, repaired the sewer, installed some pipes. Each person did something little by little. Each one did a little bit.[46]

This attitude seems to support the rhetorical assertion that favelas are solutions rather than problems in themselves[47]. Scholars such as Mangin (1967) have suggested that we look at the ways in which people in the favelas respond to the adversities of life. For instance, people are aware that waiting for the government to help them solve the favelas' various infrastructural problems, such as lack of proper housing, electricity and sanitation will result in very little or no improvements. Rather, they know that it is much more efficient to engage in finding the solution themselves and putting them into practice. Hence, to quote Mangin (1967), the 'favelas represent processes of social reconstruction through popular initiative' (p.67).

In addition, 'collective efforts' also result from the physical boundaries in the favela not being clearly demarcated. The area in front of someone's door might be used as the entrance for that particular house but, at the same time, it might also serve as the means of accessing the stairs, which would lead to someone else's house. When it is not easy to distinguish which spaces belong to whom, it might be more practical to treat them as collective spaces.

Yet, the social interactions in the favela are not always characterised by this sense of harmonic collectivity. There are also many times in which the 'collective efforts' give way to individual interests, creating tensions and struggles between neighbours. Valéria herself acknowledges that not all processes of exchanging are perceived as fair:

If you are doing this kind of work, you've got to have some people to help you out. Otherwise, it doesn't go anywhere. We could do a much better job if the community was aware that we need to help each other out. Do you understand? But it's not quite like that. One wants to help... the other doesn't, he just wants to say bad things... the other wants... there are so many things you need to do. It's difficult to work in community. You see those people, very few are volunteers. I'm still missing a few women to work with me. It took a

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[46] From my fieldnotes – visit to Graça's house on 17 December 2007.
[47] See Chapter 1 for discussion about the different lines of thought found in the favela literature.

long time to achieve what I've achieved. It wasn't from one day to the other. It's tiring. I've worked alone a lot.[48]

Her story remind us that obviously not everyone has what it takes to do community work as it requires resilience, commitment, persistence and even a little pushiness. Clearly, not all residents of Pau da Lima can be like Valéria. Some of them might work full-time away from home, some might be too concerned about making ends meet for their family, whilst others might be simply indifferent. By only discussing the instances in which the rituals of exchange and collective effort work quite well, I would be following a tendency which occasionally applies to studies of community media – presenting a somewhat idealised picture of life in the favela. However, even if they do not always work perfectly, these dynamics of exchange seem like a crucial feature of everyday life in this particular community.

It is essential to understand these rituals because in Pau da Lima, it seems that *community* elements are being defined in terms of *exchange* and supporting the micro-economy. Therefore, it is key to any analysis of the ways in which the radio stations in Pau da Lima engage in rituals of exchange as well. Keeping in mind what we know about the use of *jeitinho* (Rebhun, 1999) in economically deprived areas, I would argue that we need to think of radio stations as being real – or potential – *resources* for the daily exchanges, and investigate how this resourcefulness operates *practically* on a daily basis.

4.2. Radio and the Exchange Economy in Pau da Lima.

Pau da Lima does not have any licensed FM community radio stations. Rather, there are a few unlicensed stations, located in different areas of the neighbourhood. At the time of my fieldwork, 2007, there were accounts of 4 pirate stations[49], but for the purposes of this thesis, I have decided to focus on the two stations which seemed to have operated in the most consistent way over the past years—Axé FM and Planeta FM. Besides, most of the areas where I was conducting my fieldwork, such as São Rafael, Coroado, and Pistão, were covered by their signal.

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[48] Visit to Valéria's house on 18 October 2007.
[49] Besides Planeta FM and Axé FM, which were included in this study, there were also the Ouro FM and Itapevi FM.

One starting point in understanding the way in which such radio stations are embedded in local economic life is to note the basic shape of their 'business model'. Similarly to the lamp post radio, Pop Som, both Axé FM and Planeta FM are predominantly funded by the revenue generated by local advertisers such as small shops, restaurants, grocery stores etc. In addition, the presenters get their financial compensation by keeping fifty percent of the advertising revenue that they generate in their programmes. There is a key difference between Axé FM and Planeta FM though. The first is owned by a city hall councilman. The station's studio is located on the second floor of a spacious house. The house, called 'Espaço Axé', also has a central open-air court with a stage to host gigs of various bands (which mostly play *pagode*). In addition, Espaço Axé has a few small studios where it offers free dance, martial arts and *capoeira*[50] lessons to young people in the neighbourhood.

Beyond this business model at the macro-level, however, it is important to recognise an ethos of exchange that is embedded in the practices of everyday listening. For instance, as I was walking through the streets of the area of Pistão in the company of Valéria and Betinha (the little girl that Valéria looked after) for the very first time when I heard a discouraging comment. One of the residents, a middle aged man, was standing in front of the door, talking to another man. He looked puzzled to see someone like me walking in the area. He also probably noticed how apprehensive I looked, since I was told that *Pistão* was one of the most dangerous areas of Pau da Lima and that I should never go there on my own. Valéria and I greeted him, and she did the usual introductions:

> *Valéria: Hi Márcio, this is Andrea, she's doing a project about radio. She*
> *wants to talk to people about radio...*
> *Marcio: Radio?! Oh darling, no one listens to the radio anymore these days.*
> *It's all TV, TV, computers... I'm afraid I've got nothing to tell you...[51]*

Despite this, hope returned a few moments later when I kept hearing the jingle of Piatã FM, Salvador's most listened to mainstream commercial FM station, coming out of the small windows. Obviously, listening to radio in general would significantly increase the chances of finding at least some people listening to community radio.

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[50] An Afro-Brazilian combination of martial arts and dance which was originally brought to Brazil by the African slaves.
[51] From my fieldnotes (visit to Edu's house) on 1 December 2007.

Valéria was taking me to the house of one of her best friend's son. Her friend, a 58-year old woman called Dona Flávia, who also attended her church, had told her that her son, Edu, listened to the radio 'all the time' and knew 'everything about radio' and 'everyone in radio' in Pau da Lima. Hopefully this would be a good start. We then arrived at a very small house in a corner and were greeted by Edu, a 22 year-old man. In the beginning, he also seemed a bit suspicious to be talking about such a 'worthless' subject – radio. In the living room, his wife also greeted me shyly whilst ironing her clothes. The five of us – Valéria, Betinha, Edu, his wife and I could barely fit into the small living room. I sat on the sofa with Valéria. Betinha sat next to Valéria with some papers and stickers that I had brought to her. Edu pulled an old wooden stool and sat in front of me, whilst his wife kept standing and ironing the clothes, seemingly oblivious to us. Next to the sofa, there was a small stand with a television set and an old fashioned large-sized portable radio. The radio was tuned to an Evangelical station, which, according to Edu, is located in a nearby neighbourhood. He is not exactly sure where. I was relieved to find evidence that people did listen to the radio, despite the initial negative comments.

Edu works as a dancer for a local *pagode* band called Samba Now. This has allowed him to have access to Axé FM's studio and to meet many of the station's presenters. He starts to describe to me his experiences as an artist who is aware that the radio can be an important tool to promote his work:

> *'The first time I went to Axé FM's studio, I went with my band. We gave them some CDs, some samples to promote our work. We had also played at Espaço Axé before. Then some of the presenters played our songs during their programmes. The listeners would phone in and request their favourite songs. Many of them had already seen us play live. The station would do a raffle with our CDs amongst the listeners. They didn't charge anything to promote us. The thing is we always need to bring them something, like some CDs, some free shirts, some caps, something that they can give to the listeners. That's how they attract the listeners and improve their listenership. Then people phone the station and want to participate in the raffles to win a prize, get a free shirt, a CD or a dinner with a member of the band, something like that. If, say, we don't have the shirts ourselves, we can go to a local shop, do a partnership. We can go to a pharmacy, get them to give us some medicine. Then we go the radio and they say: okay, we'll give these out and we'll*

mention the name of the shop who's giving the shirt to the listener, so that's like advertising'. [52]

There are a few points to note in particular here. Firstly, Edu recognises that Axé FM plays a significant role in supporting local artists. This confirms an important finding unveiled by Meadows et.al (2007) in their study of community media audiences in Australia. To quote the authors, 'in their respective localities, stations or programmes catering for youth audiences expose local artists who in turn, are supported by these audiences at local venues. Stations and local artists are therefore in a symbiotic relationship where stations rely on them for music content, and local artists rely on stations for airplay and promotion of their work' (Meadows et.al, 2007, p. 39).

Thus, in a way this represents an instance of exchange typical of community radio, more generally, in which all the involved parts are benefited. The local artists benefit from the exposure gained through the radio and from the opportunity to actively participate in the 'cultural life of their community' (Ibid). The listeners appreciate being able to engage with the local artists and getting to know the work of actual persons who are from the same community, 'not just a voice behind the microphone' as one of the respondents in Meadows' study put it (Meadows et. al, 2007, p.40). As for the stations, they gain from obtaining fresh music content and from captivating their local audiences. At the same time, all this contributes to boosting the community's local music economy (ibid).

Moreover, promoting the local bands represents a strategy for the station to promote itself. By giving out free prizes, the station hopes to attract and retain its listeners, grabbing their attention. As Michael Keith (1997) argues in his guide to the operations of radio stations, radio has long recognised the value of self promotion. In his words, 'the growth of radio promotion has paralleled the proliferation of frequencies. The more stations you have out there, the greater the necessity to promote. Let's face it, a lot of stations are doing about the same thing. A good promotion sets us apart. It gives you a greater identity, which means everything when a survey company asks a listener to what station he or she tunes' (p. 200).

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[52] Visit to Edu's house on 1 December 2007.

Again, we are confronted with the idea that, in some ways, a small-scale local FM station, such as Axé FM, which might in many respects be accurately described as fitting the 'community' model', *also* bears similarities with any large mainstream commercial station, such as Piatã FM. As Keith suggests, these promotion strategies are not new to the radio industry and particularly to the commercial radio sector. This might be an indication that Axé FM is merely emulating the successful format of its commercial radio counterparts. At the same time, it supports a hypothesis presented in Chapters 2-5, namely that, given the current Brazilian mediascape, the distinctions between the commercial and community radio sectors might be often quite blurred.

However, there is another dimension to this exchange role for radio that needs to be noted. Being aware of the importance of exchange in Pau da Lima and that these exchanges are also predominantly cultural, the promotion practices described by Edu acquire a special meaning. To some extent, what Axé FM is doing is reproducing a ritual of exchange that is similar to the ones I observed while walking around with Valéria. The station gathers shirts, CDs and medicines from the local bands and local pharmacies (just like Valéria had gathered an information about a course for young people), and then channels these 'things' to the listeners. The way in which this works more widely in Pau da Lima could be seen during one of my visits to the household of the two sisters, Juliana and Julia (known also as 'Preta'), and their sister-in-law, Jurema. Each of them lives in a separate small house. The three houses are arranged in a line, next to each other, and share the same patio. Juliana's house, where she lives with her husband and three children is the largest, and the first one in the row, followed by Jurema's and Julia's almost as if they were in hierarchical order. In order to gain access to this small complex of houses, which reminded me of a mini family village, one had to go through a very narrow alley. It was as if the three houses were somewhat hidden and protected from the outside world. The view of the little family village with several children playing and women doing their laundry somewhat surprised me. Unlike other families in Pau da Lima, they seemed to have much more well-defined boundaries which separated them from their neighbours' families, although there was very little separation between the houses of the family members themselves.

The three women are housewives and have children. Besides Juliana, both Preta and Jurema have two young daughters. Out of the three women, Preta is the only one who is single. She describes herself as a 'radio addict'. In fact, there was not one single time

when I went there when the radio was not switched on. Most of the time, she was listening to Piatã FM or Bahia FM, but sometimes the radio would be tuned to Pau da Lima's Planeta FM. Similarly to Edu, Preta refers to a mechanism of exchange in which both Planeta FM and Axé FM play the role of mediators.

> *'I like to listen to these stations. Sometimes they have some promotions and give out CDs, free tickets to gigs. You can phone in, take part in a raffle or something. They give out free stuff. On Children's Day I took my little girl there (to the studio of Planeta FM). I heard in their programme that they were going to give out toys. I think all the local shops, like Brunnu's (a local grocery store) got together and donated the toys to the station. My sister is the same. When the school year starts, she always goes there to get some school supplies for her older kids. But we need to pay attention and as soon as they make the announcement we have to go right away. If not, there might be too many people, they run out of stuff.'* [53]

One might, quite logically, be tempted to question this practice as a form of cheap welfare. Another potential interpretation would be to categorise it as a marketing strategy to attract listeners and keep them tuned in, as it is implied by Preta when she says that you need to be constantly 'paying attention'. Thus, listeners do not change the radio dial as they might miss their announcements and the chance to collect free toys, medicines or school supplies. Whilst there is a certain degree of truth in these two previous interpretations, it is also crucial to consider a third interpretation - that, just as it was the case with Valéria, this practice is based on the need for reciprocal relationships, which is characteristic of the favela. Hendy (2000) points to a paradoxical aspect of radio listening: 'most of us, of course, tend to listen to the radio alone, rather than in a small group of friends or relatives. But while we listen alone, we are also somehow aware of others elsewhere, listening to the same words or music at precisely the same time as us (p. 120). Hence, listening to the radio enables the listeners to gain a sense of 'shared experience'. Yet, this 'shared experience can be 'more illusory than real: other listeners, like the radio presenters themselves, are never visible to us, and we are unlikely ever to meet them – they have to be *imagined* into being' (p. 121).

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[53] Visit to Preta's house on 4 December.

If we contrast these ideas to the context of Pau da Lima, some interesting parallels – and some interesting differences – emerge. Taking into consideration what we have learned about the soundscapes of the favela and the residents' conditions of reception, it becomes clear that radio is much more of a collective rather than individual, and public rather than private (especially if we speak of the lamp post radio) activity. At the same time, with both the lamp post and the local FM radio stations, this sense of 'shared experience', in Hendy's terms, seems to be much more 'real' than 'illusory'. Indeed, the fact that the listeners know 'the voices behind the microphones' (to refer back to Meadows' research) seems to be a key factor that motivates them to listen to Pau da Lima's stations. Edu, for instance, tells me that one of the reasons why he listens to Axé FM is to be supportive of one of his 'mates' who works as a presenter at the station.

> *'When JJ (his friend) is on air, I always phone in, I call him quite a few times. I ring him up to... kind of show that I'm by his side. The more people ring him up, the better, isn't it? He's there at the studio, he's closed in, isolated there. In this way, he knows we are listening. If it was me there, I think he would do the same for me.'[54]*

Moreover, Edu adds that it is precisely this proximity with the radio presenters, whom he often knows personally, that enables him to participate in the programmes by phoning in. He is aware that this 'access' would be considerably more difficult in a mainstream radio station.

> *'If it's the birthday of someone in your family and you want to mention that in the radio, dedicate a song to them or something like that, it's very difficult... with one of these big stations... almost impossible... you ring them up, you call a station like Piatã and you have to wait, maybe they won't answer your call, they won't talk to you, even if I just want to say happy birthday to my mother.... maybe they will tell me to go online and they'll never read my message. Here, it's different. I know JJ, I can call him on his mobile number. He will take my call. He knows my mother. He wouldn't refuse to say happy birthday to her on air.'[55]*

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[54] Visit to Edu's house on 1 December 2007.
[55] Visit to Edu's house on 1 December 2007.

Therefore, if radio is often referred to by various authors such as Hendy (2000) and Scannell (1991) as an innately personal and intimate medium, with local radio, the level of 'closeness' is even greater. Here the 'shared experience' is not being imagined, it is much more physical and it is genuine. In addition, the exchanges between radio presenters and listeners are enhanced and, in turn, enhance one of radio intrinsic characteristics: intimacy. Nevertheless, this can act as an inhibiting factor sometimes. Preta's sister in law Jurema, for instance, often censors her for calling the local stations as she is afraid that this might feed into the local gossip.

> *'Everyone around here is worried about other people's lives, too worried, in my opinion. If you talk to these radio guys on air... they kind of know us... we know them... I don't like it, it's like gossip made worse via the radio.'[56]*

At the same time, there is no denying in that the fact that the presenters and listeners often know each other on a personal level makes the interaction much easier and less bureaucratic. In a way, it is almost as if presenters and listeners were chatting away in front of their houses, as neighbours often do on the streets of Pau da Lima.

To conclude, listening to a neighbour, a mate, or simply someone one knows, on the radio also connects to the idea of exchange, but in a broader, less purely economic, and more loosely cultural sense. Indeed, one might say that the cultural and the economic rituals of exchange can be seen, through observing radio use in Pau da Lima, to be two sides of the same coin. These are personal relationships, which, like any form of relationship, need to be mutually satisfactory and based on rituals of exchange. This also applies to the radio stations, their presenters and their listeners. In this way, if a radio presenter refuses to dedicate a song to a listener's mother on her birthday, he or she would not be doing his or her part of the exchange ritual. Hence, a birthday song is exchanged for the act of tuning in and vice-versa.

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[56] Visit to Preta's house on 4 December 2007.

5. Conclusion.

These ethnographic observations in Pau da Lima suggest that, in this instance at least, we need to revise some of the parameters usually applied to community radio. We need to admit that: a) given the current media scenario in Brazil it would be unreasonable to ignore advertising as a source of funding to make the community radio initiatives viable; b) there are indeed many linkages between commerce and community radio in such context; c) these linkages are often not perceived as problematic by residents. On the contrary, having a healthy local commerce is integral to the social dynamics of the community and radio plays an essential role in keeping this local commerce 'moving'; d) from the listeners' perspective, this symbiotic relationship between commerce and community radio might not be interpreted as damaging to the essentially *communal* dimension in community radio.

In Pau da Lima, a neighbourhood that is known for its prevailing local commerce and where commerce can sometimes lead to social and economic achievement, these linkages become even more evident. Thus, the lamp post radio emerges as important element in the neighbourhood's mediascape, not just because its licensing process is simpler than that of FM community radio, but mainly because the lack of a clear regulation for lamp post radio allows it to be unafraid to embrace its connections with the local shops and businesses.

As I have shown, the market-like environment of the Avenida São Rafael represents a fertile ground for the lamp post radio. The lamp post radio, in turn, keeps the local economy heated by airing adverts whose costs are well-suited for the size and spending power of the local shops. Importantly, one can conclude that these dynamics allow for a sense of collective growth that is very important for residents. If the shops succeed economically, this is good not only for the stations but for the neighbourhood as a whole. Further, the adverts provide residents with information regarding the prices of goods which represent a quite useful knowledge for them to plan their budgets, as it was suggested by Graça. Therefore, in this instance at least, the 'commercial' and the 'collective' appear to coincide.

On the other hand, this prevalence of a culture of commerce is also perceived as a serious limitation of the neighbourhood. The local commerce is a viable economic

alternative for many residents but not for *everyone*. Some of my writing students, for instance, showed frustration for lacking the means and sometimes the interest to gain access to the local retail market. At the same time, because the local radio stations have such intense connections with the merchants, they end up neglecting other groups in Pau da Lima, such as the most impoverished residents who live in the 'invasion' areas. As a consequence, paradoxically, the workings of hegemony – the power of the local businesses and the capitalist values – also come into play with community radio but at a micro level.

When analysing community radio in Pau da Lima, another important theme is that of partnerships. The lamp post radio stations make use of various partnerships with various residents and community groups, such as the theatre group Stage Art, and vice-versa. As it could be inferred from my conversations with Guilherme, having a good relationship with the people at the station represented a very useful resource for him. Their interactions were marked by a good degree of reciprocity, which later evolved to a sense of being able to 'count on each other'. Yet, there are also instances of somewhat unfair partnerships. These are a result of the interactions between the lamp post radio station and more powerful partners such as local politicians or larger commercial media outlets. Therefore, these unequal partnerships show that the community radio stations are often vulnerable to the interference or even to being appropriated by such partners.

However, these flaws do not prevent community groups (such as the theatre group Stage Art) from believing that the lamp post radio is the medium that works the best as 'community radio'. They work well because they have a marked physical presence on the streets, they are always accessible, 'with open doors', 'always there'. Unlike FM radio in which people have to look for their dials, everyone has to listen to the lamp post radio in one way or another. All they need to do is to catch a bus to go to work and the speakers will be there shouting in their ears. According to the residents, this might not be completely democratic and transparent, but it is at least functional.

In addition, the evidence suggests that community radio does not necessarily need to be overtly altruistic in nature in order to be perceived as playing a useful role in the everyday life of the community. My research informants such as Graça and Guilherme were well-aware that the radio stations and the radio practitioners 'needed

to pay their bills, just like everyone else'. This was not perceived as demeaning to the community radio stations. Indeed, the 'rituals of exchange' which I observed, and which my respondents described, were present throughout my time in Pau da Lima. Perhaps the most striking demonstrations came during my time spent with Valéria. Life for her frequently constituted a giant puzzle in which various needs and requests needed to be matched with the corresponding material resources and skills. The listeners revealed that these rituals were also common place in the local FM stations and, in fact, constituted one of the reasons why they stayed tuned. Again, with these FM stations, we can notice that there was a recognised need for collective gain. By promoting local bands, for instance, the stations were promoting themselves. The local bands gained exposure, the local listeners gained from being in contact with these local celebrities and the local 'music industry' received a boost.

Further, 'knowing the voices behind the microphones' (Meadows et.al, 2007) facilitated these rituals of exchange even more. What I observed taking place was a phenomenon of fairly 'real' rather than illusory 'shared experience' (Hendy, 2000). The listeners have easier access to the radio presenters who know that they have to address them on a personal level on air (almost as if they were greeting them on the streets as I often saw happen during my walks with Valéria) in order to get their attention and loyalty to the programme in exchange.

Community radio has often been described as 'radio *by* the people and *for* the people' (Lewis, 2006, p. 15). Stations such as Pop Som and Planeta FM are certainly *by* the people as they are run by residents who are from Pau da Lima and care about the community, rather than by development groups which often have pre-packaged ideas about what community radio ought to do without listening to the community. Thus, these instances represent more authentic examples of community radio projects for the simple fact that the people behind them are from the communities in which they exist. Moreover, the second part of the sentence— for the people— means that these stations ought to meet the needs and, importantly, fit very well within the ethos of their respective communities. Here I would like to refer to Graça's straightforward and logical way of thinking in relation to the radio stations in Pau da Lima. If community media exist for serving their community and if commerce and exchange represent such integral components of the community's identity, how could

community media *not* establish any dialogues with local commerce or engage in rituals of exchange?

To conclude, my research points to an uncomfortable reality. One could be tempted to call the linkages between commerce and community radio simply another variant of capitalist, individualist, economics. Indeed, there is some truth to this statement as the 'partnerships' and 'exchanges' are not always fair and tend to benefit some groups more than others. It is also necessary to honestly admit that the exchanges between community radio and commerce, sellers and buyers, presenters and listeners, listeners and other listeners are often about money. Yet, one must remember that when money is scarce, money matters. Despite all their shortcomings, these rituals of exchange in which community radio actively takes part have a special meaning because, as a by product, they create community bonds.

CHAPTER 7

GOD IS ON AIR:
COMMUNITY RADIO AND THE EVANGELICAL LISTENERS

iPod users often refer to the magical nature of carrying their entire music collection with them wherever they go, thus giving them an unprecedented amount of choice of music to listen to. In this de-routinisation of time lies both the unalloyed pleasure of listening but also the management or control of the user's thoughts, feelings and observations as they manage both space and time. It is to the notion of seamless auditory experience that the phrase 'no dead air' refers – this evocative phrase was used by Jean, a 35-year-old bank executive who was describing her morning commute to work in New York.

<div align="right">

Bull, 2004, p. 344

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God, he's so good that he probes our thoughts. The people on the other side, listening to the radio, they want answers from God, so God, in his great mercy, he uses us, he sends us a 'word', 'the word' of God and it fits perfectly with what that person wants and needs to hear, do you understand? Then the person starts glorifying God and this is a wonderful thing because it means that God has confirmed what she wanted to hear.

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Interview with the Assistant Pastor José, who used to present a programme at a local radio station – Itapevi FM on 13 December 2007

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1. Introduction.

Michael Bull offers an interesting analysis of the ways in which iPod listeners can fill in all 'the dead air' around them with their privatised collections of music. This constitutes a magical experience for listeners, he suggests, because it allows people to 'de-routinise' time, to manage their thoughts and feelings and to manage both space and time as they stroll along the city streets listening to *their* music via their headphones. Pastor José also speaks of a miraculous, though entirely different, kind of experience. He refers to a Big-Brother-like omnipresent God who is able to 'probe your thoughts' and to send to his listeners the perfect answers, like an oracle would do, in the form of what he calls 'the word'. Yet, the 'word of God' is not only 'sent by God' in response to our thoughts. In an echo of what happens with the iPod music, this 'word' is also being

presented as a tool with which Evangelical radio listeners manage their thoughts and deal with their feelings according to how they interpret 'this word'. Further, the pastor believes that he himself has the ability to become like an electronic device which can channel listeners directly to God. Radio, thus, has the ability to amplify this supernatural phenomenon, filling in the 'dead air' with the 'word of God'.

Despite the apparently disturbing rationale behind Pastor Jose's quote, it is quite common for the residents of Pau da Lima to be tuned in with God. Evangelical radio and Evangelical music on the radio provides an important means by which they can achieve this connection. As numerous churches flourish in the neighbourhood, so does the amount of Evangelical radio programming.

During my fieldwork, as I walked around the neighbourhood with my informants, I would frequently see houses with wide doors and gates, which turned out to be Evangelical churches. These churches vary a lot in size, shape and look. Some are small and precarious whilst others are spacious and impressive looking. There is always a sign, engraved or painted on the wall with the name of the church, some of them unknown to me. From the streets, one is usually able to see the inside of the churches with their wide and unfurnished spaces, filled mostly by white plastic chairs. During cult times[1], one can see dozens of people inside, usually standing, sometimes with one of their arms stretched, and singing with their eyes closed as the songs mix with the sounds of the street.

The presence of the Evangelical religion was also noted when I tried to search for the FM community radio signals on the small portable radio I bought myself. Inevitably, during this process of switching the radio dial back and forth, I would catch an Evangelical song, the voice of a pastor preaching, or the jingle of an unknown Evangelical station

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[1] Usually in the evening around 6 and 7 pm

Photo 7.1. Reborn in Christ Church in Pau da Lima

Photo 7.2: Christian Church Maranata

This chapter aims at exploring the links between radio (and particularly FM community radio) with the Evangelical churches in Pau da Lima. It discusses how frequently Evangelical and community radio were one and the same, broadcasting Evangelical programmes or simply becoming a so-called pan-Evangelical station. In addition, it explores and analyses the listening experiences of people who tuned in to Evangelical programmes. I suggest that it is significant that not all were necessarily members of Evangelical churches. Why is it that a question about radio would be followed by an answer about being an Evangelical? Why did people listen to Evangelical radio and Evangelical programmes on community radio? How did listening to Evangelical programmes make them feel?

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first examines an extract from the literature on media and religion which provides a useful context of this debate about Evangelicals and radio. I will suggest that despite rich empirical evidence from all corners of the world about different religious groups and audiences using the radio for various purposes, it is an area which has traditionally been neglected or misunderstood. I will argue that this is because academic thinking is frequently permeated by the notion that religion belongs to the private, rather than the public sphere, and that religion stands in stark opposition to science and knowledge. Among the scholarly work on community media, this neglect is even more pronounced. The European research on the subject, specially, tends to be influenced by rationalist philosophy and Marxist thought, which is usually either not prone to religiosity or simply not interested in it. However, this is might not always be the case in Latin American scholarship. The Brazilian

educator Paulo Freire (1972), for instance, combined elements of Marxism with ideas from the 'Liberation Theology', a left-wing Catholic movement. With his Catholic fervour, as Peter Lewis (2006) puts it, Freire proposed several concepts which were widely incorporated into western thinking on community media, such as 'conscience raising', dialogical communications and empowerment. .

Many of the debates about Evangelical media in Brazil focus on the Universal Kingdom of the Church of God (UCKG) as a major media player. This increasingly visible presence for the UCKG and other Evangelical Churches in the country's media landscape is often viewed with concern. However, scholars such as Freston (2001) and Figueredo Filho (2008) point to the enormous diversity that can be found amongst different Evangelical groups. At the same time, it can be argued that the 'electronic' media (and particularly television and radio) might be bridging these differences and creating a pan-Evangelical audience (Figueredo Filho, 2005).

Next, this chapter turns to the ethnographic observations in Pau da Lima of the experience of listening to Evangelical programmes. Whilst Evangelical programming does not appear to dominate the FM spectrum, empirical evidence shows that it might be doing so when it comes to the local (unlicensed) FM community radio stations. Why is this the case? What is so attractive about its style of broadcasting? My research indicates that listening to these programmes is often perceived as emotionally empowering, offering listeners a much needed emotional comfort and an outlet for voicing their problems. In a way, the experience of listening to the Evangelical/community radio can be a bit like sitting in the psychiatrist's chair as a form of what Hendy (2007) has identified as therapeutic radio. Moreover, listening to some Evangelical radio stations is also perceived as enriching in educational terms. These stations might often act as electronic teachers, doctors and councillors for practical everyday matters, such as raising children, nutrition, fighting for your rights as a citizen and so on. Interestingly, this echoes some of the ideas put forward by earlier work on community media as a tool for promoting health, education and development amongst underprivileged populations.

Finally, just as it has been noted that Evangelical radio and music can serve as 'direct channels to God', for some listeners, being forbidden to listen to secular radio and music is exactly what moves them away from the Church. On the one hand, Evangelical

radio seems to work precisely because it incorporates several principles of community radio, such as listening carefully to people who are used to not being heard, offering a friendly shoulder to those who are in need, providing emotional counselling and educationally valuable advice; and having a high degree of interactivity in their programming. On the other hand, being a member of an Evangelical church and listening to Evangelical programming can also be 'mind-limiting', to use the words of one of the participants. Likewise, the idea of the believers having to 'carry their cross', that is, accepting their 'faith', even if that means attributing their poverty and suffering to God's will, and not doing anything about it, can be somewhat problematic. This idea drastically contradicts many of the core values which revolve around community media and particularly those that perceive community media as promising agents of social change.

2. Media and Religion.

2.1. The Use of Media by Religious Groups.

Religion has been largely regarded as a privatised matter that does not fit within traditional notions of the 'public sphere'. Birgit Meyer and Annelies Moors (2006) note that the concept of the emergence of a Habermasian public sphere is dependent upon a decline in religion. Therefore, this decline 'continues to be largely taken for granted as an intrinsic feature of modernity in public debates and in the media' (p. 4). In societies in which religion does play a noticeable public role, this is interpreted as an indication of backwardness (Meyer and Moors, 2006, p. 5). As a consequence of this, as Meyer and Moors point out, religion and electronic media tend to be considered as belonging to different, separate spheres – belief and the culture industry (2006, p.1).

One exceptional case that has gained attention within media studies has been that of the American televangelists. The dominant flavour of this has been to treat the phenomenon as 'hopelessly conservative, even ridiculous' (Harding, 1994, cited in Meyer and Moors, 2006, p. 1). However, since the 1990s, and, given that religion is assuming an increasingly public character, the close relationships between religion and the media have started to be taken more seriously in other academic fields, such as sociology, political science, anthropology and history (Meyer and Moors, 2006, p. 2). Thus, a greater amount of attention has started to be paid to the spread of various religious

media formats (besides the televangelists) and to the intentional and competent appropriation of various media by different religious groups across the globe, such as Muslims, Hindus, Jewish, and Christians. (Ibid, p.1)

One scholar, Paul Apostolidis (2002), has focused specifically on the use of one medium – radio – by what he refers to as the Christian Right. The author points to the irony in the fact that fundamentalist Christian theology is conservative, anti-modern in nature. At the same time, and paradoxically, these groups have been keen on adopting 'modern communication technologies to spread their version of the gospel' (p.461). As Apostolidis puts it, 'they have adjusted to technological innovations with quickness, vigour and even a fascination with the new. Aggressively traditionalist in its explicit message, the Christian Right avidly embraces change and sophistication in its media' (Ibid).

The successful adoption of radio by these conservative Christian Churches can be illustrated through well known examples of religious broadcasts. One of such broadcasts, as it is noted by Tona Hangen (2002), was a programme called 'the Lutheran Hour', created by Walter Maier, a Lutheran pastor and professor. The programme started in 1930 in the United States and was later broadcast in other countries, becoming one of the longest-running radio programmes and exemplifying 'the best of commercial religious programming' (Hangen, 2002, p.113). Hangen suggests that one of the main achievements of 'Bible-based preaching programmes' such as the Lutheran Hour was that they made listeners feel as if they were part of a national movement. Although the Lutheran Hour had been started by a small religious denomination (the Missouri Synod of the Lutheran Church, or the LCMS), it managed to attract 'like-minded people of other faiths', generating a sense of 'connectedness among Evangelicals in general' (2002, p.126). The author also notes that the prominence that the LCMS achieved on the American national network radio led to a proliferation of radio stations and other media outlets for religious programming (p. 131). Thus, the Evangelicals succeeded in establishing a 'more permanent, less contested space for themselves in US radio by the 1970s'.

Adopting a wider global perspective, Paul Freston (2001) has studied Evangelical Christianity in Asia, Africa and Latin America with a particular interest in Brazil, pointing out some of the country's key features regarding the use of Evangelical media

in comparison to the United States. In the United States, media evangelism is used to 'reinforce Evangelical values in a secular society', says Freston, whilst in Brazil, 'it fortifies the self-image of an expanding minority' in a country that has been traditionally Catholic (p.17).

Therefore, one can conclude that the Evangelicals are able to see and listen to themselves through the use of Evangelical television and radio. This means that the Evangelical media have to present an appealing and desirable image of what it means to be an Evangelical. A concern with the self-representation of the UCKG on their media is present in the work of Patricia Birman (2006). She notices that the Church is closely associated with symbols 'that belong to the world of business and global values' (Birman, 2006, p. 67), reflected, for example, in the way their pastors dress. Similarly to international business executives or politicians in Brasilia, they wear 'white shirts, black ties, costumes, and the like' (Ibid). Thus, the Church offers to its believers an ideal of becoming a 'businessman type' and the promise that one might 'win prosperity through active participation in its rituals' (Ibid).

Thus, Birman's (2006) arguments resonate with Freston's (2001) in relation to the media helping strengthen the image of the UCKG as a 'minority' church in the country. For instance, Birman explains some of the ways in which the Church uses television to invite its members 'to broaden their horizons and participate in other national and international circles, associated with the world of the rich' (Birman, 2006, p. 67). This is achieved through broadcasts of 'spectacular' events which show enormous crowds gathering at UCKG cults. In this way, as the author puts it, 'the image of the church as a prosperous institution is built in with the images seen of its followers in the media, principally its pastors' (Ibid).

Birman's analysis of the UCKG's broadcasting of spectacular events leads to some helpful ideas which can be applied to this study of community radio in Pau da Lima. Would it be the case that, as happens with television, Evangelical radio is able to foster in listeners a sense of belonging to a larger and more socially powerful community? In other words, is it possible that, although Evangelical radio is not traditionally defined as such, it could be playing the role of community radio in the most literal sense?

2.2. Community Radio and Religion.

There is very little on religion in the scholarly work that deals with community media. This lack of attention is even more evident in Anglo-American literature. This might be attributed to a few factors: a) As it was previously discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, community media are perceived as being part of a separate and distinguished sector which stands in contrast to the public service and commercial sectors; one which is non-commercial, non-religious and not run by the state. b) Western thought is largely influenced by rationalism. Being associated with sentimentality, illogic and emotionalism, religion tends to be placed in direct opposition to the attainment of scientific knowledge (Boudewijnse et.al, 1998) and therefore is not regarded as an attractive subject matter.

By way of contrast, Brazilian scholars such as Regina Festa and Carlos Eduardo Lins da Silva (1986) have noted the ways in which the Liberation Theology was paramount in strengthening the community media movement in Brazil in the 1970s, when the country was under a military dictatorship. Often referred to as a form of 'Christian socialism', Liberation Theology emphasises the Christian mission to bring justice to the poor and oppressed through social and political activism. It created a model of church practice through 'base communities', known as CEBs (*Comunidades Eclesiais de Base*)*,* which consisted of small gatherings in which members of impoverished communities could discuss issues related to their conditions of spiritual, economic and social oppression. Drawing on Paulo Freire's ideas about empowerment as a way to overcome historical oppression, base community leaders hoped to 'liberate' community members through raising their consciousness. Thus, it comes as no surprise that one of Freire's key texts – Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1972) became known for what Lewis refers to as an 'almost biblical fervour' (2006, p.20), using a form of religious language which frequently speaks of the need to 'free the oppressed from the oppressors' and 'to raise consciousness' among disenfranchised populations about issues of social injustice and human rights.

According to Festa and Lins (1986), CEB meetings often functioned as 'spoken newspapers', in which people could openly discuss their daily struggles and talk about community solidarity as well as learn about the importance of popular culture—songs, poems and stories – as a tool to express what it means to be 'oppressed'. This gave rise

to popular communication movements, born from the activity of grassroots groups, such as the CEBs in the rural areas, as well as trade unions in the urban areas, contributing to the emergence of workers' bulletins', 'popular news agencies', newspapers edited by popular education centres and community radio' (p. 18-27). In a way, these could be considered as predecessors of community/alternative media.

As for the contemporary religious and political scenarios in Brazil, Paul Freston (2001) affirms that, unlike Liberation Theology, the Evangelical Churches, and especially the UCKG, mostly tend to be at the centre-right of the political spectrum (p. 54). Yet, as Freston suggests, whilst 'left-wingers remain a fairly small minority amongst Evangelical politicians, more and more people with a history of leftist or unionist militancy convert to Evangelical Churches and continue the same political activities' (2001, p. 51).

Some concern for the spreading of religious broadcasts in Brazil has been expressed by Venicio A. De Lima (2007), whose main focus in the past has been on the press. The author argues strongly against the act of proselytism in the media, done through various media outlets owned by Evangelical Churches, such as the UCKG and the Assembly of God. He is also critical of private media companies, such as the TV network Rede Bandeirantes, which sell slots for Evangelical Churches to broadcast their cults on TV and radio. De Lima states that, if the Brazilian state is secular and if broadcasting is to be considered a 'public service' (and by this he means a service aimed at the general 'public', for the citizens), then the airwaves should not be taken by religious programming. He believes that this 'proselytism' is even more problematic in the case of community radio, which is supposed to offer an alternative, independent, non-religious and non-commercial media model.

To further complicate matters, the author draws our attention to the importance of the giving-out of broadcasting licences to Evangelical Churches in exchange for political favours. With the rise of Evangelical Churches, there has also been an increase in Evangelicals gaining a greater degree of political power. The Evangelical media plays a crucial role in this process, helping elect Evangelical candidates, whilst Evangelical politicians help secure more broadcasting licenses for their Churches in a vicious cycle which involves media, politics and religion. (See Freston 1993, 2001).

A large number of research projects tend to present debates which revolve around the emergence of the UCKG as a major player in the country's profitable media market and to analyse the consequences of this phenomenon for Brazilian politics and society, in general. As for the connections between community media and religion, it is remarkable that the community media movement has been historically associated with the Catholic Church's Liberation Theology, the Base Communities (CEBs) and the work of Paulo Freire. Nevertheless, research on the relationships and dialogues that exist between community media and the growing Evangelical religions in Brazil is obviously in need of further exploration.

What follows then, is an analysis of the ways in which these Evangelical churches establish their presence in the favela's auditory space through the use of amplified sound and religious programming on Pau da Lima's community radio stations. The overall aim here is to investigate the ways in which Evangelical radio succeeds in appealing to their audiences and to identify the instances in which the role of Evangelical radio and community radio coincide.

3. The Evangelical Presence on the Radio.

3.1. Evangelical Radio Stations in Salvador.

Valdemar Figueredo Filho (2008)[2] estimates that over twenty five percent of the FM radio stations and over twenty percent of the AM stations in the country's capital cities belong to Evangelical churches, such as the UCKG and the Assembly of God. In the city of Salvador, the percentage of stations which belong to networks owned by Evangelical churches' is below this average – 6.6 percent. There are currently fifteen licensed FM stations in Salvador (IBOPE - Brazilian Institute of Public Opinion and Statistics, 2009)[3]. This includes one station affiliated to a Catholic Radio network (Rede Vida 106.1 FM) and one station affiliated to an Evangelical radio network (Rede Aleluia).

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[2] Please refer to the discussion of Evangelical radio within the wider Brazilian media ecology on Chapter 2
[3] These stations are: 88,7 Bahia FM; 90,1 Globo FM; 91,3 Itaparica FM; 92,3 Nova Salvador FM; 94,3 Piata FM; 95,9 Rede Aleluia; 97,5 Itapoan FM; 99,1 Band News FM; 100,1 Transamerica FM; 101,3 Metropole FM; 102,5 Radio Tudo FM; 103,9 A Tarde FM; 104,7 Nova Brasil FM; 106,1 Rede Vida; 107,5 Educadora FM. (According to IBOPE's Quartely Listenership Survey, from October to December 2009). The stations Líder FM, Sucesso FM and Baiana FM also appear in the IBOPE report but they are located in the cities of Camaçari and Candeias, which are part of the greater Salvador (Região Metropolitana de Salvador – RMS) and therefore were not counted.

Rede Aleluia is a national radio network owned by the UCKG which includes 64 stations in 22 states in Brazil, covering 75% of the national territory. The programming consists of religious songs, testimonials (such as how people have achieved financial success after conversion) and educational programmes (with health tips, tips on how to save money etc). (Rede Aleluia, 2010)[4]

Therefore, compared to other Brazilian capitals, it can be noted that the stations which are owned by Evangelical churches do not have such a strong presence on FM radio in Salvador, both in terms of the number of stations and listenership figures. The three most listened to FM stations are Piatã FM, Globo FM and Bahia FM respectively, none of which are owned by Evangelical Churches[5]. The UCKG's station, Rede Aleluia, comes in an unimpressive seventh place in terms of numbers of listeners.

Nevertheless, these stations tend to have a much more dominant presence on the AM spectrum[6]. Firstly, in statistical terms, they represent 22 percent of the AM radio stations. Two stations out of a total of nine belong to Evangelical Churches: Radio Sociedade and Radio Novo Tempo. In addition, these stations have a greater number of listeners.

Radio Sociedade is part of the Record network, having been purchased by the UCKG in 1995. It has an overwhelming 75 percent of the AM sector's listenership during the daytime (from 6 am to 7 pm), and its content is not overtly religious, focusing mostly on football and current affairs. This might be because Sociedade is one of the oldest radio stations in Brazil, having been founded in 1924, just two years after the first experiments with radio broadcasting in the country (Radio Sociedade, 2010)[7]. When the UCKG acquired Radio Sociedade, over 70 years after its foundation, it was obviously well-aware of the station's status as one of the country's most traditional stations and of its loyal and well-established listenership. Thus, by radically changing its programming, they could risk alienating this audience.

The station is known for its 'popular' journalistic style with well-known presenters such as José Eduardo Bocão (*Bocão* means big mouth). In these programmes, listeners phone

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[4] See the Rede Aleluia website: http://www.redealeluia.com.br/ (Accessed 02 March 2010)
[5] IBOPE - Brazilian Institute of Public Opinion and Statistics, 2009
[6] There are a total of 9 AM stations: 590 Cruzeiro AM; 740 Sociedade AM; 840 Excelsior AM; 920 Novo Tempo AM; 1.010 Bahia AM; 1.050 CBN Salvador; 1.140 Cultura AM; 1.290 Metropole AM; 1.350 Cristal AM.
[7] http://www.radiosociedadeam.com.br/capa/historia.aspx (Accessed 02 March 2010)

in and make complaints about problems which affect their lives, such as open sewers on the streets, lack of proper sanitation or urban violence. They also criticise the inefficiency of the local government, unfair treatment by utility companies and so on. This style of programming appeals largely to the lower economic classes, whilst the focus on sports attracts a male audience. If contrasted to the population of Salvador, the listenership of Radio Sociedade is more male (61 percent is male as opposed to 46 percent of the population of Salvador), considerably older (55 percent are over 40 as opposed to 25 percent of the population of Salvador) and slightly more working class (47 percent belong to the classes DE as opposed to approximately 42 percent in Salvador)[8].

Compared to Radio Sociedade, Radio Novo Tempo is a very recent station, having been founded in 1989. Radio Novo Tempo is part of a national radio network owned by the Seventh-day Adventist Church and broadcast via satellite. Besides Salvador, there are also stations in other Brazilian cities, such as Porto Alegre, Florianópolis, Curitiba and Belém. Unlike Radio Sociedade, the programming is predominantly of a religious nature with bible lessons, news, and gospel music. The station also shows a somewhat 'educational' character with programmes which offer health tips and discuss environmental issues. In addition, there are several 'counselling' programmes in which listeners phone in to get advice on their emotional, family and personal problems.

Mapping out what is available in terms of Evangelical radio stations in Salvador is helpful because they are part of the spectrum of stations that Evangelical (and non-Evangelical) listeners in Pau da Lima can choose from. With regard to Pau da Lima's FM community radio stations, it is much more likely that the radio sets in houses located close to these stations are able to catch their signals. However, there are also cases of houses which can catch signals from FM community radio stations located in neighbouring areas, which sometimes are stronger than those originating from the

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[8] According to IBGE – the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics' 2007 Synthesis of Social Indicators (Síntese de Indicadores Sociais), there are 88.5 men for 100 women. This means that the majority of the population, 54%, is female. URL: http://www.ibge.gov.br/ibgeteen/datas/mulher/mulherhoje.html (Accessed 07 July 2010). As for the age distribution, according to the 2000 IBGE Census, approximately 25% of the population in Salvador is 40 years old and older. URL: http://www.saude.salvador.ba.gov.br/arquivos/astec/Plano_Municipal_Saude.pdf (Accessed 07 July 2010)
For the data on economic class distribution, the source is the Brazilian Institute of Public Opinion and Statistics IBOPE - Instituto Brasileiro de Opinião Publica e Estatistica (2005). URL: http://www.scribd.com/doc/6031931/Classificacao-Brasil-classe-socioeconomica (Accessed 11 July 2010). According to the Getúlio Vargas Foundation (FGV – Fundação Getúlio Vargas), the Class E corresponds to an average monthly income of 134.99 Reais or less *per capita*; the Class D corresponds to a an average monthly income between 135 Reais and 213.99 Reais *per capita*; the Class C corresponds to an average income between 214 and 922 Reais *per capita* and the classes A and B are grouped together and correspond to an average income of 923 Reais or more *per capita*. As of 11 July 2010, one GBP=2.6596 Brazilian Reais. URL: http://www.economist.com/markets/currency/ (Accessed 11 July 2010)

stations located in Pau da Lima. Thus, what frequently happens is that residents catch various stations which they identify as 'small-scale' Evangelical stations. However, whilst some of my informants listen to and enjoy these stations' programming, they cannot tell whether the station is located in Pau da Lima or in a neighbouring area.

As mentioned, there is a range of community/pirate stations located in Pau da Lima or in neighbouring areas. What is striking, however, is that of these various unlicensed stations, most have daily slots dedicated to Evangelical programmes. There are also many unlicensed small-scale radio stations which are owned by small local Evangelical Churches and are thus entirely dedicated to broadcasting religious programmes. The intricate physical/spatial configuration of the favela, the transitory nature of the stations and the vast number of small churches that are spread across the hills of the favela make it really challenging to obtain an accurate map with all the stations and their locations. But the overall impression is clear: of an urban environment and a set of airwaves relatively saturated with religious sounds and programmes.

3.2. Evangelical Churches in Pau da Lima.

By looking at the Evangelical churches in Pau da Lima, then, one does not find a neat and tidy scenario. There is a plethora of small local churches which deserve to be discussed in more detail to better illustrate the complexity of the issue of Evangelical community radio in Pau da Lima. When walking around Rua São Marcos, Pau da Lima's main avenue, I could notice a variety of different names and a large number of churches. The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God, not surprisingly, is one of the largest and is located close to the Association of Residents of Pau da Lima (AMPLI). Along the avenue, there is also a Baptist Church, a Seventh-Day Adventist Church, and a Reborn in Christ Church. However, these are only some of the largest churches.

In one of my visits to Carina's family, on a Thursday evening before we had our class, I had to go down the hills. The route to her house looked a bit like a labyrinth of steps made of concrete, narrow alleys, and precarious houses built on wasteland. When I stopped to catch my breath, the sounds of people shouting caught my attention. Carina and I walked toward the source of that sound – a small, one-story house on a small corner. What set this house apart from the other brick coloured houses was that its walls were painted in white. The doors were wide open and as I looked I saw that, from the

inside, this looked much more like an empty shed than an actual house. The only pieces of furniture were metal folding chairs. There were about 20 people inside, all dressed in a formal manner, the women with long skirts and the men with long-sleeved shirts. They were standing in front of their chairs and shouting with their eyes closed. A pastor wearing a suit was standing in front of them and leading the prayer. As Carina noticed my curiosity, she told me laughingly:

> *'This is our neighbouring church. I don't even know the name. People are shouting all the time: hallelujah, hallelujah! There is a church in every corner, up and down the hills, in places you can't imagine. All they need is a pastor, a few chairs, a bible, an open space and there you have it – a church!'* [9]

Her comment made me think of all the other little churches I had seen everywhere. Mostly, they do not look that different from ordinary houses. Often, the doors are open and there are small signs or paintings on the walls with the church's name. At that time, I was aware that the Evangelical churches were flourishing, especially in the favelas. Yet, I was surprised by the large diversity of denominations and even different sub-denominations within the same denomination. This can be exemplified by a conversation that I had with Regina and her friend Dona Rosa, in which they spent a long time arguing about different Churches' denominations:

> *Regina: There are so many churches now... God is Justice[10], Sara Nossa Terra...*
>
> *Rosa: These are not churches. Churches are like... the Assemblies of God, the Baptists, and the Adventists.*
>
> *Andrea: How about the Universal Church?*
>
> *Rosa: This is like a church in disguise! All these churches are not churches!*
>
> *Regina: The Assemblies of God... I know that there is one which is called 'The Assembly of God' and that's it but there is also 'The Assembly of God Brazil' and 'The Assembly of God Goiás' (a state in Brazil)*
>
> *Rosa: It's all the same.*
>
> *Regina: It's not!*

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[9] Visit on 13 December 2007

[10] Whenever possible, I have chosen to translate the names of the churches from Portuguese to English. In Portuguese the name is Deus é Justiça.

> *Rosa: No, but it's like. I start a restaurant and I call it 'Pau da Lima' and I offer a certain type of food. Then I open another restaurant and I call it 'São Marcos' and I offer a different type of food. It's the same restaurant, different food.*
>
> *Regina: No, let me explain it to you. I was a member of the Assembly of God for a while. There is one 'Assembly of God - Pau da Lima', which is central and it has 18 branches. There is one in São Rafael, that's the fourth, then there is one... it's called São Marcos 1, that's located in the lowlands, below Vera's school, there's also one called São Marcos 2, close to that warehouse.*
>
> *Rosa: No, that's called God's Grace!*
>
> *Regina: No, that one, they call it São Marcos 2. But these are 'Assemblies of God', which are different from 'Assemblies of God-Brazil' and 'Assemblies of God-Goiás.'[11]*

Despite the headache-inducing nature of this argument between Dona Rosa and Regina, a few key points emerge. Firstly, clearly, a form of hierarchy is established by Dona Rosa, when she argues that some churches, like the Baptists and the Adventists, *are* churches and others, like the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God *are not*. A devout Catholic, Dona Rosa is pointing to the differences between what Freston (2001) referred to as the older, traditional *historical* Protestant churches and the more recent Neo-Pentecostal ones, such as the UCKG. Because there are so many new 'churches' being created everyday in an impoverished community like Pau da Lima, Dona Rosa seems wary of giving them full status. According to her, a church needs to be fairly well-established in order to deserve being called a 'proper church'. Thus, shed-like empty houses with folding chairs, pastors, bibles and followers, such as the one I saw close to Carina's house would probably not qualify. Secondly, Regina reveals the great diversity that exists, not only between different denominations but within denominations themselves. She describes a rather impressive network of 'Assemblies of God' with branches spread out all over the hills and lowlands of Pau da Lima. In addition, confusingly for me and Dona Rosa, there are two other 'types' of Assembly of God—Assembly of God Brasil and Assembly of God Goiás, which are, according to Regina, totally different institutions.

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[11] Visit on 14 November 2007

Figueredo Filho (2005) elaborates on this overwhelming diversity between nominally 'Evangelical Churches'. He argues that in Brazil there has been a problematic tendency to place all the non-Catholic Christian churches under the same generalising term of 'Evangelical'. However, as he suggests, it is crucial to consider these churches' diversity much more carefully (p. 21). Interestingly, he points out that historically these churches have originated from a process of rebellion against a centralised power – that of the Pope. Thus, the protestant churches deny that there is such a thing as a religious centre where the 'salvation of mankind' can be managed from. This makes it possible for ordinary people to 'approach God personally', examining the Bible themselves and putting forward new models of belief (Ibid, p.50). Richard Niehbur claims that the segmentation of protestant groups is triggered by social economic barriers rather than theological principles (1992, p. 21, cited in Figueredo Filho, 2005, p. 51). Having been forgotten by the more 'well-established' religious groups, the poor develop their own religious practices and create their own new religious denominations. Therefore, the leaders for these new groups emerge from doing volunteer work and having a remarkable personal charisma without necessarily having to go through a process of intellectual training (Ibid).

Here it is important to discuss the implications of this segmentation among Evangelical groups in terms of radio. The considerable fragmentation of the Evangelical market means that Evangelical radio needs to have a stronger branding strategy to appeal to a larger number of listeners. Thus, the Evangelical radio stations are faced with a difficult task: they need to present themselves as being able to offer something unique to their listeners, whilst also trying to bridge across all the differentiations between Evangelical groups.

It is also possible to draw a parallel between the Evangelical Churches' diversity and community radio. Niehbur's (1992) and Figueredo Filho's (2006) work suggests that the segmentation of Evangelical groups resonates with some of the debates within community media studies. For example, this idea of a 'do-it-yourself' religion, started by socially and economically underprivileged groups as a way to 'rebel' against the authoritarian, hierarchical and powerful churches echoes some of community media's core principles, such as offering an outlet for the oppressed to express themselves and

actively take control of their own media representations in a world of powerful media institutions.

Noticing an analogy between these forms of 'popular Evangelism' and community media, one has to recognise that these little Evangelical 'churches' are proliferating in destitute environments as a form of popular religious initiative. One of my aims, therefore, is to show that there are indeed strong links between community and Evangelical media in the context of Pau da Lima. It can be argued that the Evangelical churches are skilled radio makers and quite successful at appealing to their listeners. In the following sections, I wish to demonstrate that there are two important dimensions to this: a) the oral performances of Evangelical presenters, which are well-suited to the charismatic environment of the favela; b) a significant element of this success can be attributed to the fact that the Evangelical radio stations are often playing the role of community radio.

3.3. Evangelical Community Radio Stations in Pau da Lima.

Figueredo Filho (2006) notes that different Evangelical media outlets and, particularly, television and radio, frequently use a language that can aggregate all of the different Evangelical sub-groups (the Pentecostals as well as the 'Historicals') as a way to attract a larger audience and consolidate an 'Evangelical' media market. This perhaps provides a concrete example of what Paddy Scannell elsewhere calls a 'for-anyone-as-someone' communicative structure. Scannell's reasoning is this: radio and television 'are part of anyone's life' and thus 'must be organised in such ways that anyone and everyone can use and understand them' (2000, p. 5). Whilst, obviously, not everyone will equally enjoy these programmes, they still need to be designed 'as to be intelligible to just about everyone' (Ibid). Who exactly do such programmes address, Scannell asks, and how? Is it the millions of people who watch or tune in? Are these programmes catering for 'the masses'? The author then states that 'the answer is surely, no'. According to Scannell, what is unique about broadcasting is that whilst TV and radio programmes and daily newspapers 'are seen, heard or read by millions (by anyone and someone)', they manage 'to speak to viewers, listeners or readers personally, as individuals'. Therefore, these are, in Scannell's words, 'for me or anyone' (Scannell, 2000, p.5).

Similarly, I would suggest that a Pan-Evangelical listenership is being created in Pau da Lima. I noticed, for instance, that the (unlicensed) community FM radio stations played in their overall programming different (secular) music genres, but also allocated several daily slots for Evangelical programmes from various Churches located in the neighbourhood. Thus, these programmes were based on the premise that the Evangelical programming could be for 'anyone', as Scannell (2000) puts it. At the same time, when I listened to these Evangelical programmes, I was struck by the ways in which the presenters, often pastors, would offer counselling and speak of problems such as alcoholism in the family or lack of money, which could appeal to a large number of residents, but as individuals. Therefore, these Evangelical programmes on community radio seem to embrace a 'for-anyone-as-someone' communicative structure (Scannell, 2000).

The connections between community and Evangelical radio are explained by Paulinho FP, the founder of APRACOM, or the Association of Community Radio Professionals in Bahia and director of a community radio station called Copacabana Comunitária, located in the neighbourhood of Cosme de Farias:

> *'In our station, we play all the music genres – pagode baiano, pagode carioca, Música Popular Brasileira, romantic international, arrocha, reggae, hip hop[12]. We play everything to please our listeners. We also have Evangelical programmes from 10 am to noon and from 5 to 6 pm. These community radio stations, most of the time, they have Evangelical programmes. When we started with these programmes here we were criticised. People would say: these believers, they are no good. But I would say: don't do that... you have 7 hours of secular music here. The brothers, they are speaking about Jesus... it's good for our neighbourhood. There's a third one on the way... The presenters are usually pastors. When they can't come they send someone who is well prepared and knowledgeable about the scripture'.[13]*

Here it is noticeable that the radio presenters are aware that the Evangelicals constitute a group that cannot be ignored or neglected. It is, thus, commonsensical to also include

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[12] In Chapter 5, I discuss the cultural baggage of some of these popular music genres.
[13] Interview on 10 December 2007

daily Evangelical shows in their programming. This is also confirmed by Dilan, the founder of Pau da Lima's Planeta FM.

> *At Planeta FM we have three daily slots for Evangelical programmes – one early in the morning, from 6 to 8, another at lunch-time, from 12 to 2, and the other late at night, at 10 pm. You simply can't have a community radio station in a popular neighbourhood and not have any Evangelical programmes. The Evangelicals represent such a significant percentage of the population in places like Pau da Lima. We would be really stupid not to have these programmes. What's the harm in saying the name of Jesus, right? Plus, we have to try and please everyone, all the different people who live in the neighbourhood.[14]*

At this point, it is relevant to consider what these slots represent in terms of listening peak hours. According to IBOPE's[15] 2008 study on radio audience in Salvador, on week days approximately 10 percent of the population listens to the radio at 6 am, reaching approximately 15 percent by 8am, when Planeta FM's morning Evangelical programme ends. Whilst this is not the peak time in the morning, the audience is fairly significant during the second half of the morning Evangelical slot. From 12 to 2 pm the listenership starts around 20 percent and decreases to slightly over 15 percent by the end of the slot. After 10pm, the listenership tends to stay slightly above 10 percent and below 15 percent. Therefore, there are no significant differences in terms of the percentages of listeners who are tuned in during the slots in which the Evangelical programmes broadcast. Yet, it is remarkable that these Evangelical programmes are the very first thing that the residents of Pau da Lima can listen to on the community radio stations when they wake up and the very last before they go to bed. What this means in terms of the ways in which radio fits within the rhythms of daily life in Pau da Lima will be discussed later in this chapter when discussing radio and daily rituals.

Unlike commercial mainstream FM radio stations with their clearly defined target audiences (for instance, Piatã FM appeals largely to a working class listenership, whilst Globo FM is more aimed at middle class listeners), it seems as if Pau da Lima's local

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[14] Interview on 28 November 2007
[15] Brazilian Institute of Public Opinion and Statistics

radio stations are trying to cater for as many different groups in the favela as they can. Clearly, the radio practitioners are aware of the diversity that exists within the community and that religion represents a very important element within this diversity. However, there is more to this than merely trying to cater for the Evangelicals because, in practical terms, they can't alienate this audience. Edu, for instance, did not describe himself as being a particularly religious person. However, he felt that in the context of the poverty and economic destitution of Pau da Lima, 'saying the name of Jesus' could be beneficial. During our interview, he constantly justified the existence of Evangelical slots on Planeta FM by saying:

> *'People here, they are sick and tired of hearing about poverty, hunger, violence. They see that every day on the streets, in their homes, right under their noses. When you have the possibility of talking about Christ... it's an interesting message. I don't think it's right for a community station to say 'here we only have Evangelical programmes'. No, that's wrong, the station needs to be plural. But if you're here, using this microphone, I don't think you should talk about violence, talk about peace instead... but what happens is that ... the Evangelicals always knock on our doors. If the other segments don't knock at your door... what can you do?'* [16]

Therefore, practitioners such as Paulinho and Dilan tend to use the following arguments to justify the presence of Evangelical programmes in their 'community' radio stations. Firstly, the station needs to appeal to the different groups of the community. As a numerically significant group, the Evangelicals cannot be ignored. Secondly, the messages of religious programmes tend to be positive, focusing on peace, love, 'speaking of Jesus Christ' and thus are welcomed by people who experience a lot of violence and poverty in their daily lives. Finally, they argue that the stations need to be plural, offering a space to the different religions that exist in Pau da Lima. In reality, often one does not find such plurality on the stations' programming as the Evangelicals seem to have much more space on air than other religious groups. The radio practitioners justify this by saying it is simply because the Evangelicals have more initiative, seeking the stations more.

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[16] Interview on 28 November 2007

The practitioners' arguments for having Evangelical programmes on the stations have a logic. It is no coincidence that the Evangelical churches flourish precisely amongst those who are most needy and in a situation of economic and social vulnerability (Freston, 2001). However, their premise, namely that the Evangelicals are the only religious group who seek space in the neighbourhood radio is in danger of obscuring a much more complex picture.

It appears that being a 'religion of conversion'[17] (Pierucci, 2006[18]), the Evangelicals and particularly the Neo-Pentecostals (such as the UCKG) are much more forward in inviting people to the act of switching religion than other religious groups. One relevant example of a religion that is not characterised by the conversion aspect is Candomblé, an Afro-Brazilian religion commonly practiced in Salvador. Brought to Brazil with the slave trade, it mostly derives from Yoruba practices in West Africa and, differently from Neo-Pentecostalism, it is much more concerned with the preservation of its ethno-cultural heritage than with conversion (Pierucci, 2006). Thus, the use of radio as a tool for conversion is not an integral part of their ethos.

This is illustrated in one of my visits to Regina's house in the evening. I arrived when the Reborn in Christ Church's cult was taking place. The Church's sounds, amplified by loudspeakers directly from the church, were echoing on the hills of Recanto São Rafael, where Regina lives. The sounds of Gospel songs and singing were reverberating on the walls of Regina's living room. Occasionally the songs would give way to the pastor shouting on the microphone and to the voices of the followers shouting back to the pastor. I then mentioned to Regina that the loudness of the Evangelical voices gave me the impression that almost everyone in Pau da Lima was an Evangelical. She replied that, indeed, there are large numbers of Evangelicals around but that there were also other religions being practiced, such as Candomblé. *'It is just that there are more much hidden'*, she said.[19]

Therefore, the Evangelicals in Pau da Lima constantly made use of amplified sounds and radio to establish their presence in the public domain (Oosterbaan, 2009). The loud

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[17] Antonio Pierucci (2006) places religions such as the Historical Protestants (Presbyterians, Baptists, Lutherans), the Pentecostals and the Neo-Pentecostals in the category of 'religions of conversion'. Besides Candomble, Judaism, Greek and Russian Orthodox Churches also belong to the category of 'religions of preservation of ethno-cultural heritage'.
[18] Novos Estudos CEBRAP No.75 São Paulo.
URL: http://socialsciences.scielo.org/scielo.php?pid=S0101-33002006000200002&script=sci_arttext (Accessed 9 March 2010)
[19] Visit on 20 May 2009

voices and music were important tools, not only to make themselves heard, but also to attract and convert new followers. The singing and shouting echoed the strength of the Evangelicals as a legitimate religious and social group on the hills, affirming that they were there and that they deserved attention.

So far, I have touched upon the ways in which the Evangelical Churches frequently use sounds and radio as tools for conversion but what do the FM community radio stations have to gain from allowing themselves to be 'used'? Here it is important to point out that there is a business dimension to the connections between Evangelical and community radio. As it happens with national television broadcasters, such as Rede Bandeirantes (De Lima, 2008), these local FM stations also sell slots to the local Evangelical Churches or even to Evangelical 'pastors' themselves. Thus, like the adverts run in these stations by the small-scale local shops, this represents an important source of income.

The 'assistant-pastor' José[20] used to present a programme for the Pentecostal Church God is Justice[21] at the radio station Itapevi FM for two years. Although the owner of the station is not Evangelical, Itapevi FM had several daily programmes by various Evangelical churches as well as secular programmes. The pastor told me how he started to present a programme and how things worked at the station:

> *'My first time doing a programme was when a Pastor from my church asked me to go to the studio and profess the word (of God). I was really nervous. I had never done a radio programme. But I went and professed the word and when I finished, I relaxed... the Pastor liked my programme and told the owner of the station: from now on José is doing the programme. I started to really enjoy it. I had to pay them a fee, I thought the fee was a bit high. But I wanted to keep the programme on air, so I started to get some sponsorships. Some people did not even want to advertise anything but they didn't want the programme to be taken off air, do you understand? They helped me for the sake of helping, even if I didn't say anything about their shop, without any commercials, helping was their objective, do you understand? And they liked the programme. In the beginning I had to put in some of my own money to*

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[20] Fictitious name
[21] In Portuguese, Deus é Justiça

pay for the slot. Later I started to have advertising and it then wasn't so tight with money anymore [22].

This extract suggests that the way in which the local radio stations work with the Evangelical Churches and pastors is very similar to the way they work with the non-Evangelical presenters. Presenters are expected to pay a fee for the slot but they can keep 50 percent of the advertising revenue generated during their programmes (50 percent goes to the station). Once pastor-presenters have managed to attract a fairly loyal listenership, they can seek 'sponsorships', which could be given to them by local entrepreneurs and shops owners 'just for the sake of helping' or in exchange for broadcasting announcements about their shops, events or products. As noted in Chapter 6, words such as 'sponsorships' or 'partnerships', rather than 'advertising' or 'advertisers' are frequently used as a way to avoid the station being perceived as commercial. In practice, however, this can be understood as another dimension to entrepreneurship. Thus, the grassroots Evangelical programmes can be seen as constituting another aspect of the 'making a living' ethos which was explored in Chapter 6. Interestingly, like the adverts run by the local shops and the announcements broadcast by the lamp post radio, these programmes contribute to the idea that noise is money in Pau da Lima. It becomes evident from this scenario that there are no clear-cut boundaries between Evangelical and FM community radio stations in Pau da Lima. In chapter 6, I argued that community radio stations have commercial elements; here we can see that this religious nature is in itself inflected with commercialism at an individual level.

Besides noticing that all the local FM stations had several daily Evangelical slots in their programming, during one of my visits to Edu I also heard the programming of a particularly interesting station, Panorama FM, which called itself 'pan-evangelical'. Like the other FM stations I had come across, the station was unlicensed. However, it was not located in Pau da Lima but in a neighbouring area that residents could not really identify. This is how the station promoted itself during its programming:

> *Panorama FM. 97.9. It's nine minutes past twelve. Denominations without barriers. Assemblies, Baptists, International of Grace, Reborn, God is Love,*

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[22] Interview on 13 December 2007

Winners in Christ, Pentecostals. The choice is yours, but join our kingdom. Panorama FM. All day by your side. 97.9. A new world.[23]

From this excerpt of Panorama FM's programming, it emerges that there is a good degree of validity to some of Figueredo Filho's (2006) claims that the media might be playing a role in bridging the differences between different Evangelical groups. Given the impressive rise of the Neo-Pentecostals and the large numbers of small churches which flourish on a daily basis and as a result of popular initiative in impoverished neighbourhoods such as Pau da Lima, it seems as if these local radio stations are making a deliberate attempt to attract listeners from various churches and even non-Evangelicals. In order to achieve this, Panorama FM recognise the need to address 'anyone-as-someone' (Scannell, 2000).

3.4. Charisma *of* and *in* Pau da Lima.

The flourishing of Evangelical Churches and Evangelical radio cannot be fully explained without a brief discussion, at this point, of charisma. This has important implications for radio because it appears that the medium is particularly well-suited to channel the charisma *of* and *in* Pau da Lima.

One moment when this suitability was particularly apparent came on 'Children's Day', when I took part in a small party at Valéria's *'escolinha'* (small school or nursery). She was very pleased because in our collective effort we had managed to gather toys for each one of the nursery's thirty five children and to offer them some snacks and drinks. After the party was over, we climbed up from the lowlands of Baixa Fria and walked past a small square in the upper area going towards her house in Recanto São Rafael. We were both exhausted but when we reached the square, there was a small bar playing Valéria's favourite music style, and so she gave a big smile: '*Oh, seresta, that's nice...*'[24]

As we approached Valéria's house, I noticed many other sounds: music, neighbours talking, and kids playing. We then bumped into two young women who were Fio Cruz researchers and who I had met through Regina: Eliane and Nara. They were both

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[23] Transcribed from the radio in Edu's house, during a visit on 1 December 2007
[24] From my fieldnotes, 12 October 2007

wearing white medical lab coats, apparently returning from their research with patients in the field. I could see drops of sweat rolling down their foreheads. On one hand, they were holding a medical case with a big red cross. However, Eliane also had a portable radio on the other hand. They were dancing as they climbed up the hill and listened to the *pagode* song:

'Toda boa, toda boa, ela é toda boa (all sexy, all sexy, she is all sexy)'

Valéria and I greeted the girls and kept walking. I could not help laughing to the sight of the two girls dressed very professionally as medical researchers and dancing *pagode* whilst holding their medical cases. Our walking from the nursery in the lowlands to the upper areas was a multi-sensorial experience with us being confronted with various scenarios, rhythms, and smells. In other words, what we encountered on our way to Valéria's house could be referred to as the charisma of the neighbourhood.

My use of the word charisma here can be traced to the work of Blom Hansen and Oskar Verkaaik. They note how the concept of charisma has been extended. Charisma, they argue, 'is no longer an inalienable quality of a select few individuals' (Hansen and Verkaaik, 2009, p. 6). Rather, it has 'entered mainstream popular and commercial culture' and can be applied not only to persons but also to 'larger and non-human entities such as cities, sites, objects and collectivities' (Ibid). The authors are interested in two types of charisma: the charisma *of* the city and the charisma *in* the city (Ibid, p.9). This is how they define the charisma *of* the city: it is present in the sense of the myth of a city 'which imbues its physical sites and objects, and thus the people who live in them, with unique capabilities and even magical forms of agency' (Ibid). Additionally, according to Hansen and Verkaaik (2009):

> 'Charisma in the city rests on special forms of knowledge, networks, connectedness, courage and daring that enable some individuals – politicians, gangsters, business tycoons and the everyday hustler – to assume leadership, or to claim hidden and dangerous abilities and powers. These two forms of charisma, one mythical, the other performative, are mutually dependent and live off one another' (p. 9).

Here, in the context of Pau da Lima, however, I am not using the term charismatic to simply describe a manipulative leader who uses his 'hidden' abilities to manipulate vulnerable followers, for instance. Instead, I am thinking of the word 'charismatic' in terms of its wider performative sense. Charisma *in* the city, as Hansen and Verkaaik (2009) put it, manifests on 'how cities in both their phantasmic and physical forms are interpreted and acted upon by the people living in their midst' (p. 12). It also emerges in 'the capacity for 'urban gestures' and actions – acting, showing oneself and performing within registers that are known to, and understood by, people in specific neighbourhoods, whether as individuals or as crowds' (p. 13).

Martijn Oosterbaan (2009) adopts Hansen and Verkaaik's two modes of urban charisma (*of* and *in* the city) and applies them to a favela in Rio de Janeiro. His discussion of charisma *in* the city in relation to the pastors of the local churches of the Assemblies of God is of particular relevance here (Oosterbaan, 2009, p. 95). These pastors, he argues, are regarded as important leaders of the community not only because they live as 'good Christians', but because 'they were competent performers who could deliver a powerful sermon' (Ibid). Oosterbaan adds that:

> 'A convincing sermon is not merely dependent on the choice of the right topic, biblical reference or narrative frame. Equally important are the style, the force and timbre of the pastor. Furthermore, equally in local Pentecostal Churches, the proof of one's sanctified (charismatic) position is demonstrated when one starts to speak in tongues (glossalalia) during a church service or sermon'. (Ibid)

Importantly, it has been argued that the popularity of Pentecostalism is Latin American might be partially attributed to its recognition of the cultural importance of orality. Quentin Schultze (1994), for instance, has suggested that 'Pentecostalism is very successful in Latin America, among other reasons, because it allows for an emphasis on performance and playfulness, which many religious practices that are highly text-centred lack' (Schultze, 1994, p. 78, cited in Oosterbaan, 2009, p. 95).

Regina gave me a very vivid account of the performances which are characteristic of some Evangelical cults. She was a member of the Assembly of God for nearly ten years. However, at the time of my fieldwork, she had left the church for almost five years. Although her description is rather sarcastic, which might be a consequence of her status

as an ex-convert, it helps illustrate the importance of oral and theatrical performance for Evangelicals:

> *'One time we were in a cult and there were people falling down, getting up, doing those strange movements. One of my friends, he was standing next to me and then he looked at one of the guys who was moving like crazy. He poked me and whispered: look, he looks like Michael Jackson moon walking... There was another woman, she was on her knees praying and there was a photographer in the church. The photographer was taking pictures of everyone, taking pictures of a lot of people, and she was on her knees, she said that she was praying but I think that she was sleeping, taking a nap, and then she suddenly woke up disoriented, she stood up and said: look, brothers, I had a vision, I saw many flashes, I saw angels! If only she knew that it was just the photographer (laughing).*[25]

Leaving aside Regina's mocking tone, one can get a sense of how active participation in the church was evaluated in terms of performance. Being in touch with God implied showing it to other people, even if in a somewhat awkward and unconvincing manner. The believers were expected to demonstrate their levels of connectedness with God by falling down, standing up, moving, getting down on their knees, closing their eyes, and speaking in tongues. Further, one can sense the playfulness, the engagement with religion being achieved through enactment, singing and dancing rather than just reading a religious text.

4. Listening to Community/Evangelical Radio in Pau da Lima.

4.1. Tuning in With God: Charisma and Evangelical Radio.

So far, I have discussed the charisma *of* Pau da Lima and how this charisma manifests in the daily live through multi-sensorial experiences. I have also dealt with charisma *in* Pau da Lima and analysed how the Evangelical pastors and cults personify and embody this charisma. In this section, I analyse the ways in which radio channels charisma through the oral performances of pastors/presenters on Evangelical radio programmes.

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[25] Interview on 20 May 2009

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Yet, this discussion of radio from the 'studio side' of the microphone is subordinate to my investigation of what happens in the homes and public spaces of Pau da Lima.

The premise here, as Oosterbaan (2008) argues is that 'the Holy Spirit can be transmitted through radio and television waves or, in fact, is often thought to have the same shape' (p.137). This is what the author observed during some of the UCKG's television and radio broadcasts:

> 'The pastors of the Universal Church invite the audience to place a cup of water near the radio or on the television. Through the instrument of the 'oração forte' – powerful prayer—the water obtains the curative powers of the Holy Spirit. At the end of the programme, the audience is invited to drink the water together' (Ibid).

Therefore, for many Evangelicals, the act of tuning in to an Evangelical radio station can be considered 'an important means to be in touch with God' as the medium is able to produce an 'experience of real presence' (Oosterbaan, 2008, p. 126). The media's power of 'animated living presence' is also explored by Jeffrey Sconce (2000, p. 3). The author looks at electronic media as a route to the other world, being able to connect people to other planets and spirits. Sconce (2000) notes that 'in the age of telegraphy and wireless, many believed that telegraphs and crystal sets could be used to contact incredible and unseen yet real worlds, be them extrasensory or extraterrestrial' (p. 10). Radio, in particular, has an 'ethereal presence of communication without bodies' (Ibid). Thus, as Sconce puts it, 'this allows for the possibility of other similarly preternatural interlocutors, invisible entities, who like distant telegraphs and wireless operators could be reached through a most utilitarian application of the technology' (Ibid).

Some of these ideas can be seen in the daily rhythms of Seu Carlitos' wife, Dona Joana. The couple belongs to Seventh Day Adventist Church. Dona Joana has a very active role in the church, helping organise events and holding bible reading sessions in their house. Seu Carlitos is also religious but to a lesser extent, which makes him sometimes refer to his wife ironically as 'Sister Joana'. Dona Joana says that she wakes up every day at 5 am to 'study the bible'. Then she switches on the radio to listen to the Adventist AM radio station, Radio Novo Tempo, to listen to the programme *É Tempo de Oração* (It is Time for Prayer).

'People can send prayer requests to the presenters, they may call them, or send e-mails. Then the presenter selects a few requests. For example, someone is going to have a serious surgery or wants to thank God for a blessing that they received. The presenter reads the requests and invites all the listeners to pray for that person. He is a great speaker and the stories and prayers draw you in. I think that this is a really good way to start the day, you're praying and you're praying for other people, together with other people[26].'

This points to a belief in the radio as a form of channel of holiness. It is almost as if the radio was absorbing all the listeners' prayers and sending them to the person who requested them—the prayer receiver. Through praying and through the competent oral performance and storytelling of the pastor, Dona Joana feels closer to God and feels ready to start the day. Besides experiencing the presence of God through the prayers of the presenter, she can also experience the presence of other 'brothers in Christ' as all of them simultaneously join a powerful chain of prayer.

Seu Carlitos implicitly acknowledges the 'other-wordly' (as Sconce puts it) aspect of Dona Joana's radio listening. I asked him about how he and Dona Joana would negotiate their listening habits, to which he replied:

> *Seu Carlitos: Early in the morning she always listens to the same programme, I forgot the name. It's something like... they read the bible, read a message or something, people call the station. I think that her friends also listen to this programme. They all follow it.*
> *Andrea: Then what do you listen to?*
> *Seu Carlitos: That's why I bought my little portable radio. Joana listens to the radio in the living room. I think it would be really ignorant of me to want to compete with her at that time, I mean, what I want to listen, compared to her... it's mundane. So, I just go somewhere else with my little radio, I don't get in her way.[27]*

Therefore, Seu Carlitos contrasts his 'mundane' listening habits to Dona Joana's 'holy' listening habits. He might not be sharing this moment of mediated mass prayer with his

[26] Interview with Dona Joana and Seu Carlitos on 20 November 2007
[27] Interview with Dona Joana and Seu Carlitos on 20 November 2007

wife but he nevertheless respects it as something somewhat devotional. Seu Carlitos does not wish to stand in her way of being in touch with God and other 'brothers in Christ'. Instead, he acknowledges the 'other-worldly' properties of Evangelical radio and the ways in which it appears capable of channelling energy for the well-being of those who are in need.

There is, then, an important *affective* dimension to radio listening in Pau da Lima – at least, for religious programming. This can be seen quite vividly if we attend to the relationship between belief and music in the favela. Take, for example, Edu. He is a listener to Evangelical radio. But, as previously noted, he is not Evangelical himself. Ironically, he is a pagode dancer, a rhythm which is often referred to by the Evangelicals informants as sinful, dirty, and depraved. For instance, these are the words of Seu Carlitos, to describe the rhythm of pagode:

> *'Me, I don't like pagode. Pagode for me is a bad name. It's the same thing as to talk about something that I can't listen. It's like swearing in front of a small child. To talk about pagode, I don't want to hear it.'*[28]

Seu Carlitos refuses to listen or even to speak about pagode. For him, it seems as if listening to pagode is like listening to the devil himself. This aversion to the 'sinful rhythm' of pagode resonates with some of Oosterbaan's (2008) findings in a Rio de Janeiro favela. The author affirms that, from the 'perspective of the adherent of the Pentecostal churches, their 'Godly' sound and gospel music contrasts with the wordly sounds of their neighbours' (p. 82). In the context of the Rio de Janeiro favelas, one of the counterpoints of gospel music is the popular funk music that is played at parties (Ibid). Whilst gospel is associated with God, funk music is associated with drug trading, promiscuous sex, and the devil (Ibid).

In the context of the 'popular neighbourhoods' of Salvador, *pagode* replaces funk as the rhythm that is most frequently played at parties and, as a consequence, most looked down upon by the Evangelicals. The dancing style, which involves sensuous moves and good amounts of thrusting and grinding, tends to be perceived as immoral. Nevertheless, being a professional *pagode* dancer does not prevent Edu or his wife Camila, who is also not an Evangelical, from enjoying Gospel Music. Listening to the

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[28] Interview on 20 November 2007

programming of Panorama FM in his house, I ask him about what he enjoys the most in the station, to which he replies:

> *Edu: I really enjoy the accolade music. It is so peaceful and it makes me feel good.*
>
> *Andrea: But you and Camila are not Evangelicals right?*
>
> *Edu: Right. But the fact that we're not going to any church doesn't mean that we're not God fearing.*
>
> *Camila: These kinds of songs are always good, the accolades, praising the Lord, they warm up our heart[29].*

For Edu and Camila, listening to Evangelical programmes was not at all dependent on their church going habits. This perhaps is an example of a more universal theme noted in the study of religious behaviour in the late-twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, what Grace Davie has referred to as 'believing without belonging' (1994). Davie discusses religion in post-war Britain, focusing on the contradictions that permeate this field of enquiry, such as 'the increasingly evident mismatch between statistics relating to religious practice and those which indicate levels of religious belief' (Davie, 1994, p. 4). Davie observes a paradoxical situation in which, 'on the one hand, variables concerned with feelings, experience and the more numinous aspects of religious belief demonstrate considerable persistence' (Ibid). On the other, she notes, variables 'which measure religious orthodoxy, ritual participation and institutional attachment display an undeniable degree of secularisation' (Ibid, p. 5).

Davie then turns her attention to religious broadcasting as extreme cases of belief without belonging (1994, p. 113). She cites the example of Thought for the Day' on BBC Radio Four and suggests that the 'most significant aspect of religious broadcasting lies in its somewhat uneasy relationship with the institutional churches' (Ibid). Religious broadcasting seems to 'permit, encourage, even, a rather self-indulgent form of armchair religiosity' (Ibid).

This idea of 'self-indulgent' religiosity can be applied to the religious listening habits of Edu and Camila. By 'warming up their hearts' the Evangelical programmes seem to be providing them with emotional comfort rather than facilitating their affiliation to the

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[29] Visit on 1 December 2007

nearest Evangelical Church. The notion that gospel songs were good for one's body and soul was also recurrent in other non-Evangelical households, such as Juliana, Preta and Jurema's. Similarly to Edu and Camila, they did not identify themselves as 'church goers' and I had heard them listen to 'worldly' music such as *pagode* several times on the radio. However, Jurema also admitted that she often felt consoled when listening to gospel songs, whether in Evangelical slots in Pau da lima's local radio stations, in neighbouring areas' 'pan-Evangelical stations', or in mainstream larger-scale FM stations, such as the UCKG's Aleluia FM.

> *'I used to listen to a Pastor who had a programme in Planeta FM. The songs, they are soothing when you're nervous. I like accolade songs, they're good for you, they bring you the word of God, you know, it can't do you any harm.'*[30]

As with Edu and his wife, Jurema speaks of the Evangelical songs as if they were a form of remedy with which to combat the malaise of everyday life – the stress, the anxiety, the emotional unease. This echoes some of Tia de Nora's (2000) claims in her study of music and everyday life. De Nora finds that music can play a key role in what she calls the 'care of self', helping actors 'shift mood or energy levels, as perceived situations dictate' (p. 53). Thus, De Nora concludes, the specific properties of music – 'its rhythms, gestures, harmonies, styles' are used to guide listeners to 'where they wish to be or go, emotionally, physically and so on' (Ibid). In her words, 'when respondents are choosing music as part of this care of self, they are engaging in self-conscious articulation work, thinking ahead about the music that might work for them' (Ibid). Therefore, the listeners in Pau da Lima seem to be constantly using evangelical programmes and gospel music for purposes of 'care of self'. My informants were aware of music's intrinsic mood generating qualities and would deliberately use them according to their emotional states and needs.

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[30] Interview on 4 December 2007

4.2. Evangelical Radio and Counselling.

In one of my visits to Regina, she decided to take me to her sister's house. Regina's sister, Rita, also lives in Pau da Lima in the lowlands behind the school Cleriston Andrade. In order to go to Rita's house, we took a 15-minute walk. We had to go up the hills from Regina's house to the main avenue and then down again through a little alley behind the main avenue which led to Rita's house. On our way there, Regina kept 'warning' me that her sister was very 'different' from her and that sometimes 'she does not make much sense'. Rita and Regina grew up apart in separate houses. Because her mother died and her father was an alcoholic, Regina was 'adopted' by a middle-class woman and moved to Salvador. This allowed her to have access to education. She managed to complete secondary school and had recently been admitted into university as a mature student of nutrition. However, at the same time, she often told me that her childhood had been traumatising and she showed mixed feeling towards the woman she calls an 'aunt'. Although her 'aunt' had enrolled Regina at school, she often treated her more as a 'maid' than as a daughter, expecting her to do various house chores, whilst her own children had much more free time to play.

As for Rita, she had to stay at home in the countryside taking care of their alcoholic father and she did not have access to education. Regina told me she felt a bit guilty about having had much better opportunities in life than her sister. She also often felt frustrated by her inability to help Rita get a proper job, become financially independent, find a 'decent husband' and quit drinking. At the same time, with her demanding full-time job at Fio Cruz, her studying at the university and raising three children on her own, Regina was aware that she could not be as available for Rita as she wished. The visit, thus, was an attempt to check on her and make sure she was doing well. Regina often worried that Rita lived alone but there was not much she could do about it. When we arrived at Rita's door, I understood what Regina meant when she said that 'Rita was different from her'. It was late in the afternoon, yet Rita was still wearing her night gown and holding an old doll on her arms, which created a somewhat sad and disconcerting picture. Physically, she looked a lot like Regina, though appeared older and less cared-for.

As soon as we entered her house, Rita picked up a piece of paper and waved it to Regina:

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Rita: It's the phone bill. 100 Reais.

Regina: How come? Who are you calling? Got a new lover?

Rita: I wish but no, just calling the pastor in a radio station.[31]

Rita then started to tell us a somewhat tragic-comic story:

'I found one of these Evangelical stations, right? I think it's around here somewhere, maybe in Castelo Branco[32]. It was late at night and they had one of these programmes – people phoning in, asking the pastor for advice. The pastor would then find a special 'word' for them from the Bible, the word of God. One day I picked up the phone and called the pastor. I was really drunk and just wanted to take a piss, right?'[33]

At this point, Regina was cracking up laughing and I did not quite know how to react or whether the story was going to have a funny ending. Rita continued:

'I told the pastor that I was drunk and I thought he was going to hang up on me, but he didn't, he started to listen. And I really liked listening to my voice on the radio. He told me that it was okay, that Jesus loved me, that I was not alone in my problems. He read the Bible, gave me advice. So, I started to call every night, when I knew he would be there, that pastor. It was late, I don't know who was listening. He invited me to church but I never went, never set foot there. I spent like a month doing this, calling him many times, drunk. It made me feel better. The pastor would tell me that drinking was a sin, but there was still salvation. There are lots of people who can recover, who can get out of it. But then, one day, I think he finally realised that I wasn't going to stop drinking or go to church or anything so he stopped answering my calls. Now I'm stuck with the phone bill.[34]

Rita's account might sound like little more than the story of a lonely woman, craving to be heard and to find some solutions for her various problems in life, including her excessive drinking. Although she was not necessarily searching for these solutions through converting to an Evangelical Church, it was when she tuned in to an

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[31] Visit to Regina on 14 December 2007
[32] A neighbouring area
[33] Visit to Regina on 14 December 2007
[34] Visit to Regina on 14 December 2007

Evangelical station that she found someone who was apparently willing to listen to her (at least, for a while). This points to the potentially therapeutic properties of radio and, in this particular case, Evangelical-community radio. Hendy (2000) and Crisell (2004) have shown how the medium can be particularly suitable for intimacy. Alone, in the privacy of their homes, listeners can phone the stations, talk about their problems, ask for advice and open up to the presenters (and other listeners). The premise is that, given the blindness of radio, these listeners might feel more comfortable and prone to personal confessions without intimidating cameras pointing at their faces.

In his account of 'therapeutic' radio, Hendy (2007) points out how a programme called 'If You Think You Got Problems, aired by London's BBC 4 in 1971, 'had tried to inform the general listener, to give him some insight and to offer the succour of shared experience to listeners with a similar problem' (2007, p. 231). Despite the very different contexts, this idea of counselling via personal success stories also seems applicable to the Evangelical/community radio station in Pau da Lima's neighbouring area whose 'pastor' Rita started calling. In her case, it is as though, through the radio and by listening to the pastor's advice, she could find out that she was not the only person with serious problems. Rita felt better, felt accepted and, importantly, the pastor's counselling gave her hope, even if temporarily, that she, like many other people, could also find her 'salvation', overcoming her alcoholism, her loneliness, her personal obstacles. However, ultimately, it appears as if the 'pastor' was aiming for conversion through counselling and, interestingly, trying to do both via the radio. Once Rita kept 'failing' to turn up at the church, to follow his advice to quit drinking, the pastor stopped answering her calls.

It is then, reasonable to suggest that the Evangelical/community radio station represented a type of mediated therapist's couch for Rita. For her, as with listeners to 'If You Think You've Got Problems', radio was supplying advice to those who had neither the money nor the social experience to seek 'professionally qualified advisors.' In this way, the programme 'compensated for deficiencies in the social services', helping 'reassure people in difficulties that they were not alone' (Hendy, 2007, p.232).

Nevertheless, this idea of the 'talking cure' being achieved via radio brings other problems. Deborah Cameron (2000) analyses the ways in which 'communication' has come to represent 'the cause and the remedy for all the world's problems' (p. 182). She

argues that 'therapeutic discourse norms formalise certain beliefs and values as norms of talk: it is considered important that feelings should not merely be felt, but actively verbalised' (p. 157). She exemplifies this by referring to ordinary talk and how a recurring cliché is that one must not 'bottle things up', that is, one should not keep feelings inside oneself. Thus, it is said that preventing feelings from 'finding an outlet' might have dangerous outcomes. According to this rationale, as Cameron puts it, 'talking is good because it defuses explosive inner states'. Yet 'the goal is not only to provide an outlet for bottled up feelings, it is also to make these feelings available for inspection and reflection – to speak them so that they may subsequently be spoken about' (Cameron, 2000, p.157).

Consequently, the author adds that whenever an individual 'does not try to communicate what is inside (is not open, does not share), misrepresents what is inside (is not honest) or fails to represent what is inside intelligibly because s/he does not possess sufficient skill', this is considered a communication problem (Cameron, 2000, p. 159). Therefore, Cameron questions this incorporation of 'talking cure' into what she refers to as 'regimes of verbal hygiene' and whose objects are people who are merely trying to cope with everyday unhappiness and conflict or who might be 'confronting more serious problems which, however, have little to do with the way they talk and are unlikely to be cured by a dose of communication training' (Cameron, 2000, p. 175).

Similarly, whilst talking on air was initially exciting and enjoyable for Rita, it is questionable that it was beneficial for her in the long term. Rita's personal history and life problems were too complex to be fully understood and dealt with through a few minutes of on-air interaction with the pastor on Evangelical radio. In the end, the pastor would no longer take her phone calls and Rita ceased to be radio novelty and he was no longer interested in her speaking her problems so that he could speak about them, as Cameron suggests. The immediate emotional relief and the pastor's temporary companionship gave way to the frustration of being left with a one hundred Reais phone bill.

4.3. Losing my Religion: Monitoring what church members listen to.

Regina's religious and listening experiences have been quite different from those of her sister. She had quit the Assembly of God for five years by the time of my fieldwork and

seemed quite disappointed about the church. However, she still recognised that the church had an important role at a different time in her life. It was as if being an 'Evangelical' was something she had to go through in order to be where she is now— at the university, with a job, having raised her children, and so on. However, she also referred to the times she spent going to church as the years in which she had a 'limited mind'. During one of my follow-up visits to her house, she told me the whole story regarding her religious path.

> *'Listen, when I accepted Jesus, that's how they say it, it was at a time that I was suffering a lot in my life. I was going through some rough, sad times. I got divorced. I was alone with my two younger children. Tatiana was only three. Nelson was four. Their dad used to drink a lot. I was so traumatised that I thought I could only find the right person if I was inside the church. I wanted someone who would never drink, you know? I really needed to be sure of that. To see a family going to the church together, I thought this was the most beautiful thing in the world. I wanted everything to be nice and clean, not to swear, I wanted... it was a moment I was going through in my life. I couldn't see what I see today. I saw my niece getting ready for church, she didn't have any vanity. I thought that she was happy, she didn't suffer, she didn't seem to go through what I was going through and I thought that this was because of the church. I didn't see what I see today... that she is oppressed, that she suffers a lot with her husband. The believers... they think you have to carry your cross, as they say, it's the will of God...'[35]*

Regina seems to confirm some of the points which have emerged from the episode of her sister spending a lot of money with 'getting counselling' via the Evangelical radio. She attributes her conversion to her fragile emotional state at the time, with lots of problems in her marriage and personal life. Given the hardships of life in the favela, joining the church was the only guarantee that she could keep an alcoholic husband (and alcohol in general) away from her family and her life. The church represented the shortcut to achieve a happy life, with 'clean' habits, and without the suffering which seemed to characterise life. But, as well as supplying a network of support, the Church also acted as a network of surveillance – pastors using all forms of what Regina called

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[35] Visit on May 2009

'psychological pressures' to tell people about what they should consume and not consume, including media:

> Regina: You could only listen to Evangelical radio, preferably the station of the Assembly of God.
>
> Andrea: And what happened if you listened to non-Evangelical music? Would you feel guilty?
>
> Regina: You can't. With me what happened was... I loved a song that reminded me of my teenage years. I heard it playing at the neighbour's house and I listened to it. Then, I was such an idiot, I would go to the church and ask for forgiveness because I listened to that song and it reminded me of a part of my life! They say in the church that remembering the times in which you were a part of 'the world' is like eating your own vomit. So I would go and ask for forgiveness and so on. When you're new in the faith, as they say, you do a lot of stupid things like that. In the end, I didn't say anything to anybody. When I left the church it was precisely because of these things. I went back to school and started studying again, opening up my mind. It's pointless! I couldn't read a book other than the holy bible or an Evangelical book!
>
> Andrea: And how do they check? How can they find out what you are listening to, who is listening to what? Who is watching what?
>
> Regina: They use a form of psychological torture.
>
> Andrea: How is that?
>
> Regina: They have... they say they have revelations. So you go there and the pastor says something like: you, the one who is unemployed, the one who is ill, the one who has problems in the family... They have these so-called revelations. But, of course, there is always going to be someone in the crowd who is ill, unemployed, having problems in the family! Then they say: God is showing me that someone in here has been watching TV. God is telling me that one of you is listening to music of the world. My son, Nelson, had to ask for forgiveness so many times isn't it, Nelson? Every single Saturday, in the children's group, Nelson asked for forgiveness for watching Castelo Ratinbum (a popular children's programme)[36].

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[36] Visit on May 2009

Regina had been attracted to the Assembly of God because she felt as if she needed to be drastically pulled away from the 'temptations of the world', removing herself from this 'corrupted' world that had caused her pain and suffering. However, paradoxically, it was this same drastic removal that ended up alienating her from the church. The simple pleasures of music, such as its ability to trigger memories of her teenage years could no longer be enjoyed without guilt. As we have seen earlier in this chapter, Evangelical Christianity is permeated by the notion of sound and music as shortcuts for reaching God (Oosterbaan, 2008; 2009). For Regina, however, this worked in a slightly different manner. It was not so much that she broke the rule by tuning in to secular music, or music of the world. This was not what caused her to become disconnected from the church. Rather, what put her off was the fact that she was missing things like books, music, and radio so much. In other words, it seems as if, just like listening to Evangelical stations can serve as a direct bridge to God, it can also represent the disruption in the sought after road that takes one to God.

4.4. Ears Closed, Heart Closed: Keeping the 'Music of the World' Out.

Oosterbaan (2008) was struck by the ways in which a stark opposition between being 'Godly' and 'worldy' was being established through the use of sounds and music in a Rio de Janeiro favela (p. 126). Further, and similarly to the findings discussed in Chapter 5, 'music and sounds are important tools in the formation and maintenance of boundaries between different social groups' (Ibid). One of such group is that of the Evangelicals who often listen to Evangelical music and radio in order 'to signal their sanctified position in the harsh and complex social conditions of the favela' (Ibid).

During my first couple of visits to Seu Carlito and Dona Joana, both devoted members of the Seventh Day Adventist Church, this clearly seemed to be the case. When I first met her, Dona Joana told me about her religious beliefs and listening habits in a very straight forward way:

> *'I only like songs that praise the Lord, the other songs, they just don't enter in my heart, no way. Sometimes I might go to a party, my religion allows me, I can go to a wedding or a birthday party but I'm not going to drink, I don't get*

things mixed up. But if I go and they are only playing music of the world I really feel out of place'.[37]

Dona Joana's words offer further evidential support for Oosterbaan's (2009) findings, creating a very clear-cut separation between the Evangelical songs and 'the other songs'; the songs that 'enter in her heart' and the songs that do not; the world where she belongs—the world of God on Earth— and the 'worldly' world in which she feels out of place. It is possible, perhaps, to push this argument further. In some respects, Dona Joana also seems to be creating for herself a religion-induced 'auditory bubble', to use Michael Bull's (2004) term: she is blocking the unwanted sounds of the 'music of the world', keeping them away from her ears and away from her heart.

Nevertheless, as I kept going back to their house every week, a much more complex scenario started to be unveiled. Dona Joana and Seu Carlitos were extremely politicised. In the vast majority of my visits, we would end up discussing the upcoming elections, racism, social inequality, violence, corruption, and politics in the neighbourhood associations, amongst many other, sometimes rather controversial topics. This led me to the (obvious) realisation that being Evangelical did not mean being politically apathetic in any way. In other words, far from wanting to shut themselves off from the world, Seu Carlitos and Dona Joana seemed to be very interested in the world indeed. However, this should not be necessarily interpreted as a contradiction. As it was argued in the first sections of this chapter, religion is not always located at the opposite spectrum of science, just like emotion should not be considered as threatening to rationality.

As I got to know Seu Carlitos and Dona Joana better, I found that their favourite station was Novo Tempo AM, which (unsurprisingly) is the station that belongs to the Seventh Day Adventist Church. Obviously, being the radio station of *their* church influenced their choice. At the same time, they were both very keen on Novo Tempo's programming because the station had several programmes which offered health tips and advice for social matters. These programmes were different from the 'counselling' ones Rita had mentioned as they tended to focus on more everyday practical issues rather than emotional ones – how to feed your family on a budget, how to raise your children,

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[37] Visit on 6 October 2007

how to eat well, how to become informed about the elections, how to be more environmentally friendly, and so on. Dona Joana and Seu Carlitos tell me why they enjoy listening to Novo Tempo:

> *Seu Carlitos: In their programmes they have a pastor, like a teacher. They talk about education, what to do if your child is not doing well at school, how to motivate them. This is important, isn't it? It's good to learn how to deal with our kids better. The radio helps us learn these things.*
>
> *Dona Joana: They talk about health, how we should eat, do you understand? In our diet we shouldn't have too much cholesterol, sugar... they talk a lot about that. There's one day that they have a doctor who answers questions from women, questions to do with women's health issues.*[38]

In other words, what the couple appreciates most about their Church's AM Evangelical radio is the fact that they have an educational nature. As for the listening restrictions, or psychological pressures in their house, they seemed to confirm some of Figueredo Filho's ideas of a notion of 'pan-evangelism' being achieved through the media, and especially radio. Seu Carlitos explains to me how these restrictions work:

> *'Sister Joana, you know, most of the time she is listening to Novo Tempo and that's it. But if one is to listen to another station, then it could be another Evangelical, or it could be one of these neighbourhood radios, they always have Evangelical programmes too. I have my own little radio with me at all times. I listen to Sociedade AM, I listen to my football, the news about my Bahia (the team he supports). Sister Joana can't complain. First she knows I'm fanatic about football and there's nothing she can do about it. Second, Sociedade is owned by the UCKG, so it's not that bad...'*[39]

I was curious about his recurrent use of the expression 'Sister Joana' behind her back. Whilst Seu Carlitos always seemed to echo most of Dona Joana's religious viewpoints (at least, when she was present) he was also cynical about her being a bit

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[38] Visit on 27 October 2007
[39] Visit on 27 October 2007

over the top with her church going and 'world' avoiding. In a later visit, Dona Joana was not home and I could talk to him about his individual musical taste.

> *'You know what? If it weren't for Sister Joana, maybe I would have a party here. Not with heavy drinking or pagode or anything. I would play some seresta, forró, a little music to relax the nerves, some pop, electronic music. And you know what? I dance to everything. No one's ever taught me this but I know how to dance. If it's like... decent music, then there's nothing wrong. It's even good for your health... to listen to music and dance.'[40]*

This dialogue made me think of one of my writing students, Graça, who identified herself as a member of the UCKG but whom I had also seen dancing *pagode* in a house party on the hills of Pau da Lima. When I asked her if this would not be a problem given that she was an Evangelical, she answered:

> *'In my house we are Evangelicals but we also dance. My mother, for example, goes to church all the time but when you play a catchy song out loud, she is the first one to start moving. It doesn't matter what you listen to. What matters is what you believe in as long as you do as you believe. Don't do as you listen.[41]*

What can be inferred from this is that, even though it might be tempting to do so, one should still try to resist thinking of Evangelicals and Evangelical music in an overly deterministic way. Whilst the people I observed in Pau da Lima often use Evangelical radio and Evangelical programmes on community radio as instruments with which they can maintain their identities as Evangelicals and to establish and negotiate boundaries with the non-evangelicals, they can also use music 'to locate themselves in quite idiosyncratic and plural ways' (Stokes et.al, 1994, p. 3). Thus, it becomes evident that Evangelical religiosity does not necessarily imply political apathy and that 'warming up the heart' with Evangelical songs might not always mean having a stiff cold reaction to secular music, as Seu Carlitos finally admitted after a few visits.

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[40] Visit on 27 November 2007
[41] Visit on 10 November 2007

5. Conclusion.

This chapter has been based on the premise that, when viewed through the filter of radio, media and religion should not be seen as belonging to separate spheres. Religion has increasingly become part of the public domain. In the context of Pau da Lima, specifically, religious manifestations are ubiquitous and overt. The Evangelicals are prone to making themselves seen and heard through their temples, signs and their open-door cults, adding their voices to the rich soundscape of the favela. In addition, as with local media, religion in Pau da Lima is infused with business interests and commercialism. This is particularly the case with Neo-Pentecostal churches such as the UCKG, which are often cited as entrepreneurial or as being in the business of saving souls.

With regard to community radio and Evangelical radio, they often become one and the same in many ways. Firstly, there are many incidents of Evangelical programmes being broadcast on FM community radio. Secondly, there are also instances of local stations being purchased by local churches. Furthermore, community and Evangelical radio share a few traits such as being forms of do-it-yourself radio and do-it-yourself church and stemming from marginalised 'voiceless' communities.

One needs to be careful about speaking of Evangelicals as one homogenised group, just as one cannot speak of favelas as being *one* big amorphous conglomerate. Authors such as Freston (2001) and Figueredo Filho (2001) have drawn attention to the numerous sub-denominations and the great diversity that exists within Evangelical churches. However, my research indicates that the Evangelical media are often aiming at a Pan-Evangelical audience. This is also true with the local Pan-Evangelical FM stations which, as I observed, make explicit references to various different evangelical denominations, and with the Evangelical programmes being broadcast by the FM community radio stations, which constitute examples of 'for-anyone-as-someone' communicative structures (Scannell, 2000). At same time, Evangelical stations and programmes can appeal to listeners more interested in 'armchair religiosity' (Davie, 1994). They might not necessarily belong to or attend a church but they still enjoy listening to gospel songs and religious messages as part of a structure of care of self (De Nora, 2000).

Evangelical churches and Evangelical radio are very successful in the favela partly because they are very skilled at drawing on Brazil's rich tradition of aural culture and oral performance. Evangelical radio is able to channel the charisma *in* Pau da Lima (Hansen and Verkaaik, 2009) through the storytelling and competent performance of its presenters. At the same time, it contributes to the charisma *of* Pau Lima by adding yet one more layer to the soundscapes of the neighbourhood and being used as a tool for residents to express their identity and belonging to a social group.

Besides sharing traits with community radio, Evangelical radio often plays the role of community radio as well. It seems to be filling in a vacuum by offering badly needed advice, broadcasting educational messages, and allowing a degree of interaction. However, it is also characterised by potentially divisive messages as there are listeners like Regina who are put off by the 'psychological tortures' and intellectual limitations of some of the Evangelical churches.

Additionally, this analysis of Evangelical radio listening in Pau da Lima adds to our understanding of the ways in which 'money' (or lack of it) plays an important role in the community. Selling slots to Evangelical churches was an important source of income for the FM community radio stations whilst, similarly to presenters of non-Evangelical programmes, the presenters/pastors always had to seek 'partnerships', 'sponsorships', and to do their job in a way that fit the community's logic of trade and exchange. Obviously, this raises tensions and difficulties because, as I have noted earlier, it stands in contrast to many of the core values which revolve around community media, such as the fact that their driving force must never be profit. Yet, once again, this investigation of Evangelical radio in Pau da Lima demonstrates that the role of 'money' must not be written out of the script for community radio, but rather into it.

To conclude, listening to Evangelical radio or to Evangelical programmes on community radio is as paradoxical as the existence of *pagode*-dancing devout Christians. On the one hand, it can be perceived as empowering, fortifying the self-image and enhancing the sense of belonging of people who occupy the bottom of the social ladder in the Brazilian society. On the other hand, it has also been argued that it is alienating, promising false hopes of cure and prosperity and shying away from

social and politically radical activism. In any case, this is how Evangelical radio in the favela works: you might not believe it, but you will certainly hear it.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has consisted in an immersion in the daily listening experiences of the residents of Pau da Lima, a favela in Salvador. Although the favela is, in general, an environment full of contradictions, its representations within the mainstream media are often marked by a sense of binary oppositions. The favela tends to be either romanticised or criminalised; sometimes it is referred to as the soul of the city whilst, at other times, it is considered a sick body within it. This is one of the reasons why studying the role of radio within people's lives becomes relevant in this context. It acts as a 'social text'. Indeed, radio – as a phenomenon embedded within everyday life – becomes something through which the favela is able to speak for itself. In approaching the subject in this way, I have also tried to suggest that the ethnography of radio should lead us toward a less Manichean view of the culture of the Brazilian favela.

When embracing an immersive approach, one is faced with a scenario permeated by imperfections and a reality that cannot be easily interpreted. This applies to the favela itself, where one can find poverty, violence and injustice but also creativity, entrepreneurship and prosperity. Likewise, this was the case with community radio in the favela, which served as an important tool for self expression but which, at the same time, was not flawless, privileging the interests of some groups over others. My research has indicated that community radio is empowering, but often in ways which are unusual, contradictory, less than *communitaire*. Whilst community radio played an important role in giving a 'voice to the voiceless', it could also be individualist, commercial and even rhetorically manipulative in some instances. By acknowledging this, however, I am not rejecting the forms of local radio that we find in Pau da Lima as legitimate expressions of community radio. Rather, what I am suggesting is that the sector is richer, more complex and nuanced than we have tended to assume in the rhetoric of academic and campaigning discourses surrounding community media.

This is a consequence of the ways in which commercialism, politics and religion are intertwined in the Brazilian mediascape. In this context, community radio blurs at the edges and cannot be thought of as a distinct sector. Historically, the Brazilian media has a very strong tradition of being profit-orientated, which makes it difficult for community radio not to fit within a commercial scheme. At the same time, the

emergence of Evangelical broadcasters has complicated matters even further because these broadcasters blend religious, commercial and political elements.

One way to interpret this blurring of boundaries between sectors is to think of community radio as being corrupted and suffering from a vicious cycle of limitations. Nevertheless, I would like to propose that we look at this phenomenon from a more optimistic angle. Rather than thinking about community radio as being hopelessly compromised, we can think of it as being agile, adaptable, and able to maintain at least some of its essence despite all these constraining factors. One obvious implication of this is that any future study of community radio should perhaps make a more vigorous assertion of the hybrid model by recognising that community radio cannot exist in isolation, untouched by the various social, economic, political and religious forces that exist around it.

The ethnographic approach adopted in this research has been key to this finding. One of the main strengths of media ethnography lies precisely in its ability to be relational. In other words, if I did not place community radio in the favela in its wider contexts, such as in relation to the city, to the Brazilian mediascape, and to its sonic environment, I would not have been able to assess community radio's malleability, which emerged as one of its key features. Yet, the task of the ethnographer is not only to place things in their contexts but also to understand the data from the perspective of her/his informants as much as possible. By doing so, I hope to have provided a more historically, geographically and culturally situated understanding of community radio in Pau da Lima and to have offered a methodological contribution to community radio studies.

Additionally, this thesis has attempted to fill a research gap by attending to the listening experiences of what is often defined as the most participatory of media forms. Paradoxically, patterns of listening to community radio have generally been accorded a low priority in research, despite its audience-centred rhetoric. My approach has tried to take into consideration not only what listeners in Pau da Lima made of community radio but also their circumstances of listening. As I pointed out, radio listening in Pau da Lima takes place in a chaotic and competitive sonic environment in which radio and sounds were frequently used as tools to establish ownership and identities.

As a form of community radio, lamp post radio added to the loudness of Pau da Lima's soundscapes. By doing this, it manifested its radical features by challenging the silencing of the ideas which sprung from the 'oppressed' classes (Freire, 1976). It was through the loudspeakers of the lamp post radio that the residents of Pau da Lima were literally shouting to be heard. Therefore, community radio managed to fit very well within Pau da Lima's dynamics of popular initiative. Created by residents themselves, it was deeply linked to the favela's spirit of entrepreneurship by promoting local commerce. It also represented a useful resource for people to find out more about the important local events and news. In sum, community radio showed that the residents of the favelas were certainly not apathetic, thus contradicting some of the thinking about the favelas (Lewis, 1969). Just as these residents were actively 'solving' their housing problems by shaping the favelas, they have managed to make their own community radio, even if these initiatives did not always meet the academic definitions or even the expectations of their listeners.

Some of my informants, such as Seu Carlito and Dona Joana, for instance, expected community radio to have a more argumentative attitude, positioning itself more vocally against issues of injustice and inequality. Although community radio broke the silence of the 'oppressed', it also had to conform to the existing power systems. It did not dare to challenge the favela's drug trafficking gangs, for example. However, again, this must be interpreted in relational terms. One must keep in mind that the residents of favelas often find themselves trapped between a negligent government, ruthless drug dealers and a corrupt police force (Caldeira, 2000). Thus, keeping quiet might literally represent a survival strategy.

In addition to community media studies, this thesis seeks to contribute to the field of Latin American studies, and, more specifically, to a strengthening of non-western readings of radio. Community radio appeared as an index of the richness of associational and communal life as radio listening constituted a predominantly collective and public experience. Radio scholars who have written from a western perspective, such as Scannell (1996) have analysed how the notion of dailiness is applicable to the ways in which people use the medium. However, in the Latin American context, these ideas regarding dailiness, or the ways in which radio fits in with the listeners' routines goes beyond the domestic setting of the home and can be expanded to the streets and neighbourhoods. The lamp post radio, for example, has

drawn on the notion of dailiness by playing music and tailoring its output to the temporal rhythms and moods of the streets. In sum, radio in Latin America, and particularly community radio, has to be understood as a medium which stems from the streets.

As it was argued in chapters 5 and 6, the lamp post radio often functioned as an amplified version of the street vendors with its shouting about bargains and products which could be found in the local market. In these instances, the most competent oral performances won the attention of the people who were passing by. At the same time, there was a performative element not just to radio production but to radio listening as well. What this meant was that, often, people's attitudes to life could be performed through listening just as it could be performed through their hobbies or dressing style. For example, generally speaking, the listeners to Piatã FM, the most listened to mainstream radio in Salvador, often manifested a hedonistic attitude to life through tuning in to programmes such as Swing Piatã, which played party-prone rhythms such as *pagode*, *axé* and *arrocha*. I could witness this happening in the Sundays at Coroado when people passing by were attracted by the station's music programming played by the speakers of various bars.

However, with community radio in Pau da Lima this performative aspect of listening was problematic. Performing one's attitude to life through listening is only possible when the person has a choice of what to listen to, which was not the case with the lamp post radio and the various speakers present in Pau da Lima's main avenue. Thus, the premise that people could express themselves through their listening habits was not always applicable because it implied that people listened as individuals rather than as a collective body, as it frequently happened in Pau da Lima.

This was slightly different with FM community radio. Unlike the mainstream FM stations, which tailored their programming to a particular demographic group, the FM stations in Pau da Lima often did not have a well-defined target audience. Instead, they tried to speak to all the different groups that exist in the favela as much as they could, such as the Evangelicals, the reggae and the *pagode* fans. In these cases, it was possible to observe that there were certain attitudes to life being performed through tuning in to a particular programme rather than to a particular FM community station. For example, the Evangelical listeners often expressed their religious beliefs through listening to the

Evangelical programmes broadcast on the local FM stations, such as Planeta FM and Axé FM, but this had less to do with the stations themselves than with a particular programme or a pastor who presented it or the church to which this pastor-presenter belonged.

Indeed, Pau da Lima's community radio stations tended to offer a generic menu of programming which aimed at including as many representative segments of the population as possible, such as the Evangelicals, the youth, the elderly and so on. Whilst this did not mean that they succeeded at catering for all the residents, it was certainly an indication that community radio was aware of the heterogeneity of the favela and, further, it showed that community radio represents a good place to start if one wants to explore this diversity.

Clearly, the diversity in Pau da Lima manifested itself in the diversity of opinions as well. An important issue, which has been debated extensively, is community radio's potential ability to build a local public sphere. The premise was that community radio might offer a form of meeting point where the different groups of the favela could discuss issues that were of mutual interest and relevance. However, authors such as Hollander and Stappers (1992) have urged us to question whether and at what level such local spheres exist. My research in Pau da Lima has demonstrated that the local public spheres were not always stable and definable. Rather, they changed moment by moment. They did, however, exist, and they were, in fact, nurtured by radio listening.

This happened, for example, when one neighbour, such as Jackeline, who was mentioned in Chapter 5, turned down the volume of the radio in her house in order to listen, through thin walls, to the community radio programme that was playing in her neighbour's house because a song was being dedicated to another neighbour who lived in that same street. In this very moment and specific place, community radio temporarily created a micro local public sphere. Yet, there were also instances in which community radio managed to create a more comprehensive public sphere. One example, which was frequently mentioned by my creative writing students, was that of the lamp post radio's broadcasting of announcements of local events such as Pau da Lima's health fair. The importance of such events for the community was what made these messages stand out and be heard in the cacophony of Pau da Lima's main avenue. Here

the speakers managed to physically reach the listeners who were passing by on Avenida São Marcos whilst the topic had a wider ranging appeal for the residents.

Therefore, an important way in which the temporary formation and dissolution of these local public spheres manifested themselves was through competing or unifying sounds. As it was previously noted, Jackeline's turning down of her radio's volume to listen to her neighbour's radio produced a unified soundscape, which resonated their mutual interest in the programme. It can be inferred that radio and, particularly, community radio studies would be enriched significantly if it were to connect itself with work in auditory culture. This insight about unified (and, in contrast, bounded) soundscapes was prompted by drawing upon ideas within the emerging field of auditory culture, and I have tried to show that radio needs to be understood as being enmeshed in a complex sonic landscape and set of sonic rhythms.

To put this another way, I have tried to suggest that the residents of Pau da Lima frequently played the role of aural architects (Blesser and Salter, 2007) using sounds and radio as tools to create boundaries and seize space in the densely populated and cacophonous favela. Consequently, this thesis has explored questions such as 'are the divisions in Pau da Lima healed or reified by community radio?' and 'are these divisions merely reflected or refracted?' My research demonstrated that there were instances in which these divisions were not so overt when it came to radio listening. For example, residents with different profiles, such as my creative writing student, Carina, a young woman who lived in an impoverished area, and Seu Carlito, an older man who was better off economically, had their attention caught by Pop Som's broadcasting of announcements about the prevention of diseases such as the dengue fever. This might have been an indication that, despite Pau da Lima's heterogeneity, there were issues that were relevant enough to bridge across these differences and that these issues occasionally gained salience through community radio.

At the same time, there were plenty examples of these divisions being reified by community radio. Perhaps the most obvious example related to the religious differences, which could be expressed by residents through radio. As it was discussed in Chapter 7, people's conversion to an Evangelical Church often implied a change in musical taste. Many Evangelicals claimed to have 'closed their ears' to ensure that the 'music of the world' did not reach their hearts and corrupt their souls. Paradoxically, listening to

Evangelical programmes on community radio was not confined to the households of Evangelicals. There were various accounts of people like Edu, who was not particularly religious, who listened to Evangelical programming and gospel songs because they provided them with emotional comfort, 'warming up their hearts'.

As for the ways in which music might communicate differences, in Chapter 5, it was clear that certain styles were associated with certain economic classes more than others and with certain attitudes to life. My participant observations of the sound salad that happened in Coroado on Sundays, for instance, revealed that pagode tended to be associated with a hedonistic behaviour, whilst styles such as reggae and hip hop tended to have more politically and socially charged connotations.

Regina's household represented an interesting case. She created a media consumption schedule for her two sons and daughter in order to accommodate their different tastes in music, viewing and listening habits. Her older son Nelson, who had started attending university, had a reputation for being the 'intellectual' of the family, which manifested itself, amongst other things, in his preference for higher-brow music styles such as *Bossa Nova* and *Música Popular Brasileira*. The same was true for Tatiana, who was perceived as a party enthusiast, and loved *pagode* and André, the 'rebel' of the family, who loved rock. However, Regina's household also revealed that it might be overly deterministic to think of high and low-brow music styles as pertaining to the upper and lower social classes, respectively. The programming of Planeta FM further illustrated this point. Listeners, such as Regina, listened to some of their music programmes precisely because they played what they referred to as 'quality music', which differed from the programming being played by the mainstream FM stations targeted at the working classes, such as Piatã FM. In this instance, we could conclude that listening to community radio might be subverting some of the expectations that one might have regarding class and taste.

To conclude, I have asked in this thesis: 'to what extent do Pau da Lima's community radio stations represent a social, political or familial resource for its listeners?', 'what would happen if these stations were taken away?' Both FM and lamp post community radio functioned as the glue that kept together the pieces of a mosaic of micro communities. This was the case with the Evangelicals who are spread across all the different areas of Pau da Lima and who listened to Evangelical programming on

community radio, for instance. In sum, community radio helped create these micro communities and demarcate the boundaries between them but these boundaries were not always rigid and they changed moment by moment.

With the lamp post radio, as it was argued previously, radio played an important role in the community. But the community goes beyond the confines of the domestic. The lamp post radio helped provide the daily sonic rhythms that the streets of Pau da Lima moved to: it functioned as a vendor when the markets were at their daily peaks by shouting about bargains and it also marked people's transition from work to home at the end of the day by playing songs that conformed to this mood. In other words, if the local commerce was the heart of the neighbourhood's economy, radio represented the pace to which it beat to. The favela constitutes an organic body with a flux of people that keep constantly moving and constantly changing not only its physical but also its sonic environment. To draw on a medical metaphor, which can be commonly found in the favela literature, radio was what kept the people, the ideas, and the social dynamics, which were often communicated through sounds and music, circulating.

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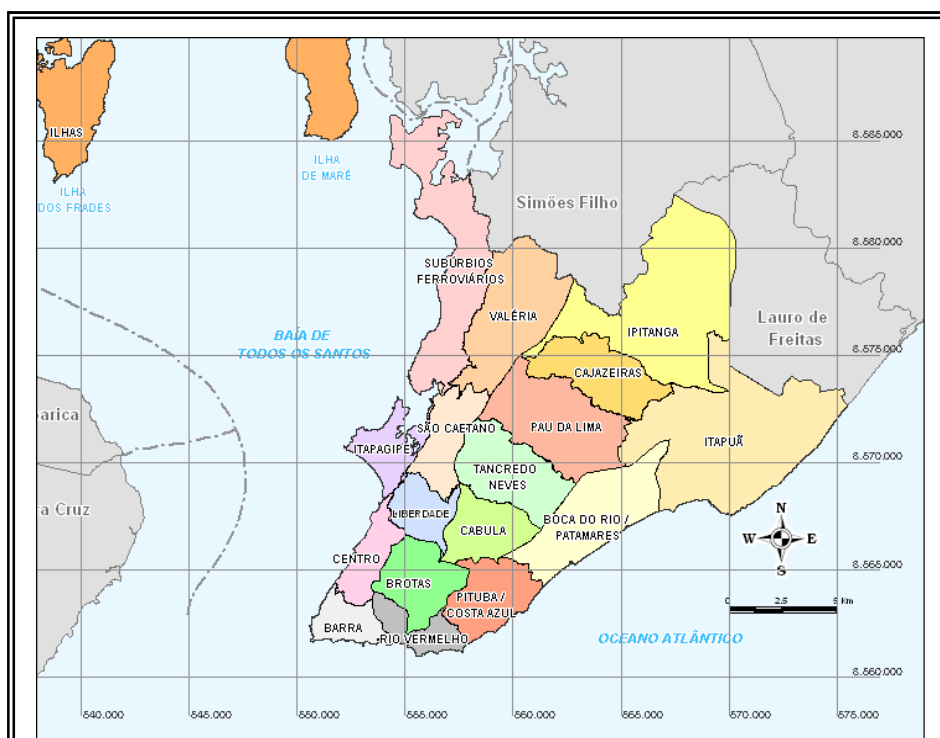
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APPENDICES

CHAPTER 1

APPENDIX 1.1 – MAP OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE REGIONS OF SALVADOR

Map 1.1: The City of Salvador

NOTES:
1. According to the City of Salvador's Planning, Urbanism and Environment Secretariat (SEPLAM), Salvador is divided in 18 'Administrative Regions' (*Regioes Administrativas*). Each Region includes several neighbourhoods and takes the name of the most central one.
2. Salvador has two coastlines: The Baia de Todos os Santos and the Atlantic. In the 17th and 18th centuries hosted one of the largest ports of the Southern hemisphere. (source: http://www.bahiatursa.gov.br. Today, many areas along the Bay are in a poor state of maintenance. The Administrative Regions called '*Suburbios Ferroviarios*', for example, constitute one of the city's most impoverished areas
3. The map also illustrates the extent to which the word 'periphery' has been redefined. The 'region' of Liberdade, for example, is rather impoverished and, although it is geographically close to the 'centre' of the city (*centro*), it is referred to as a 'popular neighbourhood' or as a 'peripheral neighbourhood'. At the same time, the region of 'Patamates', which is not located close to the centre has both impoverished and upper-middle class neighbourhoods.
4. The majority of the city's administrative regions are made up of 'popular' or 'peripheral' neighbourhoods, such as Suburbio Ferroviario, Valeria, Cajazeiras, Pau da Lima, Sao Caetano, Tancredo Neves, Liberdade and Itapagipe. Some of the city's wealthies areas, such as Itaigara and Caminho das Arvores are located somewhat closer to the Atlantic Coastline (they are part of the 'Pituba/Costa Azul' Administrative region).

CHAPTER 1

APPENDIX 1.2 – TABLES SHOWING SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS OF SALVADOR AND PAU DA LIMA

Table 1.1 Household income in Pau da Lima, Salvador, Brazil

Earnings	Households	%
Up to 1 Minimum Wage	10,674	19.8%
From 1 to 3 Minimum Wages	17,261	32.1%
From 3 to 5 Minimum Wages	7,072	13.1%
From 5 to 10 Minimum Wages	6,957	12.9%
From 10 to 20 Minimum Wages	2,201	4.1%
More than 20 Minimum Wages	449	0.8%
No earnings	9,167	17.0%
TOTAL	53,781	100.0%

Source: DIEESE (www.dieese.org.br)

Table 1.2 Ethnic and racial compositions in some neighbourhoods in Salvador

	Itaigara and Iguatemi (wealthy neighbourhoods)	Barra (wealthy neighbourhood popular among tourists)	Nordeste de Amaralina ('popular' neighbourhood)	Pau da Lima (located in a 'peripheral area)
Asian descent[1]	0.42%	0.34%	0.22%	0.25%
White	67%	69.1%	8.75%	14.39%
Indigenous	0.18%	0.16%	0.85%	0.4%
Mixed (mostly black and white	26.34%	23.61%	58.53%	62.63%
Black	5.57%	5.95%	30.67%	21.87%

[1] Mostly Japanese in the Brazilian context

Source: Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics 2008

CHAPTER 2

APPENDIX 2.1 – TABLES SHOWING THE MEDIASCAPE SCENARIO IN BRAZIL

Table 2.1 Media outlets owned by network-heads (not including TV and radio affiliates)

Outlets	Networks					
	Record	**Globo**	**Band**	**SBT**	**Rede TV**	**CNT**
VHF TV stations	15	6	9	8	5	4
UHF TV stations	-	-	1	1	-	1
AM radio stations	5	7	2	-	-	-
FM radio stations	19	6	6	-	-	-
Newspapers	-	4	-	-	-	-
Total:	39	23	18	9	5	5

Source: EPCOM (http://www.fndc.org.br/arquivos/donosdamidia.pdf)

Table 2.2 Media outlets owned by 'network-heads' (including affiliates):

Outlets	Networks					
	Globo	**SBT**	**Band**	**Record**	**Rede TV!**	**CNT**
VHF TV stations	89	93	43	45	14	-
UHF[1] TV stations	8	1	-	-	1	1
AM radio stations	34	25	36	20	7	-
FM radio stations	53	45	40	32	10	-
Tropical wave radio	-	1	-	-	2	-
Newspapers	20	15	9	8	3	-
Total:	204	180	128	105	37	1

[1]UHF are pay-TV systems, such as subscription television, cable TV systems, multichannel multipoint distribution systems (MMDS) and direct satellite broadcasting (DBS).

Source: EPCOM (http://www.fndc.org.br/arquivos/donosdamidia.pdf)

CHAPTER 2

APPENDIX 2.1 (Continued)

Table 2.3 AM and FM radio in Brazil

Radio Broadcasting Stations		2002		2003		2004		2005		2006		2007		2008		2009	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
FM	Non-community	2,025	55%	2,149	53%	2,223	50%	2,320	49%	2,600	49%	2,678	46%	2,732	45%	2,903	43%
	Community	1,625	45%	1,932	47%	2,207	50%	2,443	51%	2,734	51%	3,154	54%	3,386	55%	3,897	57%
	Total	*3,650*	*100%*	*4,081*	*100%*	*4,430*	*100%*	*4.763*	*100%*	*5,334*	*100%*	*5,832*	*100%*	*6,118*	*100%*	*6,800*	*100%*
AM	MW (Medium Wave)	1,682	92%	1,697	92%	1,707	92%	1,708	92%	1,711	92%	1,718	92%	1,749	93%	1,773	93%
	SW (Short Wave)	62	4%	66	4%	66	4%	66	4%	66	4%	66	4%	66	3%	66	3%
	TW (Tropical Wave)	76	4%	75	4%	75	4%	75	4%	75	4%	75	4%	74	4%	74	4%
	Total	*1,820*	*100%*	*1,838*	*100%*	*1,848*	*100%*	*1,849*	*100%*	*1,852*	*100%*	*1,859*	*100%*	*1,889*	*100%*	*1,913*	*100%*

Source: ANATEL (http://www.anatel.gov.br/Portal/exibirPortalInternet.do#)

Table 2.4 Number of Evangelical FM Radio Stations In Brazil's capital cities

CHURCH	#	%
Pentecostal Evangelical Churches	47	69.11%
Other Evangelical Churches	21	30.89%
Total	68	100%

Source: ANATEL (http://www.anatel.gov.br/Portal/exibirPortalInternet.do#)

Table 2.5 Number of Evangelical AM Radio Stations In Brazil's capital cities

CHURCH	#	%
Pentecostal Evangelical Churches	24	64.86%
Other Evangelical Churches	13	35.14%
Total	37	100%

Source: ANATEL (http://www.anatel.gov.br/Portal/exibirPortalInternet.do#)

CHAPTER 5

APPENDIX 5.1 – *PAGODE* SONG: *'EU QUERO É CURTIR'* (ORIGINAL LYRICS AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION).

Eu quero é curtir **(Banda Raghatoni)**	**What I want is to have a good time** **(Band Raghatoni)**
Eita povo que gosta de festa... Tem "S" de sofrido na testa... Mesmo assim, se quiser, Pode vim atrás do bá ti fum... Mesmo assim, se quiser, Pode vim atrás do bá ti fum...	Hey people who like partying... Have an "S" for suffering on their forehead... Even so, if you want You can come follow the 'bá ti fum' (onompatopeic sounds) Even so, if you want You can come follow the 'bá ti fum'
Não importa se a vida sufoca... Peço a bênção a Meu Deus, Vumbora...	It doesn't matter if life suffocates I ask for God's blessing, Let's go...
Mesmo assim, se quiser, Pode vim atrás do bá ti fum... Mesmo assim, se quiser, Pode vim atrás do bá ti fum...	Even so, if you want You can come follow the 'bá ti fum' (onompatopeic sounds) Even so, if you want You can come follow the 'bá ti fum'
Baiano guerreiro, sou cabra arretado E na minha vida tenho muito cuidado, Final de semana, só quero é curtir...	Bahian warrior, I'm an assertive fellow And in my life I'm very careful, Weekend, all I want is to have a good time...
Vou na igreja pra benção tomar Abrir meus caminhos e seguir em paz... Onde rola a muvuca, eu não deixo de ir...	I go to church to get a blessing Open up my ways and go in peace... Where the crowds are, I must go...
Com dindin, sem dindin Com dindin, sem dindin Eu quero é curtir Eu quero é curtir	With dough, without dough (slang for money) With dough, without dough What I want is to have a good time What I want is to have a good time