Latin American Studies ETDs   Electronic Theses and Dissertations

12-1-2014

We Put Down Our Guns and Picked Up Microphones: Community Radio as a Conduit for Community Development in Guatemala

Elizabeth Halpin

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/ltam_etds

Elizabeth Halpin
Candidate

Community & Regional Planning and Latin American Studies
Department

This thesis is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication:

Approved by the Thesis Committee:

Moises Gonzales, Chairperson

Dr. Claudia Isaac

Dr. Laura Harjo

Dr. Erin Debenport

We Put Down our Guns and Picked up Microphones: Community Radio as a Conduit for
Community Development in Guatemala

By
Elizabeth Halpin

Bachelor of Arts in History and Spanish
Lake Forest College, 2010

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Community and Regional Planning

Master of Arts in Latin American Studies

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

December 2014

We Put Down our Guns and Picked up Microphones: Community Radio as a Conduit for
Community Development in Guatemala

By
Elizabeth Halpin

Bachelor of Arts in History and Spanish
Lake Forest College, 2010

Master of Community and Regional Planning

Master of Arts in Latin American Studies

University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

December 2014

ABSTRACT

The intent of this thesis is to explore how community radio in Guatemala is used as a tool
for community development. The concept of development I use is based off the idea that
in order to build and maintain a sustainable quality of life there must be a solid
community foundation for social capacity. Approaching radio as a conduit for change, I
examine the various roles the radio takes on in order to enhance the overall quality of life
by serving as (1) a channel for community knowledge; (2) a platform for indigenous
rights; (3) a pillar for community solidarity; (4) an arena for empowerment of all
community members, especially youth. Using an asset-based approach to development, I
frame radio as a facilitator of collaborative civic engagement networks at the local,
national, and international scale. It is this creative appropriation of technology by which
Indigenous communities are operationalizing ideologies of decolonization.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Chapter I: Introduction

The intent of this thesis is to demonstrate how community radio is used as a tool for community development in Guatemala. Encompassing an interdisciplinary theoretical scope, this narrative shows how community development theories on social capacity and emancipatory media are put into practice via community radio. In the cases investigated, community radio is used as a tool to capture and enact social capacity, which operationalizes ideologies of decolonization. This is enacted through collaborative civic-engagement networks at the local, national, and international scales.

Chapter two address research methodologies employed – how community radio is concluded to be an asset in community development and the data collection processes implemented. Chapter three reviews existing conditions of the three communities where qualitative research was conducted. Chapter four introduces Guatemalan community radio – the practical, historical and ideological reasons for its existence. Specifically drawing attention to the existing literature surrounding community media systems, chapter five is a discussion of why media matters in a community development context. Chapter six frames the context of community radio within the broader development atmosphere in Guatemala. Community radio is juxtaposed to the needs-based approach which is often implemented through state-led development initiatives. I propose that Guatemalans have the potential to capture and enact social capacity through an asset-based community development approach, an approach already being implemented through community radio. Chapter seven works off the asset-based methodology to introduce research findings and explain how community radio creatively captures and

enacts social capacity. Rather than directly producing development results, radio indirectly impacts community. It serves as a facilitator and disseminator of ideologies of decolonization, social justice, and Indigenous rights. These ideologies are mediated through community knowledge production and actions of community solidarity. These are carried out through actual radio transmissions, community radio leadership, and the interactions of community radio volunteers with the public. To add another analytical layer, I look at how social mobilization around the illegal status of community radio has enabled the community radio social movement to jump scale to garner support for their fight for Indigenous rights.

Through the analysis of this emancipatory approach to a media system entrenched in neoliberalism, hope and resilience is highlighted. In a country repressed by drastic racial and economic inequalities, present day state and gang violence is seemingly overwhelming. However by taking a closer look, willful and innovative social changes are enhancing the quality of life throughout Guatemala. By the way of the Guatemala community radio case study, community-driven development projects in a Latin American context can be further understood.

Discussion of Key Terms

The breadth of scholarship on social capacity building in community development literature is expansive. This section defines key terms to be referenced throughout this thesis. I carefully selected terms to guide the argument on the importance of community media practices in relation to building community capacity. Terminology was intentionally chosen to reflect fluid and reflexive community development praxis.

Phillips and Pittman (2008) define community development as a process and an outcome which enable a community to act collectively to improve community quality of life in physical, environmental, cultural, social, political, and economic sectors. Along those same lines, Mattessich (2008) identifies community building as "any identifiable set of activities pursued by a community in order to increase community social capacity" (p. 51). Bhattacharyya (2004) says the purpose of community development is to build solidarity and agency by following three principles – self-help, felt needs, and participation (p. 5).

Haines (2008), Mattessich (2008), and Green and Haines (2002) emphasize the role social capital or capacity plays in community development. In order for intentional collective action to ensue, a community must be mobilized. In order for mobilization to occur, there must be enough social capital to sustain mobilization for intentional collective action. Social capital is the extent to which members of a community work together effectively to develop and sustain strong relationships; solve problems, make group decisions; collaborate to plan, set goals, and accomplish work. An individual's capacity provides important resources for the individual with real effects. However, individual social capacity has to be merged with other individuals' social capacities to bring about communal social capital. It is an asset of the community, not the individual (Mattessich, pp. 50 and 51).

The way in which an individual's capacity is amalgamated with others' is via social relationships. It is through social relations that community members are mobilized to bring about intentional collective action. Social relations are the social interactions

3

between formal and informal institutions and organizations, networks and ties which create community (Haines, p. 41).

The result from intentional collective action is the outcome of community development – empowerment. Slocum and Thomas (1995) define empowerment in the context of creating social change as a "process through which individuals, as well as local groups and communities, identify and shape their lives and the kind of society in which they live" (p. 4). Like social capacity, empowerment is experienced on different levels – individual, household, local groups, and community. Empowerment is an essential element to the community development process. It is important to not confuse empowerment with community development as each are processes and outcomes in their own right. Like social capital, empowerment is a key ingredient to enact community development. Empowerment is consciousness while community development is action. To be empowered means an individual or group of individuals are able to create change based on their access to knowledge, to political processes and to financial, social, and natural resources. (Slocum and Thomas-Slayter, p. 4).

Another essential element to community development is solidarity. Solidarity is about shared experiences, shared identity, and shared values. It is the glue of mobilization for intentional action. Solidarity enables individuals and groups to put aside differences to address a shared interest or deficiency (Hustedde, p. 20). Bhattacharyya (2004) says shared ideas and norms distinguish community from other types of social relations. "Any social configuration that possesses shared identity and norms is a community" (p. 12).

4

A final term referenced throughout the narrative is Indigenous. What does it mean to be Indigenous, particularly in the Guatemalan context? There is no universal definition of "Indigenous peoples." However, there are universal recognized criteria by which Indigenous peoples from around the world can be identified. The International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention no. 169 from 1989 and the Martinéz Cobo Report to the UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of the Discrimination of Minorities from 1986 are two approaches that have influenced Indigenous Rights policy (International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs). Both working definitions emphasize the self-identification as fundamental for Indigenous Peoples.

The ILO Convention No. 169 states people are identified as Indigenous because (1) they are descended from those who inhabited the country, or geographical region, at the time of colonization or establishment of present state boundaries; or (2) they have retained their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions since colonization and the establishment of new states. The 1986 Martinéz Cobo's Report to the UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination of Minorities declares Indigenous peoples may be identified as follows:

> Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society

and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to
future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic
identity, as the basis of their continued existence as
peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns,
social institutions and legal systems. (International
Working Group for Indigenous Affairs).

Indigenous identity politics in Guatemala are more distinguishing than global frameworks. The 1996 Guatemalan Peace Accords clearly defines what it means to be Indigenous. In Guatemala Indigenous peoples include the Maya, Garifuna, and Xinca peoples. In the case of the Maya, the Accords are particular in what elements define Mayan identity: A) direct decent from the ancient Mayas; B) Language deriving from a common Mayan root; C) a worldview in which all elements of the universe live in harmony on mother earth, giver of life; D) common culture based on Mayan thought, philosophy, and legacy; E) a sense of self-identity. Not only do the Accords acknowledge Guatemala's Indigenous peoples as integral to the unity of the County, it esentializes the role native peoples have in society in order for Guatemala to realize its potential.

Until this problem [discrimination, exploitation, and
injustice against Indigenous peoples] affecting Guatemalan
society is resolved, its economic, political, social and
cultural potential will never be able to develop fully and
neither will it be able to take the place in the community of

nations due to it by virtue of its ancient history and the

spiritual grandeur of its peoples (MINUGUA).

Chapter II: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter is a discussion on the methods employed to generate my narrative as well as introduce key stakeholders of the community radio in the network of community radio accessed for data collection. I tracked how community radio serves as a tool for development through a variety of research techniques. A significant portion of research was spent reading news articles on community radio, Indigenous rights and telecommunication policies, as well as following Indigenous activist blogs. Cultural Survival, a North American NGO that partners with Indigenous communities around the world to defend their lands, languages, and cultures, guided the majority of the investigation. Based off extensive content analysis of Cultural Survival's continual news updates, I was additionally able to track how the radio appropriates local cultural values to build community social capacity. It was through Cultural Survival that access was gained to the radio stations I had the opportunity to visit Guatemala.

Cultural Survival plays an important role in sustaining and aiding the existence of community radio. As a facilitator, supporter, lobbyer as well as solidarity builder, the organization leaves the radio stations to manage the local scale, while it lobbies the Guatemalan Congress for telecommunications reform. It has played a significant role in the construction of solidarity networks at the international scale to garner support for the Community Radio Movement. Consequently, there remains routine interaction between the NGO, community radio networks, and individual stations. It has helped to create an

effective network between radio stations through hosting workshops, producing prerecorded radio spots, as well as organizing stations' exchanges.

Data Collection Methodology

The methodology employed was qualitative so to gain a holistic understanding of the Community Radio Program processes and implementation. Data collection was based on interviews, participant observation, and content analysis of community radio broadcasts. This three-fold approach consisted of small purposive samples, key informants, and chain-referral sampling (Mayoux, 2006).

Field Work

I traveled to the Sierra Madre Mountains in Guatemala to conduct field research in June and July of 2013. See figure 1. While weaving through the Highlands to various research sites on the legendary *camionetas* (local buses), I had three goals in mind: (1) to learn how the extent to which local community development in the Guatemalan Highlands is in part facilitated through the international NGO, Cultural Survival's Community Radio Project; (2) to understand how local issues of Indigenous rights and development inform the international development goals of Cultural Survival; and (3) to observe how community radio is used as a tool in local development efforts. I explored the democratization of media, Indigenous rights, alternative community-based planning, and international development using three field methodologies: (1) interviewing community radio volunteers and Cultural Survival's Radio Project Coordinators; (2) observing community radio workshops that Cultural Survival attended; (3) listening to community radio broadcasts.

Figure 1: Summer 2013 Field Research (Elizabeth Halpin, September 2013).

Over a six week period, I divided time between three community radio stations and Cultural Survival's office in Quetzaltenango. After meeting with Cultural Survival's project coordinators, it was mutually agreed that I would first accompany them when they visited radio stations in the region before I began knocking on community doors. I had the opportunity to meet volunteer radio organizers and workers from Radio Ixchel in Sumpango, Doble Vía in San Mateo, and Radio Sembrador in San Pedro La Laguna, as well as attend a workshop for community radio volunteers on community sexuality and HIV/AIDS prevention in San Mateo. See figure 2.

It was at the workshop that I was introduced to Tino Recinos, the Citizen Participation Coordinator for Cultural Survival's Community Radio Project. He is also the co-founder of Mujb'ab'l yol, meaning 'Meeting of Expressions.' Mujb'ab'l yol is a community-based non-profit organization that fosters the development of community capacity through providing a physical space for education on community media techniques, as well as houses the local community radio station, Doble Vía. I had the opportunity to interview Tino who provided invaluable information that directly contributed to this thesis. Through the interview with Tino, I gained insight to the networks of Mujb'ab'l yol and its associated community radios stations.

Figure 2: Research Informant Network (Elizabeth Halpin, April 2014).

Research Informant Network

Home   **Profile**   Contacts   News   More

Cultural Survival
North America. Guatemala.

1st

Partners with Indigenous communities around the world to defend their lands, languages and cultures.

EST. 1972

Mujb'ab'l yol (encuentro de expreciones)
San Mateo, Quetzaltenango, Guatemala.

2nd

Promotes the training for leaders, the youth and adults, to get involved in community communication, the freedom of expression and the construction of democracy in Guatemala.

EST. 1998

Radio Ixchel
Sumpango
102.3 FM

EST. 2003
Run by the women, men, and youth of Sumapando, Radio Ixchel works to transmit programs of interest to the community: the promotion of Indingeous rights, gender equality, artistic and cultural values, as well as a culture of peace.

Broadcasted languates: Kaqchikel, Spanish

Radio Sembrador
San Pedro
la Laguna

EST. 1998
Meaning "seed sower," Radio Sembrador's priority is the promotion of cultural learning of San Pedro's youth and transmission of relevant news to keep locals up-to-date on current events.

Broadcasted languages: Tz'utujil, Spanish

Doble Vía
San Mateo
91.3 FM

EST. 2003
Dedicated to human development, Doble Vía is a space of self-expression for the members of San Mateo. Dolve Vía programs promote dialogue, tolerance, consensus, understanding, and cooperation among the community.

Broadcasted languages: Spanish

Chapter III: Existing Community Conditions

Introduction

This chapter is a review of existing community conditions of the three communities I visited while conducting field work in Guatemala – (1) San Pedro la Laguna, Sololá; (2) Sumpango, Sacatepéquez; (3) San Mateo, Quetzaltenango. The information represented in originates from existing planning documents from Secretaría de Planificación y Programación de la Presidencia or the Presidential Secretariat of Planning and Programming (SEGEPLAN). This centralized planning division has a comprehensive development plan for each of the Country's twenty-two departments.[1]

Each of the following communities is an agricultural settlement experiencing high levels of poverty, insufficient physical, sanitary, and water drainage infrastructure. Geographic location of the communities influences other economic activities, as well as access to higher education, healthcare, and cultural and linguist practices. A common finding in all three comprehensive plans is the lack of an acknowledgement of the existing community radio stations. This should be taken into consideration as the plans emphasize a lack of community social assets as well as the need for greater community capacity and community education.

San Pedro la Laguna, Sololá

---

[1] Comprehensive development plans for the communities provide basic population demographics, existing economic and social conditions, as well as existing conditions of natural resources. Proposed plans are limited to outlining areas of opportunity in physical infrastructure development and the economic and social needs of communities. In addition, some demographic data dates to 2002 and needs to be adjusted to present day realities. I was unable to locate official up-to-date demographic data for individual communities.

San Pedro la Laguna, Sololá is a community along the Northwest shores of Lake

Atitlán. Approximately 150 kilometers west of Guatemala City, San Pedro is one of

twelve lake communities and home to the Tz'utujil Mayas. See figure 3. A moderate

climate, 1,610 meters above sea level, surrounded by three volcanos on the largest lake in

Central America, San Pedro is a beautiful scene of nature. See figures 4 and 5. Despite

its remarkable geography, the community faces harsh realities. With 9,034 residents

living in its urban center, about half of the population lives in poverty (47 percent). The

local economy is dominated by agricultural and artisanal production. See figure 6. It is

this industry domination that the 2008-2018 Municipal Development Plan for San Pedro

attributes the community's extreme poverty and other deficiencies. The lack of access to

higher education and economic development opportunities perpetuates the cycle of

poverty (Consejo Municipal de Desarrollo San Pedro La Laguna , pp. 10 and 11).

Other than poverty alleviation, natural resource management is continual point of

discussion. Lake Atitlán is a key economic, natural, and cultural resource for the people

of San Pedro. As the community's main water resource, contamination by pollution is a

central concern (Consejo Municipal de Desarrollo San Pedro La Laguna, pp. 31 and 32).

The lack of water drainage and sanitary infrastructure is the main source of water

contamination. In addition, unregulated deforestation is a concern for San Pedro as it

augments erosion and undirected water run-off which ends up in the Lake (Consejo

Municipal de Desarrollo San Pedro La Laguna , pp. 15 – 20).

The Plan's vision for the future of San Pedro states that improved quality of life is

guaranteed through economic development accompanied by social programs along with

Figure 3: Map locating San Pedro la Laguna in Guatemala (Elizabeth Halpin, October 2014).
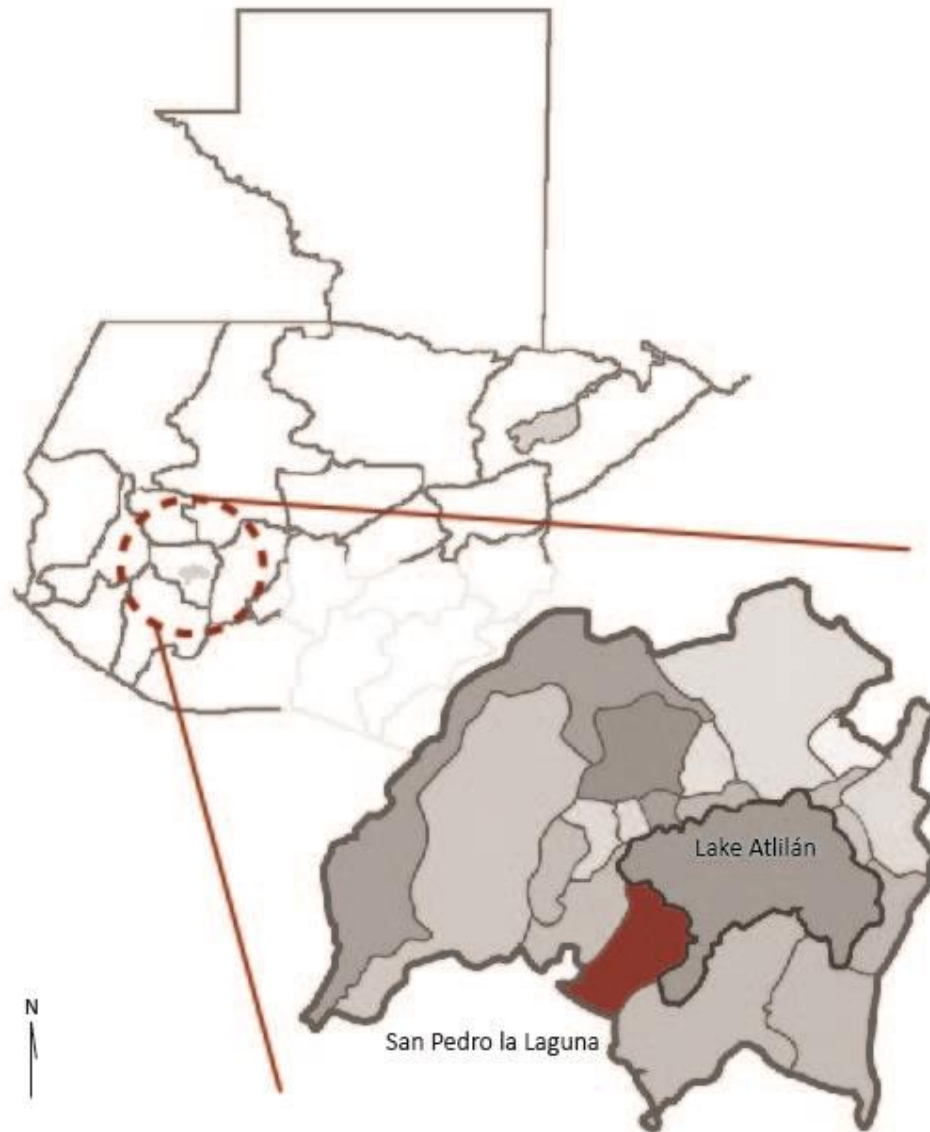
Figure 4: View of Lake Atitlán from San Pedro la Laguna (personal photo, March 2014).

Figure 5: Volcanos Tolimán and Atitlán, southeast of San Pedro la Laguna (personal photo, July 2013).

Figure 6: San Pedro la Laguna economic sector production by percentage (Data from Consejo Municipal de Desarrollo San Pedro La Laguna, 2008).
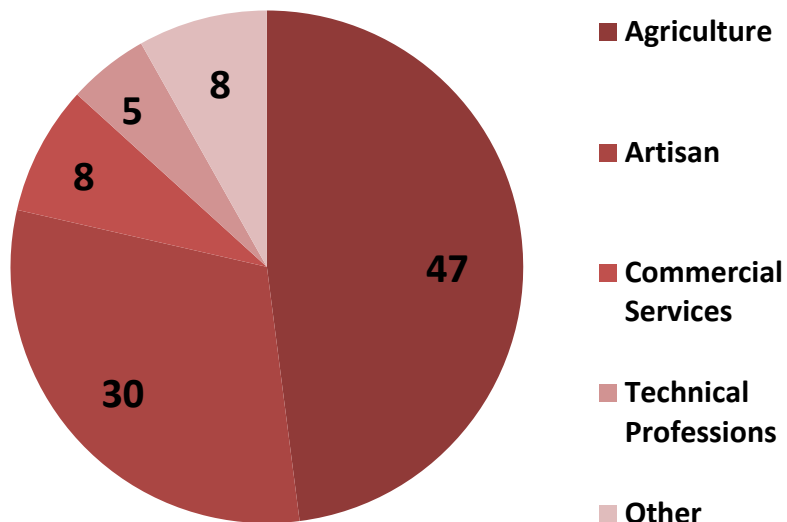
environmental conservation programs to achieve sustainable management of natural and cultural resources (pp. 42). It is under this community development context that Radio Sembrador operates in San Pedro la Laguna.

Sumpango, Sacatepéquez

Sumpango, Sacatepéquez is located 15 km southeast of Antigua, Guatemala. See figure 7. 1,890 meter above sea level with a moderate climate, Sumpango is home to approximately 39,000 inhabitants of which 91.3 percent of the population is Kakchiquel Maya. 71.24 percent live in urban areas while 28.75 percent live in rural areas of the City. Almost half of the population lives in poverty (Consejo Municipal de Desarrollo Sumpango, pp. 11 amd 12). See figure 8.

The primary economic activity in Sumpango is agriculture. Due to this, seasonal climates have a substantial impact on the local economy. During the rainy season, May through October, farmers work their fields on the outskirts of the City. During the dry season, from November through April, many farmers migrate to the Pacific coast to cut sugar cane and to harvest coffee on fincas or plantations (Consejo Municipal de Desarrollo Sumpango, p. 49).

The Sumpango 2010-2025 Development Plan identifies six community deficiencies with potential for improvement. These includes: (1) access to secondary education in Sumpango; (2) insufficient amount of healthcare facilities and healthcare professionals; (3) unprotected sacred spaces and cultural sites; (4) unorganized agricultural producers; (4) an uneducated labor class; (5) a lack of natural resource and forest management; (6) serious sanitary contamination due to lack of infrastructure

(Consejo Municipal de Desarrollo Sumpango, pp. 60 amd 61). The Plan also offers

potential actions to be taken to off-set these harsh realities. Such actions include

improving the educational ecosystem by providing secondary and technical training

within Sumpango, as well as capturing economic development in tourism. It is in this

context that community Radio Ixchel operates.

San Mateo, Quetzaltenango

San Mateo, Quetzaltenango is located in the Quiché Maya region of the

Quetzaltenango department. It is ten kilometers northwest of the country's second largest

city, Quetzaltenango, and 220 kilometers northwest of Guatemala City. See figure 9. The

town has a population of approximately 10,000 residents.[2] (Mancomunidad Metrópoli de

Los Altos). Of those residents, 90 percent live in the urban settlements and 10 percent

live in rural settlements. Half of the population identifies as Indigenous, while the other

half identifies has Ladino. Quality of life varies with 22.7 percent of the population living

in poverty (Consejo Municipal de Desarrollo San Mateo, p. 13). See figure 10.

The economic foundation of San Mateo is agriculture. This is realized on small

single-crop farms, which in turn yields low rates of production and a substandard quality

of life. Crops are concentrated around potatoes (43 percent) and cabbage (43 percent). In

addition to agriculture, there is strong economic activity in construction, textile

---

[2] San Mateo's 2012-2025 comprehensive plan states a 2002 population of 4,982 residents and a 2010
projected population of 9,145. The source sited is from 2013 and falls in line with projected numbers.

Figure 7: Map locating Sumpango in Guatemala (Elizabeth Halpin, October 2014).

Muncipality: **SUMPANGO**

Department: **SACATEPÉQUEZ**
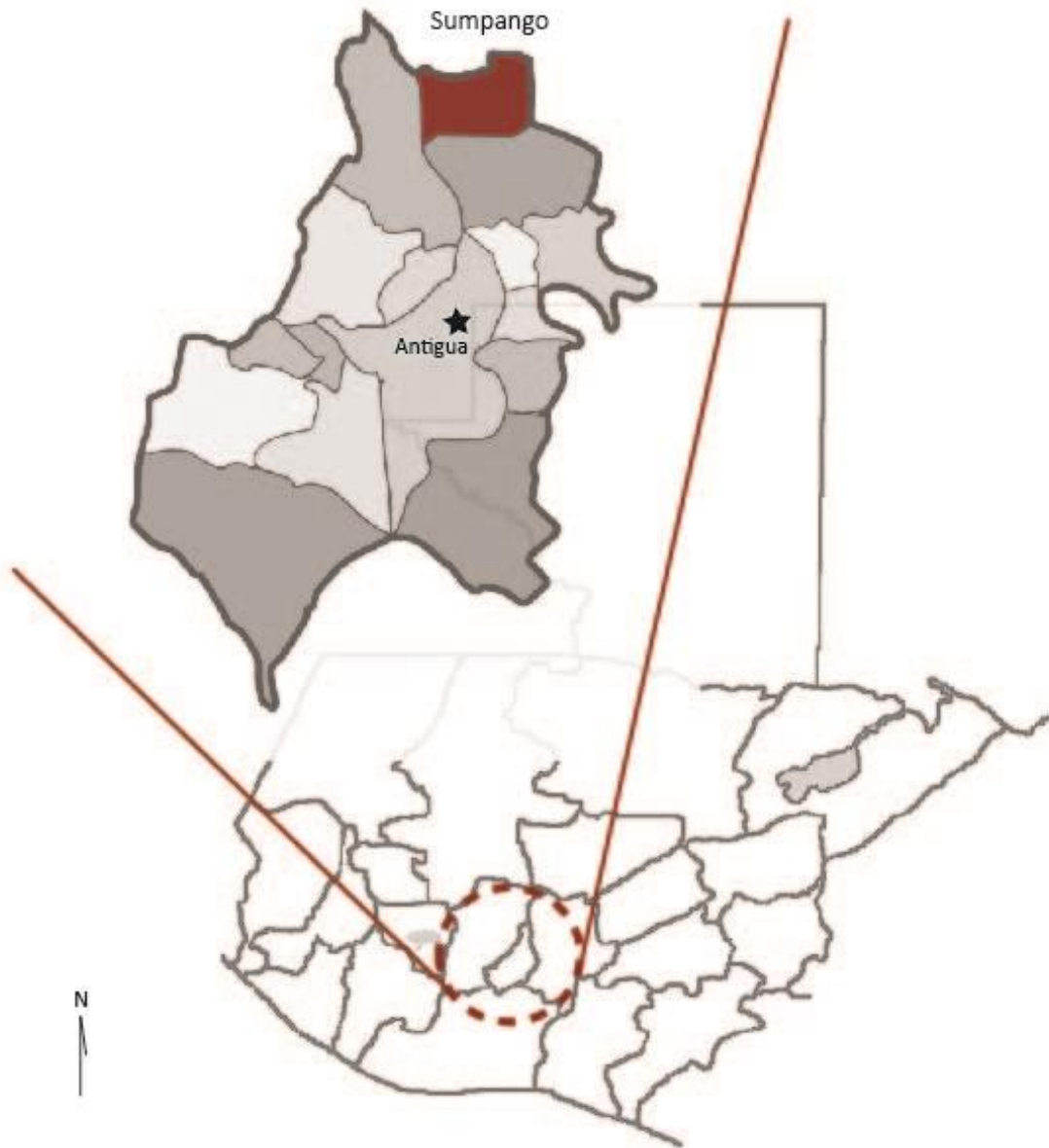
Figure 8: Poverty in Sumpango in relation to Department and Country (Data from Consejo Municipal de Desarrollo Sumpango, 2010).

Scale	Poverty
Sumpango	48.7
Sacatepéquez	36.53
Guatemala	54.3 %

Figure 9: Map locating San Mateo in Guatemala (Elizabeth Halpin, October 2014).

Muncipality: **SAN MATEO**

Department: **QUETZALTENANGO**

San Mateo

Quetzaltenango

N

Figure 10: Poverty in San Mateo in relation to Department and Country (Data from Consejo Municipal de Desarrollo San Mateo, 2012).

Scale	Poverty
San Mateo	22.7
Quetzaltenango	43.99
Guatemala	54.3 %

Figure 11: View of San Mateo from corn field (personal photo, July 2013).

manufacturing, commercial industries. However, the primary occupation of San

Mateo residents is in the commercial industry - restaurants and hotels. There is also a

portion of the population that works in textile manufacturing, construction, and

agriculture. It should be noted that many families in San Mateo rely on family

remittances from family members who have migrated outside of Guatemala to

supplement their income.

Deficiencies as stated in the 2012-2025 San Mateo Development Plan include: (1)

insufficient sewage and road infrastructure; (2) soil and water contamination from liquid

and solid waste; (3) a lack of civic organizations for community planning and

development; (4) a lack of technical and trade education; (5) insufficient personnel and

equipment for road maintenance; (6) citizen respiratory and intestinal infections due to

sanitation deficiencies (Consejo Municipal de Desarrollo San Mateo, pp. 28 and 29). It is

in this context of development challenges that the 2025 Vision states San Mateo will be a

municipality that provides the right conditions for its inhabitants with maximum well-

being, with a good quality of life, which promotes and practices the principles of unity,

friendship, trust, solidarity, equity, efficiency, effectiveness and transparency (Consejo

Municipal de Desarrollo San Mateo, pp. 64). It is also in this context that community

radio station Doble Vía broadcasts.

Conclusion

Each community faces their individual challenges with parallel elements. Sanitary

infrastructure along with access to economic development opportunities are repeatedly

brought to attention in the communities' long term development plans. A closing remark,

after careful review of the development plans, there is a disconnect between present day

deficiencies and envisioned development. None of the plans provide a road map on how

to enact development, providing no funding options or opportunities. The question

remains, to what extent is the public involved in the planning process and in whose

interest is a development plan serving?

Chapter IV: Community Radio in Guatemala

> Community radio is a place where "we can speak our
> language, talk about our culture, put on our own music,
> when we've been shut out of mainstream media this whole
> time" (Daniel DeLuca, Interview).

Introduction

This chapter describe the existing conditions of community radio in Guatemala; its affordances, limitations, challenges, and the justification for its active presence in Indigenous communities. Despite the lack of state licensure, community radio's role in community development is rooted in its historical legacy, practicality, and the political ideologies of its leaders.

The Practicality of Radio

Playing an integral role in the development of democracy and peace in Guatemala, community radio stations often provide the only available source of news and information to the most marginalized sectors of the population (youth, Indigenous peoples, and women). The Community Radio Movement, as a solidarity network of community radio stakeholders, has defined community radio as radio with a cultural identity and municipal coverage. Its programming should reflect local demographic language practices, not align itself to partisan politics, work toward gender equity, promote national identity and regional values, as well as manage its resources for the development and strengthening of the radio. From this definition community radio has a practicality that other communication technologies do not: (1) radio is relatively

inexpensive to produce and disseminate once the initial equipment has been invested in; (2) unlike television or the internet, radio is an on-the-go medium. It can be listened to while working; (3) due to the localized nature of community radio, broadcasted content is directly relevant to listener. As an effective medium in the circulation of information, the radio is able to deliver instantaneous messages as a story unfolds. It is accessible to the entire population in-country (with limited rural electrification) as well as able to cross borders. Another aspect is that the information circulated reaches audiences exactly at the same moments. (Mujb'abl yol, 2009). "Because the stations are the most effective means of disseminating information in rural areas, they are even used by the police and local governments." (Camp and Prtalwska, 2005).

The situation of community radio in Guatemala is different from other Latin American countries because Indigenous peoples make up the majority of Guatemala's population at approximately 60 percent and speak 24 different languages including Spanish. Guatemala has maintained Indigenous life ways whereas neighboring countries' cultures have evolved toward Hispanic cultural practices. Current sociopolitical conditions make for distinct cultural media and communication practices. Broadcasting in Indigenous languages, community-based radio stations provide news, education, and public services to small communities that otherwise would have no access to media sources in their native language. It has been argued that these stations are instrumental in

the reconstruction of Guatemalan democracy in a country where Indigenous communities have suffered disproportionate devastation after the thirty-six years of armed conflict.[3] The ability to receive and convey information and ideas through media was recognized a fundamental right in the 1996 Guatemalan Peace Accords. See Figure 12. As part of the Accords, it was theoretically guaranteed that all Guatemalans should have access to communications media (MINUGUA).

With more than 240 stations, community radio programs broadcast daily in 23 Indigenous languages, however the current Law of Telecommunications does not protect community radio broadcasters. Known as "pirate" stations, community radio supposedly threatens the national commercial stations. The Law is in direct conflict with the Peace Accords which established the elimination of telecommunication monopolies to favor community media to foster development in Indigenous communities. The Guatemalan government never complied with the requirement. Instead, the General Law of Telecommunications was passed in 1996. The purpose of the new policy was to liberalize the telecommunications market and lift government monopolies.

The conditions to gain initial access are the same for all applicants, regardless of whether the applicant is a corporation or community, for-profit or non-profit. The

---

[3] The Guatemalan Internal Armed Conflict is bookended between the years of 1960 to 1996 during which leftist rebels fought a guerrilla war against Guatemalan government forces. From 1978 to 1983 violence peaked when the military led a large-scale campaign against the civilian population singling out Indigenous activists, regime opponents, critical academics, union leaders, journalists and anyone suspected of supporting the rebel cause. The 1982-1983 scorched earth campaign resulted in the genocide of 1,771 Ixil Mayas. Over 200,000 people were killed and approximately 50,000 disappeared throughout the thirty-six years while the Guatemalan government led paramilitary organizations backed by Israel, Taiwan, Chile, Argentina, South Africa and the United States.

Figure 12: Excerpt from MINUGUA 1996 Peace Accords in Regards to Indigenous Cultural Rights

Part III. Cultural Rights

Section H. Mass media

1. Like the educational system, communications media play a paramount role in the defense, development and transmittal of cultural values and knowledge. It is the responsibility not only of the Government but also of all those working in and involved with the news media to promote respect for indigenous cultures, the dissemination of such cultures, and the elimination of all forms of discrimination, and to help all Guatemalans to take full possession of their multicultural heritage.

2. For its part, in order to promote the broadest possible access to the communications media by the Maya communities and institutions and those of the other indigenous peoples, the widest possible dissemination in indigenous languages of the indigenous, and especially Mayan, cultural heritage, as well as of the universal cultural heritage, the Government shall, in particular, take the following measures:

a. Create opportunities in the official media for the dissemination of expressions of indigenous culture and promote a similar opening in the private media;

b. Promote, in the Guatemalan Congress, the reforms of the existing Act on radio communications that are required in order to make frequencies available for indigenous projects and to ensure respect for the principle of non-discrimination in the use of the communications media. Furthermore, promote the abolition of any provision in the national legislation which is an obstacle to the right of Indigenous people to have their own communications media for the development of their identity.

c. Regulate and support a system of informational, scientific, artistic and educational programmes on indigenous cultures in their languages, through the national radio, television and the written media

government claims non-discriminatory, equal access telecommunications policy. However, affordability calls into questions equal access. Commercial conglomerated stations are supposed to fulfill the needs of the Peace Accords. The threat is difficult to comprehend as the non-conglomerated community radio frequencies only cover a few square miles. Serving Ladino interests, the national commercial stations are based in Guatemala City (Camp and Portalwska, 2005). Charging an initial 28,000 dollars for bandwidth, the government controls who officially accesses the airwaves. Up until now, not one community radio station has been able to afford such an expensive access fee. They broadcast illegally. Even though the Guatemalan constitution theoretically ensures public access to media source, the reality is that community radio stations are in dangerous in-between gray area (Goodman and Ballester, 2005).

Daniel DeLuca, a Program Manager at Cultural Survival, who worked intimately with community radio stations for four years says if you ask most stations what their objective is in having a radio station, they will tell you, "It's a place where we can speak our language, talk about our culture, put on our own music, when we've been shut out of mainstream media this whole time." Tino Recinos, community leader, Indigenous advocate and media specialist describes the radio as a medium in which everyone is called to participate – children, youth, the elderly, men, women, Ladinos, and Indigenous peoples. Not only has the radio been converted into a medium that contributes to the defense of Indigenous cultures in Guatemala, but it is also a mobilizing space for the spread of community awareness and education.

La radio comunitaria es un medio de comunicación donde participan los niños, los jóvenes, los ancianos, hombres, mujeres, ladinos e indígenas. La radio comunitaria para nosotros hoy es una herramienta muy importante que tienen los pueblos y que acompaña la lucha re-indicativa de otras demandas en nuestro país. Para nosotros ese es la radio comunitaria. Pero otra cosa muy importante, la radio comunitaria hoy se ha convertido en el medio de comunicación que está contribuyendo al rescate fortalecimiento a la cultura de los pueblos indígenas en Guatemala. Hoy en la radio comunitaria se habla en propia idiomas maternas…Radio comunitaria es una herramienta muy importante que hoy está jugando papel importante en sensibilizar, en educar, en orientar y en movilizar la población también.[4] (Tino Recinos, Interview).

To Sumpango youth and Radio Ixchel 102.3 FM broadcaster Eduardo, community radio is a space where the youth of the community can voice their thoughts, feelings and nonconformities.

---

[4] Community radio is medium where young children, youth, the elderly, men, women, ladinos, and Indigenous people participate. Community radio today, for us, is a very important tool communities have to accompany their demands in our country's re-iterative fight. To us that is community radio. Another important thing, today community radio has been converted to a medium that's contributing the strengthening rescue of Indigenous culture in Guatemala. Today community radio speaks native languages… [It's] playing an important role in sensitizing, educating, guiding, and mobilizing the people as well.

Es una radio que está libre para expresar sus sentamientos,

sus pensamientos, sus inconformidades, transmitir también

la información a la población. También es otro de nuestros

papeles. Y me gusta mucho la inquietud porque me gusta

expresarme, hablar con la gente, porque también transmitir

mensajes, conducir programas y también transmitir mis

pensamientos, las inconformidades, las luchas que nosotros

sentimos. Me gusta la radio Ixchel. Por eso me motivó que

yo escogí Radio Ixchel para colaborar.[5] (Eduardo Laroj,

Interview).

Media Ideologies and the Historical Legacy of Community Radio

To situate community radio in the Guatemalan context, the origins of community

radio are essential to understanding the ideologies surrounding it. Community radio

ideologies are fundamentally different from mainstream media ideologies. Rather than

saying one set of ideologies are untrue over another, ideology constructs meaningful

systems of belief out of the contradictions of world. Not only is ideology an idea

reproduced by individuals via systems of representation, but it is a lived experience

(Deloria, p. 9). As ideology (content) is enacted through discourse (practice), there is

reflexivity to the building practice. Ideology is the intentional consciousness that guides

---

[5] It's a radio that's free for the expression of their [youth] feelings, thoughts and unconformities. It also brings information to the people, which is another one of our roles. For me, I really like the inquisitiveness of it because I like to express myself, talk with people, broadcast messages, lead programs, as well as broadcast my thoughts, my unconformities, and the fight we experience. I like Radio. That's what motivated me to choose Radio Ixchel to collaborate with.

action. Deloria says, "Both concepts, in other words, connect – to one another, to social acts, to individual consciousness, and to change in practice and circumstance occurring over time (p. 10). Ilana Gershon (2010) says media ideologies are reflective of people's strategies which contribute to the ways publics are imagined and addressed (287). Key ideologies describing Guatemalan media – highest bidder, free competition, commercial enterprise, benefitting the national economy, public auction, - have brought about an uneven advantage for community radio to be lived out by media stakeholders.[6] (Republic of Guatemala).

Ideology creation and reproduction via ideas and experiences is showcased in both instances of community radio policy advocacy and the current Telecommunication law. The Guatemalan government comes from ideologies of neoliberalism, while the Community Radio Movement enacts a discourse along the lines of Indigenous rights, decolonization, and human rights.

Association Mujb'ab'l yol – Meeting of Expressions, a leader in the network of community radios illustrates the radio as a medium envisioned to enhance the quality of life for marginalized Guatemalans. Community radio stations are committed to human rights approaches, social justice and sustainable development that belong to and are controlled by the communities themselves (Mujb'ab'l yol, 2009, pp. 21). However, radio stations are being impeded from enacting such approaches because community radio remains excluded from public licensure. This is because fundamentally the State's media

---

[6] The current Telecommunications law goes to substantial length to describe who is eligible for radio licensure, the need to rid telecommunications of government monopoly and encourage commercial enterprise via free competition.

ideologies are diametrically opposed to horizontal ownership of telecommunications. Ricardo Cajas Mejia, the executive director for the Council of Mayan Organizations of Guatemala (COMG) describes the exclusion of community radio from telecommunications policy as an extension of colonialism.

> Sabemos que uno do los colonialismos más fuerte que recae sobre el pueblo de Guatemala es el colonialismo de la comunicación hemos sido formados dentro de una misma línea, la educación del Estado más que un proyecto pedagógico se ha constituido en un Proyecto de despojo y dominación para los Pueblos Indígenas, los medios de comunicación comunitaria definidos por su justa dimensión, tienen el derecho de informar y formar a las comunidades de lo que acontece en Guatemala.[7] (Movimiento de Radios Comunitarias de Guatemala).

Current officially recognized telecommunication practices in-country speak to ideologies of unfettered capitalism and neoliberal imaginings of the State. Organizations with commercial and religious interests have been buying station bandwidth access because they can afford it, leaving Indigenous communities to fend for themselves. The failure of the government to recognize Indigenous peoples' right to access to media

---

[7] We know that one of the strongest colonialisms borne by the people of Guatemala is the colonialism of communication we have formed within the same line. The state's educational project has become a project of dispossession and domination for Indigenous Peoples. The community media defined by their proper perspective have the right to inform and educate communities on what happens in Guatemala.

sources as defined in the UN's Declaration of Indigenous Rights has sprouted reactionary legislation and outcry from community activists.

The Declaration states that "Indigenous peoples have the right to establish their own media in their own languages and to have access to all forms of non-indigenous media without discrimination" and that "States shall take effective measures to ensure that State-owned media duly reflect indigenous cultural diversity. States, without prejudice to ensuring full freedom of expression, should encourage privately owned media to adequately reflect indigenous cultural diversity" (United Nations, 2008). Privately owned media outlets in Guatemala do not reflect the significant Indigenous population as it is operated from Guatemala City serving Ladinos, therefore leaving a broad gap in the circulation of cultural knowledge. Television, print media, and commercial radio stations are circulated in Spanish. These media include advertising for products and services the majority of Guatemalan cannot afford, as well as news stories without local relevancy.

Frank La Rue, UN Special Court Reporter talks about the situation of monopolized media by corporations in Guatemala, "La ley de Telecomunicaciones fue emitida en el Gobierno Neoliberal de Álvaro Arzú, después de la firma de la paz, en esa Ley no incluyeron a las radios comunitarias, porque para ellos solo deben existir las radios comerciales, incluso las radios públicas las redujeron al mínimo" [8] (Movimiento de radios comunitarias de Guatemala).

---

[8] The Telecommunications law was enacted under the neoliberal government of Álvaro Arzú, after the signing of the Peace Accords. That Law did not include community radio because to them there could only be commercial radio, including public radio they reduce to a minimum.

Deeming the current media policies as unjust, community and indigenous activists are fighting for better media access. Indigenous media activists argue since current Guatemalan telecommunications law went into effect in 1997, there continuously have been two fundamental defects. (1) The law does not acknowledge the existence of community media. (2) State auction is defined as the only method available to obtain legal access to frequencies. Through such narrow means of obtaining radio access, a large portion of the population cannot compete with multi-million dollar media corporations who have control over the industry. (Cultural Survival, December 10, 2011). Organizations dedicated to Indigenous rights, social justice, and community radio came together to discuss the deepening concern of marginalized community radio.

In 2011 and 2012 the first two national meetings of community radios took place. Over one hundred community broadcasters and eighty community radio stations were supported by:

- Consejo de Organizaciones Mayas de Guatemala COMG (Board of Mayan Organizations of Guatemala)

- Servicios Jurídicos y Sociales SERJUS (Judicial and Social Services)

- Proyecto de Desarrollo Santiago PRODESSA (Development Project Santiago)

- Centro de Estudios Alternativos Latinoamericano CEAL (Center for Alternative Latin American Studies)

- El Consejo Nacional para el Cumplimiento de los Acuerdos de Paz CEAL (National Board for Peace Accords Compliance)

- El Consejo Nacional para el Multiculturalidad e Interculturalidad (Multicultural and Intercultural National Board)

- La Asociación Sobrevivencia Cultural (Cultural Survival Association)

- La Asociación Mujb'ab'l Yol (Meeting of Expressions Association)

- La Asociación de Radios Comunitarias de Guatemala ARCG (Association of Community Radios of Guatemala)

At the national meetings the purpose of the Community Radio Movement was articulated and codified at these meeting. The Movement's general objective is to strengthen the identity of the Movement as a transformative actor on the behalf communities facing the political challenges in the defense of their territory and life. The Movement's specific intentions are to (1) strengthen the fight of community radio at the local, regional, national, and international levels; (2) facilitate a thoughtful and reflexive space for the organizational aspects of the Movement at the national scale.

In December 2012, the Guatemalan Congress passed decree 34-2012, reforming the La Ley General de Telecomunicaciones / the General Telecommunications Law. The new decree extends current holders of the radio spectrum for an additional twenty years and is renewable at the request of the holder for equal periods. There was a majority vote in favor with 90 and only 18 votes against the reform. President for the Congressional Commission for Transparency, Amilcar Pop said, "It's clear that there are major interests and obviously there are electoral favor payments to a powerful sector, and not necessarily a sector that is held accountable to the country and not correspondingly taxed." (Prensa

Libre, December 21, 2012). In Guatemala official telecommunication ownership is concentrated among a few families. Mexican media tycoon, Ángel Gonzales owns four television channels, twenty-five commercial radio stations, as well as cinemas. Since the 1980s he has been a frontrunner in telecom ownership in Guatemala and Central America as well as leader in cracking down on pirated TV and radio signals. It is estimated his net worth is 2 billion U.S. dollars (Serafini). Gonzales's political power is directly connected to his economic power. Promoting unfettered media regulation has allowed for his continual domination of media communications in Latin America.

The continual refusal of the Guatemalan Congress to undertake media reform which reflects values of multiculturalism in a multilingual and multicultural country is what Martí i Puig (2010) in "The Emergence of Indigenous Movements in Latin America and Their Impact on the Latin American Political Scene: Interpretive Tools at the Local and Global Levels," identifies as a pattern which governing elites use to limit the impact of international regime doctrine. This pattern suggests that progressive steps taken towards the recognition of Indigenous rights are the unwanted consequences of governance and not the direct will of the polyarchic elites.

The complexity illustrated here speaks to the ideological and political tensions around the appropriation of radio as an Indigenous medium. The essentialism to present community radio as Indigenous media as strategically adopted by the Community Radio Movement testifies to strength of international rhetoric of Indigenous rights. It is the way in which to strategically combat neocolonial forces.

Community radio has its roots in guerrilla warfare during the Armed Conflict. La Voz Popular was founded in 1987 and broadcasted from the Tajamulco volcano in San Marcos until the signing of the 1996 Peace Accords. After the closure of La Voz Popular was agreed upon as part of the Peace Accords, the consciousness-inspiring and mobilizing media was silent. Guerrilla media specialists realized change was not to happen over-night and that future challenges were a reality. The birth of progressive radio, proclaiming Indigenous rights was a necessity.

Following in the tradition of La Voz Popular, Tino Recinos describes his and his compañeros realization of the necessity for community radio after the Internal Armed Conflict:

> Al raíz de las firmas de la paz, nosotros decíamos que la guerra terminó pero la lucha continua… Yo tuve la suerte trabajar en la Voz Popular, la emisora del Movimiento revolucionario en la montaña. Estuve trabajando los nueve años que la Voz transmutando. Yo fui locutor, un productor, fui un técnico. La misma guerra me dio la oportunidad. Cuando finaliza el conflicto armado en 1996, yo fui un buen guerrillero. Fui un buen cuadro político. ¿Y ahora qué? Pero, empacamos a identificar esta nueva forma de lucha [la lucha re-indicativa de los pueblos indígenas] en

Guatemala. Ese así en 1998 surge Mujb'ab'l yol.[9] (Tino

Recinos, Interview).

---

[9] In the beginning, at the signing of the Peace Accords, we said the war was over, but the struggle continues….I was lucky to work with La Voz Popular, the mouthpiece for the Revolutionary Movement on the Mountain. I worked the nine years la Voz was broadcasted. I was an announcer, a producer, a technician. The same war gave me opportunity. When the Armed Conflict came to an end in 1996, I was a good guerrilla. I was a good political cadre. But what then? Well, we began to identify this new form of struggle [the re-indicative struggle of Indigenous peoples] in Guatemala. In that way in 1998 Mujb'ab'l yol emerged.

Chapter V: Why Media Matters - Community Media as a Means to Emancipatory

Development

"The democratization of the wealth of information will be

the organizing principle of the 21st century" (Hoffman,

Information Equality: the Third Revolution, p. 20).

Introduction

This chapter addresses what existing community media literature says in relation

to community development practices. The purpose is to lay the foundation and

precedence for why community radio should be acknowledged as a community asset in

the development process.

Community Media Systems: Alternative to Commercial and Public Service

Telecommunications

New communication technologies have the potential to provide valuable

information that can increase crop yields, improve markets, reduce corruption, make

government more effective and responsive and give marginalized and poor people a

voice. The information revolution that Hoffman references is not limited to new digital

technologies. In the challenge to understand the circulation and appropriation of

information and communication technologies, there has emerged another new kind of

media –community media (Hoffman, p. 21).

Community media systems are different from commercial or public service media

systems in that they provide news and information specifically relevant to the needs and

wants of the community. It engages participants in public discussion that contributes to

their [community members'] development and maintenance of social and political capacity. Not only are community media systems' structures of ownership, control and finance shared by local stakeholders, but also they provide a space for active community participation where in which there is room allowed from a diversity of expression, voices, and perspectives to drive change (Graynor and O'Brian, pp. 439 and 440).

Media experts from around the world advocate for community media systems to be supported by policy makers. The justification for said support is claimed because community media can create a healthy civic society, empower the marginalized, counterbalance extremism, and improve information access. In 2008, the Global Forum for Media Development sent five core messages to the international development community*:*

(1) Independent media is essential to good governance.

(2) Research on the impact of media and communication on the poor and marginalized need to be strengthened. Independent media equals positive impact on governance, democratic transitions. Media technologies reframe relationships between media, citizens, and the state.

(3) Independent media help to prevent the exclusion of voices that foster extremism by being inclusive and responsive to diversity.

(4) The lack of local media coverage of the external driving forces of change on poor countries is generating deficits in governance through continued public disengagement.

(5) Development media need to engage with the global assistance community to meet development goals through strategies that support media policy and legislation, development of journalist associations and capacity building of Indigenous media through assistant organizations (Hoffman, 12).

Justifying Community Radio

Community radio opens a space for dialogue about people's quality of life, as well as transcends the barriers of powerlessness and voicelessness that are so often rampant in marginalized communities. Solervicens (2008) in "Community Radio: Perspectives on Media Reach and Audience Access" further explains the justification of community media, particularly community radio. It is just this: radio remains the most widespread and accessible communication technology, already receivable by 90 percent of the world's population. That is the highest accessibility rate of any communication technology. Solervicens make the convincing case that community radio does matter. Pointing out that with the increase of community radio stations around the world, a new means of empowerment and self-reliance has been brought to the attention of community development practitioners. Graynor and O'Brian in "Because it begins with talk: Community Radio as a vital element in community development," speak directly to why community radio matters in community development. It is a tool for community development in that is enables open conversation between community stakeholders, allows for expression of local cultural values, fosters a sense of place, can reduce the isolation of certain communities, as well as promote social change progressively through

reaching out to marginalized community stakeholders (pp. 439). Thus, the case is made that community radio is key for sustainable development.

Ginsberg (2008) points out the importance of locally situated media practices juxtaposed to the simultaneous growth of corporate control of media. Focusing on Indigenous media practices and why those are important to social relations, Ginsberg's main point is that community media matters because of the social relations Indigenous media producers create via their media practices. Through the practice of Indigenous media practitioners, Ginsberg says these practices "can change the ways we understand media and its relationship to the circulation of culture more generally in the twenty-first century" (pp. 303-304).

Based on the foundations of independent media systems as having the ability to transcend conditions that perpetuate the cycle of poverty, community radio is an ideal mechanism for circulating local and traditional knowledge to inform development practices in community development initiatives. It also provides a local and horizontal space for marginalized voices that are often shut out of the conversation. A place to reaffirm and imagine identity and reflect on community's quality of life, community radio is an ideal space for tracking and understanding social change.

Chapter VI: Current Development Practices in Guatemala – Rethinking Needs-Based

Development

> Guatemala is *not* a poor country. It is rich in resources,
>
> natural and human. Guatemala has been *made* a poor
>
> country because the allotment of its resources… [It] has
>
> been deformed by crippling geographies of inequality
>
> (Lovell, p. 180).

Introduction

This chapter explores the development challenges facing Guatemala today.

Rooted in the legacy of thirty-six years of internal armed conflict, significant portions of

the population are segregated from one another by racial and economic inequalities. The

general planning and development environment is led by a deficiency development

model where in which centralized state-led development is carried out in the Capital,

Guatemala City. Prescribed best practices have informed current national comprehensive

development plans and the Presidential Secretariat of Planning and Programming

SEGEPLAN is to be in-line with international development goals. Rather than using a

needs-driven or deficiency based solution for development, I propose a re-thinking of

development from the alternative asset-based practice.

The Needs-Based Approach

Needs-based development is development practices that are steered by indicators

of community deficiencies such as crime, violence, unemployment, welfare dependency,

drugs, poverty, gangs, ect. Such negative images are legitimate to illustrate community

fabric. However, they represent a part of the whole and not the entire story. Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) say that once a community's deficiency are considered to be the only space for potential development by the public, private and non-profit sectors, community members become consumers of services without incentive to become producers. The needs-based approach fosters a system of dependency that can have debilitating effects for community members. Kretmann and Mcknight critically highlight seven probable effects arising from policy framed by development deficiencies:

(1) Solutions that ignore community wisdom in turn further dilapidates a community's problem-solving capacities through the fragmentation of efforts.

(2) Resources identified from deficiencies target service providers rather than community members, consequently leading to unintended impact

(3) Community leadership is impacted by targeting solutions for community deficiencies because what kind of leader wants to continually measure their community by deficiencies while ignoring their strengths and capacities.

(4) By solely highlighting community deficiencies, there is an assumption that community improvement can only be provided by outside experts. This in turn weakens community cohesiveness by continually have to rely on the expert, the healthcare provider, the funder, the social worker, the volunteer, ect.

(5) In order to continually maintain funding, the problems must be worse than the year before or other communities.

(6) A needs-based approach ensures a survival strategy that targets individual sectors of the community rather than focusing on a development strategy that involves the entire community.

(7) Due to the nature of needs-based approach in that it can only guarantee survival, it cannot lead to serious social change.

Illustrating the Needs-Based Approach in the Context of Violence

As the one of the poorest countries in the Western Hemisphere and highest populated country in Central America, Guatemala's development sector is a mix of philanthropic endeavors from North America and Western Europe, nationally administered comprehensive planning, volunteer tourism, and Indigenous grassroots initiatives. Home to 15.08 million inhabitants, approximately 53.7 percent of Guatemalans live below the national poverty line (World Bank). Those living in poverty are predominantly Indigenous who suffer from the lack of access to resources. Home to one of the world's highest concentration of Indigenous peoples, Guatemala faces vast inequality between the wealthiest and the poorest. Coincidently, development challenges are not the same as they once were forty to fifty years ago when the basic needs approach was believed to eradicate poverty. After more than twenty-five years, the wealthiest 10 percent of the population hold 45 percent of the country's income, while the poorest 10 percent of the population hold only 1 percent of the country's income. See figure 13. With 95 percent of the population under the age of sixty-five, 13.9 percent of the adult population is illiterate with 87.7 percent of Guatemalans complete at least primary education.

47

Figure 13: Income held by population (World Bank, 2012).
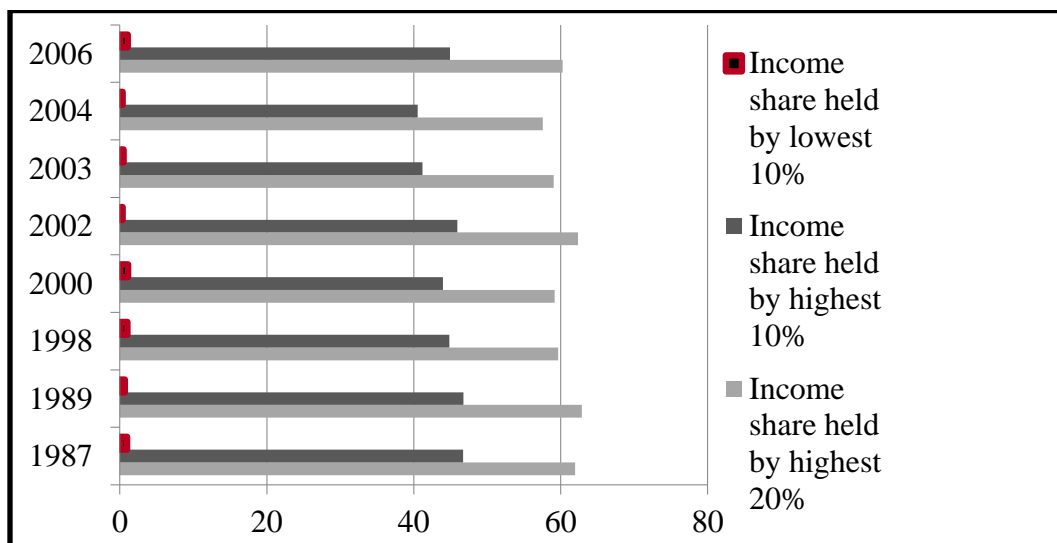
The centralized planning division of the Guatemalan government, SEGEPLAN has a

development plan for each of its twenty-two departments. The SEGEPLAN stems from

the necessity of accountability of foreign development investments like the World Bank.

Designed to work with President Pérez Molina's administration's reform agenda, the

National Competiveness Agenda 2012-2021, aims for (1) fiscal reform; (2) poverty

alleviation through its Hambre Cero plan; and (3) security, peace, and justice. The

Strategy has over four-hundred specific actions.[10] The plan was advocated by the

Ministry of Economy of Guatemala, Minister de la Torre who said, "We believe we are at

the beginning of a process that will allow us to advance the fight against poverty, a path

of development, a path that will reduce the gap that separates us from more competitive

countries" (Central America Data).

Over the last three administrations, the government has struggled to reduce

violence and improve social security. Between 2006 and 2010 the country's budget for

security increased by 50 percent. For the promotion and enhancement of justice, the

budget increased 30 percent. Yet the increase in monetary investment has not produced

envisioned results. The more the government attempts to eradicate violence, corruption,

and crime, the more it seems to slip from their fingers (World Bank, p. 5). According to

the World Bank, crime and violence is the most threatening factor for political, social,

and economic life in Guatemala. Limiting the government's capacity to reverse the cycle

of poverty engrained in Guatemalan society, the reduction of crime and violence stands in

---

[10] February 2012 saw the passage of the first comprehensive tax reform in twenty years. Zero Hunger (Hambre Cero) is a four year program that was initiated in March 2012 that targets reducing malnutrition in children under the age of five. The country's Pact for Security, Peace, and Justice looks to alleviate the rising levels of crime and violence that present development challenges.

direct correlation to recognizing development potential. Guatemala has the seventh highest homicide rate in the world with an average of 6,000 homicides a year. Well-above the Central American average of 29 homicides per 100,000 people, the country's homicide rate almost doubled from 1999 to 2006, at 24.2 homicides per 100,000 to 47. Crimes of victimization, robbery, kidnapping, extortion, and car theft are high and continue to rise. 23.3 percent of these crimes were violent in 2010, compared to 12.8 percent in 2004. Contributing to this culture of violence, thirty-six years of armed conflict has left a legacy of gun ownership; the highest in Central America with approximately 16 guns per 100 people (World Bank 4-5).

In 2012 the World Bank issued "International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and International Finance Corporation Country Partnership Strategy for the Republic of Guatemala for the Period FY 2013-2016." The purpose of this strategy is to support the Guatemalan government in realizing the country's long-term development goals towards a more egalitarian nation. Justification for World Bank intervention is as follows: "With 51 percent of its population, Guatemala urgently needs to accelerate growth and ensure it is more inclusive." The Country Partnership Strategy has two central objectives: (1) strengthen public policies for social development; and (2) promote inclusive and sustainable economic growth. Aligning itself with the Guatemalan government's vision to contain crime through providing better access to better services and opportunities, the World Bank claims that its Country Partnership Strategy will supplement the work of other development partners, like the Inter-American Development Bank, that supposedly have implemented similar strategic action plans

50

(World Bank, 2). The World Bank Group is to lend up to $525 million to the Guatemalan government through 2016 (World Bank, p. 2).

Eradicating Violence with Violence?

Through the rise of drug violence and gang activity, the Guatemalan military is regaining strength to battle organized crime. Once feared for its brutal and violent tactics during the Armed Conflict, National police forces have failed to stem the country's rampant violence fooled by drug trafficking and gangs. President Otto Pérez Molina's "mano dura" attitude towards eradicating drug trafficking and violence relies on the Kaibiles, Guatemalan Special Forces, known to have been instrumental in the slaughters of people in the Indigenous village of Dos Erres in 1982 during the Armed Conflict. However, military officials claim the Kaibiles are the best resort for confronting the well-armed drug gangs, many of them counting ex-soldiers in their ranks, and contend that only a relative few have turned out bad, the officials see the fierce reputation of the Kaibiles as a powerful deterrent to criminals, and they scoff that complaints from human rights groups are derived from outdated perceptions" (Archibold).

Conclusion

The legacy of violence and marginalization throughout the 20th century and the early 21st century poses a challenge for Guatemalans to reconcile difference and put aside economic and political greed to work towards building a better quality of life for all Guatemalans. There are numerous barriers to making progress. There are also many public and private organizations that envision a better Guatemala. Mainstream current development conditions published by international development corporations and

organizations such as the World Bank, International Monetary fund, and even the United

Nations focus on deficiencies through a needs-based approach to development. Based off

the prescribed way of doing development on a macro scale, existing economic and social

development indicators illustrate a depressed and bleak Guatemala. However, numbers

are not the complete picture of the dynamic and wealthy country. Innovative

development approaches are being initiated by people and organizations, like community

radio, who are overlooked by current state-led development practices. Instead of tracking

development by searching for deficiencies, development work can be executed via

tracking intentional projects based off an asset-based approach to community

development.

Chapter VII: A Radio with Guts - Realizing the Creative Capacity to Decolonize

Communities

Introduction

This chapter is based off the qualitative findings on the impact community radio has on the communities it serves. I explore how the radio serves as a tool for community development in various capacities. I then explain how this tool is operationalized to enact ideologies of decolonization.

For many people, new approaches to rebuilding their lives and communities, new openings toward opportunity, are a vital necessity. Rather than acting as a solution that focuses on community needs, deficiencies and problems, I propose community radio as a community asset that aims to discover a community's capacities. This asset-based approach is meant to spark development from within the community rather from outside. Community radio is about serious change, not survival.

Materializing Consciousness for Capacity

The radio itself does not create social capital; rather it serves as a conduit for community knowledge production, a platform for indigenous rights, a pillar for community solidarity, and an arena for empowerment of all community members, especially youth. See Figure 14. The impact community radio has is difficult to measure in terms of direct results. There is no formula for community radio as a tool for community development. Much has to do with how organized the existing community already is.

Figure 14: Community radio as a tool for development (Elizabeth Halpin, April 2014).
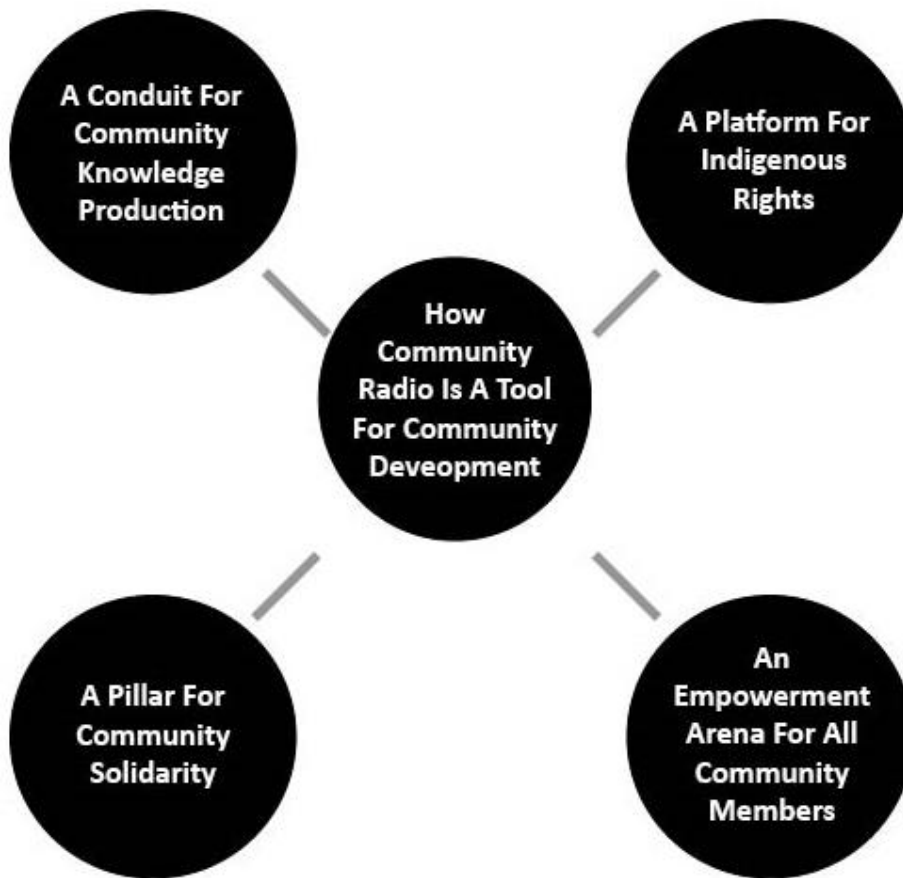
Guatemalan community radio involves dedicated volunteers, community resources, as well as personal risk of being caught by the authorities. Playing a community facilitator role, the radio is essential to building social capital. By social capital, Greene and Haines (2002) describe social capital as the social relationships and networks that facilitate collective action. Social capital is essential in developing other kinds of capital (human, financial, physical, and environmental) because of individuals' limitations in resolving collective problems (p. 102).

In multiple ways community radio enables community members to mobilize around their shared technology to create active civic engagement networks. Robert Putnam's *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* talks about the necessity of civic-engagement network in the context of community development for the critical importance of mobilizing community members for successful program implementation. As an essential form of social capital, civic engagement networks represent intense horizontal interaction. The denser the horizontal interaction, the more likely community members will be able to cooperate for mutual benefit (Putnam, 1973). Rather than acting as a solution that focuses on community needs, deficiencies and problems, community radio functions in way that looks to discover a community's capacities and assets. This asset-based approach is meant to start development from within the community rather from outside. Community radio is about serious change, not survival. As a medium based in the participatory process, community radio raises the bar of what is expected of citizens in civic society. Whereas mainstream corporate media tells the people what to read, what to deem as important in national dialogue, what challenges

communities face, community radio broadcasters challenge listeners while spreading

local awareness. The radio is not a limited space solely for elites and educated

community members; it is for everyone. The radio is about meaningful creativity – to be

a reflective producer rather than an immobile consuming object. This idea of

participatory creative change is what community development expert Ronald Hustedde

(2008) identifies as communication for change. From the community development

perspective, participation occurs in a setting where a diversity of voices are heard in order

to explore problems, test solutions, and make changes to policies when the community

finds flaws (p. 28). Hustedde connects Jürgen Habermas's theory on communicative

action to community development. Habermas (1987) is concerned how the immaterial

aspect of culture and language becomes invisibilized through the material; the production

and consumption of dead capital reducing people to the status of things. In order to

restore the balance between the material and immaterial, production and consumption,

emancipation of the lifeworld is necessary. In this context, emancipation is the realization

of consciousness – the foundations of critical thinking. Habermas proposes

decolonization processes to be found in communicative action. He argues that technical

knowledge is not sufficient for democratic settings. In order for democracy to work, there

should be a component of reflexive critical thinking on the part of citizen participants.

While science and technology may aid liberation, there is the possibility of

misappropriation. Emancipatory knowledge incorporates both technical and interpretive

knowledge into a fresh perspective and outlook that leads to action.

Community radio is a form of social resistance against the colonization of the lifeworld as defined by social theorist Jürgen Habermas. Whereas the mass corporate media reduces people to be consumer of things, community radio is about sustaining local cultural and language. This is part of how the radio enacts decolonization. According to Sium, Desai, and Ritskes (2012), decolonization is a reclaiming of Indigenous humanity and life. In order for this to happen there has to be intentional being. The first step toward emancipation is having the wherewithal to make a choice where the outcome can be weighed. Tino Recinos echoes ideas of intentional consciousness and its importance to the success of democracy:

> La radio despierta la conciencia. Le abra los ojos de la gente… Mira, si hay una radio que participan 20 personas, la radio está general oportunidades de 20 personas. ¿Si la radio, por ejemplo, habla de la importancia de la conservación del medio ambiente, es desarrollo? ¿Si la radio, por ejemplo, organiza la campaña de reciclar la basura, es desarrollo? ¿No solo es desarrollo de construir una escuela? ¿También, es el desarrollo formar persona como un sujeto de transformación social? ¿Ese es el desarrollo? Porque que pasa es que mucha gente no menciona. ¿Si yo hablo, por ejemplo, de la importancia de enseñar de mis hijos en idioma materno, es el desarrollo? Pero hay mucha gente que no lo vea así. Pero nosotros sí lo

vemos así de esa manera. De esa manera lo vemos
nosotros.[11] (Tino Recinos, Interview).

Radio as a Space for Community Knowledge Production

As a medium for proactive social change, the radio is an ideal space for
progressive leadership to practice what Paulo Freire calls co-intentional education.
Broadcasters and radio organizers [teachers] and audience members [students] both
participate in recreating knowledge through the diffusion and reception of transmitted
content. Co-intentional education is not only about unveiling reality, but coming to
understand it critically. Furthermore, co-intentional education is about internally
understanding individual and collective action which recreate reality (Freire, 2000).
From such self-knowledge comes the understanding of universal connectivity and a need
of committed involvement. Tino Recinos echos Freire's demand for committed
involvement in the struggle for liberation by saying that the greatest importance of
Guatemalan community radio is to create a consciousness on the importance of
participation:

> Muy importante para nosotros, en este momento, es que
>
> estamos contribuyendo a crear conciencia en la gente sobre
>
> de la importancia de la participación. Porque si no hay
>
> participación activa de todos y todas, no se puede construir

---

[11] Radio awakens consciousness. It opens the eyes of people. Look, if there's a radio with twenty people participating, that's an opportunity for those twenty people. If the radio talks about environmental conservation, is that development? Isn't it development to build a school? Also, isn't it development to educate a person as the subject of social transformation? Isn't that development? But there are a lot of people who don't see it like that. That's how we see it.

58

una democracia. Una democracia se construir con la

participación de todos y todas.[12](Tino Recinos, Interview).

A Kaqchikel youth from Sumpango, Guatemala said, "For me, community radio [Radio

Ixchel] is a school where I have learned many things. Children's rights, women's rights,

social struggles taking place in this country."(Cultural Survival, December 10, 2013).

As a conduit for community education, community radio behaves as a problem-

posing educator in that it inspires creativity and dialogue. Even though radio is

considered to be pre-digital technology, it performs as a new media in that it erases the

boundary between producers and consumers of information. (Solervicens, 2008). San

Pedro's community station, Radio Sembrador, has a weekly program on Saturday

mornings when community youth are invited to speak on air. They run the show. Little

voices talk about big things like why they think their beautiful Lago Atitlan is polluted

and why their neighbors live in poverty (Radio Sembrador, Interview).

Another way in which community radio volunteers engage in cointentional

education is through community radio exchanges. Community radio exchanges are when

one radio stations send a small group of its radio broadcasters to a neighboring or fellow

radio station. The two stations then collaborate on their best practices for broadcasting,

the challenges, and solutions to those challenges. It is through dialogue that radios are

able to better serve their communities. Rather than volunteers from individual station

meeting in a centralized location and having a top-down facilitation, stations visit one

---

[12] For us at this time it's really important that we're contributing to the creation of consciousness in people on the importance of participation in people. If there isn't active participation on the part of everyone, then you can't build a democracy. A democracy is built with the participation of everyone.

another. At these stations exchanges practice horizontal monitoring and evaluation

workshops take place so that the two stations can discuss their strengths and weaknesses

and potential methods for sustaining the radio as a community asset. (Danielle DeLuca,

Interview).

The radio does not talk-down to community members; rather its purpose is to

engage in conversation. Acting as a collective reservoir for knowledge, the radio is the

conduit for traditional community knowledge transmission. In communities with

acknowledged Indigenous heritage, the radio serves as a cultural maintainer. Based off

the agreed-upon definition of what community radio is, stations which operate in Cultural

Survival's network agreed that transmitted content must in one way or another reflect the

community's demographic.

In problem posing education, people develop their power to perceive critically the

way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves; they come to

see the world not as static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation. Banking

education resists dialogue; problem-posing education regards dialogue as indispensable

to the act of cognition which unveil reality. Banking education treats student as object of

assistance; problem-posing education makes them critical thinkers. Banking education

inhibits creativity and domesticates (although it cannot completely destroy) the

intentionality of consciousness by isolating consciousness from the world, thereby

denying people their ontological and historical vocation of becoming fully human.

Problem-posing education bases itself on creativity and stimulates true reflection and

action upon reality, thereby responding to the vocation of personas as beings who are

authentic only when engaged in inquiry and creative transformation. In sum: banking theory and practices, as immobilizing and fixating forces, fail to acknowledge men and women as historical beings; problem-posing theory and practice take people's historicity as their starting point (pp. 84-93).

The process of educative problem posing is done in a process in which there is a dialogue about what needs to be engaged in. Cultural Survival monitors their Community Radio Program through routine visits to individual radio stations where volunteers are interviewed about the recent happenings in their community and radio station. Based on feedback, Cultural Survival then writes grants with a purpose at meeting the needs of the community stations it serves. Once a grant is awarded a series of workshops, community radio station exchanges, or radio novelas is organized.

At the workshops, participants are presented a topic that communities are facing challenges with. Topical knowledge is then presented and discussed. Participants are asked for what they perceive to be the biggest challenges in their communities and why think it to be. Once the root of the community challenge is identified, participants talk about existing community assets that can be applied to create change in their communities. Workshops not only identify community challenges, but existing community assets as well. This is done through a facilitated participatory process. At the end of the workshop, radio volunteers write scripts and record them to bring back to their community radio station. Once the radio-short is broadcasted, audience members are invited to call in for discussion or comment on the station's social media. I had the

opportunity while in Guatemala to attend a community radio workshop host by Mujb'ab'l yol.

On a rainy Saturday afternoon laughter echoed through the hall of Mujb'ab'l yol's Capacity Building Center in San Mateo, Quetzaltenango in June 2013 as community radio volunteers presented skits on themes of community sexual health. "Somos el maiz del terrano! – We are corn of the earth!" shouted an enthusiastic participant.

Hosted by La Asociacion Mujb'ab'l yol, the sexual health and the prevention of HIV and AIDS workshop intended to build the knowledge capacity of community radio volunteers. Representatives from over twenty radio stations in the network of Mujb'ab'l yol and Cultural Survival attended the two-day workshop to discuss the existing conditions of sexual health in their communities. To create a safe and judgment-free environment, we took part in warm-up exercises to break the ice. Saturday morning began with a facilitated presentation by community health advocates on the overall conditions of sexual health in Guatemala. The comprehensive presentation included the ways in which sexually transmitted diseases are transmitted and the methods in which they can be avoided. The purpose of the presentation was to provide foundational knowledge on a topic that is not openly discussed among Guatemalans. During the round-table discussion, facilitators asked why the topic of sexual health is considered taboo to talk about in open conversation. Responses varied from: a simple lack of knowledge on the part of adults who then feel uncomfortable to talk about it with their children, to religious restrictions which create a feeling of shame, to a lack of resources to include sex education in public education. Another discussion point in the circuit of round table

dialogues was to identify places and people in communities who had the capacity to initiate the conversation of community sexual health. It was mutually agreed that people and organization in positions of recognized authority have that capacity. A plethora of responses were voiced: the Church, parents, community radio, schools, community leaders and elders and local government institutions.

Day two of the workshop was about creating radio spot to spread awareness in communities about the importance of preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. By the end of the weekend, participants left with a solid understanding of community sexual health and strengthened ties with their community radio compatriots.

Conclusion

Radio programs chosen by radio volunteers allow for the opportunity for community members to engage in critical dialogue about issues that exist in their community, not by politicians, public health officials, or foreign development organizations. In the exchanges that happen on the radio, organizers and volunteers alike recognize that social change is a transformative process. Freire says "banking education treats the student as an object of assistance; problem-posing education makes them critical thinkers." (Freire, 2000, 83). This idea of creativity is conducive to community radio. Like a classroom, community radio is a space for critical thinking and engagement in dialogue. On the radio, listeners are not told what to think and believe; rather they are presented with the facts and invited to engage in dialogue. Because the character of community radio and its function to include all community voices and beliefs, it is

conducive to Freire's theory of problem-posing education. Community members are encouraged to identify issues within their community and they ways in which communal action can be taken.

Solidarity and community empowerment:

As a pillar for solidarity and community empowerment, the radio has proven it impact communities in unique ways. Radio helps facilitate communal access knowledge, political process and resources necessary for social change, which essentially is empowerment. There are multiple factors that go into the causation of community empowerment and solidarity; however community radio workers believe that the radio has a role in it all. Radio expert, Tino Recinos, went into great lengths to describe the impact the radio has and that the impact is transparent.

> Durante la tormenta, la huracán Mitch, en Guatemala tenemos una radio en Tacana, radio Celajes. En este municipio existen hoy doce radios, solo en un municipio! Hay emisores comerciales y las otras emisoras evangélicas. Y la única radio con un perfil de radio comunitaria es Radio Celajes. ¿Va, qué pasó? Se perdieron todas las comunicaciones. Se fue la energía eléctrica. Tuvieron problemas en el camino y la única radio que estuvo acompañando a la población durante doce días fue Radio Celajes. Mira, había tanta radios y la gente dijo <<Radio Celajes no tiene gasolina porque no hay luz eléctrica. >>

La gente llevaba gasolina. Entonces, allí nosotros nos

dijimos cuenta que cuando una radio se identifica con un

pueble es para el pueblo. La misma población le da vida.[13]

(Interview, Tino Recinos).

The community radio exchanges that extend the space for engagement in critical

thinking and dialogue plays an important role in creating conducive space for community

solidarity between communities. In the sense of solidarity, mobilization around shared

experiences, shared identity, and shared values, new relationships have been created

along with a stronger community radio network. This is what Green and Haines (2002)

identify as bridging capital. Bridging capital is the establishment of new social

relationships to provide new information and access to additional social networks for the

purpose of making social network in a community more efficient (p. 94).

DeLuca says that the exchanges have been effective in that they have helped

create a support networks between communities.

We've had really positive feedback from the radio stations

on that [community exchanges] as well. We'll have like 5

members from one station travel to another community

radio station and stay there the weekend and have like

workshops to say this is how our radio station is structured,

---

[13] During hurricane Mitch, we had a radio in Tacana, radio Celajes. In that town there existed twelve radios in one town! There were commercial and evangelical stations, but Radio Celajes was the only community radio. So, what happened? Well, they lost all electricity. For twelve days, Radio Celajes was the only station to stay with the town. Look, there were so many radios and the town said 'Radio Celajes doesn't have gasoline because there isn't any electricity.' So people showed up with gas. Well, here we are telling a story about when a radio is able to identify with a community for the community. That town gave life.

these our are strengths and these are our weaknesses, do

you guys have suggestions on how we could improve, do

you have problems that we could help you deal with. And

that's been really rewarding for the people at the stations as

well. (Daniel DeLuca, Interview).

Communal solidarity is further enacted through the radio as an instrument to

confirm and reestablish community identity. With a reaffirmation of the collective

identity, community radio can be understood as Indigenous media. By striving to inspire

critical thinking in their listeners' community radio stations have another agenda on their

education list: building awareness and inspiring new Indigenous language learners.

Indigenous media scholar Faye Ginsberg (1991) has identified Indigenous media

as a means for Indigenous communities to reproduce and transform social, cultural, and

political identities in communities that "have experienced massive political, geographic,

and economic disruption." Media has the capacity to "transcend boundaries of time,

space, and even language" to effectively "mediate, literally, historically, produced social

ruptures and to help construct identities that link past and present in ways appropriate to

contemporary conditions" (Ginsberg, 1991). It is through this means of disruption that

decolonization is enacted. Indigenous media is more than acts of resistance, more than a

response to existing legacies of colonization, lived experiences of violence and

marginalization. Sium, Desai, and Ritskes (2012) say, "Decolonization is indeed

oppositional to colonial ways of thinking and acting but demands an Indigenous starting

66

pointing and an articulation of what decolonization means for Indigenous peoples around the globe" (p. i).

It was not until after repeatedly reading Tino Recinos' interview transcript that I grasped strong tones of decolonization running through his narrative. It was a challenge to identify the roots of the structural inequality that run deep in Guatemala. My intent is not to portray colonization as the single contributing factor to the country's existing conditions. Rather it is to situate community radio and the Community Radio Movement on the theoretical spectrum, to understand the intricacies of how the technology is appropriated to cultural specific values for social change.

The use of media by Indigenous and rural communities in Guatemala parallels what Ginsberg calls an opportunity for influence and self-expression. Running along those same lines, community radio resonates with what Ginsberg wrote in the early 1990s. Offering a "potential for the expansion of community-generated production, the construction of viewing conditions and audiences shaped by indigenous interests, and ultimately, cultural regeneration," community radio does just that. Cultural Survival's Community Radio Program does what Ginsberg voiced in 1991 as, "Indigenous people, scholars, and policymakers have been advocating indigenous use of media technology as a new opportunity for influence and self-expression" (Ginsberg, 1991). This influence and self-expression can be identified as empowerment, meaning Indigenous peoples are able to create social change based on their access to media technologies. Twenty years later, the effects of this kind of advocacy is reality. As a technology for self-expression, community radio stations in Guatemala are spaces for creatively re(affirming) and

re(articulating) Indigenous worldview by (1) language renewal and maintenance and (2) cross cultural collaboration. It is precisely this kind of activity that operationalizes decolonization.

Community Radio contributes to Indigenous language sustainability in Guatemala in four distinct ways: (1) it supports successful revitalization of endangered languages; (2) it promotes language use and halts further language decline; (3) it builds awareness of language loss and inspires new language learners; (4) it serves as a source of alternative media broadcasting in Indigenous communities. Radio Ixchel has made efforts to promote its community's language, Kaqchikel, by broadcasting programs like "Word of the Day" and sponsoring language workshops on Kaqchikel. (Camp and Portaleska, Cultural Survival Quarterly, March 2013).

Salazar and Córdova discuss how Indigenous communities are being challenged to make their communities defensively different with limited resources. Due to the lack of resources, there is a higher sense of community obligation which constitutes a system of social relations and networking aimed at reaffirming communal social solidarities, where local conjunctures are increasingly strengthened and linked through transnational strategies and cross-cultural collaborations across national borders (Salazar and Córdova, 2008). We see this case of transnational strategies and cross-cultural collaborations in the Guatemalan case. Local community radio broadcasters are part of broader civic engagement networks that extend outside of the country, building networks among the next generation of Indigenous advocates and activists. Acknowledging the social struggle that is decolonization, Sium, Desali and Ritskes (2012) state that alliance and solidarity

are not a given. Rather networks between Indigenous communities and non-Indigenous peoples are continually being cultivated. "Community must be built, not assumed" (p. xi).

Here is an example of how community collaborations are built in the context of community radio: With a vision to build a transnational indigenous youth network, a group of fifty-three Indigenous youth from community radio stations from around Guatemala, Belize, and El Salvador, gathered at Lago Atitlan, Guatemala to celebrate their shared Mayan ancestry and engage in dialogue around issues confronting their communities. The second in a series if three transnational Indigenous youth conferences hosted in Guatemala, community leaders and experts presented on themes of human, women, and indigenous rights where in which the youth were able to critically engage in dialogue; asking questions like: "How can Indigenous youth gain access to high level planning, when we are always told that we don't have the capacity or experience?" The youth in attendance were sincerely aware of the importance of community radio. One youth from a Salvadorian community radio commented, "As Indigenous youth, we suffer from many problems caused by the system that oppresses us. Being able to participate in a community radio fills us with joy. Taking part in a form of media that is normally not open to youth in order to express our ideas and needs has been one of the most enriching experiences I've had." (Cultural Survival, December 10, 2013).

What community radio is doing in the case of Indigenous youth is that it is raising critical questions about the politics and circulation of knowledge at the different levels. Ginsberg says these politics are found at various levels, including the local level. Community radio opens access to those who normally do not have access. In this case, I

69

am talking about Indigenous youth. By including voices of Indigenous youth on the airwaves, communities are resetting the standard of who has the right to know, tell and circulate stories and images. Ginsberg says, "Within nation-states, media are linked to larger battles over cultural citizenship, racism, sovereignty, and land rights, as well as struggles over funding, airspace, and satellites, networks of broadcasting and distribution, and digital broadband that may or may not be available to Indigenous work" (Rethinking the Digital Age, p. 303).

Through language maintenance and cross cultural collaborations via community radio programming and networks, community radio broadcasters and listeners alike are participating in acts of solidarity and empowerment. The reaffirmation of an Indigenous identity is a reminder that absorption into hegemonic culture is not necessary to participate in democracy or development initiatives in your community.

Mobilizing for Radio

In the community radio ecosystem of solidarity and empowerment, the cause for mobilization around radio is real and attainable. There are two aspects of social mobilization and community radio. The first is around the radio itself and the contention of its legality. The second aspect is about the supporting role of community radio in "las luchas sociales." (Eduardo Larjol, Interview). There is a blurred line between the two as the illegality of the radio is a point of social justice like the other issues aired.

By lending itself to the practical argument of democratic access to information and technology in a country where significant portion of the population is excluded from the development process, the Community Radio Movement has created a space for social

mobilization. Because the UN Declaration of Indigenous Rights and the 1996 Peace Accords acknowledge and grant Indigenous peoples the right to create their own media, the Community Radio Movement is not only for media advocates, but a space where Indigenous Rights activists participate. Community radio by its very nature is the ideal platform to perpetuate the ideas of an egalitarian society where in which the Indigenous world-view is maintained and experienced daily. As community radio is for everyone in a community it serves, the radio draws the marginalized into its fold because the mainstream media already meets the needs of those in power. The social mobilization around this communication technology is dynamically innovative.

Combatting the bureaucracy and unjust structural domination of the Guatemalan government, the Consejo Guatemalteco de Comunication Comunitaria (CGCC) was formed in 2001 to promote the implementation of reforms to the telecommunications law to protect community stations' bandwidth and right to broadcast. Indigenous Community media rights activists are working towards four major goals: (1) reform the telecommunications law; (2) strengthen the community radio stations' ability to generate news content; (3) assist radio stations to acquire equipment; (4) build community capacity towards a self-sustaining community radio stations. CGCC along with Communications Association of South-Eastern Guatemala (ACECSOGUA), Community Media Assoication of Solola (AMECOS), Association of Guatemalan Community Radios (ARCG), Mujb'al'yol, and Cultural Survival are striving use community radio as a strategic instrument to promote effective community collaboration to bring out productive social and political change on the local level (Goodman and Ballester, 2005).

Throughout the Community Radio movement as a grass-roots movement, it does not possess what Robert calls the "inherent tension" within community mobilization. The Community Radio Movement does not embrace anti-statist ideology, goals, and strategies. If anything, the Movement's continual petitioning to the Guatemalan congress illustrates how a grass-roots movement can be about demanding to be included in the social and political fabric of the national agenda.

Local mobilization is and remains essential in the Guatemalan case. However, the space for international advocacy should be acknowledged. Waisbord calls media social movements "globalized nationals." I agree to the extent that the Community Radio Movement is a media social movement. However, to garner international support the Community Radio Movement is fluid in how it represents itself. By branding itself as an Indigenous rights movement, the Movement has been able to garner international support. This is because the Community Radio Movement is informed by local issues surrounding Indigenous rights. As Waisbord says, "local mobilization is indispensable to promote changes in media systems" (p.149).

In the Guatemalan case, the Movement's motivation is not only to promote changes in media systems. The Movement is striving to advocate Indigenous rights, for the acknowledgement of the government of its continual marginalization of Indigenous peoples and its abuse of Indigenous rights. The Community Radio movement is part of greater social transformation. Policy reform to legalize community radio is a step in the right direction, a victory in a 600-year old conflict. Whereas Waisbord views media democratization as the final and complete goal, the Community Radio movement in

72

Guatemala continues to fight for both Indigenous community rights and media democratization. The Movement may shift guises and take on a different name, but the fight will continue for social justice.

Mark Camp, Cultural Survival Deputy Executive Director, says the Community Radio and Media Democratization movements are similar and embrace similar values, but at its core the Community Radio movement is an Indigenous rights movement. The two are allies, but not the same. The Community Radio Movement is organized around a common practical cause, but its purpose is strategic (Mark Camp, Interview). It is this strategy that is controversial. Feminist theorist Maxine Molyneux (1985) distinguishes between practical versus strategic action. By organizing around a practical cause (access to radio), a strategic actions is taken (Indigenous rights). By working toward providing a space for all community expression, over time the elite who hold the power of economic access will be forced to acknowledge the demands of the people. The Community Radio Movement is strategic conflict change. It has the characteristics of a social movement, but it is more than that. It is a form of community development – intentional social action to realize the betterment of community quality of life.

Jumping Scale

The mobilizing aspect of the radio is not only local, but jumps scale due to the government's refusal to acknowledge community radio as a legitimate means of telecommunication. The support garnered through community radio networks and Cultural Survival's access to an international audience, community radio has been able to jump scale. Drawing on Neil Smith's theory on the instruments of political

empowerment, Community radio is a mechanism that works toward enabling local community members to jump scales – "to organize the production and reproduction of daily life and to resist oppression and exploitation at a higher scale – over a wider geographical field. Jumping scales allows for an erasure of "spatial boundaries that are largely imposed from above and that contain rather than facilitate their production and reproduction of everyday life" (Smith, p. 60).

A Space for Community Mobilization in Las Luchas Sociales:

As radio enables jumping scale, it allows for discussion and action around contentious issues facing Indigenous communities throughout Guatemala. The networks individual stations are connected to allow for communities to exhibit their solidarity with other communities facing similar development challenges. As it is a space for expression, the radio is also an organizing principle for Indigenous youth. Community radio is a place where the next generation of Indigenous advocates and activists are taking part in a process of community formation where in which they are prepared to continue the struggle against entrenched systems of strategic marginalization. Indigenous rights are proclaimed on the airwave as well as enacted through the civic engagement networks organized around community radio.

To illustrate how Indigenous rights are circulated through community radio, the Free, Prior and Informed Consent Initiative is a program implemented by Cultural Survival in 2013. Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC) is a right held by Indigenous communities to decide whether they want companies or governments to mine, deforest, or in other ways develop their lands, as well as the right to make informed decisions

74

through cultural relevant processes. The FPIC program produces an innovative radio series made to help Indigenous communities to be bettered informed about their right to FPIC and be better prepared to assert it. The 361 radio programs in the series has been translated into 18 languages and is available worldwide for free. Cultural Survival distributed the pre-recorded programs on compact discs among its community radio network of more than 1000 community radio stations around the world. See Figure 15. Through broadcasting radio spots, the community radio stations are supporting the broader movement against development initiatives in Indigenous communities that are not conceived as FPIC.

I accompanied the distribution of the FPIC radio program to Radio Ixchel, a participant in the FPIC Initiative. Radio Ixchel hosted the premier of EPIC with a discussion on why it is so important to Indigenous communities specifically in Guatemala.

> We have a government with certain interests which forget
> the absence of the community, the citizen, and Indigenous
> peoples in the right to consent. The government forgets
> about all that in the context of permitting mining rights to
> foreign extraction. (Radio Ixchel, June 23, 2013).

In Guatemala, social movements have played a role in pressuring the state to respect and protect human rights and the rights of citizenship (Brett, p. 30). Community radio is intimately linked to the proclamation of Indigenous rights and broadcasts content

Figure 15: Cultural Survival's Free, Prior and Informed Consent (personal photo, June 2013).
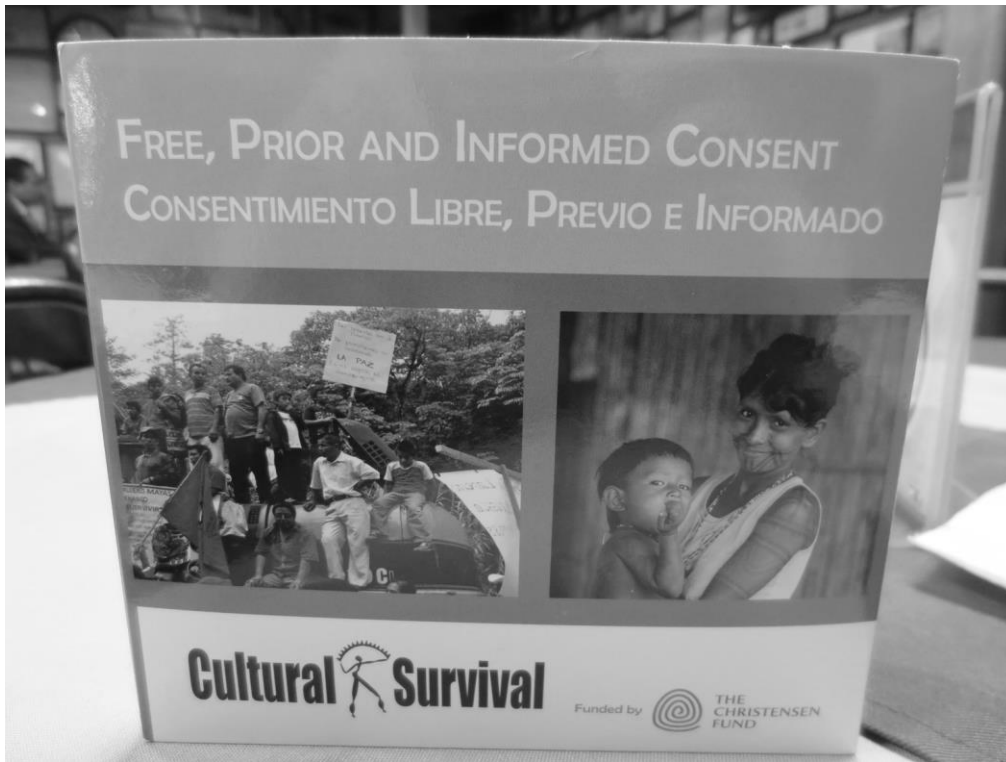
that reflects the cultural values and traditions of the communities that it serves. In the fight to legalize community radio, Indigenous rights have been up front and center in the dialogue. They are the premise of the legal argument as to why community radio is a legitimate medium for Indigenous expression.

Community radio participants act in solidarity with other luchas sociales / social struggles. The fight of the downtrodden and marginalized is their fight as well. Seeing themselves as brothers and sisters in the continual struggle against the powers at be, community radio is a witness, always there to document, to make sure there can be no erasure. Community radio is a whistle blower so to speak. To illustrate this, Radio Ixchel supported the Ixil people in a solidarity caravan during the epic 2013 Rios Montt trial as over one hundred Ixil Mayas testified to their witness of genocide during the 1982 and 1983 scorched campaign (Eduardo Laroj, Interview). Another example of community radio acting in solidarity in luchas sociales is its attendance at the annual day of protest. Every year on October 12, Columbus Day known as el Día de Hispanidad or Hispanic Day in Guatemala, community radio broadcasters participate in a broader demonstration of Indigenous rights activists and advocates in Guatemala City to address the entrenched colonial conditions of hundreds of thousands of their fellow countrymen. See Figure 16.

Conclusion

By approaching community radio from an asset-based development perspective, the power of community radio is realized. As a tool for, by, and in the community, community radio takes on various roles in activating ideologies of decolonization, as well as serving as a practical tool for the circulation of local news and knowledge.

Figure 16: Community radio volunteers demonstrate on 2012 Columbus Day in Guatemala City (Cultural Survival, October 24, 2012).

Foundations of community development are reinforced by the radio in its continual

engagement in dialogue on critical community issues. From this critical engagement

develops a consciousness over time that allows for citizens to demand their voice be

heard in Guatemalan democracy.

Chapter VIII: Conclusion – Saying No to Inequality

In a legacy of violence against the marginalized, Guatemala may seem like a despairing cause. Yet, this thesis has explored the positive spaces community radio is creating for social change based off of community assets, not deficiencies. It should be noted that these spaces are born in a wake of violence, yet have risen above violence. Words are now used to fight for a just Guatemala. Despite challenging existing conditions, hope remains as citizens unite to work for peaceful and just life ways.

As a communication technology appropriated for strategic social change, community radio is a conduit for community knowledge production, a platform for Indigenous rights, a pillar for community solidarity, and an arena for community empowerment. This form of community development enacts decolonization by redefining the conversation for future generations. The conversation is carried out through the airwaves where in which listeners are invited to engage, asked to think critically, and envision a better future. The critical component for action is also connected to the radio – its strong networks. I have broken down how broadcasted content is created, administered, and circulated at the local, national, and international scales through strong advocacy and support networks. It is also through theses strong networks that community radio representatives and advocates are working to change telecommunications policy to allow media to be truly accessible to all Guatemalans in ways that are culturally appropriate.

To further understand the exchanges between community radio networks and individual stations, additional research is needed to discover how community radio is

operated in conjunction with other forms of media technologies, particularly the internet and social media. In addition, a power analysis of Guatemalan community radio networks would prove insightful to understand how social influence and power are practiced to change telecommunication policy.

As media ideologies are renegotiated to enact the envisioned good life, I have learned that media uses adapt to the social fabric of the communities they engage with. As an indicator of quality of life, media does matter. In the context of Guatemalan community radio, people are fighting for freedom of expression, expression that reflects their worldview in the language of their ancestors. Community radio says no to inequality that marginalizes and segregates communities from one another, and says yes to creative dialogue that inspires social action.

List of References

Adcock, Hanna. (2012). Media Revolution in the Highlands of Guatemala: Promoting
    Indigenous Visions through Video. Cultural Survival Quarterly 36(1): 20-23.
    Retrieved from http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-
    quarterly/media-revolution-highlands-guatemala-promoting-indigenous.

Archibold, Randal C. (October 20, 2012). Guatemala Shooting Raises Concerns About
    Military's Expanded Role. New York Times. Retrieved from
    http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/21/world/americas/guatemala-shooting-raises-
    concerns-about-militarys-expanded-role.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0

ARMARC Guatemala. (2013). http://amarcguatemala.blogspot.com/

Ballester, Rachel and Goodman, Jenn. (2006). Guatemala Radio Project. Cultural
    Survival Quarterly 29(4): 38. Retrieved from
    http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-
    quarterly/guatemala/guatemala-radio-project.

Banfi, Jaime Abello. (2008). A Rich Complex Landscape: Challenges and Advance in
    Media Development in Latin America. In Media Matters: Perspectives on
    Advancing Governance & Development from the Global Forum for Media
    Development, editor Mark Harvey. Internews Europe, 122-127.

Cattelino, Jessica. (2008). High Stakes: Florida Seminole Gaming and Sovereignty.
    Durham: Duke University Press.

Central America Data. (February 22, 2012). Guatemala Faces the Challenge of
    Competiveness.
    http://www.centralamericadata.com/en/article/home/Guatemala_Faces_the_Chall
    enge_of_Competitiveness.

Cherofsky, Jessie. (2013). Vindicating Claims Internationally: Guatemala's Community
    Radio Movement Struggles for Justice. Cultural Survival Quarterly. Vol 37, Issue
    2, 6-7.

Christen, Kimberly. (2006). Tracking Properness: Repackaging Culture in a Remote
    Australian Town. Cultural Anthropology 21(3):416-446.

Community Radio Movement of Guatemala. (October 30, 2011). Community Radio
    Movement Denounces Bill 4404. Cultural Survival. Retrieved from
    http://www.culturalsurvival.org/node/10177

Congreso de la Republica Gautemal, C.A. (September 27, 2011) Numero de registro 4404. Reformas a la ley general de telemcomunicaciones. Retrieved from http://200.12.63.122/Legislacion/iniciativa.asp.

Congreso de la Republic Guatemala, C.A. (August 20, 2009). Numero de registro 4087.

Conklin, Beth A. (1997). Body Paint, Feathers, and VCRs: Aesthetics and Authenticity in Amazonian Activism. American Ethnologist 24(4):711-737.

Consejo Municipal de Desarrollo San Mateo. (2012). Plan de Desarrollo San Mateo Quetzaltenango. Guatemala: Secretaríia de Planificación y Programación de la Presidencia.

Consejo Municipal de Desarrollo San Pedro La Laguna. (2008). Plan de Desarrollo Municipal con Enfoque Territorial Municipio de San Pedro la Laguna Departamento de Sololá. Guatemala: Secretaríia de Planificación y Programación de la Presidencia.

Consejo Municipal de Desarrollo Sumpango. (2010). Plan de Sumpango Sacatepéquez. Guatemala: Secretaríia de Planificación y Programación de la Presidencia.

Cultural Survival. (August 6, 2009). Community Media Bill Introduced to Guatemalan Congress. Retrieved from http://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/guatemala/community-media-bill-introduced-guatemalan-congress.

Cultural Survival. (November 8, 2011). Radio Movement Declares Bill 4044 Anti-Democratic. Retrieved from http://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/guatemala/radio-movement-declares-bill-4044-anti-democratic.

Cultural Survival. (December 10, 2011). Community Radio Gains Time in Fight against Further Monopolization in Guatemala. Retrieved from http://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/guatemala/community-radio-gains-time-fight-against-further-monopolization-guatemala.

Cultural Survival. (March 29, 2012). Indigenous March in Guatemala Ends in Congressional Resolution. Retrieved from http://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/indigenous-march-guatemala-ends-congressional-resolution.

Cultural Survival. (April 26, 2012). Government Responds to Demands of Marchers, Agreements Not Yet Reached in Guatemala. Retrieved from http://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/government-responds-demands-marchers-agreements-not-yet-reached-guatemala.

Cultural Survivor. (April 26, 2012). Three Small Steps: Progress in Passing the
Community Radio Law in Guatemala. Retrieved from
http://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/three-small-steps-progress-passing-
community-radio-law-guatemala-0.

Cultural Survivor. (May, 8 2012). Uqul Tinamit Community Radio Station Raided by
Guatemalan Police. Cultural Survival. Retrieved from
http://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/uqul-tinamit-community-radio-station-
raided-guatemalan-police.

Cultural Survival. (May 18, 2012). Human Rights Violations in Guatemala: Hearing
Indigenous Voices. By Danielle Deluca. Retrieved from
http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/human-
rights-violations-guatemala-hearing-indigenous-voices

Cultural Survivor. (June, 26, 2012). Workshops Strengthen Community Radio Network
in Guatemala. Retreived from http://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/workshops-
strengthen-community-radio-network-guatemala.

Cultural Survival. (August 22, 2012). Guatemala: New Bill Would Criminalize
Community Radio. Retrieved from
http://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/guatemala-new-bill-would-criminalize-
community-radio.

Cultural Survival. (October 24, 2012). In Pictures: 2012 March of Resistance in
Guatemala. Retrieved from http://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/pictures-2012-
march-resistance-guatemala-city.

Cultural Survival. (November 28, 2012). Another Community Radio Station Raided by
Guatemalan Police. Retrieved from
http://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/another-community-radio-station-raided-
guatemalan-police.

Cultural Survival. (December 10, 2013). Indigenous Mayan Youth Forge Relationships
Based on Community Radio. Retrieved from
http://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/indigenous-mayan-youth-forge-
international-relationships-based-community-radio

Cultural Survival. (January 24, 2013). Community Radio Movement Releases Book.
Retrieved from http://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/community-radio-
movement-guatemala-releases-book

Deane, James. (2008). Why the Media Matters: the Relevance of the Media to Tackling Poverty. In Media Matters: Perspectives on Advancing Governance & Development from the Global Forum for Media Development, editor Mark Harvey. Internews Europe, 35-44.

Deloria, Philip J. (2004). Indians in Unexpected Places. University Press of Kansas: Lawrence.

Doble Via. (2012). http://doblevia.yolasite.com/.

Edwards, Bob. (2013). Social Capital and Social Movements. The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements, edited by David A. Snow, Donatella della Porta, Bert Klanermans, and Doug McAdam. Hoboken: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Evangelii Gaudium. (2013). The Joy of the Gospel: Apostolic Exhortation of the Holy Father Francis. Boston: Pauline Books & Media.

Fanon, Frantz. (2004). The Wretched of the Earth. Translated by Richard Philox. Grove Press: New York.

Feinberg, Richard. Waisman, Carlos H. Zamosc, Leon Eds (2006). Civil Society and Democracy in Latin America. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillian.

Fisher, Robert. (1993). "Grass-Roots Organizing Worldwide; Common Ground, Historical Roots, and the Tension Between Democracy and the State." Mobilizing the Community; Local Politics in the Era of the Global City

Freire, Paulo. (2000). Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Trans. Myra Bergman Ramos. Continuum: New York.

Freire, Paulo. (2011). Reflections on the Theory and Practice of Development Communication. Global Media Journal: Indian Edition. 2(2), 37-70.

Gaynor, Niamh and O'Brien. (2011). Because it all beings with talk: community radio as a vital element in community development. Community Development Journal 47(3), 436-447.

Ginsburg, Faye. (2008). Rethinking the Digital Age. Global Indigenous Media: Cultures, Poetics, and Politics. Pamela Wilson and Michelle Stewart, eds. Pp 287-305. Duke University Press: Durham.

Ginsburg, Faye. (1991). Indigenous Media: Faustian Contract or Global Village? Cultural Anthropology 6(1): 92-112.

Ginsburg, Faye D. (2002). Screen Memories: Resignifying the Traditional in Indigenous Media. Media Worlds: Anthropology on New Terrain. F.D. Ginsburg, L. Abu-Lughod, and B. Larkin, eds. Pp. 39-57. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Goberierno de Guatemala. (2013). Secretaría de Planificación y Programación de la Presidencia –Segeplan. http://www.segeplan.gob.gt/2.0/.

Green, Gary Paul and Haines, Anna. (2002). Asset Building & Community Development. Sage Publications, Inc.: Thousand Oaks.

Habermas, Jürgen. (1987). The Theory of Communicative Action, Vol. 2, Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason. Boston: Beacon Press.

Haines, Anna. (2008). Asset-based Community Development. An Introduction to Community Development. Edited by Rhonda Phillips and Robert H. Pittman. New York: Taylor & Francis, pages 38-48.

Harris, Usha Sundar. (2007). Community Informatics and the Power of Participation. Pacific Journalism Review. 13(2), 29-45.

Henderson, V. L. (2008). Sound as a dollar? The Propertization of Spectrum Resources and Implications for non-profit community radio in Guatemala. Queen's University: Kingston, Ontario.

Hintz, Arne. (2011). From Media Niche to Policy Spotlight: Mapping Community-Media Policy Change in Latin America. Canadian Journal of Communications, Vol 36, 147-159.

Hoffman, David. (2008). Information Equality: the Third Revolution. In Media Matters: Perspectives on Advancing Governance & Development from the Global Forum for Media Development, editor Mark Harvey. Internews Europe, 19-21.

Howley, Kevin. (2005). Community Media: People, Places, and Communication Technologies. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Hustedde, Ronald J. (2008). Seven Theories for Community Developers. An Introduction to Community Development. Edited by Rhonda Rhillips and Robert H. Pittman. New York: Taylor & Francis, pages 20- 37.

International Labor Organization. (1989). C169-Indingenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169). Accessed from http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C169.

International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs. (2014). Who are the indigenous peoples? Accessed from http://www.iwgia.org/culture-and-identity/identification-of-indigenous-peoples

Kretzmann, John P. and McKnight, John L. (1993). Building Communities From the Inside Out: A Path Toward Finding and Mobilizing A Community's Assets. Evanston: Institute for Policy Research.

Lovell, W. George. (2010). A Beauty That Hurts: Life and Death in Guatemala, Second Revised Edition. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Malkin, Elisabeth. (2013). In Testimony, Guatemalans Give Account of Suffering. New York Times. Accessed from http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/15/world/americas/in-rios-montt-trial-guatemalans-give-account-of-suffering.html?_r=0.

Mancomunidad Metrópoli de Los Altos. (2013). San Mateo. http://www.metropolidelosaltos.org/portal/index.php/ct-menu-item-15/ct-menu-item-33.

Martí i Puig, Salvador. (2010). The Emergence of Indigenous Movements in Latin America and Their Impact on the Latin American Political Scene: Interpretive Tools at the Local and Global Levels. Latin American Perspectives, 37:6, 74-92.

Mattessich, Paul W. (2008). Social Capital and Community Building. An Introduction to Community Development. Edited by Rhonda Phillips and Robert H. Pittman. New York: Taylor & Francis, pages 49-57.

MINUGUA, United Nations Mission for the Verification of Human Rights in Guatemala. (1998). Agreement on identity and rights of indigenous peoples. Accessed from United States Institute of Peace, www.un.org/Depts/minugua/paz7.htm.

Molyneux, Maxine. (1985). Mobilization without Emancipation? Women's Interests, the State, and Revolution in Nicaragua. Feminist Studies, Vol. 11, No 2, 227-254.

Montejo, Victor D. (2012). Maya Intellectual Renaissance: Identity, Representation, and Leadership. University of Texas Press: Austin.

Morgensen, Scott Lauria. (2012). Activist Media in Indigenous AIDS Organizing: Theorizing the Colonial Conditions of AIDS. Comparative Indigeneities of the Americas: Toward a Hemispheric Approach. Eds M. Bianet Castellanos, Lourdes Gutierrez Najera, and Arturo J. Aldama. Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, pp 274-288.

Movimiento de radios comunitarias de Guatemala. (2013). Radio Comunitaria: Su
historia ante un estado racista en Guatemala y sus fundamentos jurídico.

Mujb'ab'l yol. (2009). Hacia un modelo de radio comunicación comunitaria. San Marco,
Guatemala.

Mujb'ab'l yol. (2013). http://www.mujbablyol.com/EN_radioscomunitarias.html.

Murphy, P. and Cunningham, J. (2003). Organizing for Community Controlled
Development: Renewing Civil Society. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Narayanasamy, N. (2009). Participatory Rural Appraisal: Principle, Methods and
Applications. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Inc.

Paranjape, Nitin. (2007). Community Media: Local is Focal. Community Development
Journal. 42(4), 459-459.

Phillips, Rhonda and Pittman, Robert H. (2008). A Framework for Community and
Economic Development. An Introduction to Community Development. Edited by
Rhonda Rhillips and Robert H. Pittman. New York: Taylor & Francis, pages 4-19.

Portaleska, Agnes and Camp, Mark. (2005). A Question of Frequency; Community Radio
in Guatemala. Cultural Survival Quarterly 29(2): 26. Retrieved from
http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-
quarterly/guatemala/question-frequency-community-radio-guatemala.

Portalwska, Agnes and Camp, Mark. (2013). The Electronic Drum: Community Radio's
Role in Reversing Indigenous Language Decline. Cultural Survival Quarterly. Vol
37, Issue 1, 12-17.

Prensa Libre. (5 December 2012). Presidente ratifica reformas a Ley de
Telecomunicaciones. http://www.prensalibre.com/noticias/politica/Presidente-
ratifica-reformas-Ley-Telecomunicaciones_0_823117793.html

Prensa Libre. (21 November 2012). Congreso amplia plazo de todas las frecuencias.
http://www.prensalibre.com/noticias/politica/Congreso-amplia-plazo-todas-
frecuencias_0_814718532.html

Putnam, Robert. (1993). Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy.
Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Putnam, Robert. (2001). The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life. The
American Prospect. http://prospect.org/article/prosperous-community-social-
capital-and-public-life.

Rasch, Elisabet Dueholm. (2011). Quetzaltenango's First Mayan Mayor: Transforming Political Culture and the Politics of Belonging? Journal of Latin American Studies. 43(1), 121-149.

Reilly, Charles A. (2009). Peace-Building and Development in Guatemala and Northern Ireland. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Participatory Media and Public Voice to Encourage Civic Engagement. Civic Life online: Learning how digital media can engage youth. editor Lance W. Bennett. Pp97-118. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Rocheleau, Dianne and Slocum, Rachel. (1995). Participation in context: key questions. Power, Process and Participation: Tools for Change. Edited by Rachel Slocum, Lori Wichhart, Dianne Rocheleau, and Barbara Thomas-Slayter. London: Intermediate Technology, pages 17-40.

Rodriguez, Clemencia. (2011). Citizens' Media against Armed Conflict: Disrupting Violence in Colombia. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Rogers, Everett. (2011). The Value-Added of Development Communication. Global Media Journal: Indian Edition. 2(2), 1-35.

Slocum, Rachel and Thomas-Slayter, Barbara. (1995). Participation, empowerment, and sustainable development. Power, Process and Participation: Tools for Change. Edited by Rachel Slocum, Lori Wichhart, Dianne Rocheleau, and Barbara Thomas-Slayter. London: Intermediate Technology, pages 3-8.

Smith, Neil. (1992). Contours of Spatial zed Politics: Homeless Vehicles – the Production of Geographical Scale. Social Text, 33, 54-81.

Solervicens, Marcelo. (2008). Community Radio: Perspectives on Media Reach and Audience Access. In Media Matters: Perspectives on Advancing Governance & Development from the Global Forum for Media Development, editor Mark Harvey. Internews Europe, 161-163.

Republic of Guatemala. (1998). General Law of Telecommunications: Decree: 94-96 and its Amendments, Decree 115-97, 47-2002 and 15-2003 of the Congress of the Republic of Guatemala. Superintendent's Office of Telecommunications.

Renuka, Berry. (1995). Media ethics: no magic solutions. Power, Process and Participation: Tools for Change. Edited by Rachel Slocum, Lori Wichhart, Dianne Rocheleau, and Barbara Thomas-Slayter. London: Intermediate Technology, pages 41-50.

Ramón Daubón. (2002). A Grassroots View of Development Assistance. Grassroots
    Development, 23:1. Retrieved from
    (http://www.iaf.gov/publications/publications_en.asp?journal_id=1&pageLevel=c
    ontent&pub_id=2&pub_year=2002&toc_id=35&cont_sort_order=1)

Salazar, Juan Fransisco and Córdova, Amalia. (2008). Imperfect Media and the Poetics of
    Indigenous Video in Latin America. Global Indigenous Media: Cultures, Poetics,
    and Politics. Pamela Wilson and Michelle Stewart, eds. Pp 39-57. Duke
    University Press: Durham.

Serafini, Dom. (2010). Central American Television Touched By An Angel. Video Age
    International. http://www.videoageinternational.com/articles/2010/01/angel.html.

Sium, Aman, Chandni, Desai, and Ritskes, Eric. (2012). Towards the 'tangible unknow':
    Decolonization and the Indigenous future. Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education
    & Society. Vol 1, No. 1, pp. 1-XIII.

Turner, Terence. (2002). Representation, Politics, and Cultural Imagination in Indigenous
    Video: General Points and Kayapo Examples. Media Worlds: Anthropology on
    New Terrain. F.D. Ginsburg, L. Abu-Lughod, and B. Larkin, eds. Pp. 75-89.
    Berkeley: University of California Press.

Waisbord, Silvio. Bridging the Divide between the Press and Civic Soceity: Civic Media
    Advocacy as "Media Movement" in Latin America. Accessed 10 October 2013
    from http://www.nordicom.gu.se/sites/default/files/kapitel-pdf/283_waisbord.pdf

Waisbord, Silvio. (2008). The institutional challenges of participatory communication in
    international aid. Social Identities, 14:4, 505-522.

World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters AMARC. (2007). Community
    Radio Social Impact Assessment: Removing Barriers Increasing Effectiveness
    World Bank. (2012). International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and
    International Finance Corporation Country Partnership Strategy for the Republic
    of Guatemala for the Period FY 2013-2016.

World Bank. (27 September 2012). Guatemala / WB: New 2013 -2016 Partnership
    Promotes Social Inclusive and Sustainable Growth.
    http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2012/09/27/guatemala-new-
    partnership-promotes-socially-inclusive-sustainable-growth