Radio, Sound & Society Journal

Editors:
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2016 Volume 1 Issue 1

Invited Editors:
Manuel Fernández Sande
Ignacio Gallego Pérez

Latin radio. Diversity, innovation and policies
The Radio, Sound & Society Journal is a scientific journal edited by the ECREA Radio Research Section. It is a semiannual publication, aimed at publishing relevant research (fundamental and applied research outputs) in the field of radio and sound. The journal welcomes contributions regarding challenges radio faces in the web environment, acoustic language, and audio media in general and sound art. Areas of interest include radio history, radio business model, technology, narratives and programming, audiences, advertising, music industry, web radio, sound art, public service broadcasting, aesthetics and sound, sound and literacy.

ECREA Radio Research Section
http://ecrea-radioresearch.eu
Title:
Radio, Sound & Society Journal

Publisher:
Ecrea Radio Research Section

Editors:
Madalena Oliveira; Tiziano Bonini & Grazyna Stachyra

Peer-review:
The Radio, Sound & Society Journal operates a strictly anonymous peer review process in which the reviewer's name is withheld from the author and the author's name from the reviewer. Each article is submitted to two referees, selected from a wide group of acknowledged researchers in the field of radio and sound studies.

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Online publication only | URL:
http://ecrea-radioresearch.eu/rss-journal

Cover & Layout:
Madalena Oliveira

ISSN:
From Volume 1, Issue 2 on

Volume 1 | Issue 1
Publication date: June 2016
Invited editors: Manuel Fernández Sande & Ignacio Gallego Pérez
Theme: Latin radio. Diversity, innovation and policies

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Editorial

A new age for radio and sound studies

Madalena Oliveira, Tiziano Bonini & Grazyna Stachyra (Editors)

The creation of a Radio Research Section within ECREA, as well as other groups and research projects, confirms “the sign of the revival of academic interest in radio” spotted by Peter Lewis in an article published by the International Journal of Cultural Studies (2000, p. 160). There is, among researchers particularly enthusiastic for audio production, a common feeling that radio has always been neglected by communication and media studies, which is quite true. For decades after the first studies on propaganda and public opinion performed by authors like Paul Lazarsfeld, communication research developed side by side with the increase of visual media and therefore was much more concerned with image than with sound. As a result, significantly more scientific discourse took place regarding television than regarding radio. The emergence of the screen quickly blinded audiences to the magic of radio and the power of imagination such a medium played in the first half of the 20th century was consigned to a marginalised idea of nostalgia in modern media societies.

After the boom of pirate radios in the 1980s, which generated a new impulse to radio production by expanding it to local contexts and by launching the concept of community media, a new wave of public discourse emerged announcing the death of radio. The apparently unsustainable dream of local broadcasting in scarce advertising markets condemned radio to a minor place in the fervent media studies field of the electronic age. Recognised as a fundamental medium in underdeveloped regions of the globe, where the access to digital media is still limited, radio is sometimes assumed to be a medium of the third world. Due to its technological simplicity and mobile character, radio in its traditional and Hertzian way continues to be the only medium able to cross the physical barriers of isolated places, the only medium able to connect remote communities to the global information environment. In a certain way, it was this generous nature that made radio a sector that could not be totally ignored in the media landscape and in the research/academic arena. But the level of scientific production was still disappointing, both in terms of thematic diversity and in terms of relevance and socio-cultural impact.

The expansion of the Internet represented a new threat, this time not only for radio, but for press and television too. Since the turn of the millennium,
mainstream media have faced a demand for deep reconfiguration and a critical moment of adaptation to new media consumption patterns. Press, radio, and television converged to the Internet, as well as with each other. This convergence paradigm has been provoking a new dynamism in the media landscape and animating a new range of studies specially dedicated to new devices, new business models, new languages, and new audiences’ profiles.

The Internet and digital production represent today a new universe for content circulation. The Web became the centre of production and diffusion. In what regards radio, the World Wide Web is simultaneously a broadcasting extension and a new spectrum for what has been called cyber radio or web radio (Cébrian Herreros, 2008). Just as it has in other moments of the history of mass communication, radio in the age of the Internet has been confirming its resilient nature and its capacity to reinvent its original properties. With a wide range of new opportunities still unexplored, radio and the Internet frame nowadays the focus of challenges faced by the sector in technological, cultural, and industrial terms, as well as a renewed scientific interest.

For at least 10 years, a new stage of studies started to reinforce the position of radio and audio media within communication sciences. If previous publications and scientific work were focused on radio broadcasting in a more or less general sense, after the year 2000, new studies and approaches more focused on sound as a specific language appeared. This is probably why, for instance, the Journal of Radio Studies (launched for the first time in 1992 by Taylor & Francis) became, in 2008, the Journal of Radio & Audio Media. The sophistication in sound production made possible by digital editing raised awareness about the singularities of acoustic language and about how sound is ubiquitous in our relation to the surrounding world.

(...)

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Meant to reinforce the spirit of this recent movement, the Radio, Sound & Society Journal is a scientific publication promoted by the Radio Research Section of ECREA. It was intended to encourage a truly new age for radio and sound studies by sponsoring open-access publication. With no intention to compete with the already existing journals, the Radio, Sound & Society Journal
is envisioned to be an alternative to other publications edited by commercial publishers. Addressed primarily to European researchers, as it is created in the scope of the European community of researchers on radio, this journal is, however, not restricted to the old continent. By choosing the theme of Latin radio for the first issue, the journal’s editors expect to put in evidence the non-Europe-centred character of the journal. The scope of the project is much more concerned with the diversity of themes than with the geographical division of the world.

As is clearly suggested by the title, the Radio, Sound & Society Journal does not pretend to be a periodical on radio only. It was designed to welcome contributions on radio and on sound (whether sound content is produced specifically for radio or not), as well as theoretical and/or empirical approaches on the cultural and social status of audio media. Assumed to be a journal especially sensitive to vibrations and reverberations, this publication will not be worthwhile unless it inspires more thoughtful listening.

A thematic issue will be published each semester under the coordination of invited editors. Authors are encouraged to submit full-text proposals in five different categories: articles, interviews, reviews, commentaries, and multimedia formats (with a report on the content). Following the principle of ECREA, the Radio, Sound & Society Journal adopts English as its official language. Because the majority of authors will not be native speakers, all articles should be submitted for language review. Nevertheless, like oral expression in a foreign language, articles written by non-natives will have inevitable marks of other idioms. The editors believe indeed that, though all efforts that can be made to assure the deepest respect for the English language, this will be a journal to be read by understanding readers. The highest standards of scientific quality are desired, but this will be a kind of low-cost project. It has no budget. It has no profit goals. It has no professional staff. It will depend on volunteer work and the best collaboration of researchers. The works published by the journal will be subject to blind review, but the quality level it reaches will be fundamentally dependent on the quality level of the work its authors will produce.

Published online only, the Radio, Sound & Society Journal will be available for free, based on the open journal system. An extended editorial board was constituted to assure the diversity of perspectives and the excellence standard intended. In a certain way, the journal is meant to be a collaborative or participatory project. If the concept is acceptable, it will be a kind of community journal, produced in a very horizontal way.

Radio is frequently felt as a passion. Sound is usually connoted with feelings. For these reasons, the Radio, Sound & Society Journal will be edited for people who might be interested both in objective information and in a kind of emotive knowledge, which is a valid way too to comprehend what is apparently or not unknown.
Radio is frequently felt as a passion. Sound is usually connoted with feelings. For these reasons, the *Radio, Sound & Society Journal* will be edited for people who might be interested both in objective information and in a kind of emotive knowledge, which is another valid way to comprehend what is apparently unknown. This periodical is not far from the purpose of Sean Street (2013). It invites researchers and readers to enjoy the *poetry of radio* and to appreciate the *colours of sound*. Following common sense, researchers have never explored sufficiently the sound dimension of our cultures. On the contrary, there seems to be no hesitation when recognising that contemporary societies are civilisations of image. By focusing on the acoustic dimension of life, the *Radio, Sound & Society Journal* does not disregard the visual surface of communication. By emphasising the power of sound, it also invites one to look for the *visualities* architected by sound effects.

**References**


Introduction

Diversity, innovation and policies

Manuel Fernández Sande & Ignacio Gallego Pérez (Invited Editors)

On November 2015, we celebrated at Universidad Carlos III de Madrid (UC3M) the biannual ECREA Radio Research Section conference. More than 150 researchers from all over the world, specialised in radio and sound studies, participated in this meeting. The year prior to the celebration of this meeting, the section’s coordination committee proposed the creation of a scientific journal focused on publishing research within this field, with an open, international and multidisciplinary approach.

The conference’s organisers and the section’s staff engaged in a series of conversations about this topic. We decided that the first issue would concentrate on the central issues discussed during the Madrid meeting — namely, diversity, innovation and policies.

From the very beginning, we decided that diversity would be one of the main issues we wanted to approach. At UC3M, we are leading a research project (“Diversity of the audiovisual industry in the digital era” – diversidadaudiovisual.org) with a main goal: to map out global players, which emerge as key intermediaries, as well as small and medium independent agents. We are also working on the implementation of the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions of UNESCO and the different good practices that have appeared at an international level. Taking these concerns as a point of departure, it was intriguing for us to approach radio research from a diversity standpoint, given that we consider that up until now this issue has not been thoroughly researched. The four congress panels devoted to this issue have confirmed the manifold possibilities this type of theoretical approach may add to radio and sound studies.

At the same time, this sector is undergoing major transformations in the digital era. Consequently, we needed to introduce two more topics: innovation and public policies.

The main challenge for the radio sector, adapting to this new scenario, can only be realised through innovation. The most accepted approach within
Radio studies up to this point associates innovation with technological transformations. The conference, without forgetting this key factor, attempted to expand this approach to other conceptual fields: narratives, formats, languages, business models, social networks, organisation systems and research methodologies. Five sessions developed this line of investigation, featuring research projects of great interest for the scientific community.

Lastly, public policies face great challenges given the current technological transformations. We are witnessing the re-launching of digital radio in Europe with projects of analogue switch-off and the re-organisation of the radio spectrum. In the latter case, telecommunication companies use the spectrum for mobile broadband. The two other main challenges for contemporary public policies have to do with new laws regulating the audiovisual sector (generating community radios at the global level) and regulations related to the distribution of sound contents online. The appearance of several services and platforms that distribute music and radio content creates a new challenge for traditional policies dealing with the protection and promotion of cultural products, requiring the necessary legislative modifications in terms of intellectual property since the traditional uses of this type of contents have morphed.

Taking these approaches as a point of departure, the first issue of the Radio, Sound & Society Journal offers a selection of articles from a diversity of authors from the Latin world. Even though, as specified above, the 2015 Radio Research Conference featured the participation of researchers from all over the world, its Madrid celebration allowed for a great opportunity to establish the importance of radio research in a variety of Latin countries – in particular works from Spain, Portugal and several Latin American countries. The first issue of the Radio, Sound and Society Journal recognises the importance of this research field in the above-mentioned countries.

In the first issue of the journal, titled “Latin Radio. Diversity, Innovation and Policies”, we are presenting several of these contributions, characterised by their broad perspective in terms of topics, approaches and methodologies.

In the last years, Brazil is at the forefront in terms of scientific production on radio. In this monograph, we are publishing four essays written by authors from this South American country: Eduardo Vicente and Rosana Soares from Universidade de São Paulo (USP) analyse the importance of soap operas in the history of Brazilian radio since the 1940s, highlighting the intimate relationship between radio dramatic productions and
telenovelas. Marcelo Kischinhevsky from Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (UERJ) and Leonardo de Marchi from Universidade de São Paulo (USP) discuss the roles of new agents, paying attention to the intermediations that occur in the current Brazilian sound market, with a special emphasis on the analysis of streaming services. Carlos Eduardo Esch and Nélia del Bianco from Universidade de Brasília (UnB) study the Brazilian public radio’s digital strategies. Mainly, they examine the changes that the EBC (Communication Company of Brasil) has implemented in the new scenario of media convergence. Bruno Rebouças from the Universidad Complutense de Madrid (UCM) and Elaine Dias from the Universidade Paulista (UNIP) approach the State’s regulation of Brazilian radio. Specifically, they scrutinise how the government’s propagandistic use of radio and the creation of a series of oligopolies that control the main radio groups threaten its pluralism. Miguel Midões from the Universidade de Coimbra offers a typology of community radios in Portuguese-speaking countries, explaining the different functions they perform. He reflects on the great differences between the legal and normative development of community radios in the different countries he studies. The cultural diversity that these radios catalyse, and, to me more specific, the great importance of community media in the preservation and promotion of minority languages in Europe, is the main topic of the contribution of Isabel Lemas Blanco from the Universidade da Coruña and Miriam Meda González from AMARC Europa. Manuel Martínez Martín from the Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, on his part, offers the results of his research on the ways in which Radio Nacional de España – RNE – utilises social networks to achieve more audience participation.

We would like to thank the Radio Research Section’s staff (Madalena Oliveira, Tiziano Bonini and Grazyna Stachyra) for their support and trust in giving us the opportunity to edit the first issue of this new publishing project. We hope that soon it will become one of the main international publications within the field of sound studies.
Thematic Section
Community radios in the Portuguese-speaking space: mapping the differences of a community empowerment

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Abstract

Portuguese-speaking countries are quite heterogeneous at different levels. From geographic to cultural characteristics, from economic to political conditions, there is a great diversity albeit the mutual influence that is still visible. Such diversity is closely related to the different traditions that shape the development of community media in different continents.

A framework to identify and analyse the different goals and missions of community radios in the Portuguese-speaking countries is presented in this study. The main objective is to identify and characterise the different typologies of community radios that can be found in Portugal, Brazil, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, East Timor, Macau, Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe. This framework draws on the discursive analysis of programmes, in-depth interviews to content producers and systematisation of sociocultural characteristics and media policies. We propose the characterisation of 3 radios from Portugal (1), Brazil (1) and Angola (1) for this presentation, which has an explanatory approach.

Keywords:
community radio; empowerment; Portuguese-speaking space; third media sector
Introduction

Community radios are established and recognised by law in several countries of the world. This broadcasting scenario can be found in the North of Europe, Australia and South America. In Africa or in some Asian countries, there is a growing tendency to find a way for legal recognition, therefore a big number of community radios have been established.

When the Portuguese context is analysed, a very different picture is found; without legal support, FM broadcasts are normally forced to take place as online community projects (Ribeiro, 2015).

The first non-mainstream transmissions all over Europe took place in the 1970s by pirate radios: neither private nor public stations; their work was illegal and provided by one community (Lewis, & Booth, 1989). At the same time, South America reinforced the definition of this third broadcasting sector that had begun to do the first steps in Bolivia, in the 1940s, where a colliers group had established the first community broadcast. Despite this, Brazil only experienced the “free radios” (called rádios livres) in 1995 (Peruzzo, 1998).

Afterwards, in the 1990s, NGOs (Non-governmental organisations) had a leading role in the community radio system edification in several African countries. The implementation of this third sector allowed the community to participate in the subject’s production, the schedule programming, the management and the property of media, and provided technical knowledge, especially in rural areas.

Framed within the concept of belonging, this investigation will be regarding the community as a place or a group with shared features and common social identities (Scott, 2009), as well as an imagined community (Anderson, 1996): a concept of belonging reinforced by the new media, the new technologies and the Internet; a growing-up feeling linked to the globalisation and transnational sharing of information (Appadurai, 2003).

This study is still the beginning of a process of investigation that will analyse the community radio sector in Portugal. The study intends to be the first step towards the design of a map of the community radios, and the identification and analysis of the different goals and missions of these radios.

There are a few radio projects in Portugal that present themselves as community projects, therefore there is the need to determine if these radio projects are actually made for and by the community, and if they can be the voice of the community where they are integrated. In other words, the purpose here is not only to analyse whether this third broadcasting sector expresses the ideas and concerns of the community, and gives voice to their culture, but also to understand if volunteers make the work of the radio projects, and whether these volunteers receive technical training or not.

This is an exploratory study focused on three case studies: one Portuguese community radio called Rádio Manobras; one Brazilian community radio called Rádio Independência do Ceará and the first Angolan university
radio: UNIA. The analysis concerns the website contents of these radios and one interview to Anselmo Canha, from Rádio Manobras, Rose Castilhos Gonçalves from Rádio Independência and Felisberto Filipe, from Rádio UNIA.

Community radios: the third broadcasting sector

In an article issued in Colombo by the World Press Freedom Day in 2006, under the title “Community Radio and Empowerment”, Steve Buckley argues that community media should be seen as independent organisations, born inside the civil society, in the community where they operate and without financial purposes. By these assumptions, he argues that governments should create legal conditions that could favour the “pluralistic information, freedom of expression and the recognition of the crucial role of the community media” (Buckley, 2006, p. 1). Otherwise, the community media would only be able to ensure access to communication by marginalised and isolated groups.

In order to understand the role of community radio stations, it is important to recognise the existence of two dominant broadcast media sectors: public and private. Although some media included in these two sectors are able to create a dialogue with the audience, they still maintain a one-way communication model.

Public service broadcasting, despite its public purpose and its plurality of subjects and sources, cannot be independent from the political power, being used, in many cases, as a tool for the governments.

As for the private sector, it is conditioned by reducing its range of diversity and by the strong political and economic influence. Furthermore, it does not allow for a more participatory and democratic approach, or a strong and dynamic civil society. As a consequence, the third broadcasting sector emerges within the civil society (Fraser & Estrada, 2001, p. 6).

Community radio stations are independent of the State and have non-commercial goals, appearing as a reply and an attempt to find a way, by the communities without media expression, “to express their own ideas, concerns, cultures and languages, and to create an alternative to public broadcasting owned by the State and the growing commercial media sector” (Buckley, 2006, p. 6). Regarding community radios, this third sector aspires to be a public space for debate, where people expose and discuss issues of a common interest, rather than creating spaces that are merely satisfying the immediate needs of certain members of the community. They are community media when they are “dealing with identity, values, ideas, thoughts and opinions that refer directly the community of individuals, which is either the active public or merely a receptor; and when they are seeking consensus via the affinities of interests, accomplishing common goals and social practices” (Leal & Ribeiro, 2007, p. 76).
It is within this context that the community should be a public space, ruled by citizenship, with active individuals, with their differences in positioning their plurality of opinions and diversity of thoughts, leading to an egalitarian, democratic and emancipatory model. The decision between being a mere receptor of information, or a transmitter (an active participant) is in the hands of the community and not in the hands of the media holder; especially because accessibility to any element of the community is one of the main principles of a community radio.

Peruzzo (1998, p. 10) shows the essential features for a community radio: to be a non-profit medium, a community product with interactive programming and fully committed to education and citizenship, encouraging the production and transmission of local cultural events. Also, it must be emphasised that community radio stations have the potential to democratise the power of communication by training and providing people with technical knowledge, such as how to talk in a radio or how to make a radio show. Any individual belonging to the community cannot be excluded or denied his access to the community radio because of his lack of education or technical knowledge: the crucial point in this matter is to have the will and interest to be part of it.

The Portuguese context

There are a few community projects that assume themselves as community radios in Portugal. We can find that they make the programmes almost exclusively for the Internet (Ribeiro, 2015), having FM broadcasting only occasionally. It’s not easy to have an operating license because the community radios are not included in the radio legislation. The operating license needs to be constantly renovated and no law regulates the sector.

According to the United Nations, in the 21st century, governments must implement legal support that fosters pluralistic information, freedom of expression and the recognition of the crucial role of the community media, as well as provide access to communication for isolated and marginalised groups; however, Portugal still does not recognise this in the law or radio (Lei nº 54/2010, 24th December), neither the community broadcasting activity. Instead, it punishes it according to the article 66 of this law.

In the late 1980s, Portugal began the legalisation process of pirate radios, causing the disappearance of several projects in different communities. However, comparing to other countries, the Portuguese delay on
recognising the community sector of the media is significant; for instance, Australia legalised and regulated the community radio in 1972, the Netherlands did so in 1981, Ireland in 1994 and Brazil in 1995.

In Portugal, there are some projects that call themselves community projects or community radios, which are non-profit and developed within specific communities, namely: Rádio Zero (Lisbon, 2004), Rádio Manobras (Porto, 2011), Stress FM (Lisbon, 2011), Quase FM (Lisbon, 2011), Rádio Ás (Aveiro, 2014), CCFM (Porto), Rádio Engenharia (Porto 2007), Rádio Aurora Outra Voz (Lisbon, 2009). Maybe local radios should be analysed in Portugal as part of this third sector of radio broadcasting because local radios are strongly attached to regional culture, focused in the communities and the community life (Bonixe, 2012).

Community radio stations are a symbol of proximity. They give voice to minorities, bring together people with common interests and experiences and part help to building and maintain the structure of the broadcasting community. Intersecting the study regarding the concepts of categorisation in Brazilian community radios presented by Leal and Ribeiro (2006) with the work of Luís Bonixe (2012) regarding his approach to the Portuguese local radio stations and the communication of proximity, one can perceive such local radios as community ones, which are viewed and named as general community radio.

In Portuguese local radios, the communication is held horizontally, which means, in an informal way, close and somewhat affectionate towards the listeners. This is something that the listeners cannot feel in the national radio or other media. Local radio brings a sense of regional identity, belonging and location. Local radios are trained to be means of incrementing citizenship and democracy, creating programming strategies linked to the local and the audience.

Local radios represent social communication directed to populations, embodied in monitoring the social instincts of the communities in the effective realisation of a programme schedule where tradition and local history would strengths such as the practice of journalism proximity. (Bonixe, 2012, p. 7)

The Brazilian reality

Brazilian reality is totally different than the Portuguese one. Despite being the last country to have a law regarding the community radio sector in South America (1998), there are now 3836 legal community radios in Brazil. The numbers are presented by the Obscom, contacted in May 2015, but there are several authors, such as Peruzzo, who claimed in 1998 to have found more than 10.000 community radios in Brazil, most of them on illegal operations, though.
After the approval of the law that recognised these radios, they manifested a new tendency to be more commercial, including marketable programmes and advertising; in fact, they weaved a solid commercial structure, as they sort of reproduced the commercial broadcasters’ logic. In more concrete terms, the stations planned their schedule following religious or electoral motives, which eventually did not fulfil the true role for which they were created.

Within this reality, Abraço – the Brazilian Association of Community Radio Broadcasters – demands a review of the current law in order to incorporate a more contemporary concept of community broadcasting, beyond the geographical limitation. More than a matter of size or scope, what makes more sense in the understanding of community communication in Brazil and Latin America is the confluence of purpose (Peruzzo, 2006, p. 151).

Their work covers just small places, like small neighbourhoods, and in reference to this, authors like Sayonara Leal and Lavina Ribeiro (2007) reveal us two types of community radios: general community radio – that has a commercial structure, with advertising, receives money from enterprises, but it still focused on the community and made by the community itself; and, in the other hand, the intercultural community radio, which, without the support of the private corporations nor the government, lives thanks to the donations of the community.

**Angola without NGO’s in the community media**

Angola is an undefined country when it comes to community radio stations. For many years, attempts were given so as to implement a network of community radio stations, but never succeeded. A law project was created in 2009, but never applied. Why? Because the government wanted to centralise all the decisions, the regulation, and the implementation of the community radios websites. The government created an expansion programme for these radio stations two years ago (2013), which in broad terms would put the community radios under the control of RNA – Rádio Nacional de Angola, the public state radio –, which is under state regulation.

News reports indicate that the first Angolan community radio came to life in 2011 in the province of Bié, municipality of Nharea, with a tower of 40 meters and a transmitter of 250 watts. That radio came under the purview of local government, in partnership with the Ministry of Social Communication. Nevertheless, this radio emerged controlled by RNA, as there are indications that community radio stations such as Cazenga, Rádio Escola do Cefojor, Centro de Formação de Jornalistas, and Rádio Viana, located in Luanda, are also linked to RNA group.

In 2012, the Development Workshop NGO showed interest in supporting projects aimed at establishing community radios in Angola, as long
as they would handle “specific issues of social concern, be it political, cultural, religious or other, since they are connected with the life of a particular community”, against the model of community radio established by the Angolan government. The decentralisation of RNA would thus be possible.

Felizardo Epalanga, from the Open Society Angola Foundation (Bonixe, 2012), believes there is a void in the true role of this type of radio in Angola, noticing the highest importance that the approval of the broadcasting law has, since this third sector appears framed and defined in the document.

The broadcasting law of the Angolan Republic (2009), sets in section 3, article 4, the community scope of the broadcasting sector, restricting the issue just to a local transmitter (article 5), and directly relating the choice of content for producers to the cultural proximity to the location of the radio (article 6).

In this act there is a section exclusively dedicated to community broadcasting, defining who can accomplish the goals or the duration of licenses, granted by the Ministry of Social Communication. To highlight that article 12, it is emphasised that this type of broadcasting provides citizens the right to be informed, but also to inform.

A reality that still seems far in 2015. Angop – Angola Press Agency – announced on 12th May 2015 the will of Luacano municipality to have a community radio station instead of a “repeater of the Rádio Nacional de Angola (RNA) installed since February last”. Subsequently, the RNA station “does not satisfy the desire of local people, as it emits only channel A and Ngola Yetu”. The agency underlines “the interest of citizens in actively listening not only the reality of the country and the world, but also the emission of programmes of local interest to enhance the language, habits and customs, as it strengthens citizenship”¹.

The Portuguese case study – Rádio Manobras

Manobras presents itself as an independent radio, a community radio with laboratory experiments and intervention possibilities. “From citizens, for citizens, for public citizens, private, associative, forgotten, committed, chaotic, exuberant, restless, discrete, transient, unlikely”¹. Manobras was born with Manobras Project in Porto in 2011 and was formalised with the creation of an association in 2014. It also has a permanent FM broadcast. It broadcasts only intermittently at dial 91.5 FM for the Porto region, the only frequency that is available for the region. Licenses are up to six months, renewable for the same period, and are taken to cover sporadic notes, usually with a socio-cultural order, required by Manobras or by another association, which is directly or indirectly connected to the event that will be the target coverage. The broadcast is continuous and performed mostly online, although frequently

filled with pre-scheduled content. Currently there are 13 programmes that can be heard and three others are expected soon. Any of these programmes is performed by Porto citizens or with cultural affinities to the city. They are generally part of the cultural sector, architecture, and have an interest in local and social issues. The script depends on the moment, sometimes focused on culture, while there are others facing the social area, or even political activism. (Canha, personal interview, 2015, June)

After analysing the mission and goals of this community radio, which in its Internet site appears as “Manifesto”, Manobras appears to be a radio for Porto city, an area of "diversity, openness, to scrabble in a hurry, with depth". These concepts connect with the data collected from the interview to the founders of Manobras:

Our goal is to combat the radio format as it is assumed. Release the space of visibility, of speaking. Be open to everyone, go deeper into the subject, and go to the dilemmas that are not registered, go to people who have no voice. Do this collectively, in mutual information. Be nonconformist, go deep, explore, and listen. (Canha, personal interview, 2015, June)

In its homepage, Manobras is displayed as a radio of possibilities, where concepts such as “citizens and laboratory experiments” stand out. In the “News” section, the content analysis denotes that the semantic field they address more often contains words such as “young, intervention, interrogations, questions and Aleixo”.

The team consists of 12 volunteers and has remained cohesive. There were some elements that moved away, but are starting to come back again. They are mostly volunteers, although there is a need to provide paid work, particularly to ensure payment of current expenses and to secure the purchase of new material.

Manobras takes on a straightforward speech radio production and refers to certain Porto events to show the population how to make radio broadcast “with a computer, a mobile phone and two hours of training. There’s a whole technology-demystification work” (Canha, personal interview, 2015, June). Manobras ensures the training of volunteers to make radio programmes and do not demand quality voices, but interested people.

For legal reasons, the Manobras radio even considered to plunge into the university radio area, since in Portugal there are university radio bylaws. But the existence of several universities in the Porto city, and its functioning guardianship issues, would trigger a political negotiation that the founders of Manobras thought it made no sense. Another less positive aspect of this path would be the radio mission today becoming inaccurate as it would intend to be an area for sound research, opposing to the prevailing philosophy, even among college students, that are geared to perform formatted programmes for the labour market, avoiding taking risks (Canha, personal interview, 2015, June).
The Brazilian case study – Rádio Independência do Ceará

Independência was created on 5th February, 1997, in Ceará region (Brazil), and worked only on experimental basis. The founding members, namely the Community Association of Independence Broadcasting (Acordi), decided on 2nd December, 1996, to train all volunteers who would take over the operation of the radio. This approach remains today. The elder members of the radio team provide training to any community member who wants to make a programme. All around the region, there are about 60 radio journalists who started their radio experience in Independência Ceará.

Also in 1996, the struggle for legalisation with the Ministry of Communications and the National Telecommunications Agency of Brazil (ANATEL) began. Resources were infrequent and there was a lot of red tape, but the radio started its first two experiments and so remained until 17th September 2002, when federal police closed the services, “pulling all equipment, snatching everything, leaving the community bewildered” (Gonçalves, personal interview, 2015).

Two years later, on 31st August 2004, Independência manages the authorisation of the Ministry of Communications for the operation, albeit provisionally. The same ministry has just issued the operating license for ten years, after the approval of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate on 21st December 2005.

The inadequacy and excessive paperwork regarding the law results on the illegality of most Brazilian community radio stations, leading to “some political or religious groups [that] end up taking advantage to control these community radio stations” (Gonçalves, personal interview, 2015).

During 16 years of broadcasting, the heads of the station made an effort to find volunteers and people that could help in their training to “provide a quality service to the community” (Gonçalves, personal interview, 2015). This radio survives with the care of volunteers, “community of people with a passion for radio” in full “community democratic management”, without relying on public funds. Independência has a scarce cultural support, and needs to have the provision of the membership’s fee, donations from friends and community organisations (Gonçalves, personal interview, 2015).

There is an evident tendency for resources to be reduced, the monthly fee paid by the radio partners is low, the cultural restraints imposed by law do not cover the amount of expenses; and furthermore, the monopoly and influence of the private media are prohibitive to build “a society truly democratic and participatory” (Gonçalves, personal interview, 2015).

By analysing the contents of the site homepage, the ten most referenced words are “communication, community, training, quality, service, people, young people and community, culture and broadcasting.” Also considering the news page, the words “forum, resources, justice, violence and adolescents” are also highlighted. One can assume that these concepts have
the global purpose to “reflect the local reality events” and to allow “preventive interventions in overcoming women's vulnerability and others victimised by migration, violence, prejudice and discrimination,” expressed by the volunteer and manager Rosa Gonçalves (2015).

The idea is that community citizens and entities are gathered around a common goal, disseminating information and local initiatives, valuing the culture of the people and “giving time and voice to all members and entities collaborating in the cultural and social training, valuing local and daily community initiatives, the expressions of traditional culture and the social struggles of the people” (Gonçalves, personal interview, 2015).

Angolan case study – Rádio UNIA

UNIA radio came out in 2014 in the Independent University of Angola, based in Luanda, as a college radio. Under the direction of Filipe Felisberto, who is also a journalist on TV Zimbo Company, UNIA broadcasts on 92.3 FM from Morro Bento (Luanda).

Although inaugurated within an educational institution, the radio does not assume itself as a community radio, neither having a schedule designed for the student community. It is a college radio, with a new format – the first experience of its kind in Angola. The broadcast is made from the university and the transmission is made to Luanda (city and region), and to the world via the Internet.

By analysing the homepage site, one can see that it is still very rudimentary and scarce regarding the interaction with listeners. Even though, it should be noted that it allows an online hearing edition, being also linked to the page of the university, to the programme schedule, Google+, Facebook, Twitter and Youtube. Also, various departments of the radio are available to be reached by phone or email. The programme contents are related to crime and accidents/road safety and include a workshop, intended for the general public, oriented to teach how to do radio.

By looking at the schedule, it appears that the programmes are steady from Monday to Friday with a regular broadcasting time between 7h to 24h. It begins with an informative magazine that lasts about three hours and is focused on topics such as Education, Culture, Politics, Sport and Health. In the morning hours, the radio space is for the great interview, debate or round table, ending with the summary information.

At lunchtime, the space is for recipes, trivialities and health tips, and the evening begins with the “Concert at the Radio”, a radio show about live music not only from Angola, but also the rest of Africa and the world. Shows like “Magazine”, “Triângulo de Ideias” and “Kimbundo Classes” among others, are scheduled in the afternoon, which ends with the two-hour show “Youth Zone”. The pace slows down at 7pm to broadcast the “Jornal Unia” and the
edition continues until midnight, sometimes replaced with already broadcasted programmes.

On a final note, “Morro Bento”, named after the district where Radio UNIA is located, is a show about the history, life, culture, dreams, leisure and businesses of the area. Finally, the radio programme “Angola Voices” brings a larger proximity to the location of the radio programmes.

Final remarks

There are many countries where we can find non-existent policies, laws and regulations that could otherwise empower and encourage community broadcasting. Portugal is one of the examples.

The absence of legislation remains an obstacle for the communities to arise sustainable models of community media; models that could contribute towards an economic, social, cultural and educational development of communities. It is expressed that this lack of legal sustain disables the emergence of community radio stations in Portugal, and also obstructs the fluent functioning of existing projects, making use of provisional licenses to operate and develop their work on the Internet based on podcasts.

The Brazilian reality is different. There is legislation and there are restrictions. The immoderate paperwork of the valid law is also delaying the proper functioning of the community radio stations and therefore promotes the continuity of many projects on illegal terms.

In Angola the main problems also include the excessive paperwork, added to the centralised decision-making in the State and particularly in the Ministry of Social Communication, which prevents the advent of real projects in or rural communities or directed by NGOs. Meanwhile, the Angolan government keeps calling community radios to some stations that are merely relays of RNA – the national and public radio. The community media analysed show that this third broadcasting sector is central to give voice to the population, with tangible impact on the quality of life and sense of community, culture, shared values and even the sense of security (Buckley, 2006 p. 7).

It is assumed that, in Portugal and in Brazil, the community broadcasting projects intend to be an area for the communities to express themselves, following the democratising duty to communicate, as they are designed and developed mostly by volunteers. Because of this, there is a constant need to obtain funds, usually to support the current management of the radio and purchases of new materials.

In both cases, it is confirmed that those wishing to make a radio programme receive proper training to do it. Both radios are non-profit community products that are made entirely by community members.

The Portuguese situation prevents community radio stations to be able to have its own headquarters, and its technical functionality relies on the
goodwill of some of the elements working in the radio stations. In Brazil, although there is greater stability, community radios are exploited by the Ministry of Communications, due to excessive red tape and the impossibility of taking a definitive license of operation.

Finally, as to the goals and mission of community radios, this study shows us that there are concepts that intersect the analysed stations, specifically regarding their ambition to be the expression of a community and wanting to focus their projects on the community. In both cases, Portuguese and Brazilian, young people are mentioned as a point of reference to be included in programmes and in listening to them. Community radio stations have the will to be a forum for sharing of experiences and intervention. Both intend to be an alternative to commercial broadcasting, with the diversity and depth of the issues engaged. While the analysed Portuguese community radio is more focused on cultural themes, the Brazilian case focuses on the vulnerability of minorities and discrimination.

Overall, this preliminary study points out several points in common between different community radios in the Portuguese-speaking world. However, their differences are almost minor when compared to the general problems these radios have to overcome in order to be acknowledged within the civil society and the community itself: formal and political obstacles that delay the advent of such radios or governments that insist on their illegality when the laws and amendments are too slow to accompany the social and cultural needs of these communities. There are, of course, specifications in regard to the cultural and social nature of these communities, but they strive for the same need: to have a voice in the communication media, to give value to their cultural life and habits, to promote their social dynamics within the community. It must be added that, for the World Association of Community Radios (AMARC), community projects exist precisely to give voice to those who do not have access to mainstream media, and provide a loudspeaker for those who suffer any form of social, gender or class oppression, thus promoting a relevant tool for social, cultural and technological development.

This analysis on community radios of the Portuguese-speaking countries is particularly relevant on an international context, mainly because it mirrors different states of socio-political and economic evolution, ranging from Portugal, restrained in an economic crisis, to the fastest growing economy of Brazil and the African development promises.

References


Linguistic diversity and communication rights: the role of community media in the promotion of regional or minority languages in Europe

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Abstract

According to the UNESCO, the translation and promotion of local languages supports cultural and linguistic diversity and provides a basis for the social, economic and cultural life. However, the globalisation of digital media is having a direct and negative impact on minority languages and cultural diversity. According to Eurolang (2014), there are 60 minority languages in Europe and 50 million people (10 % of European population) communicate through a minority language. In this context, community media play an essential role in the life of these peoples – as the European parliament recognised (2008) – by consolidating their sense of belonging, providing information and becoming a space for the expression of local and/or regional sensitivities. The Third Media Sector also fulfils educational and cultural aims, preserving the local identity of the native language and culture in a contemporary framework. Therefore, community media are indeed social technologies that reinforce pluralism and diversity, not only through the production of radio or TV content, but through democratic and participatory processes that support and reinforce the European identity and cultural wealth through the use and promotion of minority languages of Europe.

Keywords

minority languages; community media; linguistic diversity; local identities
Universal recognition for minority languages not properly implemented. How does globalisation compromise local languages and cultures?

The fundamental right of freedom of expression includes the principles of diversity and pluralism as essential tools for the defence of democracy. However, access to the media is a readily available right for the socially and economically powerful classes, but it is not equally available to minority or indigenous communities. Even these days, recent reports and manifestations from the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression remark the enormous challenges still existing in relation to giving full effect to the right of freedom of expression and access to media, including restrictive legal regimes, as well as commercial, political and social pressures. The right to freedom of expression has historically been limited to disadvantaged groups – women, cultural and language minorities, indigenous people or sexual minorities – in terms of the underrepresentation of these minorities among mainstream media workers, being stereotyped or giving inadequate coverage regarding minority groups.

The international regulation recognises the right of access to media to minorities, excluded groups or indigenous communities, which have the same right to have quality media in order to ensure their cultural and linguistic diversity, which includes the right to access and receive information and opinions in their own language. The existing legal framework protects and promotes the citizens’ right to communicate and the use of European regional languages, as the Charter of Fundamental Rights (European Union, 2000) or the Oslo Recommendations Regarding the Linguistic Rights of National Minorities (OSCE, 1998) recognise. The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (Council of Europe, 1995) recognises that “the right to freedom of expression of every person belonging to a national minority includes freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas in the minority language” (article 9.1) and proposes “licensing, without discrimination and based on objective criteria, of sound radio and television broadcasting” (article 9.2), while protecting the person’s right to belong to a national minority, creating and using their own media. Besides, the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (Council of Europe, 1992, art. 11) recommended “the creation of at least one radio station and one television channel in the regional or minority languages”.

The Protocol Number 12 of the European Convention on Human Rights (Council of Europe, 2000) protects the right to freedom of expression, which includes the right to create media companies, the freedom of individuals and citizens to communicate freely through any medium, and this right, guaranteed by international law, is the main legal framework on which to base claims in support of community radio. However, the mentioned Protocol has not been
implemented in a way that would ensure equal access of minority language speakers to broadcasting licenses, which would enable them to develop media activities in their own languages as part of the special considerations required in order to protect cultural minorities. AMARC (2014) considers that the occurring damage is not limited to the language community but it also affects fundamental individual and subjective rights. According to La Rue (2010), commercial pressures are a threat for public interest information on media, in the sense that that digital media globalisation is having a direct and negative impact on minority languages and cultural diversity. Particularly, the increasing concentration of media ownership by multinational companies will have “serious potential implications for content diversity and detriment of greater diversity and access to public interest media” (La Rue, 2010a, pp. 6-7). In order to reinforce minorities’ access to media, the United Nations former Rapporteur for Freedom of Opinion and Expression, Frank La Rue (2010b, pp. 19-20), recommended States to adopt anti-monopoly laws that would prevent undue concentration of media or cross-media ownership and promote community media in order to offset mass media monopolistic practices that have a negative impact on linguistic and cultural diversity.

Language diversity in the European media sector. The role of community media

The Report on European languages in danger of extinction and linguistic diversity in the European Union (François Alfonsi, 2014) calls on the EU and its Member States to pay attention to the endangered status that many European languages find themselves in, and to commit to protection and promotion policies along with the task of preserving the diversity of cultural and linguistic heritage of the Union, by supporting policies for language protection within the linguistic communities. In this sense, the Alfonsi’s report clearly underlines that language revitalisation should be based on efforts developed in various fields, such as mass media and radio broadcasting.

According to the non-profit organisation Eurolang, there are 60 minority language in Europe and 50 million people (10 % of European population) communicate through a minority language. However, their right to be informed or entertained in their own language is not guaranteed by commercial media and sometimes not even by public media. For example, in North Ireland (Belfast), Irish language suffered the hostility of the public authorities for years, being the language activists and community radio stations who kept the language alive. According to the radio activist Fergus Ó hÍr (2014, pp. 14-15), the progress of the Irish language act proposal is still vulnerable. In Belfast, there’s no Irish paper or Irish TV, just a few hours per year on the BBC. Only the community radio “Raidió Fáilte” broadcasts 24/7 in Irish language. Other regional minority languages in Europe, like Breton language, Occitan, Corsican,
Alsacian or Catalan (in France), seem to be going through media discrimination or lack of public protection, as some experts remark (Hicks, 2014).

In Spain, the use of regional languages in mass media is not equal. Spanish language is the most used in the public and commercial media of Galicia, Basque Country, Navarra, Catalonia, Valencia or Illes Balears, all of them regions where territorial languages have a co-official status. However, the presence of local and regional culture contents in mass media, such as traditional music and cultural broadcasts, has been reduced. In June 2015, public radio “Radio Galega” – which is the only radio station that uses Galician language in all its productions – cancelled its most relevant radio production on traditional and Galician music, called “Planeta Furancho”, without proposing any similar alternative in Galicia. In response, several citizens’ protests tried to rescue the programme without succeed (Praza Pública, 2015).

European experts (Hicks, 2014) have outlined the positive sociolinguistic effects of community radio in terms of language revitalisation within the framework of associated linguistic. Contrasting with the concentration of property in global media enterprises and the depletion of public media, community media (Third Media Sector) are remarkable instruments for cultural and linguistic diversity. The third media sector has been a useful instrument for minority cultural groups in terms of expression and information, a tool for intercultural dialogue that strengthens cultural and linguistic diversity, social inclusion and local identity (European Parliament, 2008). Community media promote intercultural dialogue through the education of audiences and play a significant role in training programmes and in the provision of media literacy to citizens through direct participation in the creation and dissemination of content (Lewis, 2008; Lema Blanco, 2015). In the absence of public and commercial media in certain European regions, community media provides the main source of information in the local language, becoming the only voice and source of local news and information in many areas, acting as local public service media. As commercial radio reduce its local content, uses news agencies and syndicated productions and tends towards media concentration, community media constitute a key tool in ensuring pluralism and diversity in media. (Lema Blanco, 2014)
Third Media Sector in Europe faces three very specific problems approaching regional minority language radio stations in Europe: funding, frequencies and rights. “Many regional minority language communities are facing a systematic contravention of their rights to a radio station in their own language which is a matter that needs to be addressed urgently” (Hicks, 2014, p. 25). Due to the lack of support by national and regional authorities in most European countries, the sector struggles to survive with very little resources and support, “the standing of community media has deteriorated in the issuing of licenses or frequencies to Community Broadcasters” (Galiana in AMARC Europe, 2014). As AMARC reported, community media sector is facing technical and financial restrictions that do not apply to commercial and public local services: restrictive catchment areas for broadcasting licenses (e.g. in Spain), imposition of a cap on community media budgets (in France) or draconian regulation that lead to the closure of community stations (Hungary). Also, the role of the European Commission is being discussed: despite the positive effects that community media have on media literacy and cultural and language education (all of these are European Union goals), AMARC claims that the European institutions establish technical and financial requirements that rules non-profit community radio out of applying for European funding. Moreover, there is no common framework in the European Union that recognizes and guarantees the right of access to media in equal conditions within the UE context, as well as the right of development, growth and sustainability of community media projects, as the next section will explain (AMARC Europe in Hicks, 2014, pp. 36-38).

Audiovisual regulation and community media. The Spanish case in the European context.

The new Information and Communication Technologies (ICT), social networks and participatory journalism are bringing to light news and opinions aside the usual and well-known “gatekeepers”. This situation reveals the contradictions of the official discourses delivered by traditional politicians, parties and media. A good example of this are the videos streamed in real time by alternative or community media, showing facts and actions that the authorities deny the next day in the front page of the top selling newspapers (Díaz Muriana & Meda González, 2015, p. 271).

Nowadays, since this kind of media has become an essential part of the democracy and the information system is absolutely necessary to create a legal framework within the EU context (regional, national and also international), which protects and regulates this activity. Indeed, different international regulations and recommendations have addressed this topic:

- Freedom of Expression Rapporteurs of the UN, OAS, OSCE and the African Commission on Human and People’s Rights (ACHPR),
International Declaration on diversity in broadcasting (12 December 2007).
- Declaration of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on the role of community media in promoting social cohesion and intercultural dialogue (11 February 2009).

Specific regulation is needed in every country, but that is not enough. Political will is also essential. Let's explain this concept with few examples. We have to establish a separation between the theory (regulations) and practice (how these regulations are implemented, or not). Regarding community media, we have found (Meda González, 2015, pp. 408-409):

- Countries without specific regulation about community media, but its development and reach are high (like Netherlands or Austria).
- Countries with specific regulation since a few years ago that has not been implemented yet for the most part, so the community media sector remains unsteady and with an uncertain future (like Argentina or Spain).
- Countries with specific and well-implemented regulation, providing community media with great stability and development, without daily legal problems and dedicating most of the time to the public service, production of alternative contents and training (like Denmark or Norway).

As we can see, the presence, recognition and treatment of the Third Media Sector in the national regulations does not always result in its implementation in the social and business reality. We can quote here the words of Klaus-Jürgen Buchholz, one of the audiovisual authorities in Hannover, Germany (Meda González, 2015, p. 401): “A good practice to promote community media needs not really a thorough regulation and laws, but political will”. We consider that this political will has two main aspects: the concrete knowledge about the field of the communication rights and the priority of this issue above others, being the latter a consequence of the former. When different governments approach either the creation or implementation of a new audiovisual regulation, if they are ignorant of the basis it is possible that they will not prioritise it above the big amount of issues
that they always have to deal with. In the case of Spain and its different regions, the concerns of the politicians are focused in the financial and economical control of the community media. The Audiovisual Communication General Law (2010), article 32, contains the national regulation on the matter. Out of the seven points that address community media, four of them are about economical or business issues, while only one is about the obligations of the central State regarding this kind of media (radio spectrum availability). The deregulation of the audiovisual field in Spain is historical, but also in the European Union, which is very reluctant to approve binding directives for the audiovisual and communication sector. We can see the current situation of this country in the next table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of community radios</th>
<th>Regional regulation</th>
<th>Number of legal frequencies granted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Galicia</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Law 102/2012 impugned</td>
<td>0 (licenses tender of 2011 cancelled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asturias</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>None regulation after 2010</td>
<td>0 (none licenses tender after 2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantabria</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>None regulation after 2010</td>
<td>0 (no licenses tender after 2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euskadi</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Law 231/2011</td>
<td>0 (licenses tender of 2012 cancelled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navarra</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Law 5/2012</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Rioja</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Law 64/2012</td>
<td>0 (no licenses tender after 2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castilla y León</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Not regulated after 2010</td>
<td>0 (licenses tender of 2011 suspended)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aragón</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Not regulated after 2010</td>
<td>0 (none licenses tender after 2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalunya</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Not regulated after 2010 (only modifications of Law 22/2005)</td>
<td>0 (no licenses tender after 2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extremadura</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Law 134/2013</td>
<td>0 (no licenses tender after 2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrid</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Not regulated after 2010</td>
<td>0 (no licenses tender after 2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td>licenses tender after 2010</td>
<td>No licenses tender after 2010</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castilla-La Mancha</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0 (none licenses tender after 2010)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comunidad Valenciana</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1 (licenses tender of 2011 without resolution yet)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baleares</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0 (licenses tender of 2010)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murcia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0 (licenses tender of 2012 cancelled; licenses tender of 2013 without resolution yet)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andalucía</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0 (no licenses tender after 2010)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canarias</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0 (licenses tender of 2010).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceuta</td>
<td>No data</td>
<td>0 (licenses tender of 2010)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melilla</td>
<td>No data</td>
<td>0 (licenses tender of 2013 cancelled; licenses tender of 2014 without resolution yet)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>166</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 1: Regulation and licenses tender after the Audiovisual General Law (Source: Meda González, 2015, pp. 260-261).*

We think that without a proper legal structure and recognition by the European, national and local authorities, the creation of strong communication projects that can broadcast in minority languages will be impossible. It is very difficult to create a real alternative option to the traditional media system under the current situation. Without legal structure, legal licenses, proper tenders, balance, training and professionalisation, community media projects are unfeasible and they are condemned to perpetual amateurism, economical problems and staff troubles. As an example of all this processes, a report by the Industry Department (the Spanish organism in charge of the audiovisual matters) was leaked on October 14th was (see the independent online media). This report includes a governmental recommendation about community radio and television: “we must eliminate this audiovisual status. The shortage of frequencies is what justifies it, but they have possibilities with Internet digital media”. The same report also recommends the “rejection of radical left
parties”. More than this, the recent report *The state of press freedom in Spain: 2015. International Mission Report* (International Press Institute, 2015), highlights the vulnerability of local and alternative media “that lack the legal and financial resources of their more established counterparts” (p. 32) and, confirms the example of the Industry when it states that “Spain lacks a dedicated national broadcast regulator, despite the fact that a law passed in 2010 foresees precisely such a body (...) Broadcast licenses are allocated directly by the government” (p. 8).

### Mapping regional or minority language in the European community media sector. An ongoing project

This paper aims to introduce the ongoing project launched by the *Minority Language Working Group* of the European federation of AMARC with the aim of promoting, supporting and developing minority-language community radios in Europe. With this goal, AMARC have developed a number of related activities in the last years, like the “Radio broadcasting in Regional or Minority Languages” Conference organised in Brussels in October 2013 and hosted by the European Parliament. This conference gathered radio activists from across Europe and America, experts in culture and languages from UNESCO and Members of the European Parliament to discuss the challenges faced by many minority languages community radio stations and propose future solutions (Hicks, 2014). Moreover, as a result of this meeting, the European Parliament made a set of recommendations “for supporting minority languages and local cultures through community media” that were presented in Strasbourg as part of a session hosted by the European Parliament in January 2014 (AMARC Europe, 2014; Lema-Blanco, 2014).

The mentioned working group is also conducting an action-research project (“mapping the use of regional or minority language in European community radio sector in Europe”) with the aim to create a database of community media on minority languages. This will enable the creation of a European network of community radio stations that broadcast on minority languages, supporting community media and sharing knowledge and good practices between radio activists. The project will provide qualitative data regarding experiences, knowledge and social learning emerged from the participation of civil society in community media. The work-in-progress mapping activity has been carried out at a European level with a particular focus on the Spanish context, where community media seem to play a relevant role in promoting regional and territorial cultures and languages, despite the weak recognition of community media in the audiovisual communication regulation that we mentioned before. The study has approached a total of 60 European community radio stations (only radios) that conduct radio programmes in regional or minorities languages such as Slovenian -in Hungary
or Austria; Euskera (Basque language) – in France and Spain; Breton, Corsican, Catalan, Occitan or Gallo in France; Furlan in Italy; Sorbian (Sorbisch) in Germany; Irish-Gaelic, Irish or Scotch, in the United Kingdom; Galician, Euskera and Catalan in Spain; Lappish in Norway; Swedish in Finland; or Serbian in Romania.

The project will also analyse the different practices developed in community radio, studying its impact and educational potential. In previous sections, we have presented some examples of community media as an educative tool regarding minority languages and cultures. For example, Raidió Fáilte is the only station in Belfast (Northern Ireland, UK) providing broadcasting services in Irish to the Irish language community of the city and to those interested in the Irish culture and traditional Irish music. Raidió Fáilte provides good quality Irish language broadcasting, including speech based and music based programmes produced for and by the Irish language community 24 hours a day. In Hungary, the Slovene minority has established its own community radio, “Radio Monoster”, which broadcasts daily for eight hours. Established in the region inhabited by the Slovenian minority, the radio strengthens the minority presence in the domestic media market. In A Coruña (Galicia, Spain), the local community radio CUAC FM has developed two good practices for minority language: broadcasting a Galician language course that teaches the language in a funny and attractive way “Isto e Galego” (www.istoegalego.org), as well as a collaborative agreement with Galician schools that allows teachers and students to produce a live radio broadcasting programme on regional culture, music and Galician literature. The programme (“A Fume de Carozó”) offers young people a first contact with media and
enhances the use of Galician language in this significant experience and learning process. With these and other experiences, our goal is to create a “toolbox” for learning and dissemination of the intellectual outcomes of the project. AMARC aims to promote the creation of a new European network of minority-language community media that would work in synergy to promote local languages and cultures within Europe.

Succinct approach to the use of regional and minority languages in the Spanish third media sector

Within the project “Youth and third media sector” (Barranquero, 2015), the researchers mapped the third media sector in the Spanish territory, comparing the main characteristics shared by free and community media. This research approached a total of 92 community media (radios, TV, press and online media). Some of them broadcast in Basque, Catalan (and Valenciá language), Galician, Aragonese and Asturianu. This approach shows a total of 53 community media which use a minority language to inform or to communicate with their audiences (either full-time or together with the Spanish language). Out of all media interviewed (92), 66 of them recognise the use of Spanish, which shows the supremacy of this language above all the other official languages. For a better understanding, the image below shows the origin of the media analysed and the different languages spoken in each of the Spanish regions:

Graph 2: Origin of the media analysed (Source: prepared by the authors)
Below are the languages that these 92 community media use to broadcast and inform (in percentage):

![Languages used in Spanish community radios](chart)

**Graph 3: Languages used in Spanish community radios (Source: prepared by the authors)**

**Conclusions**

Today, the European Union is the home of 450 million people from diverse ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds. The linguistic patterns of European countries are complex – shaped by history, geographical factors and mobility of people. At present, the European Union recognises 20 official languages, while about 60 other indigenous and non-indigenous languages are spoken over the geographical area. The European Union fosters the ideal of a single community with a diversity of cultures and languages, encouraging language learning and multilingual societies, as the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages states. However, according to the study *Endangered European languages and linguistic diversity in the European Union* (Alfonsi, 2013), minority languages have a limited influence in society because the member States are responsible for the educational and linguistic polici. Therefore, it is necessary to look for other non-formal strategies and education that uses innovative methods with high quality results.

Despite the globalised world we live in – especially since the widespread use of the Internet – has a direct and detrimental impact on minority languages and linguistic diversity, community media can be a tool that reinforces pluralism and diversity, not only through radio content production,
but through participatory and democratic processes that support and reinforce identities and cultural wealth through the use and promotion of minority languages. The impact that media has in aspects related to education and training is broadly known (Cortés, 2005; Kraidy, 2002; Silverblatt, 2013). In this sense, community radios were born in the last century with the goals of literacy and citizens’ education. The positive sociolinguistic effects of community radio in terms of language revitalisation are highlighted by a number of experts (Hicks, 2014; La Rue, 2010a, b) and European Institutions (Council of Europe, European Parliament). The present study also offers some indicators of the level of presence of regional and minority languages in European community radios and examples of cultural and educative radio broadcasts in minority languages.

Achieving the mentioned goals also implies reinforcing the role of community media in the European context, as AMARC have claimed in several public interventions (AMARC Europe, 2014). In this sense, experts and activists agree in the need of establishing a common European framework that would guarantee the development, growth and sustainability of community radio projects. For instance, the Third Media Sector claims for a frequency reserve of the 33% of the spectrum for community radios as well as access to frequencies in equal conditions with other local media (either public or private). Also, to ensure the sustainability of community radio, budget restrictions must be eliminated and public institutions should provide public funding at local, regional and national level.

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Radio and the media regulation in Brazil

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Abstract
This article aims to reflect on the project model of media regulation, mostly what is under discussion in Brazil, and especially how it affects the radio and the distribution of broadcasting concessions. The media regulation project proposes, among other topics, the economic regulation that attempts to control the formation of monopolies and oligopolies of communication groups. The junction between electronic media and political and economic groups mischaracterises the pluralism of media and information that are the pillars of democratic societies. In this paper, we will discuss the Cross-Ownership, the social function of the media vehicles, and whether such regulation would constitute a type of programming or content censorship.

Keywords
media regulation; broadcasting concessions; radio; Brazil

Introduction
The radio in Brazil has always had a strong presence of the State be it in the control of their concessions or exploited for political and electoral purposes or even as a means of official government propaganda. The Brazilian broadcaster develops in the same period as other countries around the world in the early 1920s, with the birth of the Rádio Sociedade do Rio de Janeiro, founded by Roquette Pinto. In order to develop the technology, the Federal Government granted certain private companies the right to exploit the
broadcast system, somehow dismissing one of the first goals of radio in the country, defended by Roquette Pinto, which was to bring education and culture to the mass population.

According to the “Map of Illiteracy in Brazil, of the Ministry of Education and the National Institute of Educational Studies Anísio Teixeira, 2003”, the illiteracy rate in Brazil among people over 15 years old reached 65% of the population in the decade of 1920 and 56.1% in the 1940s. The foundation of radio in Brazil was intended to be an audible communication tool able to bring educational and cultural content to the general population, especially the illiterate who could not access or interact with other means of information and art such as books and newspapers. In the first decree produced by the Brazilian government in 1924, according to Doris Fagundes Haussen (2001), it was established that radio broadcasting was in the national interest for educational purposes. “The government would promote the unification of the service in a national network and distribute the broadcaster concessions, renewable every ten years, to social and private organisations (Haussen, 2001, p. 32). The radio as a medium had a mission: to bring education to a country of continental dimensions, with most illiterate population, such as Brazil. However, almost one hundred years since the first radio broadcast, such mission would remain left to a few radio presenters and broadcasters.

From the beginning, radio aroused the commercial interest of businesses and corporations due to its power and potential for popularisation of goods. In 1927, the radio PRAK, later PRA-9, is founded by the trader Antenor Mayrink Veiga in Rio de Janeiro, then capital city of Brazil; and in 1931, the PRAX Radio Philips, owned by radio set manufacturers. Following the worldwide trend, the radio becomes a primary means of mass communication, and in Brazil it played a key role in politics, especially in the 1930 coup by Getúlio Vargas and especially in 1937 with the “Estado Novo” dictatorship.

This is when the radio content in Brazil goes beyond the educational and cultural spheres, with the broadcasting of theatre and opera pieces in the early years, and becomes increasingly popular through music programmes, soap operas and talk shows (Haussen, 2001), also developing a more commercial character with the decree-law 21.111 of 1932, which authorised the broadcast of commercial ads. Brazil was then adopting the American broadcasting model, starting to distribute grants without concern for the social and educational criteria, and most importantly without worrying about the formation of possible oligopolies in the communications industry (Moreira, 2000).

The United States created specific rules to create competition amongst business groups, based on economic and social criteria, through the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), responsible for regulating the broadcasting in the country since 1934. On the other hand, the Brazilian distribution of broadcasting concessions was purely political, used as currency...
in the exchange of common interests between business groups and the
government, in addition to the ongoing dictatorial state and not having a
developed economy. Brazil lacked a strong and well-defined legislation to
protect the national and social interest of radio, avoiding its use for economic,
political, and electoral purposes.

Following the overthrow of the government in 1930, Getúlio Vargas
ruled for four years without a Constitution, which led to the “Constitutionalist
Revolution” in 1932, headed by the most harmed by the 1930 coup, the State
of São Paulo, ending the First Republic (1889 -1930), which command was
divided between the States of Minas Gerais and São Paulo. Therefore, living in
a State of Exception, the provisional government created propaganda
departments (that is, of censorship) in order to regulate the news and use the
means of communication and dissemination for propaganda purposes.

According to Haussen (2001), in order to recruit and mobilise the public
opinion the Department of Official Propaganda (PDO) was created, inserted
into the National Press. One of PDO’s objectives was to develop an official
programme of radio, forerunner of the “Hora do Brasil” (Brazil’s Time)
programme, and provide official information to the press. In 1934, the PDO
was expanded and turned into the National Department of Propaganda and
Cultural Broadcast (DNPDC) responsible, besides the abovementioned, for
studying “how best to use the cinema”, and the telegraphy services as

After the adoption of the Constitution of 1934, Getúlio Vargas was
elected president by the Congress and the government, but since not willing
to provide information to the media, decided to create its own radio
programme to be broadcasted compulsorily by all radio stations in the country.
“A Hora do Brasil” was created in 1935 and, in 1962, came to be called “A voz
do Brasil” (The voice of Brazil) and is still produced and broadcasted on a
flexible schedule. Before that, all radio stations were obliged to stop their
programming and transmit “A voz do Brasil” when demanded. Nowadays,
based on the Provisional Measure 2014, the radio stations are still required
to broadcast the programme, but they may choose between the schedule
between 19h and 22h.

It is then very clear that Vargas and his government elaborated, from
the beginning, a scheme relating to the political use radio and one of
the main weapons was the censorship. While newspapers and other
regular publications had censors in their newsrooms, the radio was not
only censored, disclosing news as for the government’s will, but also had
some stations closed. (Haussen, 2001, p. 43)

In 1939, with the creation of the Department of Press and Propaganda
(DIP), which joined all the propaganda machine of the government, the prior
restraint was institutionalised. Only in 1940, over 3.770 programmes, 1.615
sketches, 483 parts and 2,416 recordings were censored by the “Division of Radio” at the DIP, which is a surprising number considering that there were only 78 radio stations in Brazil at the time (Tota, 1987, p. 36 quoted in Haussen, 2001, p. 45). Besides the prior restraint, which basically served to further control the radio groups opposed to the government, Getúlio Vargas signs the Decree 29783 which modified the radio concessions system in a way that it was no longer renewable every 10 years, but every three. “Such measure would act as a pressure force against groups opposed to government policy” (Caparelli, 1985, p. 16 quoted in Haussen, 2001, p. 114).

In 1940, there is a direct interference of the Federal Government on the free competition and economic dispute between radio and national business groups. The dictatorial ruling of Vargas nationalised the Radio Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, the largest in the country, shifting the balance of the national radio. Even with the nationalisation, the Rádio Nacional continues to have ads during the programming, reassuring themselves as leaders of audience, being a state-owned enterprise with advertising investment from private companies: “the public investment plus the advertising revenue from the private sector turns this radio station into an unbeatable competitor”, says Sonia Virginia Moreira (2000, p. 29). Once again the regulators of the Brazilian radio broadcasting did not have a concern about the economic imbalance generated by the state intervention in the distribution of grants and, in this case, the state investment in a medium that, once nationalised, became a tool of the government propaganda, and also damaged the balance in the radio market by allowing a public broadcaster to make money from commercial advertising from private companies which had interest in not only place their brands within the country's highest-rated radio station but also to show their support for Vargas and his “New State”.

Only in 1946, after the end of the Vargas dictatorship, the Brazilian Code of Broadcasting was delivered. Up to that point only two decrees regulated the Brazilian broadcasting: the decree 120.047 of 1931 replacing the previous one approved in 1924, which defined radio as a means for educational proposes, and the decree 21111 of 1932 which regulated the broadcasting services in the country. In 1950, the TV transmissions start in Brazil, and only in 1962 the Brazilian Code of Telecommunications (CBT) is approved, governing the national broadcasting with the same laws and rules for the radio and television.

**Legal aspects of radio**

The regulation of the Brazilian radio services was created almost entirely based in the commercial model, following the North American norm. However, while the United Stated has the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) as the responsible for the regulation of the sound
transmissions since 1934, in Brazil the attempt to create a similar law was only possible in 1962, with the approval of the Código Brasileiro de Telecomunicações (CBT), number 4.117, still in use even though partially modified by the law 9.472/97, with exception of the penal content not included and other aspects of the radio and TV broadcasting.

According to Cassiano Ferreira Simões and Fernando Mattos (2005), despite some parts of the CBT having a very governmental appeal, such as article 10, chapter III: “it is the private right of the Union (the State) to keep the direct exploitation (...) the public services such as telegraph, interstate telephone system and radio communications (...) including radio and TV broadcasting” (Brasil, 2007, p. 86). The CBT proves to be based in a private model not concerned with the formation of monopolies. As a law, it concerned political aspects over economical.

Simões and Mattos highlight that what can be noticed is that an activity which is essentially public such as radio and TV “is based mostly in a liberal model, executed by the private sector and with clear need for regulation, in a country with nationalist tradition” (2005, pp. 38-39), where the regulation model almost disappears even with the double State personality of owner and regulator.

The CBT was created to regulate all types of electronic communication, however in 1997 the Lei Geral de Telecomunicações – LGT (General Telecommunications Law), number 9.472, excluded the telephone communications from the CBT. For Simões and Mattos (2005, p. 40) the creation of the Lei Geral caused the division between telecommunications and Radio/TV broadcasting. Such division showed even further lack of concern for the formation of monopolies in telecommunications and radio and TV broadcasting in Brazil, especially considering that the cross-ownership was allowed in a model created and developed to benefit the big communication groups during and after the military regime.

This is what can be found in the article 211 of the Lei Geral de Telecomunicações: “the right to the services of sound broadcasting and sound and image broadcasting is now excluded from the jurisdiction of the Agency, remaining as part of the responsibilities of the Executive”, not to mention that the Agency was the department created by the Federal Government to approve the LGT. The same law also states: the Agency should also create and maintain the respective plans for distributions of channels, considering also the aspects concerning the technological evolution.

Therefore, when separating telecommunications and radio and TV broadcasting, the government also disregarded the concerns about the formation of oligopolies in the market of telecommunications, especially the land and mobile telephone systems and Internet. This market was extended after the privatisation of Telebrás in 1998, one year after the LGT was approved. In the article 86 of LGT it says: “The concession can only be granted to companies constituted under the Brazilian law, with headquarters and
administration within the borders, created to exploit exclusively the services of telecommunications object of the concession”. According to such article, these companies should exclusively exploit the services of telecommunications, and unable to operate the transmission of closed signal TV channels – or cable TV, for example.

However, one of the winners of the privatisation of Telebrás, shared among 12 companies according to their region, was the Telefónica, a Spanish company that since its fusion with the Brazilian telephone company Vivo, and the purchase of the cable TV operator GVT, entered the cable TV market. According to the article 86 of LGT, the concession for the exploitation of telecommunications in Brazil should be granted “exclusively” to companies formed for such operations. When separating telecommunications from radio and TV broadcasting, there was no concern with the formation of such oligopolies and the concentration of economic resources in the hands of few companies. And since the cross-ownership is not forbidden in Brazil, it aggravates even more the lack of competition and pluralism in the communications in Brazil. Besides Telefónica, other telecommunication companies such as Claro TV and Oi TV also operate cable TV channels.

**Cross-ownership in Brazil**

Radio and television at first were regulated either as a strict public service under State monopoly, the case of Western European countries, or as a public service for private exploitation, the case of the United States which, despite having the Capitalism as their economic base, regulated activity and exploitation of broadcasting services through specific laws and regulations, the most significant being the Communications Act of 1934, designed to promote competition and try to avoid the concentration (Ramos, 2005, p. 66).

The model of regulation in the US is of private origin based on the stimulation of competitiveness, reason why the creation of three major chains such as CBS, NBC and ABC was possible. In Brazil, the control only allowed the concentration by the big media groups that maintained their power or generated other large and private hegemonic groups (Simões & Mattos, 2005, p. 41), those who agreed or worked in line with the government, such as the Diários Associados and the Rede Globo. Based on this model the television and radio were built in Brazil: “of expressive liberal inspiration, but without regulatory bodies concerned with an optimal level of taxation that fomented its development and plurality” (Simões & Mattos, 2005, p. 40).

Unlike other countries, in Brazil there is no clear prohibition against cross-ownership, which is a law/rule that limits in some countries, including the United States, that the same media group holds a newspaper, a radio station and a TV broadcaster (of open and closed signal) in the same city or state. In the text of the law 10.610 of 2002 (about the participation of foreign
capital in news companies and radio broadcasting and sound and image broadcasting), attempting to stop the cross-ownership in Brazil, as in the article 38, letter G of the referred law, “the same person should not participate in the administration or management of more than one concessionary (…) of the same type of broadcasting service, in the same locality”.

However, this law that should prohibit the cross-ownership in Brazil’s communication is actually a loophole in the law, because it doesn’t express prohibition of the property itself. The text is vague and provides an inconclusive interpretation of what administration, management and ownership actually are. As in many articles of the Brazilian law, there is a clear loophole in this article and in the sole paragraph of the same Law (10,612 / 02): “One cannot exercise administration or management of more than one concessionary (…) of service broadcasting when enjoying parliamentary immunity or special privileges”. That is, the law prohibits a political mandate to exercise the administrator role of a TV or radio, but does not prohibit this person from being the owner and/or partner of the same TV or radio.

In the 1988 Federal Constitution, in Article 54, it is stated that deputies and senators may not, from the day they start their mandate, “sign or maintain a contract with (…) concessionaire of public service (…)”, at the risk of losing their seat. And yet, 271 politicians are partners and directors of 324 communication companies in Brazil, according to a survey from “Os donos da Mídia” (Media Owners) group.

In order to avoid cross-ownership and the concentration of media under the power of a few groups, countries like France, the United Kingdom and the United States have created specific rules intending to guarantee the society is not harmed by monopolies and oligopolies when providing such public service, even though some of these countries may have allowed the flexibility of the law, as the United States did in 2007. There, the exception has been granted in accordance with the development of new technologies that led to some specific cases and places to be allowed to operate despite cross-ownership. In such cases, the audience of the TV channel and the number of independent media present in the same location must be taken into account. But this flexibility is for the 20 largest areas of the North American market, which has 210 areas in total, and only occurs if the network is amongst the four most watched and if there are another eight independent media sources (Brant, 2011).

In an article published in the Observatório do Direito a Comunicação (Right to Communication Observatory), João Brant (2011), coordinator of the Intervozes – Social Communication Brazilian Group –, explains that in France

“In fact, Brazil is not making progress around the media regulation theme, the difficulties posed by cross-ownership without limits and the delay of successive governments to address the issue, result in a state where the Mediocracy prevents the implementation of a real media regulation project.”
there are rules at local and national levels regarding the cross-ownership. For example, no person or group is allowed to own both a television/radio license and a general-circulation newspaper distributed in the same range as the TV and radio. In the United Kingdom, no individuals or companies can be granted a license for Channel 3, which according to Brant is the second largest television network and the first among private networks, if they already hold one or more national newspapers that reach, together, 20% of the market share.

Among other things, limiting cross-ownership is first of all necessary in terms of economy, considering that, as in all areas, the concentration of any industry under the control of a few companies or few people is damaging to the society because there is a control on prices and quality of supply, and also because it discourages innovation and competition, and affects the pluralism of information which is the foundation of a democratic society. The second reason lays more on the social aspects and takes into account the social function of mass media.

The media is the main area of circulation of ideas, values and points of view, and therefore is the main source for citizens in the daily process of exchange of information and culture. (Brant, 2011)

We agree with Brant when he says that when the media does not reflect the diversity and plurality of information and opinions, it constitutes a threat to democracy and society.

**Cross-ownership in other countries**

Luiza Bandeira, Alessandra Corrêa, Marcia Carmo e Cláudia Jardim (2014) make a brief comparison between the media regulatory projects in the United States, United Kingdom, Venezuela and Argentina.

The authors claim that in the United States, for example, the focus of the regulation project is economic, and the contents produced by the media are controlled by the public opinion and the market itself, which means that there may be direct interference from the Judiciary in the case of transgressions. The cross-ownership is prohibited, the channels are required to broadcast a minimum of three hours per week of children’s educational programmes and content considered “indecent” are subject to payment of fines and legal proceedings in court.

In the UK, recent scandals involving tabloids called for a review of legislation to curb abuses of the press. Therefore, for newspapers and magazines, the Press Recognition Panel was established in the end of 2014, aiming to be self-regulated and with the power to impose fines and demand corrections and apologies. Membership is not mandatory but is encouraged through certain benefits. For radio and TV there is already another regulatory
group, the Ofcom, responsible for protecting the population from offensive material or invasion of privacy, for example, and also responsible for radio, TV, Internet, telephone and postal services.

In Venezuela, as a result of a polarised political scenario, the coup and protests across the country, the focus of the media regulation project is the freedom of speech for the press. A law from 2005 – Ley Resorte: Social Responsibility in Radio and Television – was intended to promote press freedom especially for opposition to the government at the time of the President Hugo Chavez. Of course that, as legislators, owners of the concessions and responsible renewing such concessions, the government would still be able to use the available resources to reduce the presence of opponents in the media. Contents that “incite violence and public disorder” are not allowed, the channels are required to broadcast a minimum of 50% nationally produced content, the actual duration of the concessions was shortened and they could not be passed on hereditarily. Sanctions can range from loss of signal for up to 72 hours to revocation of the concession. In 2010 the new standards for Internet content are also included in the law.

In Argentina, the focus is the dispute between the media corporations and the government, especially in reference to the Clarín group and the Kirchners. In this country, since 2009, there is the Ley de Medios (Media Law) with rules for radio and TV stating, for example, that minimum of 60% of national production and 30% of local news programmes be mandatory, plus the limitation of concessions and concession period, in order to democratise communication and encourage competition. This law mainly affected the Clarín group, which would need to give up more than half of their TV concessions throughout the country. The group has adapted voluntarily to some of the demands, and others are being discussed in the courts.

In Bolivia, according to Gilberto Maringoni and Verena Glass (2012) the Ley General de telecomunicaciones, tecnologías de información y comunicación (General Law for telecommunicatons, information technology and communications) announced in 2011 by President Evo Morales, has similar fundamentals to Argentina and Venezuela in the use of public concessions and limitations imposed on media groups, also intending for the democratisation of the broadcasting services. In Bolivia specifically, the law also refers to public biddings for concessions granting and the distribution of frequencies in order to favour the “original people” of the country, which means a portion of the concessions should be allocated to indigenous peoples, peasants and afrobolivians, subjected to the evaluation of their projects for the use of the concession.

Also according to Maringoni and Glass (2012), despite the movement around a new regulatory framework in Brazil in 2009, and the creation of specific standards for pay-TV services, for example, the country remains without specific legislation on the matter:
In Brazil, where the National Telecommunications Code of 1962 is still valid, despite the existence of new standards—such as the Cable Law (1994) and the Pay-TV Law (2011)—there is no comprehensive regulation in this area. A significant portion of organised society (popular movements and business organisations) and State representatives, held the First National Conference on Communications (Confecom) in the end of 2009, when six main points were discussed: a new regulatory framework for communication, regulation of article 221 of the Federal Constitution (which regards the television programming regionalisation), copyright rights, public communication (State broadcasting), the civil framework of the Internet and the realisation of the National communication Council. Discussions are still awaiting an outcome. (Maringoni & Glass, 2012, p. 78)

Barbosa and Moraes (quoted in Maringoni & Glass, 2012) state that, compared to other countries in Latin America, Brazil can be considered the slowest in terms of legislation, and that the resolutions obtained from the 2009 Confecom still only exist on paper. The authors also comment on the “inertia” of the various governments that have been in power since the promulgation of the 1988 Constitution in Brazil, and point out that the articles 220 and 221, supposed to prevent the formation of monopolies and oligopolies in mass media, have not yet, to this day, been put in motion.

The media regulation in Brazil

The discussion about media regulation in Brazil usually involves the theme of censorship versus democratisation, which causes confusion as to the understanding of the real advantages and disadvantages of the regulatory framework for society, and the real intentions of both government and media groups as the commitment to quality of provision of public service information and communications in Brazil.

The communications area has been particularly sensitive to demands for new operating rules. Media companies, since dealing with dissemination of ideas, values and subjective approaches, argue that the intention of those who advocate the creation of new standards is to implement the censorship and the restriction on the free movement of ideas. Supporters of the changes argue otherwise. Say the industry is monopolised and that a new legal agreement would be based on the defence of a pluralism of opinions. (Maringoni & Glass, 2012, p. 75)

In a country where public concessions are in the hands of politicians, and media groups are tied to the government, important discussions such as the media regulation are not carried out due to power maintenance strategies. In this scenario, the censorship discourse can be considered more a manipulation tool and a way to slow down the process, than a legitimate freedom of speech argument.
An example of democratic country where the media is not properly regulated and therefore cause harm to society is Italy, where there is a law, for example, which regulates the ownership of the media corporations, but not fully implemented. The Constitutional Court, in 1994, declared that the Mammi\(^1\) Law, of 1990, was unconstitutional, claiming that it hurt the very principle of the pluralism of the mass communications. In 1997, the prime-minister Romano Prodi accepted the decision of the Tribunal and created the law number 249, better known as the Maccanico Law, with the objective of reorganising the communications sector in Italy, extending the number of television channels and, as a consequence, the competition. However, as Balbi and Prario explain, “the Maccanico law was never applied and the duopoly ratified by the Mammì law in 1990 was therefore never affected” (Balbi & Prario, 2010, p. 394).

According to Ferdinando Giugliano and John Lloyd (2010), Silvio Berlusconi is the owner of group Mediaset, with scope throughout Italy, and also owns shares and properties in France, Spain and Portugal, which results in the “creation” of a new system called “Mediaocracy”. According to these authors, the Mediaocracy happens when a country, be it a democratic or authoritarian country, is governed by the media corporations, in this case, specifically referring to the situation in Italy.

Berlusconi’s version is an extreme model and is based on the legal and cultural negligence of Italy regarding conflicts of interest. The result is a dominant politician, owner of the three major TV channels, the main publishing company, advertising companies and an empire of newspapers and magazines; and in power, he also controls the State television and the State broadcaster RAI. (Giugliano & Lloyd, 2010)

In fact, Brazil is not making progress around the media regulation theme, the difficulties posed by cross-ownership without limits and the delay of successive governments to address the issue, result in a State where the Mediocracy prevents the implementation of a real media regulation project. Our understanding is that the media regulation does not intend to simply establish censorship, but in fact, with the right planning and proper commitment from the government, a regulation plan must be established so that the use of public broadcasting concessions serve to fulfil their social purpose within legal limits, and imposing appropriate sanctions for transgressors. As we have seen in some Latin American models, only a serious regulatory plan will allow the constitutional right of access to information within

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\(^1\) “The Mammi law had two main effects on the Italian media system. First, it legitimised the status quo created over the previous 15 years of unregulated radio and television development, which saw Fininvest prevail over the other competitors. Second, and in some ways this was an even more important outcome, the Mammi law restricted the entry of new operators in the Italian broadcasting market by ratifying the public–private duopoly dominated by RAI and Fininvest.” (Balbi & Prario, 2010, p. 393)
the values of democracy, diversity and plurality to all citizens, prioritising the interests of society and ensuring the end of a Mediacracy in our country.

Considerations

As noted in the introduction, the radio was originally based in the educational and cultural interest that a means of sound communication could and should provide to the general population. However, with the development of radio as the primary means of mass communication, we saw that in Brazil the relationship of the media, especially the radio, always had a strong interference of the State, not only in terms of the operations but also as a propaganda tool by successive governments especially during the dictatorship. In addition to the political use by the State, it is possible to say that the media have always been concentrated under the “hand” of a few media groups, and some of them were and/or owned by politicians who still active in politics and enjoying parliamentary immunity; and that the laws created for broadcasting highlighted political rather than economic concerns and were not designed to avoid the formation of monopolies and oligopolies.

Brazil is currently discussing a future project of economic regulation of the media that could clearly prohibit cross-ownership by large media groups, and not allow politicians in office to be partners or owners of media groups. The union between the media and political-economic groups is damaging to the plurality of information, essential in any democracy, and therefore harms society and hurts the duties of the press/media as an institution.

According to a report published on November 22, 2015 in the newspaper “Folha de S. Paulo”, federal prosecutors will go to court against 32 deputies and eight senators who appear in the Ministry of Communications list as owners and/or partners Radio and TV stations. The action is co-authored by Coletivo Intervozes (Intervoices Collective) and is based on the interpretation of Article 54 of the Constitution, which forbids federal deputies and senators of “signing or maintaining a contract with (...) concessionaire of public service (...), and aims to revoke the 93 stations owned by 40 members of parliament; have them offered again (bids), and prohibit the Union to provide grants to politicians named in the suit.

Besides this measure from the Jucidiacy, the Federal Government tries to expand the democratisation of broadcasting. Through the Ministry of Communications (MiniCom) the government presented the National Stock Option Plan (PNO) 2015/2016 of community broadcasting which aims to benefit 761 municipalities. According to MiniCom, from the 761 municipalities that will be fitted with new stations, 353 still do not have a community radio station, while in other 408 there is at least one authorised broadcaster. Currently, community radio stations are present in 3.935 Brazilian
municipalities, and the objective of this new plan is to expand the service to 4,288 cities, representing 77% of municipalities.

In addition to the PNO for community radio stations, the MiniCom launched the National Plan of Grants also for FM radios and Educational TVs hoping to benefit 236 locations throughout Brazil. According to the Ministry, all states will be awarded at least one grant. The aim of the PNO, according to the MiniCom, is to launch this plan in order to balance the ratio of stations across the country, especially in locations with population and fewer educational radio and television.

In an interview granted to us in October 2015, the National Secretary of Electronic Communications of the Ministry of Communications, Emiliano José, said the two plans are steps to try to democratise the broadcasting in Brazil, and that other measures by the Federal Government are necessary for this purpose, including the regulation project. “It is essential, the key issue – to have a project to control the Brazilian media (...) the plurality in Brazil will only happen when we [the Executive] ensure that there is effective democratisation of the media”.

Both plans have the objective to balance and increase the number of channels and therefore to increase the pluralism and democratisation of the information in the communities and states, especially in locations that have no legalised community radio. In the case of educational broadcasting concessions, the internal public bodies (federal, state, municipal and local authorities), and higher education institutions maintained by the private sector and foundations under private law linked to an educational institution will all be allowed to participate.

The great challenge of the Federal Government when launching such offers is to try to prevent the concessions from ending up in hands of political groups and supporters, since some private universities in the Northeast of Brazil (such as Rio Grande do Norte and Ceará), for example, belong to economic groups directly linked to political parties and groups, owners of commercial media, which already fall into the cross-ownership category. Despite the risk of falling into the hands of professional politicians and party groups, these concessions are more “protected” because they must be linked to an educational institution.

However, in our view, the greatest risk regarding politicians being entitled to more media space is precisely the PNO of the community radios. It must be noted that many community radio stations in Brazil belong to professional politicians, but are registered in the name of social institutions or individuals funded by those politicians. The list of owners of this kind media are shown in the Ministry of Communications website but it is not complete. Some radios stations display their trade name and legal and person, others just the name of the concessionary institution, but most of the information about the owners is unavailable. According to the report of Grupo Intervozes.
(2007), it is estimated that half of the 2.205 licenses of this type were under control of party groups or politicians with a mandate between 1999 and 2004.

We believe that even if the radio stations are owned by pro-community, social, educational and minority groups, unless there is economic regulation of the media in order to balance competition in the advertising market, and to avoid the concentration of the media of different platforms in hands of political, economic and media groups, these grants are more likely to be co-operated by the economic power, which in Brazil is rooted directly with political power, especially in the North-Northeast regions. In addition to expanding the educational broadcasting concessions and community, the Federal Government has to make allowances for these radios to be able to develop on their own, without suffering the risk of being “taken over” by professional politicians with elective mandates. And this can only happen when the Federal Government, with the support of social institutions, decides to regulate the media in Brazil thus allowing communication to be more democratic and increase the informational plurality that every democratic country should have.

References


The Brazilian public radio broadcasting service and the digital era: the case of the EBC

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Abstract

Developments in digital technology and the continual increase of new online communication services have proven to be a challenge when it comes to maintaining radio broadcasting systems across the globe. This new context has given media the pressing need to rethink their strategies, diversify their operations and use new distribution platforms for content if they wish, in the medium term, to renew and keep their audiences. With a multitude of media on offer, public stations face considerable losses of audiences, something that could threaten the social legitimacy of public radio broadcasting and relegate it to a position of minor relevance in the eyes of the public. At the same time, and paradoxically speaking, digital platforms have the potential to spread content and become the mediums that stations could use to renew their interaction with the public. From this general premise, the Observatory of Public Broadcasting in Latin America examined the annual activity plans provided by the Empresa Brasil de Comunicação (EBC) for 2010 to 2015 in an attempt to identify if the company has a digital strategy in place and just how it is preparing to face the challenge of diversifying its operations and incorporating new digital platforms for distributing media content.

Keywords

public radio broadcasting; digitalisation; digital strategy; virtual strategy
Public radio broadcasting: Brazil in the Latin American scene

In general, the idea of “truly public” radio broadcasting in Latin America, in other words a public entity whose guidelines for management, production, financing, political independence and social control allow for broadcasting programmes that closely reflect important social issues, is still one that is in the making and fairly recent in the socio-political and communicational universe of many countries.

For the majority of nations in South America, radio and television run by government, universities and public foundations, funded by the State, have not quite reached public media status as of yet; that is, of setting the example to other media of pluralism, of encouraging discussions, or of quality independent journalism in tune with the needs of its citizens. The conditions for the origin of these broadcasters partly explain the dependence they still have on governmental structure1.

State and government-run public radio broadcasting in Latin America began in 1940 with the inception of “national radio”; these stations were well-structured technically and were able to reach audiences across the whole country. As these stations only broadcasted news (especially on State activities), cultural programmes and music they were totally dependent on public budget in order to operate. Over time, they became proponents for government, many times being used to achieve political goals or to push government authority.

This level of “ruling” remained throughout both the dictatorship and the subsequent return to democracy. Educational and government stations in Latin America were bitter towards this as they gradually lost their credibility and audience (Esch, Bianco & Moreira, 2012). Their sustainability was threatened by the global financial crisis throughout the 1980s and 1990s, which triggered structural changes on a state level (Bresser-Pereira & Grau, 1999). There was no political support for public investment proposals to help those channels which were inadequately run and had poor audience levels2.

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1 The majority of “non-commercial” broadcasters came about from government initiatives or from institutions linked to the State. They therefore inherited their administrative structures and centralised production, defined by the lack of editorial and financial independence, they were not held to mechanisms of transparency and accountability. Non-commercial radio broadcasting was based on two initiatives: 1) it was educational and cultural; 2) it closely followed government and state agenda. The educational/cultural branch originated between the 1920s and 1930s, when the first radio broadcasters emerged offering educational programs to help reduce illiteracy and raise the level of education, thereby facilitating the introduction of new technologies considered essential towards developing the region. They ended up being shaped in the 1960s and 1970s (Esch, Bianco & Moreira, 2012).

2 Depending on the country, the sector faced different levels of structural crisis resulting from: a) poor industrial/corporate administration due to executive directions subject to political interference leading to disruptions in targets, and many times to corruption and irresponsibility that went unpunished; b) a lack of economic sustainability, brought on by ignoring the interests of the audience and having no mechanisms in place to diversify financing; c) not very attractive
However, the rise or reassertion over the last decade of left-wing parties in government has led to political actions and movements that have changed some aspects of Latin-American educational/government radio broadcasting. Such changes came from administrative and legal reshaping but mainly from the inclusion of forms of participation and social control entrusted in these institutions. Issues such as establishing forms of stable and reliable financing, autonomous from government power, as well as legitimising these forms with the public and building a new institutional culture in public entities are all still ongoing issues and need to be followed up on in the coming years.

At any rate, the reforms which have already been made and put in place show the consistent attempt by various countries, some cautious, others risky, to make changes to the regulatory framework of public media. This gives us a view of how each country establishes a social consensus on the democratic and independent communication services they offer to their public, and their ability to transform them into one of the daily forms of public media in contemporary Latin America.

The EBC’s conception in Brazil

Within this continental sea of changes we find the Empresa Brasil de Comunicação (Brazilian Communications Company). It is a public entity created in conjunction with the Secretary of Communication for the Presidency in 2007. Its purpose is to centralise organisation, management and operation of federally-run radio broadcasting and establish a legal and state-of-the-art Public Communication System.

The conception of the EBC was the result of a movement within various sectors of society which had traditionally fought for free communication in the country. These groups, mainly militant left-wing, found the political scene to be a little more accessible for presenting their demands after the election of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva as president in 2002. In fact, administratively speaking, the EBC is heir to a group of historical institutions responsible for “public programming, it did not catch the attention of the general public and therefore was restricted to having a marginal audience. (Esch, Bianco & Moreira, 2013).”

3 The Brazilian Constitution of 1988, Article 223, provides articulation between state, public and private communication systems. This constitutional right has never been regulated or even established the articulation it provides, as well as not explaining how concessions from channels are to be divided among segments. In theory, the state system offers services to the government and shows the public that the government’s point of view is one among the many that democratic media offers. The public system is an advocate for society, offering plurality of opinion and cultural diversity with no government intervention or private interests. See Public Radio Broadcasting Observatory, available at http://observatorioradiodifusao.net.br/index.php/estrutura-do-sistema-sp-788539440.

4 We cite the EBN as an example (the old Brazilian News Company or the Brazilian Communication Company, also known as RADIOBRAS). Once established, the EBC inherited assets and employees from these institutions as well as their old radio and television stations. The previous state news agency was also included.
communication” which produced and disseminated issues strictly related to government interest. Currently, the EBC runs one television station, seven radio stations and a news agency⁵, employs almost 2,500 professionals, is supported by the National Treasury and has an annual budget of close to 200 million dollars.

Over its eight-year history, the EBC has consolidated its administrative structure and established forms of participation and social control through its Board of Directors; a body of elected members which is provided under the law for establishing an enterprise⁶. The company has experienced some adverse reactions over the course of its short lifespan. Ideally, it is an entity that contributes towards building a model of public communication free from government power and in line with the interests of its citizens. At the same time, it has to live with and overcome the rather negative and heavy symbolic heritage it carries with it in the eyes of the public as it was designed on previous, older communication entities which followed government interests⁷. This duality provides a series of challenges to the entity’s future.

The first of these challenges is developing new parameters for establishing and operating the EBC within politics and government. In broader terms, the entity should be geared towards influencing and building new practices and therefore a new culture (public and republic) which does its best to prevent those who hold political office in public administration and powerful government support groups from trying to control its actions. This means promoting and installing a set of measures – legal, administrative, financial and cultural – in order to provide the entity with greater financial and political autonomy from the central government.

This acts as a kind of “screening process” to help the EBC reducing the number of politically-designated positions, thereby achieving greater professionalisation among its ranks. This will allow it to greatly improve its performance and fulfill its responsibilities as operator of a service which the public should be provided with, and of course, improving the quality and the public’s perception of how it is managed and its content is produced. In short, the EBC needs to distance itself from government and reduce the political support behind its technical and directive personnel, something that can only

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⁵ The EBC’s media stations are: TV Brasil, National AM radios from Brasilia, Rio de Janeiro, the Amazonas, Alto Solimões, MEC RIO and National FM radio stations from Brasilia and MEC Rio, Agência Brasil. TV Brasil, the top of the network, has broadcasting access to various regions in the country through stations that make up the National Public Television Network. It is made up of stations with links to some federal states and also public university ones.

⁶ The EBC’s Board of Directors, made up of 22 members, consults and deliberates on matters, 15 of these 22 represent civil society, nominated by civil entities and who must be approved by the president of the Republic. The president is elected to a four-year term and can run for re-election every eight years.

⁷ Furthermore, a branch of the EBC provides communication services to the Federal Government such as producing and running the NBR station. This might be strengthening the idea, in the public’s eye, that it is a government institution.
be achieved by setting up a system of stable financing, free from the short-term wishes and interests of those in power in politics and government.

Another challenge for the EBC is a technical one. In a country as large as Brazil, the EBC is having significant problems getting its traditional radio broadcasting signals to reach significant proportions of the population in terms of effectiveness, range and adequacy. The range of its stations is still lower than what is required in order for it to be considered “nation-wide”, at least in comparison to the larger private radio broadcasting operators.

Another important component here is that the continued search for improving programming in traditional channels should be coupled with a series of digital strategies so the institution can advertise with the public (youths, for one) who are disinterested in traditional radio stations which the EBC offers. Building a bridge of contact between the public by offering traditional or state-of-the-art content on separate channels (multimedia) has become essential towards better advertising and promotion of its products over the Internet. Potential public is not a problem for Brazil; it is the world’s sixth-leading mobile Internet consumer at 38.8 million 3G and 4G smartphones, behind only China, the USA, India, Japan and Russia (GSMA 2014). Furthermore, the number of homes having Internet reached 32.3 million in 2014. A study done by the Study Centre of Information and Communication Technology (2013) for the Internet Management Committee in Brazil showed that, for the first time ever, 63% of the homes have Internet access.8

Historically, the Brazilian public has seen its public radio broadcasting as a medium deeply rooted in government, symbolised by the expression “white plate medium”9 which many citizens use to refer to it. Over time, the administrative link to the government was broken and the public mediums were seen much more as tools for government propaganda than as mediums for tackling issues and stories of public interest. This pushed citizens away and had a harmful effect on obtaining satisfactory audience ratings. In many ways, Brazilians do not know an awful lot about what the public mediums (and the EBC itself) produce nowadays. This lack of knowledge, which comes from the makeup of a weak public image, brings up some hard questions about its social legitimacy and representation (Esch & Bianco, 2013). We can say that public mediums in Brazil employ a kind of “passive symbolism” for their citizens, meaning they lack “public

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8 Centro de Estudos sobre as Tecnologias da Informação e da Comunicação (Cetic.br), TIC Domicílios. Available at http://data.cetic.br/cetic/explore?idPesquisa=TIC_DOM.

9 The origin of the expression “white plate” comes from the colour of plates used on official Brazilian government vehicles. It could represent ideological connections to the government, groups of power or economic interest. The expression could also make reference to a medium of communication that is being financed or favoured by government, and therefore, having its activities defined by the interests of groups in power who hold government/administrative/economic power. It expresses the idea that the EBC is influenced by government and its interests.
capital”. This adds up to public mediums in the country not having recognisable and valued courses of action.

Data from the entity’s work plans and management reports\(^\text{10}\) show that, overall, its stations have low audience ratings in the country’s major urban centres. These ratings in many cases do not even reach one percentage point\(^\text{11}\). There are no readings to indicate the extent to which its programmes and radio and television signals reach in some areas. This gives the institution a very weak impression in the eyes of the public, and especially in the eyes of the government which it is subject to and financed by\(^\text{12}\).

In order for the EBC to obtain greater audiences and public visibility it is fundamental that it better understands what the public think about radio broadcasting, more specifically, what they think about its programmes and stations. This knowledge, together with an increased critical reading of contemporary media, will be able to provide a more realistic landscape in which to establish state-of-the-art strategies to attract and keep new audiences; strategies that focus on the wide range of content distribution over the Internet and interacting with the public on social networks. A fundamental question remains: how will the EBC gain more exposure in the Brazilian public using traditional strategies that have already shown to produce unreliable audience ratings?

The challenge of changing technology

The technological evolution is making great changes to radio broadcasting and audio visual markets. Over the last 20 years there has been a large, extensive multiplicity of platforms and technology for distributing content such as digital television, the IPTV (Internet Protocol Television), mobile television and video on demand, which have all led to new operators and increased competition within the market, Internet companies being one such example. The evolution of technology also gave way to new communication services such as online information in real time and news and entertainment on demand.

Audiovisual services tend to converge here and consumers are increasingly able to obtain multiple services through one platform or device, either that or obtain the same service through mobile devices. The growing variety of audiovisual services and accessibility has divided audiences.

\(^\text{10}\) Company work plans from 2010 to 2015, management reports from 2011 to 2014, and documents on strategic planning written up in 2012.

\(^\text{11}\) Even despite these figures, the EBC’s 2015 work plan states that audience research was done in six of the major Brazilian capitals, and revealed that in 2014, 32 million people from these locations watched TV Brasil daily on open television. Children and young people’s programming is seen by approximately 7 million daily viewers (EBC Work Plan 2015, p. 5).

\(^\text{12}\) It is important to recognise that the information available in the activity reports is only partial information. This proves there is a lack of critical analysis on the institution’s performance in relation to the real reach of its productions and the programme audience levels.
At the same time, the new technologies are changing the way the public interact with media and its content. The traditional consumer model (which is mainly passive) is gradually giving way to active interaction and collaborative participation for developing content, sharing information and horizontal communication free of hierarchies. Managers of public and private radio broadcasting companies have been trying to diversify content production and language for the new distribution platforms, thereby increasing consumerism (Serra, Sá & Souza Filho, 2015).

This is why establishing a presence in convergence media is a real challenge for radio broadcasting services. Public radio broadcasting in particular has the chance to reinvent itself and renew old ties with its audience. Facing the challenge of new technologies can be valuable towards overcoming the considerable invisibility that public radio broadcasting operates in. Doing so is important if public stations are to reach more people, whatever the national context may be. Outside of the economic value inherent to it, it cannot be compared to any other type of service offered in the country. There is no other service which offers such broad access to the population and provides the amount of information and content available nowadays while at the same time being able to guide and influence individual and collective opinions.

A challenge for the EBC: increased spreading of its online content

We are at a point in time where a set of social and culture practices coupled with the growing innovations in digital technology that surround them are the make-up of a network society (Castells, 2006). These practices that interlace with people in many ways did not arise out of technological development. Everyone knows that fact-based stories and events have always generated interest and stimulated conversation among populations throughout history. However, in a world dependent on virtual communication, the way content is exchanged and circulated nowadays is vastly different than it was in our recent “analogical past”. The contemporary mark of communication is the global scale at which its bit speed travels online.

We consider this to be an important strategic thought for the EBC. After all, a network that interconnects computers, virtual spaces and people across the world creates a setting in which new forms of personal and institutional relationships are being established every day. The forms of interaction/relationships/contact and the forms of consumption are in a clear transformation, making this for a very dynamic scene. Content transmission across media does not occur through only traditional means; by traditional we mean Ethernet and commercial/productive logics emitted by radio broadcasting from a station that transmits content to multiple receivers.
This communication increased the quantity and range of messages which went from being transmitted in a single direction into being circulated everywhere, all around us and on the Internet. This intense process can lead to content getting altered as it goes through the hands of numerous distributors or redistributors and becomes subject to their emotions, perspectives, values, sympathy, rejection and interests. This transit of messages, whatever the format may be, gives a new meaning to content in the eyes of the network users, whether individuals, groups, movements or institutions. It deals with a vital change in the way media content is distributed and/or transmitted nowadays which needs to be thought of as realistic, and not efficient.

Our thought process behind writing this text is to analyse the EBC’s proposals and ideas for virtual development as well as its digital/virtual strategy behind the convergence of its radio broadcasting channels and its participation in this new and complex online universe. In order to think about these issues, we looked at some concepts and ideas proposed by Jenkins, Green and Ford (2014) who propose the idea of spreadability. This is a concept that states the process of circulating content generates meaning and adds value to the content in current media. A fundamental idea for thinking about communication media in general, particularly virtual ones is that if something does not spread, it is dead, does not exist. (Jenkins, Green & Ford, 2014, p. 23)

The idea that content which is produced but not spread on the net or even on the old approach of broadcasting is doomed to die is a fundamental question for an entity like the EBC and the problems caused by its low audience ratings. One of the major challenges in achieving satisfactory audience levels is stopping some of the power of spreadability; it presents two large dimensions that have coexisted with each other, complementary to one another, over a long time.

The first of these dimensions is grounded in broadcasting, in other words, the traditional radio and TV broadcasting channels such as TV Brasil and its radio programmes. The other dimension is online environment whose orientation is fed by the logic of convergence. This dimension already exists in the institution as an area with its own administration and management. However, developing this concept seems to be slow and irregular in terms of practice, products and online services as it faces uncertainties and problems with its budget and management, among others.

13 An example of this change could be the data collected from the study performed by the technological consulting company called Accenture, operating in 13 countries and reported that in Brazil, 77% of internet users access the web using mobile devices. Available at http://exame.abril.com.br/tecnologia/noticias/africa-do-sul-e-brasil-lideram-acesso-a-internet-movel.
In an age of growing spreadability, the EBC’s communication sector needs financial, technical, and managerial investments in order to keep itself afloat in the media market. The development of information technology and the knowledge set that this segment can generate go much further than just practical tools for applications. It should generate a body of knowledge that allows the entity to understand transformations in technology, to foresee changes, and to understand the many virtual audiences of today. This operational dimension should be a kind of “digital conscious of the EBC”. However, we see it as being a segment of the company privy to gaining knowledge about spreading messages over the current digital media universe, especially acquiring the ability and know-how to produce and distribute its content.

The concept of spreading goes beyond the idea of what digital marketing calls adhesion. This adhesion, determined in studies on the behaviour of individuals in the virtual world, has much more to do with discovering the reasons why a determined group of people consume a particular site’s content over time. In order to accomplish this, studies were done to measure and identify resources and tactics which sites use to attract the maximum amount of online audience, as well as to look for the reasons why these same people consume these sites over a certain time period. This form of understanding how relations between producers and consumers of online content occur is similar to that of traditional radio broadcasting when we look at how communication data (site content) transits from one to many in an environment where many providers (other sites) are also competing for their audiences. According to this viewpoint, it is adhesion that points out, mainly in practical ways, the elements that generate a certain person’s interest in an online media story.

There is a set of fundamental questions needed to be taken into consideration when understanding the concept of spreadability and what it proposes. It has always approached the form in which digital technical resources facilitate the circulation of some content in comparison to others, and how the economic structures maintain or restrict this circulation. It also approaches the features in media stories that pique the interest and desire of a group and make them want to share them on social networks that connect people through consumerism and sharing information (Jenkins, Green & Ford, 2014). It also upholds the establishment of a virtual participatory culture that is based on various communities connected by networks that play roles and promote content circulation within media. The public are gradually becoming more and more active in terms of circulating content in the media and are therefore making certain professional producers and corporate communicators take notice of what they are saying and responding to their demands (Jenkins, Green & Ford, 2014, p. 25).

Participatory culture is based on the assumption that facilities of developing digital technology have greatly increased the redefinition of many
aspects that define our every-day practices and feelings. Defining new cultural aspects that make us rethink the ways individuals and entities relate to each other socially, how they are participating and influencing politics and culture, the ways that business relations are occurring, and the regulatory limits for a more appropriate form of organising complete sets of actions in a new mindset of social and digital relationships. In this new context, spreadability means recognising that content which is interesting on many levels could create a number of audience reactions that make its members promote the transit of these materials through the more distinct virtual spaces and supports. The circulation of content represents the public much more than traditional radio broadcasting does.

Given this new locus and its ways for establishing relations, the idea of spreadability, according to Jenkins, Green and Ford (2014, p. 29), recognises the importance of increasingly visible social connections between individuals on social media platforms. This approach may still include quantitative measures of frequency and shifts in content, but it is important to hear the ways in which media content is used by the audience and circulates through these interpersonal interactions.

Even with regards to the “devastating” transformational power these new forms for virtual communication, interaction and content sharing have on our daily lives, the simple existence of technological resources which allow and facilitate individuals to express themselves over existing Internet channels cannot be regarded as the explanation for the motivation behind Internet and social network users to share content with each other on a global scale. In a complex process such as this it would be too simple and deterministic to overvalue the mere availability of technology as a reason for the public to spread virtual messages and expressions.

Surely the circulation of content over the Internet is also a consequence of many other cultural processes and therefore cannot be understood by the mere functional view of technology. It is necessary to consider the complexity of everything related to this phenomenon. After all, much of what happens on the Internet is the fruit of what happens outside of the virtual world. The reactions to these events demonstrate the way in which people see facts and build their day-to-day action strategies which are then transferred to the virtual universe through reading to find out the most appropriate resources for the public to express themselves in the virtual world.

The analysis

In this changing scene which is becoming more and more important for public mediums to spread content over the Internet, it is important to look at how the EBC proposes to develop mechanisms of relationship and to spread media content, as well as developing parameters to demonstrate how the
institution has been building a digital strategy that will allow it to face the challenges of media convergence. In order to do this, the official documents must outline the company’s strategy and be approved by the Board of Directors. So, the ideas put forward in this paper are based on the analysis of six work plans drawn up by executive management and approved by the EBC’s Board of Directors between 2009 and 2015.

The objective of the analysis was to conduct a critical reading to verify and bring up any analyses and actions the work plans had in relation to the virtual world or the Internet for using new resources of information technology for making content available online and/or its integration with traditional media channels which the entity already employs. We use this material to try and look at how the EBC has been dealing with new possibilities in virtual communication and analyse what the priority is behind its action plans. Over its eight-year existence, the EBC has managed to outline, to some degree, its guidelines for digital communication policies.

However, the objective for reading the work plans was not to measure, judge or evaluate which actions the EBC has implemented or not. The idea was to observe and evaluate all and any position, objectives or goals the entity had mentioned for using new technologies and the way it sees them being incorporated into its everyday production. Therefore, we believe that the set of manifestations found in the six analysed work plans allowed us to interpret and demonstrate how the institution and its management view the use of new digital technologies.

The work plans also express these possibilities as significant difficulties that have marked the path of the EBC’s institutionalisation and consolidation. The diagnostics and valuations within the actual work plans show the institution’s awareness of it being created out of previous government communication entities. However, it is necessary to consider that the set of observed actions shape a trajectory of certain problems faced by the institution on a daily basis.

Findings

After reading and analysing the 866 pages that make up the EBC’s six work plans, we found 70 proposals of developing actions, establishing programmes of technological development and creating technical sectors in the new virtual environment. Out of these references, five were in the 2010 work plan, 10 in the 2011 one, seven in the 2012 one, 12 in the 2013 one, 14 in the 2014 one, and 22 in the 2015 work plan; the year with the highest number of references. In retrospect, it was evident that, from the first work plan on, the entity had been concerned about developing digital actions.

Even though elementary and lacking major specifications on how such measures would be taken, the seventh objective of the 2010 work plan sets
out the following need: “... develop a digital communication project to ensure convergence of the EBC’s Internet media and improved mechanisms for access and public participation” (EBC, 2010, p. 5).

The 2010 plan already alludes to the concept of convergence as a fundamental element for institutional work on the Internet and structural techniques allowing for the increase of interactivity with the public by including sites from some of its communication channels programmes, most notably from TV Brasil. This also shows the need to redo the site, which up until such time had been focused on spreading content across Agência Brasil in an attempt to increase the multimedia content on the channel.

The 2011 work plan established four general objectives, one of which was to invest in the infrastructure of production and transmission in order to update and solidify them. The plan approaches the need to expand and modernise production and transmission of “traditional” channels, and to remove the “extremely limited” tag written down in the plan from the institution. After analysing and rendering the set of technical structures the EBC inherited from government entities to be obsolete, the challenge remains of facing technological obsolescence at a time when the impact of change from convergence in communications is being felt.

Keeping with the 2011 plan, an evaluation was made of the reduced investment possibilities that the institution will be faced with after a series of budget limitations imposed on the entity, in particular by the government. Even with these difficulties and without presenting any readings that demonstrate the EBC’s view on the changing communication market, especially “virtual services”, the plan still shows that the EBC recognises the importance of new technologies as tools which need to be continually worked on and modernised in the public body. Even with budget difficulties, the plan puts forth a set of objectives to be realised14 and points to the improvement of the WEB TV signal at EBC as one of them.

The 2012 work plan points clearly to the need for the entity to complete digitalisation of its television production chain as digital television will make significant changes to the way media is consumed in Brazil. The entity realises that new technology will promote changes to the way content is distributed to the public, who are becoming increasingly “intimate” with new mobile devices:

…it is an unavoidable step in the quest for improving broadcast quality at our station, especially because Digital TV has gradually started to make its way into Brazilian homes – something that will probably

14 The objectives were: a) created a specific unit to manage the planning and development of sites, tools, and applications for publishing digital content on the Internet; b) hiring a company and professionals who are specialised in developing advanced sites and portals, due to the lack of expertise on the topic in human resources; c) migrating all the sites to a common platform and standardizing the URL addresses, and d) integrating the sites to the MAM (Management System for Digital Actions).
increase over the next few years as more television sets will be replaced and the miniaturisation of devices now puts TV on mobile phones, tablets and other portable electronics. (EBC, 2012, p. 16)

Another relevant aspect is the fact that outside of updating its sites as one of its more important goals, the institution also wants to strengthen the strategies created in 2011 as expressed in the following excerpt:

...SUCOM (Superintendent of Multimedia Communication) is responsible for developing mechanisms to interact with the population through various mediums such as internet, digital TV, sites, hot sites and mobile devices. (EBC, 2012, p. 46)

In a sector where multimedia communication requires administering and planning, the EBC felt it necessary to create new virtual channels for its audience and for content distribution as well as ways of integrating and establishing the convergence of traditional mediums with new resources. We recognise the emergence of a sector like SUCOM as representative of an important step towards promoting a coming together of certain company sectors – such as content production, technology infrastructure and the development of systems, tools and digital applications – where professionals would be able to collaborate towards establishing and increasing digital culture and, ultimately, convergence.

The 2013 work plan expresses a course of action for focusing on managing quality in content production and technical operations as well as expanding the reach of its media by means of radio broadcasting. Even though four courses of action had been established for improving content and reception in television and radio stations, the 2013 plan still upholds the EBC’s ideas from previous proposals and focuses on maintaining measures that work towards increasingly more content being made available on virtual platforms which, up until then, had been created by the company itself. This way it gradually repositions its national and local consumer networks in world networks.

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15 The specific actions established for SUCOM were: 1) develop and manage the EBC Portal; 2) continue with the migration of sites to the Drupal environment and develop a single platform for managing company content; 3) create new web pages for the EBC mediums (radio, TV Brasil, Repórter Brasil, Agência Brasil, EBC Services, among others); 4) create, improve and operate management systems that will contribute to internal processes such as Banco de Pautas, Intranet, Jetro, Nambi Patrimony, Sisne, Legal Publicity, among others; 5) develop media and techniques for expanding the EBC’s target audience through interfacing with Web users, for example, social networks; 6) do multimedia coverage and create hot sites for pre-scheduled events like elections, conferences, the Olympics, among others; 7) create applications, interactive videos, game platforms (that use sensor recognition devices), transmedia content, improve storage capacity and data transmission, integrate the ITVRP and Channel P to the EBC sites; 8) acquire hardware and software that will improve the EBC’s performance on the Web and are in accordance with the Committee on Information and Communication Technology (CTIC) and in line with the PDTI, which is to be built and performed by Sucom; 9) obtain, train, and place value in human resources.
The 2014 work plan continues to strengthen its performance by making improvements to its online content. In 2012, the EBC wrote up its first Strategic Plan for 2012-2022 and started making steps towards the continual reorganisation of the company’s structures, aimed at greater consistency of production and content for both traditional and virtual channels. This led to the Director of Content and Programming which is responsible for planning and promoting the company’s integrated content and distributing it across the different available platforms. The 2014 plan also included consolidating the Committee on Information and Communication Technology, elaborating the Information Technology Development Plan and its set of more than 70 actions to be implemented until the end of 2015, and indicated that the web platform would develop content with its own language and promote the creation of mechanisms that would establish interaction with the public through contact resources on social networks.

The 2014 plan also put forth a set of actions established by the Administrative Council and others recommended by the Board of Directors to be carried out on the entity’s different platforms. Out of the seven actions defined, four of them are in some way related to developing virtual platforms for producing or distributing content\textsuperscript{16}.

Lastly, the 2015 work plan continues down the path of developing and improving the ways in which the EBC uses information technology and the way it is presented to the public online. Among the various issues that require the company’s attention in this sixth and most recent work plan, it is the web platform which arises in 3 specific directives. The first directive continues establishing the need to further strengthen the WEB platform\textsuperscript{17} in order to distribute all the company’s content and therefore interact on the Internet using its own language to strengthen and broaden the public reach and establish the web as a space of convergence and interaction for EBC products. The second highlights the need to create public interaction on social networks and thereby attracting them to consume the programs which the company offers on its traditional channels. It is necessary to establish a manual of

\textit{It is crucial that the strategies the EBC designs consider that we are in a transition phase, going from a model where the idea of media companies was to produce texts/messages that would, in some way, produce results in the audience which are linked to its content to another model where the goal is to make the public want to circulate and distribute content virtually.}

\textsuperscript{16} The four actions are: 1) Integrate content production and distribution with diverse platforms. 2) Qualify the production and acquisition of content for different platforms in order to gain the trust and loyalty of audiences. 3) Ensure the distribution of programming on important issues across ground and internet radio broadcasting platforms. 4) Invest in a virtual platform for storage and playback of videos on the internet, opening up possibilities for other public media and the public to publish and access content.

\textsuperscript{17} The platform is comprised of the EBC Portal and the TV Brasil sites, TV Brasil Internacional, and seven EBC radio stations.
practices for Social Media and also adopt mechanisms to adequately administer the company’s virtual profiles. The last directive points to the need for wide investments in technology and infrastructure for Information Technology in order to increasingly integrate the company’s mediums and strengthen multiplatform production.

Conclusion

In summary, our main objective was to contemplate how the EBC sees its place in media convergence over the course of its eight-year existence. In order to do this, we looked at the set of actions in its annual work plans that materialise demands, goals and plans for establishing and consolidating its Internet activities during a time of substantial and major changes to the field of communication.

We analysed the work plans and did not find coordinated, stable objectives and targets for the long term that would indicate any clearly defined strategy for the entity over the last few years. However, we did find a significant set of measures showing that there is already a “basic mentality” in the EBC that considers the virtual universe as a fundamental space which needs to be used and needs further publicity and spreading to be done than what the company already does.

In this institutional environment conducive to changes, we believe that one of the first changes that should occur is to establish objective, administrative measures that allow the entity to create solid and stable sectors for acquiring strategic knowledge of what happens on the Internet. Understanding and appreciating the technology behind media convergence is crucial for the EBC to have the right amount of elements to establish relations with audiences across different platforms.

Using the virtual space is a place for the EBC to broadcast its activities is necessary as the public in general does not know very much about the company and what it does. Additionally, the little information that does circulate about the company is quite negative due to it being an institution originating from the government. Examples of such negativity were recorded in a study by the Latin American Observatory of Public Radio Broadcasting published in 2013. The following comments from a number of participants illustrate how this difficult situation is viewed: “programming is directed towards whatever government is in power at the time...”, “...they are extreme ruling parties, less public...”, “...they only report on government interests...”, “if it is public, I don’t really care because I won’t even notice anyway” or “I’m not so up-to-date in this area, but if it is public, it definitely must be irritating” (Esch & Bianco, 2013, p. 703).

To fly your flag on the Internet and keep it there has to be a real attitude and not just a proposition. This option to “occupy the virtual” has to be
reflected in its practices and internal policies supported by stable investments that provide the development of new technologies and applications that can act as tools for forecasting and studying online user behaviour and habits, thereby allowing the company to develop a wide range of media products for interaction.

Throughout the analysis we found wordings that clearly lay out the EBC managers’ hopes of carrying out actions that would give them a stronger online presence. There are increasing regulations needing to be implemented online and with social networks. In fact, the goals outlined in the work plans lay out the need to increase new internal production processes and new forms of integrating content across certain distribution channels whether traditional radio broadcasting ones or virtual ones. However, the work plans lacked information on the discussions about media convergence thereby not making their objectives clear that they intend to reach.

We have to recognise the difficulties that corporate and public entities face when trying to keep up with the frenzied pace of changes in digital media. Keeping a close, constant eye on the ongoing of the Internet reveals a market that expresses its demands in terms of time and quantity, much more than what entities are capable of providing. Furthermore, we have to take into consideration the possibility that the public alters and interferes in circulating certain content which provides discomfort among media content producers. These producers, as far as being surprised by new situations and events, try to understand and see how they will reformat their businesses while still conforming to open transmission (radio broadcasting) and their respective marketing plans for a new moment in which content can be circulated and modified without major controls creates insecurity and instability economically and legally as well as politically. The difficulties the media industry has in actively observing, listening and reacting to a particular type of interest that comes up is increasingly crystallised.

This is why the EBC needs to elaborate a critical view on how culture and media can work with the innovations in digital technology which are expanding the ways in which we communicate and interact. Mobile devices are becoming a constant in people’s daily lives, changing and introducing new cultures and defining new ways of looking at what happens throughout the world. The public could potentially have a new role in spreading and circulating content. They trade in their passive role of content receiver or distributor for an increasingly active role once their choices become public interest.

It is crucial that the strategies the EBC designs consider that we are in a transition phase, going from a model where the idea of media companies was to produce texts/messages that would, in some way, produce results in the audience which are linked to its content to another model where the goal is to make the public want to circulate and distribute content virtually. This brings significant transformations to people’s media consumption and to the way the companies envision controlling it. The spreadability of messages
creates conditions in which new forms of connections are made available to 
individuals, institutions and communities once they perform an active role in 
formatting and reformatting what is circulating across social networks.

What is true is that in an ever-changing scenario like today the 
communication companies and institutions, for the most part still formatted in 
radio broadcasting, will not be able to go back to unidirectional content 
broadcasting any time soon, at least as it was up until the advent and 
development of digital technology. Now is the time for the corporate and public 
communication institutions, like the EBC, to learn about the behaviours, 
demands and strengths of the public who use the internet. We believe this 
would be the most advantageous position and offers better chances over the 
medium term for success or even guarantee survival once a model for 
producing and distributing content is developed, defined as Post-Broadcasting 
(Miller & Allen, 1996).

Thus, it is essential that the EBC does not just think about the ways it 
can communicate and spread content but also how it can listen to its audience 
and understand their dissatisfaction and desires for entertainment and 
information of public interest. This way, its managers and producers can 
gather data essential to assist a set of articulated actions that increase the 
circulation and availability of the entity’s content in virtual space.

We believe that constant creation and maintenance of departments 
and of professionals capable of managing the entity’s relationship with its 
potential public on the Internet needs to be considered and, above all, 
guaranteed. At the same time, following the dynamics of this virtual universe 
and collecting data to show criticism, postures, praise, needs and demands 
that can all be used positively towards helping the EBC in its production 
strategies and strengthening the dissemination of its products. This would 
fulfill one of its objectives as a public communication institute; making itself 
available to the largest amount of people possible.

And it is in this changing scenery where the EBC needs to act. Among 
its many and complex challenges, we believe that establishing a virtual 
strategy is one of the most important for the future. The company must fight 
the managerial, financial, operational and political difficulties, as well as 
professional cultures materialised in institutional culture as a result of certain 
technical mentalities that exist for overcoming insecurities and opposition that 
mark the deep transformation and innovation processes, just like the ones in 
current times. Only after facing this will the EBC be able to change, incorporate 
new production parameters and new protocols to help it create different forms 
of media text for the virtual environment. This will give it the chance to solidify 
its presence across the networks as it gains significant social representation 
and, of course, guarantees its survival over the medium and long term.
References


Expanded radio. Rearrangements in Brazilian audio media markets

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Abstract
Digitisation and the surge of new intermediaries in audio media market have been reshaping record and radio industries worldwide. More recently, streaming services are a group of new intermediaries that grow fast as Internet broadband becomes more available in developed as well as developing countries. One of the most profitable music markets in the world, Brazil is being targeted by these new actors, such as Deezer and Spotify, which opened sales offices in the country and announced deals with recording labels to offer millions of local artists’ tracks. They vie for consumers’ attention with regional/local services such as RadioTube, Radioteca.net, Blaving, and those that reject copyright-based business model, evoking the peer-to-peer logic of some of its predecessors, such as Napster, KaZaA, The Pirate Bay. In this exploratory study, we focus on these rearrangements in audio media contents’ circulation and consumption, in order to map the reintermediation of the Brazilian music market. It gathers the results of research projects developed at the University of the State of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ) and at University of Sao Paulo (USP) (Brazil).

Keywords
audio media; radio; music industry; streaming
Expanded radio

Audio media is one of the most active segments in Brazilian media industries, but there are several gaps in economic data concerning to radio and music companies. Researchers face precarious and irregular data collecting in these sectors. Most cited inquiry about audio broadcasting in Brazil was published in 2008, by the prestigious Fundação Getulio Vargas’ Instituto Brasileiro de Economia (Ibre/FGV), ordered by Associação Brasileira das Emissoras de Rádio e Televisão (Abert, the national broadcasting companies association)\(^1\). This report gathered information from 917 radio stations from all over the country and estimated sector’s added value equal 0,49% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), just behind the garment industry (0,61%). It also showed that audio broadcasting was responsible for 143.500 direct jobs, and other 159.100 indirect ones. Another important media research, published by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, IBGE, a federal autarchy), places radio among “information services”, besides TV, telecom, cinema, computing, books, press and others\(^2\). As a result, it is very difficult to measure audio broadcasting real participation in the Brazilian culture economy, and the lack of reliable information deeply affects advertising markets’ perception of its relevance.

Unlike other media industries’ segments, which depend upon advertising investments from public sector, radio rely heavily on local retailers, which represented 45% of the segment revenues in 2007\(^3\). According to the Projeto Inter-Meios\(^4\), radio stations have earned the equivalent of 2.664 billion of Brazilian reais (approximately 600 million euros), in 2014, what represents a 6,7% share of national advertising investments\(^5\). But Abert itself admits that this share probably is much bigger, since official data come from less than 200 out of 4,500 radio stations\(^6\). The lack of data shall be worsened in the next years, since the data collecting has been discontinued on August 2015,

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\(^1\) See “Análise do perfil sócio-econômico do setor de radiodifusão no Brasil”, September 23, 2008, Ibre/FGV.
\(^3\) Ibre/FGV.
\(^4\) The most cited source about market research in Brazil, Projeto Inter-Meios was a consortium of media groups, formed in 1990 and coordinated by Meio&Mensagem, a Brazilian journal dedicated to advertising industry. See: https://www.linkedin.com/company/projeto-inter-meios.
because major new actors in Brazilian digital media markets, such as Google and Facebook, refuse to share their revenues’ information.\(^7\)

The same occurs with music segment, whose numbers lost credibility throughout the last decades, after several sales data falsification scandals. It was only in 2014 that, for the first time, the Brazilian Association of Record Producers (Associação Brasileira dos Produtores de Discos, ABPD) released a market report according to the statistics parameters used by the International Federation of Phonographic Industry (IFPI), covering the total production of the local record industry, including numbers provided by the independent segment.\(^8\) Although the numbers can be questioned, Brazilian recorded music market have earned 581.7 million Brazilian reais (approximately, 130 million euros), being 40.6% derived from physical sales (CDs, DVDs), 37.5% from digital revenues (streaming, paid download, mobile phones), and 21.1% from the royalties on public performance of copyrighted material. These numbers, however, does not include important sources of revenue, such as tickets’ sales for concerts or radio and Internet executions of copyrighted works. Still according to ABPD, in the digital segment specifically, audio and video streaming services represented more than half of phonographic industry income, equaling 111.370 million of Brazilian reais (approximately, 25 million euros), an increase of 53.6% compared to 2013.

Yet in 2014, services such as Deezer and Spotify – although with derisory sums (140.000 and 23.000 Brazilian reais, or 30.000 and 2.500 euros respectively) – showed up for the first time in payments sources’ table of Escritório Central de Arrecadação e Distribuição (Ecad, responsible for collecting royalties on music public performance on radio, TV, internet and all sorts of public and private events in Brazil) annual report.\(^9\)

The beginning of the activity of streaming services, the decline of physical record sales and radio stations inability to respond to the new digital businesses competition are clearly related. We cannot understand radio today as an isolated medium. It is necessary to characterise audio broadcasting as a productive chain, as Prestes Filho describes it, in his research about music industry in Brazil. The author defines productive chain as “an hybrid complex, constituted by a set of industrial activities and specialised services that relate each other within networks, complementing themselves in an interdependent system focused on artistic, economic, and corporate common goals” (Prestes Filho et al., 2004, p. 29).


This chain comprehends several actors, and different institutional levels, engaged in activities distributed by interpenetrated links. By adapting Prestes Filho methods developed to investigate the music economy, we have identified the following items in audio broadcasting industry productive chain: 1) pre-production (recording, transmitting devices’ manufacturing; audio studios instalments; computing etc.); 2) production (information gathering, writing, recording, editing audio contents, such as reports, programs, spots, jingles; sound branding); 3) distribution (analogue broadcasting, streaming, podcasting, internet or satellite signatures’ services); 4) marketing (corporate, customised radio stations, developed for shops’, offices’ ambiance and/or branded content – about this phenomena, see Kischinhevsky, 2015a; freemium services); and 5) consumption (listening on analogue or digital radio, paid TV, internet, in public and private spaces).

In this article, we work with the concept of “expanded radio” in order to understand how audio broadcasting as a medium goes far beyond the Hertzian waves (Kischinhevsky, 2012). Expanded radio establishes a dialogue with other knowledge areas, especially audiovisual and literature, in which concepts like “expanded cinema” (Youngblood, 1970) brought to light with the impact of TV, videotape, and interactive experiments on the 1960s cinema – “expanded television” and “expanded narratives” (Carlón, Fechine, 2014, among others) have been developed.

Expanded radio comprehends a media complex in which take part AM/FM radio stations, web radios, podcasting, paid TV, social media, mobile phone companies, and new internet actors, that we call “social radio services” (Kischinhevsky, 2012). These services blur the boundaries between established media, gathering audio on demand, and streaming as well. Social radio services seek to offer not only a locus of audio media contents’ distribution and consumption, but also a place to negotiate identities, social and cultural representation. In these platforms, interactors are constantly asked to build users’ profiles, in order to have access to a flux of sound archives that generate precious data to music companies and other media groups. This data feeds new contents’ prescription (Gallego, 2012) and can be used to establish connections with other users, building on-line social networks linked to other social media as Facebook, Twitter and Google+. Yet, social radio services offer a range of interactional practices, such as instant mailing, file sharing, tagging, collaborative contents, stats, news circulation, events’ announcements, merchandising, etc. (Kischinhevsky, 2016, 2014a, Kischinhevsky & Campos, 2015).

Social radio articulate multiple platforms of audio distribution, online social networks, media and electronic industries, posing challenges to AM/FM radio and download services, stimulating new interactional practices with listeners and deeply affecting artists’ communication strategies. Platforms such as SoundCloud, RadioTube, Radioteca.net, and Blaving enable different types of small and independent broadcasters, like community, local radio
stations, and individual entrepreneurs. In the other hand, companies like Deezer and Spotify cooperate with majors and also independent phonographic labels in order to offer millions of tracks to its users worldwide.

In this article, we focus on the biggest international social radio services’ strategies to approach the Brazilian market and how AM/FM stations interact with these new competitors, key to circulation and consumption of audio digital contents nowadays. These rearrangements in audio media circulation and consumption bring a reintermediacy in radio and phonographic industries, posing threats to musical and news/talk and information radio stations that now are compelled to establish their own digital platforms or negotiate partnerships in a new media environment. The article presents the results of two research projects on the digitisation of the audio market in Brazil, one developed at the Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (UERJ) and the other at Universidade de São Paulo (USP), both in Brazil. The research was developed based on the observation of the web pages of streaming services and thirty-one semi-structured interviews conducted with agents of records and radio markets, during 2013 and 2015.

Decline of AM/FM radio stations

Brazilian radio networks have grown fast in the 1990s, accompanying FM formats’ consolidation. Nevertheless, in the last decade, the audiences of analogue radio stations experienced a steep decline, as the new digital actors force their entrance on the media markets.

Main media groups such as Globo Radio System (Sistema Globo de Rádio, SGR) announced several downsizing actions, extinguishing brands (Globo FM, Beat 98, Multishow web radio) and replicating CBN AM (an All News network) and Globo AM (a popular Talk station) programming on FM dial, in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, the two biggest audio broadcasting markets in Brazil. Production costs decrease, as networks grow all over the country, thanks to scale gains offered to small media groups, which quit contents’ production and keep only 5% of programming windows for local ad spots.

Although radio has great capillarity in Brazil, market concentration has been growing along the years, whether because of political and economic lobby at the Brazilian Congress or due to the structurally faint regulation of that market (Kischinhevsky 2011a, 2011b). If, on the one hand, major radio networks grow all over the country, on the other, community radio is forbidden to establish networks and severely regulated by the Brazilian National Telecommunications Agency (Anatel). There were 4,641 licensed community radio stations until December 2014, almost half of 9,771 operating stations in the country10. Still, if these stations are put aside, 18% of AM/FM stations

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in that year belonged to or were affiliated to national networks. The website Donos da Mídia (Media Moguls, in a free translation) list 20 radio networks, with 910 affiliates. Most of them are related to national media conglomerates (SGR and Bandeirantes Group), regional groups (Brasil Sul Network – RBS) and religious denominations. It’s a more spread medium than television – which represents more than half of Brazilian advertising market share –, but not as democratic as some researchers seem to believe (Magnoni, 2010).

Radio has national presence, and its audience concentrates in most important metropolitan areas of Southeast and South regions. In 2014, according to the Pesquisa Brasileira de Mídia (Brazilian Media Research, sponsored by the Brazilian government), 61% of the population regularly listens to radio, and 21% do it every day. But the numbers are very different if we watch closely at age and income listeners’ data: among youngsters between 16 to 25 years-old, only 15% use to listen to the radio, against 26% among the older population (65 years-old or more); 24% of listeners have studied up to 4 years, against only 15% that have been through college.

Despite rapid growth of the authorised community radio (from 3,386, in 2008, to 4,641 operational stations, in 2014), commercial AM/FM stations stagnated. With public policy aimed to expand the offer in smaller cities, up to 15,000 inhabitants, FM grew from 2.732 in 2008 to 3.209 in 2014, while the number of AM stations has stabilised (from 1.749 to 1.781 in the same period). The expansion in numbers was not accompanied by market share increases, what undermines radio ability to survive in a media competitive environment, in which digitisation standards like IBOC/HD Radio, DAB, DRM, and ISDB do not seem to be an option anymore.

In December 2013, the Brazilian government authorised AM stations to migrate to FM frequencies, and 1.386 out of 1.781 required to take part in the process. According to the projection of the Ministry of Telecommunications of Brazil, AM would be turned off within three to four years from that moment. But, there are several issues concerning migration in the biggest metropolitan areas, where FM dial is already congested, not to mention the coverage in rural areas, especially in the Amazon region, where the population have always faced a poor radio offer (Kischinhevsky, 2014b).

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11 See http://donosdamidia.com.br/redes/radio. Donos da Mídia is an independent data repository about media ownership in Brazil. Data collecting was initiated in 1987, by journalist Daniel Herz and his group of researchers, in order to map media political and economic links.


14 Brazilian telecom regulatory agency, Anatel, promoted IBOC and DRM standards’ testing along the 2000s, but the poor results discouraged main media groups to invest in transmission digitisation (Kischinhevsky, 2014b).

In 2008, in terms of content broadcasted, on AM grids variety programmes (24.2%), national music (21.1%), journalism (17.5%), religious programmes (14.4%) and sports (9.3%) were dominant, while national music (37.5%), variety programmes (20.3%), foreign music (17.8%), journalism (9.3%) and religious programmes (6.3%) prevailed on FM programming. But along with the decay of AM, there was a replication of the All News, Talk Shows in FM stations of the main networks’, reducing the diversity of programmes.

Local news and niche programming seem to anchor business models, with different outcomes. Generic musical FM formats struggle to survive to the competition with Internet new actors. In this new scenario, popular announcers’ mediation may be the difference between success and failure.

Declining revenues led main actors in radio industry to shut down Internet initiatives – more than 40 SGR’s web radios were discontinued, and most of the remaining ones are automated, downsized to a single notebook. SGR prioritised investments on CBN and Globo brands and its websites, as well as Bandeirantes, Gaúcha, Jovem Pan, and other major broadcasting groups.

Smaller media groups, inversely, articulate with social media and social radio services such as SoundCloud, Blaving, RadioTube, and Radioteca in order to amplify their content’s reach.

SoundCloud allows filtering users by location, but lists only eight cities: London, Los Angeles, Paris, New York, São Paulo, Buenos Aires, Chicago, and Toronto. Among hundreds of São Paulo users, we can highlight rock radio 89 FM, with 7,272 followers, and several individuals and web radios, such as Rádio Emmanuel (audio contents devoted to Spiritism), Linha Direta (runned by PT’s – the Brazilian Labour Party – local directory), and Web Rádio Câmara SP (São Paulo Chamber of Councilors official station).

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16 See “Análise do perfil sócio-econômico do setor de radiodifusão no Brasil”, September 2008, Ibre/FGV.
17 In 2005, São Paulo’s All News network BandNews started to operate in Rio de Janeiro, leasing former indie rock station Fluminense FM frequency; in the same year, SGR counter-attacked replicating All News network CBN signal in FM, what led to the end of its Adult Contemporary station Globo FM; in 2009, Super Radio Tupi, formerly an AM leader Talk Radio station, replaced its Pop Contemporary Hit Radio station Nativa FM – dislocated to a leased frequency; in 2010, Tupi’s main competitor, Radio Globo AM, started to replicate its signal first leasing Manchete FM frequency and afterwards shutting down its Pop Contemporary Hit Radio station Beat 98. The same phenomena have been occurring in other Brazilian metropolitan areas.
18 Swedish startup established in 2008, now with headquarters in Berlin. In 2013, SoundCloud has announced that it reached 40 million profile users and 200 million occasional listeners. It has been used by major international players, like Unicef Radio (1.3 million followers) and BBC World Service Radio (87.3 thousand followers), in order to reach broader audiences with selected audios (special reports, interviews, programs, and also hard news). In an interview, one of its co-founders compared the service to a “Youtube for audio”. See https://soundcloud.com/ and also “Who’s listening to SoundCloud? 200 million”, by Jefferson Graham, USA Today, July 17, 2013: http://www.usatoday.com/story/tech/columnist/talkingtech/2013/07/17/whos-listening-to-soundcloud-200-million/2521363/.
Blaving is a smaller player, operating in Uruguay, Paraguay, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile\textsuperscript{19}. It does not publish annual reports, but claimed to have reached 150,000 users in only six months after its launch. Presented as “The Vocal Social Network” and as a “Voice Twitter”, Blaving offer tools to record and publish audios up to two minutes in length (the so-called “blavs”). It is mostly used by individuals, but some radio stations like Guaíba, from Porto Alegre, circulated bulletins through the service, which allows users to share contents via Facebook, Twitter, and Youtube.

RadioTube, in turn, is a collaborative website established in 2007 and controlled by non-governmental organisation Criar Brasil\textsuperscript{20}. It gathers less than 4,000 users, but it plays a key role in the Brazilian community radio scene, since more than 1,500 community stations’ activists, college radios, and individual entrepreneurs search for audio, text and video contents on this platform. These contents can be downloaded and replicated freely on analogue radio stations, web radios, or circulate through on-line social networks – it’s linked to Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, and also offer RSS feeds for podcasting. It uses Creative Commons licensing. Most popular posts reach thousands of listeners and hundreds of downloads.

Another similar initiative linked to NGOs is Radioteca.net, which calls itself a “broadcasters’ social network”\textsuperscript{21}. A collaborative website, it was launched after radio producers meeting during the 2\textsuperscript{nd} American Social Forum, that occurred in Quito, Ecuador, in 2004, at the International Centre for Advanced Studies in Communications for Latin America (Ciespal, by its Spanish acronym). Based in a free contents’ management software, the Cyclope3 GPL, Radioteca was established in 2006 and has opened offices in Costa Rica and Argentina. It gathers more than a thousand social movements’ activists and community radio stations from all over Latin America, and also from US, Europe, and Japan. In 2014, Radioteca had 10,686 users, of which 2,378 were presented as “radio stations”, 1,241 as “programs/producers”, 157 as “production centers”, 96 as “networks” and 50 as “news agencies”\textsuperscript{22}. Most popular audios reach thousands of listeners and downloads. Creative Commons licensing is also used.

In the other corner in this tug of war between social radio services, we have major players such as Deezer and Spotify, which brings artists’, labels’ “radios”. Deezer announced November 2015 a deal to offer hundreds of Brazilian podcasts, exploring a new niche. This strategy may deepen, in the


\textsuperscript{20} See http://www.radiotube.org.br.

\textsuperscript{21} See http://radioteca.net/inicio.

\textsuperscript{22} Data provided by website managers in an email interview, March 22, 2014.
next few years, coopetition logic (a fierce competition with some level of cooperation) that has been reshaping audio markets.

**Agents, interests and conflicts in the digital record market in Brazil**

Since the late 1970s, Brazilian record market has been one of the top ten in revenues worldwide. The modernisation of the record industry in Brazil began in the 1960s, when record companies started to invest heavily in technology and A&R (Artists and Repertoire, in the industry's jargon). The modernisation of the recording equipment bestowed the record companies to take advantage of the emergence of new composers and performers that emerged through successive musical movements, such as the *bossa-nova*, *jovem-guarda*, *tropicalismo*, and the *música popular brasileira* (MPB – Brazilian Popular Music).

In the following decade, taking advantage of the so-called “Brazilian economic miracle” (a brief period of fast economic growth based on the industrialisation of the Brazilian economy amidst a fierce dictatorship during the period 1964-1985), and the policy for local cultural industries supported by the authoritarian political regime, the Brazilian record industry expanded in a remarkable way. In 1979, for example, more than 66.2 million records (long plays, singles, and cassette tapes) were sold in the country, against 25.1 million in 1972: an 163.88% increase. Between 1970 and 1976, record companies’ revenues grew around 1,375% (Ortiz, 1988). At the end of that decade, Brazil became the sixth most profitable music market worldwide, according to IFPI (Dias, 2000; Morelli, 2009; Vicente, 2014).

During the 1990s, another expansion wave came along due to structural transformation of the record industry itself. Some of the most relevant changes were the adoption of: the Compact Disc (CD) as the only music media at disposal, the lean production strategy (recording studios, record factories and other sectors that used to be internalised were divested) and more rational investments in A&R. As a result, according to Brazilian Record Producers Association (ABPD), record sales grew 114.38%, jumping from 45.2 million units to 96.2 million between 1990 and 1999 (De Marchi, 2016).

Nevertheless, in the turn of the millennium, the Brazilian record industry started to experience a continuous and steep decrease in record sales and revenues as well. Between 2000 and 2009, physical sales contracted around 72.66%, falling from 88 million units sold to 25.7 million. ABPD’s affiliated companies registered a 61.22% fall in revenues, from 814 million Brazilian reais to only 315.6 million in 2009 (approximately, from 200 million euros to 70 million euros, considering the rate exchange by December 2015. In 2014, Brazilian phonographic market was valued in 581.7 million Brazilian reais (about 120 million euros), still below 1990s levels (ABPD, 2015).
Without any surprise, "piracy" was blamed for the decline. For ABPD this concept was divided into two complementary categories: the counterfeiting of physical discs and the unauthorised file sharing through P2P (peer-to-peer). Although there is little doubt that piracy was an important component in the industry's crisis, the fact is that record companies do not admit that the structure of its own market fundamentally changed. As Internet broadband became more available to Brazilian musicians and consumers, they started to explore alternative methods of production, distribution and consumption of recorded music, increasingly leaving aside the act of buying physical records in department stores (De Marchi, 2016; Herschmann & Kischinhevsky 2011, among others).

As the revenues derived from the physical sale were declining, some musicians started to produce and to distribute their own work through the Internet. That was the case of autonomous artists, such as independent rock groups Móveis Coloniais de Acaju or O Teatro Mágico. By choosing not to sign with any kind of record label, these bands started to distribute their own records freely on the Internet, using General Public Licenses like Creative Commons, in order to increase their fan base and, hence, get revenues from concert tickets sales and from selling merchandising items (t-shirts, bottoms, premium CDs and DVDs).

As traditional major record industry players (major record companies, the main local independent labels, publishing houses) fail to respond to the rapid market changes, the first local electronic startups appeared, offering digital goods and services for music businesses.

In that first moment of a digital phonographic market in Brazil, tech companies focused on digital phonograms' sales and on free audio media distribution platforms. Among them, stands out iMusica, a startup established in 2000, in Rio de Janeiro, which developed a pioneer online MP3 archive sales system. The company offered a wide array of services, acting as a content aggregator, white label, and encoder depending on the demands of their different clients (advertising, electronic equipment manufacturers, mobile phone companies, websites, retailers, labels, independent artists and all kinds of music entrepreneurs) (De Marchi, 2014). iMusica built a reputation in digital market as reached licensing contracts with more than 20,000 labels from all over the world. Its catalogue has more than 15 million songs, what

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23 According to ABPD, counterfeiting share grew from 3% in 1997, when cassette copies were the main concern, up to 57%, as CD became the dominant format for music industry. In the other hand, so-called illegal downloads through P2P services such as Napster, Kazaa, Gnutella, and others represented an estimated loss of 2 billion Brazilian reais (more than 450 million euros) in 2005 fiscal year (ABPD, 2006). These astonishing numbers, otherwise, are questioned by several cultural markets' researchers, in terms of methodological approaches (Silveira, 2010). A counterfeit CD won't be necessarily a replacement for an official product, since consumers choice depends on a series of factors, including price and access.


turns iMusica into the most important player in the mobile phone key market. In 2014, Claro – a mobile phone company controlled by Mexican-based América Móvil – became the main stakeholder in iMusica, formerly owned by Brazilian technology venture capital firm Ideiasnet.

So, in that first moment, Brazilian digital record market was divided, in general lines, into two main groups: 1) those local enterprises that focused on digital sales for final consumers and mobile phone companies; and 2) those entrepreneurs that distributed their content freely as a way to draw public attention and sell other goods and services, like concert tickets and merchandising material (De Marchi, 2015).

Despite the pioneer role of these entrepreneurs, these digital enterprises seem to have failed in establishing a digital record market in Brazil. Several factors contributed to it. In the case of digital archives sales platforms, the companies were unable to develop a business model that could barely rival free file sharing programs. As a result, the traditional industry players didn’t have the necessary confidence to invest in their digital solutions.

What is more, there was not a single change in digital contents regulatory framework. In a harsh contrast with the US, that approved the Digital Millennium Copyright Act as early as 1998, the Brazilian Congress approved a brand new Copyright Law, in the same year of 1998, that didn’t have any provision concerning the digital environment. As a matter of fact, the new Copyright Law was based on a maximalist concept of the authors’ rights that resulted in a restriction of innovation in digital market (Wachowicz, Santos, 2010).

This scenario changed in the 2010s, after the deals announced by YouTube and Ecad (the Brazilian copyright office, that congregates most musicians, composers and artists’ associations, labels, and publishing companies) and by Apple Inc. and União Brasileira de Editoras de Música (UBEM, the union of the publishing music companies), in order to open its iTunes Store in Brazil. Although these agreements did not completely solve legal uncertainty, they created a communication channel between Brazilian copyright holders (artists, publishing companies, labels) and new international digital actors.

Following Youtube and iTunes, other players opened their offices in Brazil, from contents’ aggregators like The Orchard, CD Baby and Believe Digital to streaming services as Rdio (2011, in a joint-venture with Brazilian mobile phone company Oi that ended up in 2013), Deezer (2013), Spotify (2014) and Tidal (2015), among others. Their entrance changed the dynamics of the local music market. These services were big enough to generate revenues through the payments of royalties on copyright, creating the

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26 In 2006, ABPD started to publicise digital music sales data, including paid downloads, web radio and streaming services’ subscriptions and ad-sponsored services. In 2007, digital sales accounted for only 8% of labels’ revenues, but in 2014, as we see, this share peaked to 37.5%.


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necessary confidence for the traditional players as to invest in the digital market.

Streaming is the most visible face of phonographic and radiophonic industries’ reshaping. Reborn as music companies, old major labels establish worldwide agreements with new intermediaries of the industry. According to the IFPI’s Digital Report 2015, there were already 41 million paying users of international streaming services such as Spotify, Pandora and Deezer, an expansion of 46% against the previous year. In 2014, streaming companies’ subscriptions, ad-supported revenues surged 39% and represented 32% of the US$ 6.9 billion earned by phonographic industry in the digital markets\(^\text{28}\) – in 2011, streaming revenues were about 14%. Most of these companies, as we saw, have established offices in Brazil, which seems to pave the way for new business models.

Social radio services like Spotify and Deezer, as well as iTunes, used content aggregators’ mediation to access local labels’ catalogues. The Orchard and Believe Digital are preferential partners to the majors and the biggest local indie labels such as Biscoito Fino and DeckDisc. Autonomous artists and small phonographic companies, in the other hand, appeal to iMusica or the Brazilian-American company One RPM.

This new intermediacy plays a key role in digital market, since royalties are paid for copyright collector office Ecad and contents’ aggregators (in webcasting or simulcasting activities). The payments are still modest in comparison to those from TV, AM/FM stations, but we expect a boom in the next few years (for more on Ecad role and copyright issues in Brazil, see Francisco, Valente 2016).

Part of this growth comes from mobile audiences\(^\text{29}\). The four big telecom players in the country announced several joint ventures with international companies: Telecom Italia Mobile reached a deal with Deezer; Vivo (owned by Telefónica de España) relies on a renewed Napster/Rhapsody paid service; Claro, controlled by Mexican-based company América Móvil, developed its own service, Claro Música, initially called Ideias Musik and launched in 2012, powered by iMusica\(^\text{30}\).

This alliance between social radio services and telecom sector explains why streaming revenues augmented significantly, while paid downloads and ringtones stagnated. It seems that we’ve been experiencing a transition period, from a portability culture – in which consumers’ listening was focused on podcasting and other downloaded audio archives – to an access culture.

\(^{29}\) According to Nielsen, Ibope data, 76.1 million smartphones were active in Brazil in November 2015. Statistics from telecom regulator agency, Anatel, shows that teledensity in the country was above 138 for each 100 inhabitants in March 2015. See [http://www.anatel.gov.br/Portal/exibirPortalNoticias.do?acao=carregaNoticia&codigo=36556](http://www.anatel.gov.br/Portal/exibirPortalNoticias.do?acao=carregaNoticia&codigo=36556).
Preliminary conclusions

As more international platforms continue to be available in Brazil, the digital audio media market seems to open even more possibilities for local entrepreneurs. Not only new electronic enterprises as Tidal and Google Play become available to Brazilian consumers, hungry for local musical content, but also Deezer started to use podcasting and Apple launched its Beats One, creating more competition for local radio stations. This poses a new set of new channels for local content producers, deepening the challenges posed to traditional media players. It is likely that the audio media market changes even more deeply in the following years, although in unpredictable ways. Radio and phonographic industries seem to converge further, deepening unbalances in audio media Brazilian market. AM/FM radio stations and different types of electronic companies are in move, developing unusual coopetition (a mix of cooperation and competition) strategies, suggesting the predominance of collective platforms.

Regulatory framework will be decisive in the next few years, granting or not the survival of analogue waves radio stations. Meanwhile, we may notice a surge in consolidation, since new major players establish new intermediacy and replace former privileged companies. It is no surprising that once iTunes launched its operations in Brazil, local on-line shops such as iMusica and Mercado da Música were shut down – iMusica, which almost monopolised digital phonographic market in the 2000s now is a smaller, divested company, owned by America Móvil’s Brazilian mobile subsidiary, Claro. In 2015, we saw key international players Rdio and Grooveshark shutting down their operations, what highlights consolidation trend also in social radio services.

Consolidation can be noticed as well along the growth of radio networks, that threatens diversity and plurality of voices on the dial. In a complex, rapidly evolving digital media scenario, main media groups, with financial capacity to invest in their own platforms and in contents’ producing, tend to prevail. But there’s still room for those smaller players and entrepreneurs which will be able enough to benefit from collective, innovative, collaborative platforms.

In this sense, audio circulation on social media major actors brings opportunities to new players but also reinforce inequalities, once smaller media groups won’t have enough funding to become visible in Facebook’s algorithm. As we saw, reintermediation in Brazilian audio media markets manifests itself in several levels, posing critical challenges for radio,
phonographic industries as well as for other new players, from innovative startups to major independent streaming services.

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How social media has affected audience’s direct participation in Spanish radio stations. The case of the National Radio of Spain

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Abstract

The audience’s participation has been a part of the so-called “radio language” since the beginning of its history. However, there are not as many studies on this field as there are on other topics such as message analysis or radio formats. Using the main theoretical approaches of radio in Spain as a starting point, and referencing the most recent contributions of researchers in the field, this proposal focuses on the changes experienced since social media came into the picture.

The immediacy provided by the Internet, the elimination of all time-space barriers thanks to the new “radio on demand” and the radio’s vocation to come closer to the audience have sketched out a scenario in which the direct participation of the audience is constantly reflected on the antenna. However, a higher participation does not necessarily imply greater quality of it.

This paper aims to show the key findings of a doctoral thesis focused on the evolution of the audience’s participation at RNE Radio 1 between 2004 and 2014, coinciding with the birth and consolidation of social media platforms such as Facebook or Twitter. The paper is based on content analysis, more specifically, the detailed analysis of eleven weeks of complete emission during that decade.

Keywords
radio; Internet; participation; audience
**Introduction**

Audience participation, as an element of speech, has been present in radio from the beginning of this media. This resource is closer to music, words and silence, of which programs are composed and, therefore, they deserve to be specifically analysed. Even though communication theoreticians, like Merayo (2000), Martí (1999) or Cebrián Herreros (1992) have included participation as a radio genre, little has been said about its evolution and about the motivations and themes that make people want to be part of radio broadcasting.

Without studying thoroughly the different terminological concepts that, throughout history of sciences have been associated to participation in the media, such as philosophical matters by Habermas (1986) or more recently matters related with politics and social movements like Fraser (2012), the goal of this dissertation is to analyse if the arrival of new ways of communication, like social media, have changed or have maintained direct participation of audience on radio.

In order to achieve this it has been essential to take into account contributions by the experts of this field of investigation as Cebrián Herreros (1995), López Vigil (1997) or Prado (1981) about the phenomenon of participation but also more recent contributions interpreting the Internet as a communication phenomenon and a mean to participation (Herrera, 2011; Legorburu, 2008).

The actual approaches to the concept of participation describe it as a key element in the relation between media and society (Carpentier, 2011), and show that there is a constant dispute over whether participation is limited to representation within institutionalised systems or whether it is part of a convergence of the political and social. In that balancing game the role of social networks has turned essential in the process of interactivity. If Carpentier (2011, p. 130) distinguishes between three strata like access, interaction and participation, (AIP-model), and maintains that access and interaction are crucial components that enable acts of participation but are differentiated due to the power relationship within a variety of decision making processes, the web tools and the social networks could be the major difference between these two scenarios.

Social network platforms like Facebook or Twitter have broken the time and space barriers in the moment of the participation and have democratised the fact of expressing an opinion about every theme. According to Bonini (2014) the radio is, among the traditional mass media, the one that benefited the most from the integration with social media, because it doesn’t need the

*Radio needs the contribution of their audience, but today contribution takes place not only through traditional tools like telephone or letters but through ICT tools.*
image support like television and it’s faster than press. The author defines four ages in the history of radio in terms of the possibilities that the audience have to take part in the radio message. The first stage, between 1920 and 1945, was a time with an invisible medium for an invisible audience. In this era, the radio is a new phenomenon and the people don’t yet know the enormous power of the transmissions and the only way that people have to stay in contact with the radio were the letters and the mail. The second age, between 1945 and 1994, is defined by an invisible medium for an audible public with the introduction of the telephone into radio’s productive practices. The third age, since 1994 to 2004, adds the visual component to the radio because the media turns readable by the receptors, thanks to the World Wide Web. And the last step in this evolution is nowadays when a visible medium is ready for a networked society in a new scenario where the receptor could be at the same time a contents creator (Arvidsson, 2011).

Radio needs the contribution of their audience, but today contribution takes place not only through traditional tools like telephone or letters but through ICT tools.

As Bonini says (2015, p. 19), the new communication model deriving from the mix of radio and social media “is a hybrid model partly still broadcast, partly already networked”. This is a new era for radio, where the listener is networked and productive.

This essay shows the first conclusions and results of a broader thesis paper that focuses on the analysis of the intentions, themes, means and ways of participation during one decade (2004-2014) of broadcasts on Radio 1, a general radio station of National Radio of Spain (RNE).

Methodology

This essay is based on a mixed research methodology, combining the content analysis with several in-depth interviews made with professionals of The National Radio of Spain who were directly related and responsible for some radio programmes during that time. All these professionals have a deep knowledge of the value of audience participation in radio.

The chosen period of analysis goes from 2004 to 2014. These 11 years represent a wide enough context to determine if a certain evolution can be noticed in some of the fields proposed. We have chosen 2004 as our starting year because that is when Facebook was officially born.

Facebook has been the most popular social media in the last years and, although radio is one the media that has taken more time to adopt it as a resource for audience participation, it is a very useful reference as starting point.

In particular, we have created a listening record of one whole week per year between 2004 and 2014, 24 hours a day from Monday to Sunday. A total
of 1,848 hours of radio have been analysed. The one-week-a-year limitation has been applied since in broadcast programming the structures are repeated week after week. This is what Legorburu (2005, p. 51) defines as “cycles of broadcast programming”. The first week of February was chosen in order to avoid periods of special broadcast programming, such as summer or Christmas holidays, when the personal necessities of the radio force to broadcast a greater number of recorded or repeated programs, making this medium less personal. Another aspect that must be avoided is what Dayan and Katz (1992) define as “media events”, which might as well influence dayparting.

Listening of the programmes has been carried out by dividing the broadcast programming in 24 sections of one hour, making it possible to compare the results obtained in relation with the remaining hours of a day and the same hour in different days. Hereafter, the creation of a codebook consisting of 14 categories, each of them divided in variables, constitutes a deep analysis of the global participation on radio during the period that has been analysed.

The categories established are divided in two groups. The first group includes each of the participations, per time and programme. For example: “year of emission”, “day of the week”, “hour of the day” or “name of the programme”. The second group analyses in depth the content, forms and intentions of the participant: “theme of participation”, “format used”, “aim pursued”, “obtainment of answers”, etc.

The evolution of the participation at Spanish National Radio

A total of 7,127 interventions have been analysed throughout the listening process and the material obtained is being used to work on several conclusions, some of which can already be made. The first goal is to determine whether audience participation in radio has increased throughout the

![Graph 4: Total number of participations in radio during one week of complete broadcast programming by RNE between 2004 and 2014. (Compiled by own sources)]

Such as political elections, special social ceremonies, awards ceremonies or broadcasts of big sport events.
decade that has been analysed.

A growing evolution on the level of participation is observed, especially from years 2010 and 2011. During this time, radio started including social media as a participation format. It must be emphasised that Facebook appeared in 2004 and Twitter in 2006, thus, it took longer for public radio to adopt these new formats as platforms that make access to radio easy for the audience.

Participation reaches its maximum level during the week corresponding to year 2012 and experiences a sharp decrease one year later, reaching a similar level to the one registered five years before. This decrease, which breaks the increasing projection, is due to the change of broadcast programming experienced on National Radio during that season. These changes match in time with the arrival of a new approach of the station, which chooses to include more recorded programs (to the detriment of previous programs that were live transmissions) and reduce the allocated time for audience opinions, such as political or news talk shows.

The tendency changes again the next season with a light increase of participation, although it does not reach the levels of the previous years. The first conclusion offered by this research is that, numerically speaking, the appearance of new formats benefits audience participation. The new formats allow the audience to make use of more rapid ways to contact media, even though at the end, radio has the power to decide whether or not to include these comments, which can be obtained by any type of format.

The distribution of participation based on time of the day and day of the week reveals that the behaviour of the audience has been very similar all the way through, being Monday, in a systematic manner, the day with less audience presence on radio. This is attributed to the fact that, unlike the other days of the week, a substantial part of the Monday programmes from the early morning slot correspond to live transmissions.

In 2005 and 2007, almost 40% of the weekly participation happened on weekends (Saturdays and Sundays). However, this percentage has been slowly reduced. Weekends have been losing predominance and participation is more distributed throughout the whole week. There is no doubt that this has been definitely achieved through the contribution of social media and new technologies because whereas during many years telephone has been the most direct way of taking part in radio, nowadays participation is also possible through social media or e-mail, for example, which allows audiences to participate from the working place without having to leave the office at all. In this sense, participation in radio has become more accessible than it was before.

Regarding the times with a higher level of participation, this research reveals that programmes with greatest audience are precisely the ones that get more participation. They can be divided in three time slots. The first one represents the so called “audience time” of morning shows. The second time
slot refers to the afternoon main hours. Finally, the last time slot covers the early morning hours, normally a very favourable time for audiences to participate in radio, as a way to have someone who can accompany them while they are studying, working or just sleeping.

According to the genres purposed, the programs that obtain higher participation levels are the great radio magazines:

![Graph 5: Distribution (in percentages) of the total number of participations according to types of programme. Total data between 2004 and 2014 on Radio 1 RNE. (Compiled by own sources)](image)

Magazine programmes occupy the greatest number of broadcasting hours per week and also receive a greater number of participation from the audience. These magazines offer a wide variety of sections. Most of them favour direct communication, for example, by asking questions to experts in all kinds of subjects (doctors, psychologists, nutritionists, decorators, veterinaries...), but also by using contests as a mean to encourage participation in exchange of prizes or even by offering talk shows or opinion sections about relevant issues in which audience like to take part.

The programmes that have achieved greater participation on live transmissions during the period analysed are the following:

- “It’s not an ordinary day” (“No es un día cualquiera”): weekend magazine broadcasted during the 11 years of analysis.
- “It sounds familiar” (“Esto me suena”): it became the afternoon magazine programme in 2014 but during the previous years it was a
program essentially based on calls from listeners who would deliver their message to an answering machine. Its time slot has changed frequently.

- “Days like today” (“En días como hoy”): Morning magazine programme directed and hosted by Juan Ramón Lucas. It was broadcasted on RNE from 2008 to 2012.
- “Own business” (“Asuntos propios”): the afternoon magazine program directed and hosted by Toni Garrido. Also broadcasted on RNE between 2008 and 2012.
- “Sports” (“Tablero Deportivo”): live sports broadcast focused on soccer. It has been on air for more than 30 years. Lately, due to the proliferation of sport competitions and the tendency of radios to offer live sports broadcasting, the number of broadcast programming hours has increased in relation with previous years.

Early morning shows such as “Morning Affection” (“Afectos matinales”) and “The least expected night” (“La noche menos pensada”) have also earned a great level of participation on live transmissions. According to these results, magazine programmes get the greater volume of participants, followed by sports programmes.

So, how have the new formats influenced these tendencies? Has the Internet made audience participation easier? In terms of the radio medium, the need of sound as a main element makes telephone prevail over other kinds of communication, such as social media or email. Advantages of these formats are proximity and ability to break spatial borders, since an email or Facebook message can be sent from anywhere.

From the total of participations analysed, 38% were made by telephone. These calls were broadcasted live, allowing the audiences to listen to the interlocutor’s voice. Thirteen percent of participation corresponds to messages left by the audience on an answering machine. This number should in fact be added to the previous 38%, since it was also channelled through telephone. This method offers more advantages for this medium since the content the duration of the message (very important when arranging times) are controlled. Another 7% belongs to telephone calls received where a member of the radio station acts as an audience representative, reproducing the content of the interventions in a reliable way. In total, 58% of audience participation uses telephone as the main format.

Following the platforms mentioned above are the ones where Internet participation is needed. Email, for example, is a quick and direct way of contacting the radio with no need of interrupting any other tasks. One out of 10 people that took part in this research used email. Besides being a very young platform, which also did not exist at the very beginning of this research, social media also makes their space. Facebook, with 8% of participation, and
Twitter, with more than 2%, beat other kind of formats (like blogs or website surveys), which seemed to be destined to be opinion forums for social media.

Even though the total numbers are important and notable, it is interesting to analyse the behaviour of each kind of format throughout those years. This is how we discovered that, whereas telephone keeps its position as a reference format all along these years, social media have experienced a very significant growth since 2012. As radio increases its presence on social media by creating profiles and official accounts, the level of participation on live transmissions multiplied exponentially.

Social media participations possess characteristics that attract the language of radio:

- **Immediacy:** In a matter of seconds, hundreds of answers to questions made to experts can be received.
- **Short duration:** Twitter for example has a limit of 140 characters, which implies a high level of conciseness.
- Participation can also be arranged in a way that the most interesting or less problematic messages are broadcasted live, by choosing the ones that will be read. (For this research, we have only analysed radiocasted participations, but not the ones expressed on Facebook walls or Twitter).

Finally, the intention of audience to speak or appear on radio has been analysed. Interesting conclusions have been made and must be pointed out.
From all the variables considered in this category, one of them is especially significant: 50% of the people who participated on a radio show wanted to express their opinion about a topic. Eighteen percent wanted to share their own or other people’s experiences. And from here, there are other options for which the percentages are more distributed. For example, taking part in competitions (7%), asking experts for information (6%) or providing information by themselves (6%).

Conclusions

The analysis of the data obtained during the listening period is still in process, so we are still unable to provide all the conclusions to this matter, neither can we provide qualitative value of the interviews with radio professionals, because these interviews were still in the course during the conclusion of this research. In any case, we can already state some observations that we consider interesting and that will be extended when this thesis paper is completely finished:

- After social media appearance, the participation of audience on RNE broadcast has not experienced a considerable evolution. Even though it is true that the level of participation increases in number of interlocutors who can take part in the message, the topics and intentions remain the same.
- Media have the ultimate power of allowing audience to take part in live broadcasts because, although this format creates positioning in media (social media for example), if it does not have an effect on live broadcasts, it will be less effective for a medium where sound is fundamental.
- Generalist broadcast programming is slowly getting closer to new means of participation precisely because of its general character, targeting a wider range of audience. There are other kinds of models, such as music radio stations or radio stations broadcasting specific contents that can create greater links of connection, since they aim at a more reduced audience.
- As it progresses, technology will be slowly adopted by radio as a way to stay in touch with the audience. For example, nowadays the use of Whatsapp voice messages to contact radio stations is very frequent (although this option was not available during the time analysed) and that perfectly matches the necessities of this medium: speed, short duration and presence of sound.
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Radio versus television in Brazil: the in-between media genesis and development of Brazilian soap operas

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Abstract
This article offers a perspective on the history of radionovelas, which were the radio soap operas produced after the 1940s in Brazil. It analyses the emergence of the genre in the country and how it had influence over the subsequent production of telenovelas, starting with a brief description on the beginning of radionovelas in Brazil, under clear influence of the radio production existing in other Latin American countries. Two main trends in Brazilian radio drama are to be identified. The first of them shows great commercial success, which is associated to the melodrama tradition, besides being known for presenting overacting. It also includes the protagonism of higher class representatives and excludes social conflicts. The second trend in Brazilian radio drama production is less popular and more realistic, presenting national issues, protagonists coming from the working classes, a more naturalistic way of acting, and it is usually committed to social criticism. Even though such second tendency was less influential in radio drama, it became incredibly relevant for the development of the telenovelas, nowadays the most important television genre in Brazil. Finally, telenovelas, on their turn, were the main reference for the language renewal of the Brazilian radionovelas produced between the 1970s and 1980s.

Keywords
radio drama; radionovelas, Brazilian radio history, soap opera
Introduction

This paper presents the history of radionovelas – radio soap operas produced in Brazil – as well as some of its main characteristics. Such production peaked between the 1940s and the 1950s, period considered to be the Golden Age of Brazilian Radio. The main goal of the article is to point out the elements of radionovelas that passed on to the telenovelas, the main television genre produced in the country after the 1960s. The opposite process is also to be addressed, as the telenovelas later influenced radio dramas produced during the 1980s.

At first, a brief description of the beginning of radionovelas production in Brazil is presented. The development of such tradition is shown through the work of José Castellar, whose radio pieces present many of the founding characteristics of radionovelas tradition in the country. The influence of the Cuban radio was in the narratives placed on exotic locations or in the past, and the absence of social criticism in the plot. Castellar’s production is analysed through scripts available in the archive organised by the authors of the present article.

A second trend in Brazilian radio drama is presented, following the work of Dias Gomes, amongst other authors. It is predominantly realistic, including social criticism, political engagement, elements of the popular culture (specially folk and popular music), productions located in Brazil, including characters more identified with the economic and social reality of the listeners. Such trend had a very significant role in the development of Brazilian telenovelas, which shared very similar characteristics with traditional radionovelas in its early times.

Lastly, the 1980s radionovelas production in Brazil is more closely observed. Some researchers, as Lia Calabre, state that “by the 1970s the genre had vanished, besides isolated intents of reactivating it” (Calabre, 2007, p. 82). Nevertheless, there is an exception to this scenario: the radio production project perpetrated by SSC&B-Lintas, a housing agency of the Gessy Lever industries (currently Univeler). Throughout the 1980s thousands of hours of radio dramas were produced in São Paulo and broadcasted by hundreds of radio stations in the inner country, especially in its North and Northeast areas. SSC&B-Lintas represented an important moment for the renewal of radionovela language and that process was strongly influenced by the telenovelas.

The beginning of radionovela in Brazil

The beginning of radionovela production in Brazil is associated with simultaneous initiatives of the Brazilian branch of the North-American
company Colgate-Palmolive and of Oduvaldo Vianna (1892-1972), theatre and cinema author and director.

In the early 1940s, the nomination of Richard Penn as General Manager of the company in Brazil marks the interest of Colgate Palmolive in radionovelas. He came to Brazil transferred from the Cuban branch of the same company. According to José Castellar, who had worked with him for many years, “Mr. Penn was excited with radionovelas production and released *Em Busca da Felicidade (In the Search of Happiness)*” (Castellar, 1978, July 21st). It was “first broadcasted by Rádio Nacional (National Radio) in June 5th 1941 and was an adaptation by Gilberto Martins of Leandro Blanco’s Cuban original” (Borelli & Mira, 1996, p. 34). *In the Search of Happiness* was the first radionovela to be produced and broadcasted in Brazil. Colgate-Palmolive then became one of the greatest sponsors of Brazilian radio especially promoting Cuban and Brazilian authors. National Radio, on its turn, as part of the administrative structure of the Brazilian Government, was the most powerful radio station in the country, reaching the entire national territory.

The first contact of Oduvaldo Vianna with radionovelas was in 1939, when he moved to Buenos Aires (Argentina) for professional reasons. According to Deocélia Vianna, he was “invited by the Brazilian Institute of Coffee to produce a show for El Mundo Radio advertising our coffee, including Brazilian songs and a 10 minutes radio drama based on the national folklore” (Vianna, 1984, p. 66). During the following year, in Oduvaldo Vianna’s own words,

> Carmen Valdez, from El Mundo Radio, asked me to write a radionovela for the radio staff, which included herself as leading actress. I confessed not knowing the genre very well. She then took me to the radio station. After watching a chapter that was to be aired I finally got to know what radionovela was about. There, in El Mundo Radio, I started. (...) My popularity from then on would come from radionovela. (Vianna, 1984, p. 68)

When Oduvaldo Vianna returns to Brazil, in December 1940, he decides to release radionovelas in the country. During the following year he becomes the manager for São Paulo Radio and releases *A Predestinada (The Predestinate)*, his own work, the first radionovela by a Brazilian author to be broadcasted in the country (Ortiz, 1991, p. 25).

Radionovela quickly becomes the most successful radio genre in Brazil. The commercial radio station São Paulo Radio would focus on them, broadcasting radionovelas in the main spots of the programming. National Radio, based in Rio de Janeiro, was responsible for the most successful radio productions, many of which were adaptations from Cuban originals, always counting on the sponsorship of Colgate-Palmolive. That was the case, for

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1 That radionovela was released just a few months after *In the Search of Happiness (Em busca da Felicidade)*.
example, of *El Derecho de Nascer (The Right to be Born/O Direito de Nascer)*. It was most certainly the greatest hit in the history of Brazilian *radionovelas*. It was adapted from the Cuban writer Felix Caignet’s original and released in Brazil in 1951. It had 314 chapters and remained being broadcasted for almost three years (Calabre, 2007, p. 83). Odulvaldo Vianna would later become the most relevant *radionova*la author in National Radio, writing 75 pieces (Calabre, 2007, p. 74).

José Castellar (1923-1994) was an important *radionova*la writer in São Paulo. His work reveals some of the characteristics of the genre. The archive of his productions was organised by the authors of the present paper and is kept in the School of the Communication and Arts of the Universidade de São Paulo. Castellar wrote dozens of *radionovelas* during the Brazilian radio Golden Age, and he started his career around 1944, in Rio de Janeiro, as an editor for Standard publicity agency. This agency had been established in 1933 and it was responsible for the Colgate-Palmolive account, so that Castellar’s first job in Standard was exactly to write *radionovela*.

Still in the 1940s Castellar is transferred to São Paulo by Colgate-Palmolive, “amongst other things, with the job of adapting *radionovelas* written by Leandro Blanco” (Castellar, 1978, July 21st). He would then fix residence in the city where he developed his entire work for radio and television media. Amongst the 102 radio pieces available in the mentioned archive, there is a prevalence of fictional works, especially *radionovelas* and radio plays. Between 1944 and 1951, most of his work was broadcasted by São Paulo Radio, specialised in *radionovelas*. There was also a preference for adapting foreign works, but located in a different time and space, as found in some productions of the period.

The *radionova*la *O Castelo Encantado (The Enchanted Castle, Radio Difusora, 1945)*, for example, was based on the novel *Dragonwyck* (1944), by Anya Seton. *O Sheik (The Sheik, São Paulo Radio, 1950)*, on its turn, was based on the homonymous work of E. M. Hull (*The Sheik, 1919*). In 1950, Castellar brings *A Flecha da Vingança (The Arrow of Revenge)* for São Paulo Radio. It was a story set in late 15th century war of the roses (England). The story was an open adaptation of the novel *The Black Arrow* (1888), by Robert Louis Stevenson. In 1951, he also brings to Tamoio Radio *O Coração que Eu Roubei (The Heart I Have Stolen)*, a *radionova*la in 18 episodes. It was set in the 19th monarchic Brazilian history. The story presents Ernesto, a São Paulo high society young man which is imprisoned believably for a crime he did not commit. He then tells his fellow prisoners about the misadventures he had been through, all for the love of one woman. In the end, the protagonist is finally freed and is still able to recover his fortune and marry his beloved one.

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2 *El Derecho de Nascer* was presented as a *radionova*la and/or *telenova*la in different countries of Latin America as Mexico, Colombia, Bolivia and Brazil (Ortiz, 1991, p. 27).
In all cases, the stories were set in time periods and places distant from the listeners’ reality. That was one of the narrative effects of the great amount of adaptations of renowned novels. In addition, the plot did not address issues of its time. In the mentioned works, as much as in other of his works, Castellar frequently uses the appeal to traditional elements of melodrama: mystery, suspense, adventure, and romance, the overwhelming of feelings, the fight between good and evil. The productions were clearly focused on the female audience.

By analysing the script of 34 National Radio radionovelas broadcasted between 1944 and 1946, the researcher Lia Calabre identifies some of the basic elements of such productions. She starts by separating the scripts in six different categories: romance, mystery, adventure, comedy, suspense and drama. The two last categories were the most frequent: 13 out of 34 scripts. Although Lia Calabre had identified that most radionovelas were set in an urban scenario and in the present time, she also points out that they were almost invariably leaded by representatives of higher classes of society. “It was a world restricted to the high and middle classes. Amongst the 64 male protagonists, only three were middle class employees and one of them was working class” (Calabre, 2006, p. 189). For the same reason “the sore spots of the city were absent of radionovelas. (...) The city to those characters is the one of mansions, conformable households, urbanised neighborhoods where cars and private drivers go by” (Calabre, 2006, p. 189).

In relation to the performance in radionovelas, José Castellar highlighted an exaggerated interpretation, a paused and rather unnatural way of speaking along with preference for the use of a standard language, avoiding swear words and popular expressions. The author also identifies the use of an omniscient narrator in virtually all of the productions (Castellar, 1978, July 21st).

It is very reasonable to assume that radionovelas produced during the Brazilian Radio Golden Age privileged a conservative view on society and its values. That is especially clear if the beginning of such age is understood to be under the Brazilian New State Dictatorship, imposed to the country by Getúlio Vargas Administration between 1937 and 1945 with strong fascist influence. Miriam Goldefeder, studying the influence of National Radio, emphasises the role its programming had as a “strategy for social contention”, that included radionovelas. It represented the “convergence of conservative moral values typical from middle strata of society” (Goldefeder, 1980, p. 84).

Such predominant trends are recognisable on radionovelas production, namely the conservative view on society and the protagonism of the wealthier classes. Although it was less influential in the radio programming of the time, it is also possible to identify the presence of a different kind of radio drama in the same period, with another aesthetical, political and ideological perspective. Its production was associated with the work of artists engaged with the leftist thinking, especially intellectuals enrolled in the Brazilian
Communist Party (PCB), which had been founded in 1922. The researcher Marcos Napolitano identifies some of the elements in the radio production of the intellectuals related to the PCB. It is also possible to include the Radio media on such list:

The choice for the nationalism, the understanding of the people as a revolutionary protoconsciousness, the mediation role of the artist-intellectual and realism as the principle of communication with the audience (present in figurative art, the defence of the song as a melodic convention able to convey a poetic message and the dramatic realism in the movies and the theatre). (Napolitano, 2013, p. 101)

An example of that is the work of Alfredo de Freitas Dias Gomes (1922-1999), which wrote for the Radio between the years 1944 and 1964³. He joined the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB) in 1945 and presented an artistic production strongly defined by his political engagement. That fact determined his dismissal from several radio stations (Dias Gomes, 1998).

In a previous work, one specific radio production of such Brazilian author (Vicente, 2013) was analysed. It is A História de Zé Caolho (The Story of One-Eyed Joe), a 22 minutes long radio play broadcasted in 1952 by Bandeirantes Radio of São Paulo, in the context of the radio series Sonho e Fantasia (Dream and Fantasy). It is one of the rare exemplars of a remaining recorded radio drama from the 1950s⁴.

Dias Gomes gives us the story of Zé Zeferino, a plantation worker from the northeast state of Ceará (Brazil) going to São Paulo city in hope of finding a job and a better life for himself. As he fails this attempt, he gets influenced by beggar Perneta (One-legged) and becomes Zé Caolho (One-eyed Joe), a beggar pretending to have been born blind. He then receives a money package from a beautiful and mysterious lady, becomes rich and runs for the presidency of the Republic promising to fight poverty in the country. By the end, the audience finds out the whole thing was nothing but a dream.

In that case, not only did the production took place in the contemporary Brazilian city of São Paulo, but it was also starred by beggars, not by the “liberal professionals and entrepreneurs” mentioned by Calabre. Besides the strong intention of social criticism and the realistic perspective⁵, it also includes some aesthetic innovations, as the use of popular songs as a form of epic comment to the action, the attribution of voice to lifeless objects (under clear influence of Brecht), more natural interpretations, and a very restricted use of the omniscient narrator (Vicente, 2013).

³ Dias Gomes is better known for his work to theater and television.
⁵ The speech that opens the radio play is of the narrator saying: “Would it be a crime to ask? Would it be a crime to offer a hand to public charity? Are those hands to be dignified by labour? No, the crime is not to ask, but to give alms. The crime is of those who drop crumbs in the hands of miserable ones instead of fighting to end the social rottenness they are in” (Dias Gomes, 1952).
Besides Dias Gomes’ work, there are some other relevant authors who worked during the 1950s on more realistic and more politically engaged pieces. One of the most prominent examples is the radio series *História das Malocas (History of the Malocas)*, by Osvaldo Molles (1913-1967). He has a large and diverse radio production, and also wrote for theatre and cinema. The radio series mentioned is considered to be the most relevant of them and it was broadcasted between 1954 and 1966 by Record Radio of São Paulo. The protagonists were the inhabitants of the *malocas*, precarious homes usually illegally built in public or occupied grounds of the city. The dialogues of the series repeated the grammar incorrectness and the colloquial expressions of these inhabitants of peripheral areas of São Paulo city.

Although it was intended as a comic series, *História das Malocas* brought to a middle class audience some of the issues faced by an “invisible” part of the population: hunger, unemployment, police persecution and even racial discrimination. One example of that is the complaint of the black character Zé Conversa (Talkative Joe) saying that white people do not want him walking on an important commercial street in downtown São Paulo. “The street is free! I am black, I am a Brazilian and I can walk through the Right Street whenever I want. Nobody is going to punch me!” (Mugnaini, 2002, p. 54).

Another piece worth mentioning is the *Ópera em 1040 Quilociclos (Opera in 1040 Kilocycles)*, which was developed by Túlio de Lemos in 1952, for Tupi Radio of São Paulo. It brought the theme of renowned operas as adapted to social and political context of the city. Guerrini (2013) has developed an important study on Túlio de Lemos’ work. He points out that the adaptation of Carlos Gomes’ *Lo Schiavo* was made transporting the plot from Rio de Janeiro’s 1801 village to a São Paulo’s 1952 farm. Instead of the love story between the female indigenous slave and the son of the Count, owner of the farm, it presents the love story between a rural worker and the farmer’s son. In the original plot, the female hero is forced by the Count to marry an indigenous man who then commits suicide, and leaves the path open to the love between her and the son of the Count. In the version of Túlio de Lemos the female hero marries the farm worker, and does not leave him to be with her boss’ son. She denies her relatively privileged past as a servant in the owners’ house and prefers to leave with her husband in the search for an independent life, thus rejecting the young man in love (Guerrini, 2013, p. 134).

It seems reasonable that during the 1950s there has been the emergence of radio dramas in Brazil aside from the tradition of *radionovelas*, and assuming a social and political criticism. In that sense, radio media was closer to movements developed in other areas of the country’s cultural production: cinema (*New Cinema*), popular music (*Tropicalism*, Protest songs), literature and theatre (*Arena Theatre* and *Oficina Theatre*).

That trend did not really have a great exposure in Brazilian radio programming, as it was overall restricted to the work of a few radio authors
from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. They were usually connected to the Brazilian Communist Party, which was the case of all pieces exemplified in this article. The Brazilian Military coup d’État in 1964 ends the longest democratic period known in the country until then (1945-1964). It also ends with the referred initiatives and even ends the radio careers of authors like Dias Gomes, which got fired from National Radio (Dias Gomes, 1999). Besides that, the advance of television, which was brought to Brazil in 1950, leads to a quick and continuous reduction in the number of produced radio dramas.

This second trend in Brazilian radio can be considered to be independent in face of a radio production strongly influenced by the presence of publicity agencies and the appeal of traditional melodrama. This trend applies the aesthetics of realism, bringing national issues and social criticism. Therefore, it was important to the development of Brazilian telenovelas, as it is perceptible further along.

**Telenovela in Brazil**

In this brief article, it is not possible to offer a more detailed report on the beginning of the telenovelas in Brazil. Nevertheless, it is possible to point out that many of the characteristics of the traditional Brazilian radionovelas were also present in the early times of our telenovela production. According to the Brazilian researcher Mariane Murakami, the first productions of the genre, broadcasted after 1951, were known for a “script in the model developed by the Cuban author Gloria Magadan – great drama with flawless formula recovering elements of the melodrama” (Murakami, 2015, p. 11). Magadan was an outstanding figure in the beginning of Brazilian telenovela. Between 1965 and 1969, she had worked at Globo Television Network, the most important television company in the country.

Gloria Magadan, whose name was actually María Magdalena Iturrioz y Placencia, was born in Havana in the 1920s. Her first radionovela was written in the mid-1940s and it was entitled *Cuando se Quiere un Enemigo (When you Care for an Enemy)*. She was hired after a short while by Colgate-Palmolive advertising department. In 1961 she exiled herself in Miami and started to manage the entire programming of the company to Latin America and Canada. She then moved to Brazil in 1964 and began working at Globo Network in 1965, right after the Network was founded. At Globo she

(...) accumulated the functions of writer, producer and novela supervisor. She tried to suit the language of the feuilleton to Brazil, although her work did not directly portray the country’s reality. She was then known as the “queen of telenovela”, imposing a melodramatic style, privileging plot of cape and spade, romantically fantasised and most commonly set in an faraway scenario. (...)
Besides her prestige by the end of the 1960s at the front of the Globo Network novela department, there was an urge in Brazilian television for narratives telling national stories with more realistic traces. (…)

The urban daily life and Brazilian modernisation were on the scene, best represented by the telenovela Beto Rockefeller (1968), written by Bráulio Pedroso and broadcasted by Tupi TV. Within Globo Network, the styles of Janete Clair and Dias Gomes was ever more worshiped. (Memória Globo, n.d. a)

By the 1970s, Janete Clair would become the most important name in the television network, having written telenovelas such as Vestido de Noiva (Bride’s Dress, 1969), Irmãos Coragem (Brothers Courage, 1970), Selva de Pedra (Concrete Jungle, 1972), Pecado Capital (Capital Sin, 1975). Dias Gomes was Janete Clair’s husband and he also would become a recognised telenovela writer at Globo Network. His most renowned works were Bandeira 2 (Flag 2, 1971), O Bem Amado (The Well-loved, 1973), Saramandaia (1976), Roque Santeiro (1985) e Mandala (1988), amongst others. The work of both brought popular songs, the presence of working class characters with strong emphasis on the regional perspective, as much as on urban peripheries. They also brought the realistic perspective and social issues, within the possible limits imposed by the military dictatorship set in the country after 1964.

During the 1970s Brazil was to face a process of depoliticisation of the arts, which was a result of the intensification of the military dictatorship with the so called AI-5 (Institutional Act 5), in December 1968. It was also a result of the development of the cultural industry which would reduce the artist’s creative freedom to “very restricted boundaries” (Ortiz, 1994, p. 147). Some of the distinctive elements related to the beginning of Brazilian telenovelas were also brought by a process of politicisation of the radio media aesthetic, as described in the article.

On the other hand, it is possible to describe the opposite process, when the telenovela influences the renewal of radionovela language. During the 80s there was a period of revival of such genre in the country.

The revival of radionovela in Brazil during the 1980s

The Brazilian company Gessy Industrial and the Anglo-Dutch Lever Brothers were known for their soaps, Gessy and Lever (later Lux), and they were competitors during the Brazilian radio Golden Age. In 1960, the Gessy Industries were bought by the Lever Brothers, starting a new company that was named Gessy Lever Industries. Lintas (Lever International Advertising Services), a house agency of Lever, was settled in the country in 1931 in order to take care of advertising many different products of the company. The name SSC&B-Lintas resulted from the fusion of Lintas with the North-American
advertising agency Sullivan, Stauffer, Colwell and Bayles, which took place in 1967 (Funding Universe, n.d.).

Television was brought to Brazil in 1950, as mentioned before, and Gessy Lever focused its advertising investments in the new media. In 1964, one of its initiatives was to sponsor the television version of *O Direito de Nascer* (*The Right to be Born*). The telenovela was released with great success in December that same year (Unilever, 2001, p. 29).

Besides being focused in the television production, Gessy Lever did not stop producing *radionovelas*, recording it and distributing the tapes to radio broadcasting stations throughout the country. That practice started in 1950 when tape recorders arrived in Brazil. Instead of paying for radio commercials’ broadcasting the company inserted them in *radionovelas* and made them available for free to the radio stations. Valvênio Martins worked in the radio sector of Lintas in 1986. According to him, *radionovelas* were usually versions of scripts written in the 1950s. When possible, even the same actors from the original performances were called. The new pieces were then “performed in the classic way of *radionovelas*” (V. Martins, personal communication, October 16th, 2009).

Geraldo Leite was a media planer for SSC&B-Lintas and he explains that radio media remained efficient as a way to reach the audiences in the country’s inner cities and less privileged regions, as North, Northeast and Central West (G. Leite, personal communication, September 6th, 2014), even though it was not the main advertising strategy of the company for the greater urban centers. Dozens of hours of *radionovelas* and radio plays recordings were produced by SSC&B-Lintas and they were made available to the authors of the present article by the Center of History of Unilever Brazil⁶. Their archive includes one production from the 70s that contradicts Valvênio’s perception: the radio adaptation of *Irmãos Coragem* (*Brothers Courage*), the telenovela by Janete Clair mentioned before. It was broadcasted by Globo Network between June 8th 1970 and June 12th 1971 (Memória Globo, n.d. b). If so, it is not the case of an old script.

*Brothers Courage* *radionovela* is described in its presentation as being “a radio adaptation made by Urbano Lôes from the most renowned of Janete Clair’s *novelas*” (Clair & Lôes, 1970). The broadcasting of both *radionovela* and telenovela was probably simultaneous, with just a few days or weeks of delay between them. *Brothers Courage* tells the story of three brothers that fight against the arbitrariness of a local landlord in a fictitious city. The visual language and the thematic were very close to those of western movies. The influence of Sergio Leone’s movies was quite evident, especially in the *novelas*’ sound tracks.

*Radionovela* is closer then to the sound pattern of television pieces than of old *radionovela* tradition. This can be first noticed in the performances,

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⁶ The name Unilever was adopted by the company in 2001 (Unilever, 2001, p. 145).
as the voices are closer to the colloquial use of the language and the natural take of television actors. They are far from the slow speech and exaggerated interpretations found in traditional radionovelas. As the story is placed in the countryside, different accents are presented along with local expressions and grammar incorrectness. That is exactly what was happening at the homonymous telenovela. Another important aspect of the production is the absence of an omniscient narrator, which was most frequently included in traditional radionovelas. Brothers Courage leaves the listeners to understand the narrative solely from the concurrence of dialogues, from the music and sound effects.

The sound track is very present in radionovela and it makes use of a great variety of songs as much as the telenovela. In the given example, there are especially jazz themes, Brazilian instrumental music and movie themes (mostly from the movies of Sérgio Leone). That is a very different circumstance from what is found in traditional radionovelas. The instrumental accompaniment was more cohesive since it was executed by an orchestra. The sound track of radionovela, on its turn, recurs solely to instrumental music, while the telenovela made use of a variety of songs. Songs must have been avoided as background music in radionovelas not to interfere with the comprehension of the dialogues.

It is only after 1981 that SSC&B-Lintas, under the direction of advertising man Castro Negrão, unleashes a project for the renovation and broadening of radio dramas’ production. It would make use of original playwrights and hire a consistent team of actors, technicians and musicians. This project would become the most important one of the genre to be taken on the country after the 1960s. Television would also be a great reference to radio language renewal:

(...) the feuilleton weeping formula, with characters always being caught up in destiny was not engaging audiences and making they turn on the radio as it had done in the 1950s. Television was the great responsible for that change in behaviour. It changed the genre although the structure of the feuilleton remained invincible. (Filiage, 1985, p. 43)

The SSC&B-Lintas revealed in this testimonial, as much as in other reports, what was intended with the new radio dramas like “a union between the more classical elements of radionovela – those inherited from the feuilleton (the suspension from one chapter to the other, the lyric inspiration, etc.) and current conversational language” (Costa, 1983, p. 14). The characters in those productions “were under the same drama and same difficulties than the audience” (Gonçalves, 1983, p. 23).

For that reason, “they would count on actors who had never done radio, instead of the old radio and voice actors” (Filiage, 1985, p. 42). An analysis of the narrative themes presented in radionovelas and radio plays shows a slightly different picture in relation to the telenovelas. In the first place, the
inner country is more representative in them than the big cities. That is comprehensible, since it was most for that specific public that the radio productions were directed. In the second place, radionovelas would avoid polemic issues. They were in most cases the adaptation of Brazilian literature classics, horror stories, inspirational stories, or even works directed to a young audience.

In the so mentioned project, Carlos Alberto Soffredini (1939-2001) had the most consistent productions and he was also clearly the most important of the authors hired by the SSC&B-Lintas. He was a writer, theater director, founder of Mambembe Theater Group, and he was also able to develop a wide research on popular theater. That experience brought him to radionovela and his main productions for SSC&B-Lintas were Anita, Heroína por Amor (Anita, Hero for Love, 1983), with 78 episodes, and Sal da Terra (Salt of the Earth, 1987), with 30 episodes.

The stories took place in the past, both recovering the trajectory of characters from lower classes present in the country’s history. That is the case of Anita Garibaldi (1821-1849), the Farroupilha Revolution’s woman hero (1835-1845), and of Antonio Conselheiro (1830-1897), the central character in the event known as Canudos War, which represented an opposition to the government between 1896 and 1897. Both radionovelas show great concern with the narratives’ historic accuracy, as well with the use of songs, language and accent of each country’s region (The South of Brazil, in the case of Anita, and the Northeast in the case of Salt of the Earth). Salt of the Earth also brings religious chants that were voiced by the Conselheiro’s followers. Soffredini himself spent three months in the area where the conflict had happened researching archives and interviewing local people in order to write the story.

The sound track was very carefully cared by the producers, counting on Paulo Tatit and Helio Ziskind, musicians related to the popular Brazilian music of the time known by the quality of their work. They were the composers of a number of instrumental tracks and also of original songs used as opening themes in many radio series and radionovelas. Both of the mentioned musicians would develop successful careers producing music to young audiences and for television series.

The revival of radionovela productions in the country – with the project developed by the SSC&B Lintas during the 70s and the 80s – shows that the renewal of such production depended on many characteristics of telenovelas, including the reduction in the use of the omniscient narrator, the development of plots focused on national or regional elements, and the valorisation of a more diversified sound track (including popular songs).
Reis and Enéas Carlos Pereira, did not even make use of it at all. That was the case of the *radionovela* Férias, Caminhões e Confusões (*Holydays, Trucks and Tricks*, Enéas Carlos Pereira, 1986), the radio play *De Volta ao Lar* (*Back Home*, Zeca Ibanez, 1990), and the radio series *Histórias do Sertão* (*Stories from the Sertão*, Raul Reis, 1986).

The *Salt of the Earth* (Carlos Alberto Soffredini, 1987) demands the attention to a great number of historical data and it assumes didacticism as a way to communicate with its audience. The omniscient narrator could not be avoided in this case, but it is presented in a less traditional way. A character talks directly to the listener and narrates the facts and versions of Antonio Conselheiro’s saga including elements he had read and heard from different sources. It is not exactly the case of an omniscient narrator, but of a regular person that brings doubts and offers us different versions to the same facts without taking a position in relation to them.

SSC&B-Lintas’ productions were an important moment for the renewal of radio drama language in Brazil. It can be confirmed not only for the reasons mentioned in the article, but also for the use of technological resources such as multitrack recording and editing, ambient sound effects recording, and synthesised music (V. Martins, personal communication, October 16th, 2009), even though the project was closed in 1991 in a context of a great economic crisis faced by the country during the period. The “advance of television in the Brazilian market” (Blecher, 1991, p. 3.6) was pinpointed as the main reason for the end of the project and that was also means the end of the last great moment of Brazilian radio drama, which virtually disappeared from the programming of commercial radio stations afterwards.

**Conclusion**

The article intended to bring some aspects of Brazilian *radionovelas*’ production stressing the relationship between those productions and the *telenovelas*, which would later on become the most important television genre in the country. The over interpretations, the protagonism of higher social classes and the preference for exotic locations seen in the traditional *radionovelas* did not prevail in the *telenovelas*. Otherwise, the later brings the preference for reporting on national contemporary issues, the adoption of more a natural interpretation, and a more realistic approach, which were already on the radio, especially in the works of authors with more political engagement, such as Dias Gomes.

The revival of *radionovela* productions in the country – with the project developed by the SSC&B Lintas during the 70s and the 80s – shows that the renewal of such production depended on many characteristics of *telenovelas*, including the reduction in the use of the omniscient narrator, the development
of plots focused on national or regional elements, and the valorisation of a more diversified sound track (including popular songs).

It would be impossible to offer a more detailed version of this history and of radio drama’s characteristics in Brazil. Regardless of that, the elements presented in this paper will hopefully help on developing a greater interest for the study on the subject, as well as for the need of organizing and analysing archives with scripts and recordings while they still exist. Radio production, in its digital age, demands such effort of evaluation and insertion in the debate on radio genres. It reinforces the multiple potential of the social and cultural relevant usage of this new old media.

References


The Radio, Sound & Society Journal is written in British English and follows APA Style.

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The main challenge for the radio sector, adapting to diversity, can only be realised through innovation. The most accepted approach within radio studies up to this point associates innovation with technological transformations. 

(…)

Lastly, public policies face great challenges given the current technological transformations. We are witnessing the re-launching of digital radio in Europe with projects of analogue switch-off and the re-organization of the radio spectrum.

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