



Low-Power FM Radio Resistance and Community

*A case from
Woodburn, Oregon*

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PPPM

Introduction

The history of radio in the United States shares strong ties with the American narrative that it helped to shape. (Douglas 1999) First used as a medium for hobbyists early in the 20th century, the commercialization of the medium during the 1920's increased radio's reach. By 1933, 62.5% of American households had radios that received broadcast signals from 599 commercial stations. (Douglas 1999) The presence of radio in the American home helped to both unify a nation divided by geography, and to help people living in different regions to celebrate their uniqueness. (Douglas 1999) For a time, the balance between nationally distributed and locally generated content on the radio shaped what it meant to be American. (Douglas 1999)

The product of ingenuity and the corporate forces that drove programming that existed to both sell more products and more radios, radio as a medium replaced the newspaper as the dominant mass media of the early 20th Century. (Lewis 1991) (Douglas 1999) Although the golden era of American radio was short lived, being replaced in popularity by television by 1954, radio continues to be a part of everyday life. (Douglas 1999)

Like other mass mediums of print and television, radio is a tool for one way communication. These mass mediums provided a vehicle for a centralized message to be dispersed to many. Although the directed nature of this one-to-many distribution model gave print, radio, and television strength and helped them to dominate the media landscape at different times during the 20th century, as alternatives began to surface, their dominance began to wane.

In the mid-1990's Congress passed the Telecommunications Act of 1996. This act was passed under the assumption the radio market was sufficiently diversified to be stable. (Streeter 1996) The unforeseen consequence of this legislation is that radio ownership and programming became increasingly owned by the same few players. To cut costs, these media companies streamlined media production to favor cookie-cutter nationally hosted programming to the local programming of yesteryear. (Fofana 1999)

At the dawn of the 21st Century, the dominance of this old one-to-many model of media distribution began to shift. Traditional mass media—newspapers,

television, and radio—show signs of weakening. (Kaczanowska 2012a) (Kaczanowska 2012b) (Kaczanowska 2012c) One of the reasons that these traditional mediums started struggling is related to their financing and competition from the Internet.

As the fortunes of traditional media began struggling, the rise of the Internet put further pressure on old distribution models. A dispersed medium that allows one-to-one contact, the Internet is a fundamentally different model of media distribution. Though big media providers still drive most traffic online¹, the sheer volume and variety of content online means that more people are consuming more than ever, though fewer people overall are watching the same thing.

The primary exception to the general demise of radio in the United States comes from the nation's largest growing demographic, Latinos. Over the last 30 years, the Spanish speaking population in the United States has grown considerably. Latinos in the United States represent the fastest growing market segment in the country.

While radio is on the decline nationwide, Latinos represent one market where the radio medium still shapes the American narrative. Between 1980 and 2002, the number of Spanish language radio stations in the United States increased by a factor of ten. (Paredes 2003) This growth in market-share extends beyond the urban areas like Los Angeles, Miami, San Antonio, and New York where Latinos live in the largest numbers. (Paredes 2003) Cities, towns, and counties that historically lacked differentiated Spanish language media have been getting more and more stations over the last ten years. As this market share grows, similar pressures that consolidated the national radio industry were at play in the smaller Spanish speaking market, meaning that as the number of Latino radio stations grows, the percentage of localized content broadcast in Spanish decreases. (Paredes 2003)

Can a low powered alternative create a place for resistance?

In response to this national consolidation of radio ownership and programming, a social movement developed that lobbied the Federal Communications

¹ Double Click Adplanner. "The 1000 most visited sites on the web." Published July 2011. Accessed May 2012. <http://www.google.com/adplanner/static/top1000/>

Commission (FCC) for a new class of radio license. (Howley 2004) These new radio stations would be community focused and broadcast low-powered transmissions that can reach an area from 1 to 10 miles. Called low-powered FM, or LPFM, this new class of radio station was designed to bring ownership and content balance back to the publicly owned airwaves. Unlike media which seeks to generalize news and cultural events into a homogenous package for wide distribution, LPFM was designed to produce content that is very responsive to a specific place.

This research explores how one LPFM radio station, *Radio Movimiento* (KPCN-LP) based in Woodburn, Oregon, creates community and delivers locally relevant content to its audience. Analyzing the station through Manuel Castell's theorizations of communication power in the network society, this study shows how Radio Movimiento utilizes *network-making power* to create locally sensitive pockets of resistance to national media narratives. The study also shows how this resistance brings together a radio audience to change the circumstances of its existence, an act that according to James Christenson is definitively community development.

By demonstrating how network-making power can be operationalized as a source of resistance that develops community, this study contributes a description of the way that one small radio station can have a large impact in a community in conflict with national and global forces.

Theory – Network society, communication power, and resistance

Network Theory

A network is a, “simplified representation that reduces a system to an abstract structure capturing only the basics of connection patterns and little else.” (Newman 2010) More simply stated a network is a graph that represents the relationships between different elements in a system. Researchers in a number of fields (biology, physics, computer systems, and the social science, to name a few) have found that by representing problems as graphs, they are able to yield new points of view and suggests new ways to understand problems. (Newman 2010) Not only do network visualizations help analysts understand a problem, the graphs also suggest solutions and make problems seem simpler. (Newman 2010) (Schuster 2003)

Network theory provides a set of techniques that can be used to analyze graphs. (Newman 2010) Network theory has its roots in mathematics. First created by mathematician Leonhard Euler, network theory developed from a simple solution to a previously unanswered puzzle into a science that explains everything from how biological systems function, to how river deltas form, and how social groups of people interact. (Barabasi 2002) (Schuster 2003)

As network theory continues to develop, mathematicians continue to find new ways to use math and network theory to describe complex systems and problems. (Barabasi 2002) (Newman 2010) (Schuster 2003) Graphs describe how complex matrices and dynamic systems function. (Barabasi 2002) As these graphs, or networks, became more common, researchers identify recurring trends that can be described by algorithms. (Schuster 2003) Network theory evolves from these mathematical trends and observations. While the justifications and proofs for the basic tenets of network theory are supported by complex mathematics, the principles of network theory can be simplified and described in a way that can still yield meaningful results. (Newman 2010)

The network society

Sociologist Manuel Castells studies the way that networks, specifically digital networks, shape human society. Since the 1996 publication of *The Rise of the Network Society*, Castells has argued that capital accumulation is no longer the

dominant characteristic that defines modern society. (Castells 2010) Instead he suggests that networks, more than capital, define and shape how society develops. He calls this interaction between digital networks and the global society the network society. In subsequent books—*Power and Identity*, *End of Millennium*, and *Communication Power*—Castells describes different ways that the networks that influence society impact everything from culture and identity to global economics and state autonomy.

The network society is a global society comprised of a vast number of networks that link individuals, regional communities, institutions, and nation states. The network society is by its nature a technological society. Influence within the network society is defined by the efficiency of networks and the number of connected nodes, not capital accumulation like in the previous industrial society. (Castells 2009, & 2010)

A network is a set of interconnected nodes, and Castells argues that the relationships between the nodes are determined by the network's program. This program assigns network, "goals and its rules of performance." (Castells 2009) Built into network programs are codes and criteria that evaluate success and failure. (Castells 2009) Nodes that absorb and efficiently process information that is relevant to the program are called centers. In networks that are characterized as social or organizational, programs are developed, often unintentionally, by interactions between founding actors. (Castells 2009) Programs are formed when those interactions or relationships become institutionalized.

Communication power in the network society

Since the network society is built on digital communication it takes on unique characteristics. For example, Castells argues that, "power relationships exist in specific social structures," that also exist in space and time. While traditionally these relationships were tied to specific location at a specific time, in the network society, these relationships can be both local and global and operate in a compressed time frame. (Castells 2009)

In Castell's 2009 book, *Communication Power*, he explains how power operates within the network society through theorists from Antonio Gramsci and Michel Foucault to Max Weber and Jürgen Habermas. Castells attempts to unify these theorists suggesting that, "some of the most influential theories of power, in spite

of their theoretical and ideological differences, share a similar, multifaceted analysis of the construction of power in society.” (Castells 2009) The similarities that he identifies are: the threat to resort to violence, the institutionalization of power relationships, and the legitimation process through which rules are created. Castells says that these elements interact in the production and reproduction of power. (Castells 2009)

Communication power

Castells starts *Communication Power*, with a broad definition. He says that power is, “the relational capacity,” through which social actors can, “influence asymmetrically the decisions of other social actor(s),” to benefit the actor with power. (Castells 2009) For Castells, *actors* include individuals, communities, and institutions; *relational capacity* means that power is, “not an attribute but a relationship”; and *asymmetrically* suggests that power relationships, while always reciprocal are never balanced. (Castells 2009) In other words, power is constructed, “in a complex interaction between multiple spheres of social practice.” (Castells 2009)

For Castells, power in the network society operates through, "exclusion/inclusion." (Castells 2009) To understand how the dynamic of exclusion and inclusion plays out within the network society, Castells has identified four similar sounding manifestations of power: 1) networking power, 2) network power, 3) networked power, and 4) network-making power.

Networking power



Networking power is the power that populations and institutions within the network exert on those peoples and institutions that are not permitted into the global networks. (Castells 2009) By excluding undocumented residents that live in the United States, the Federal government is exercising networking power.

Network power



Network power describes the type of power that generates from two different networks becoming one network in order to progressively eliminate alternative. (Castells 2009) This type of power is visible when two corporations merge, develop new standards (programs) and begin buying out or aggressively competing with other firms that don't adopt those standards.

Networked power

Networked power (not pictured) is found within those networks that define their own power relationships. (Castells 2009) The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is an example of networked power because it sets the terms that member nations most follow.

Network-making power



Network-making power belongs to those individuals and institutions that can 1) create and program new networks, and 2) partner with other networks through shared common goals and resources to fend off competition from other networks. (Castells 2009) Google is an example of a network of people and products that rose to power through the creation of a novel network, and maintained that power through controlled partnerships with other firms.

Agency and resistance in the network society

One concept that differentiates Castell's theorizations of power from thinkers like Gramsci and Foucault is that Castells allows for more agency and counter power (or resistance). Resistance is often seen as being on a continuum of power, and although resistance stands in opposition to power, it does not always result in conflict. (Barbalet 1985)

In his theorizations of the network society, Manuel Castell's names two different types of resistance. The first comes from Castell's 1997 book, *Power and Identity*, in which he describes how, in the context of a global network society, ambiguity between governance and representation results in cultural dissociation. (Castells 2006) Different groups respond to this gap in identity in one of three different ways: legitimizing identity, resistance identity, and project identity. These adopted identities respectively draw on the myth of state, opposition, and self-identification to create meaning. (Castells 1997) For Castells, resistance identity is adopted by groups that are, "pushed to the fringes of society." (Castells 2006) By taking on an identity that is based on opposition, groups that take on the resistance identity are able to, "resist assimilation by the system that subordinates them." (Castells 2006)

Castell's second theorization of resistance comes from *Communication Power*. Castells argues that the very structures that constitute power within the network society are inherently susceptible to resistance. This resistance, or counter power, is achieved through two mechanisms, "the programs of networks, and the switches between networks." (Castells 2009) Programs are the rules that govern a network and are often codified by the makers of a network. Switches operate between different networks. Switching "depends on the capacity to generate exchange value," and is necessary inter-network relations. (Castells 2009) Focusing on these two mechanisms, social movements within the network society can target their resistance at either reprogramming the network or gaining access to those points, or switches, that connect the different networks; and in doing so can alter the flow of power.

Theory applied

Castell's approach to theory reduces theory to a tool that is only as useful as the theory's explanatory power. To show how these theories operate in the world, the

following sections apply Castell's theorizations on communication power and resistance to the case of Radio Movimiento from Woodburn, Oregon.

Networking power will be used to demonstrate how media consolidation resulted in decrease in the diversity of voices broadcast via radio. Network power will be used to show how two existing power networks merged to put negative pressure on a social movement that developed in response to media consolidation. Finally, network-making power will be used to show how Radio Movimiento builds a network of resistance.

Later, resistance identity will be used to show Radio Movimiento reinforces a cultural identity of opposition and resistance as a mechanism to fight cultural assimilation; followed by an analysis of Radio Movimiento's use of programs and switches to strengthen that space of resistance.

Communication power shapes the media landscape

Networking power

Networking power refers to the power of the actors and organizations included in the networks that operate over those that are not included in the network. This form of power operates by exclusion and inclusion and can be demonstrated through the history of media consolidation following the passage of the *Telecommunications Act of 1996*.

The first regulatory framework for communications in the United States became law in 1934. Called the Communications Act of 1934, the law focused on communications policy related to interstate telecommunication and broadcasting. The law also established the Federal Communications Commission, the governing body tasked with regulating communication markets in the United States.

Over the next 60 years, the 1934 act remained unchanged. Political pressure built over time to amend the original act to update it to reflect technological innovations, and ease market regulations to stimulate market growth. (Douglas 1999) (Drushel 1998)

In 1996, Congress updated the *Telecommunications Act*. Signed into law by President Clinton, the bill represents an effort to, “minimize economic uncertainty, encourage capital investment, and promote capital consolidation.” (Streeter 1996)

In practice, this deregulation resulted in selling locally operated radio stations to, “absentee” corporate owners who are, “neither accountable, nor responsive, to the local community.” (Howley 2004)

Favoring these corporations, the practical result of the 1996 Act has been a steady consolidation of media distributors across the country. By 2000, this meant that the number of radio station owners had decreased by twenty-percent and that more than 1,000 stations were owned by just four companies. (Moore 2000) In other words, more than one-third of all radio stations consolidated into larger companies. (Fofana 1999) Not only were people concerned about the extent of the media consolidation, but also the speed at which media consolidated.

This market consolidation was both antithetical to the pro-competition spirit in which 1996 Act was passed; the centralization of radio ownership resulted in less

localism and diminished diversity on the air. (Fofana 1999) Instead of each station producing its own news, information, and music programming, these large corporations started cutting costs by producing more and more content from offices in centralized locations and shipping it across the country.

In effect, the Telecommunications Act of 1996 made it possible for corporate media to exercise networking power over community groups and localities by excluding them from being able to produce and distribute content through corporately owned stations and networks of stations.

Network power

The public response to this consolidation of media and the pressures of networking power resulted in a social movement, and the effort of corporate powers to squash that movement by exercising network power.

Network power occurs when two existing networks merge, permanently or temporarily, for the purpose of defeating competition. Two important characteristics of network power are that, 1) scale impacts the strength of the new network, and that 2) the volume of the power network results in a reprogramming of network values. (Castells 2009) In other words, network power describes what happens when two existing networks combine to create a new network and a new set of rules that describes how the resulting network operates. As previously mentioned, network power can be observed in the corporate response to the social movement that protested consolidation.

In response to this consolidation of ownership and programming, a social movement developed that lobbied the FCC for some space to voice diverse perspectives on the publicly owned airwaves. (Howley 2004) This movement consisted of free speech activist, pirate radio operators, and churches who were all opposed to corporate control of communications. (Ruggiero 1999) (Howley 2004) (Lucas 2006)

The watershed moment for this movement came in October 1998, when hundreds of activists rallied at the FCC to, “demand an end to the agency’s ban on low power broadcasting.” (Howley 2004) This event, “helped to convince the FCC Chairman William Kennard and others of the growing political influence of the free radio movement.” (Ruggiero 1999)

In response to this pressure, Kennard started talking publicly about the idea of creating a new class of radio license. He described this new low-power license as an important step toward returning the public airwaves to local communities. (Howley 2004)

Under the guidance of their chair, the FCC started working to define this new class of radio license. (Howley 2004) These new radio stations would be community focused, use low-powered transmissions, and serve the purpose of bringing ownership and content balance back to the publicly owned airwaves. This new radio license would be referred to as low-power FM, or LPFM. Early in 1999, the FCC started soliciting public comment on this LPFM radio service.

The feedback that the FCC received from the radio activists was generally positive. Although there was some concern that the license was too restrictive, many agreed that it was a step in the right direction.

The corporate broadcasting industry disagreed. If, as Howley suggests, LPFM was envisioned as a, “modest attempt to promote broadcast diversity,” then the very existence of LPFM threatened the corporate bottom line.

The main thrust of opposition came from the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), a powerful lobbying group that represents the station owners and content producers. (Lucas 2006) (Ruggiero 1999) To add gravity to their voice, the NAB was able to convince the Consumer Electronics Association to join the cause. (Lucas 2006) An even unlikelier opponent, National Public Radio, also voiced dissent.

The stated reason for this opposition focused on different interpretations around acceptable levels of signal interference. (Lucas 2006) In other words, the NAB and their allies argued that LPFM stations would interfere with the existing signals of commercial radio stations.

Four studies were produced that analyzed the potential for interference. Two studies, funded by the NAB, suggested that, “LPFM would interfere with pre-existing broadcasts.” (Lucas 2006) The other two, one published by FCC engineers, and the other published by a grassroots organization suggested that the strength of commercial signals in relation to LPFM, and the small broadcast

radius associated with LPFM would result in no observable interference. (Lucas 2006)

“Following an 8-month period in which the FCC studied the technical feasibility of the LPFM petitions, the FCC issued the Notice of Proposed Rulemaking.” (Lucas 2006) Although the lobbying efforts of the NAP and NPR did not influence the FCC decision to move forward with the new radio license, they were able to persuade Congress. (Howley 2004) By partnering to become one force, the NAB and NPR applied pressure to both the FCC and Congress. And although the FCC wasn’t outright swayed by this, Congress was. In combining their forces the NAB and NPR exercised network power.

Shortly after the FCC started accepting applications for these new LPFM licenses in 2000, Congress responded to corporate lobbying and passed the *Radio Broadcast Preservation Act of 2000*. This new legislation limited the types of groups that could operate and the location of LPFM stations. (Lucas 2006) It also forced the FCC to decrease the acceptable broadcast radius for LPFM stations and reject applications for stations in urban markets. (Lucas 2006) This legislation resulted a small number of initial LPFM applications that were approved by the FCC, and as of 2011, there is only one LPFM station in a top 50 media market. (Prometheus 2011)

The bureaucracy interjected by the 2000 legislation also unintentionally had a disproportionate benefit to the churches and other religions communities who had the resources and administrative capacity to meet the requirements. (Lucas 2006) This resulted in fewer secular community groups that were not affiliated with existing nonprofits getting licenses.

As described by Castells, when multiple networks come together—like the NAB and NPR did—one can recognize when the resulting network operates network power because it results in new rules for operating—in this instance the restrictions to LPFM in the name of preserving radio.

Network-making power

Network-making power belongs to those individuals and institutions that can create and program new networks, and partner with other networks through shared common goals. Network-making power is unique because it also can be used as a form of resistance. By establishing KPCN-LP, *Pineros y Campesinos Unidos*

del Noroeste (PCUN) exercised network-making power, and the radio station continues to use network-making power to develop community.

Since its founding in 1985 by the Willamette Valley Immigration Project, PCUN has registered more than 5,000 members. Aside from advocating for farm worker rights, PCUN is the central hub of nine sister organizations that have developed in Woodburn to provide services to the Latino community that the regional governments were either unable or unwilling to provide.

PCUN's formal history with radio dates to the late 1980s and early 1990s.² Inspired by the example of KUFW-FM, the radio station operated by the United Farm Workers in California's San Joaquin Valley, PCUN started planning to start their own radio show. A 1989 effort to host a program on Portland's listener supported KBOO FM was denied for scheduling reasons. In 1990, PCUN applied to host a program on KWBY-AM, a Spanish language AM station based in Woodburn. The station accepted the programming request, and for \$100 a week PCUN started broadcasting locally between 7:00 and 8:00 pm on Sunday evenings.

Called *La Hora Campesina* (LHC), the program featured stories from farm workers recorded in the field and in the PCUN offices. Interspersed with the storytelling and commentary, *La Hora* also aired self-produced documentaries, poetry recitals, metaphoric radio theater, and music ("current popular and vintage 'protest' music"). Although production quality for the program was far from professional, the creators felt that they were reaching their target audience. Conversations with PCUN employees and farm workers seemed to indicate the program was popular.

Three months after going on air everything changed when PCUN's primary function advocating for farm worker rights upset a regional farmer. Three farm workers walked eight miles to PCUN's headquarters to record interviews describing working conditions and the low pay at the strawberry and cranberry farm on which they worked. PCUN notified the Oregon Bureau of Labor and Industries about the rights violations, then aired the interviews on *La Hora Campesina*. More than one week later, the management at KWBY informed PCUN that their program was cancelled, effective immediately because the owner of the farm complained. The stated reason from station owner, Zauner, was that

² This history of KPCN-LP is compiled from Larry Kleinman's unpublished document entitled, "You Can Hear Us Now: The Story of *Radio Movimiento*, 'La Voz del Pueblo,'" 2012.

the stations purpose was entertainment, not controversy. Zauner also claimed that continuing to air the program would result in a loss in revenue, presumably from local businesses pulling their advertising. Following legal intervention, PCUN was allowed to air its final two programs, according to the contract.

After completing its run with KWBY, La Hora Campesina moved back to KBOO. La Hora aired for the next four years, airing more than 200 shows between 1990 and 1994 and building a large audience both in Woodburn and Portland. PCUN stopped airing La Hora Campesina because the growing union was becoming stretched thin, and decided that their time and resources could be more effectively one the core mission at the time.

Upon learning about the issuance of LPFM radio licenses in 2000, PCUN started preparing their application. Relying on the skills of professional volunteers, PCUN assembled their application to show that they had the capacity to construct and operate a radio station. PCUN was also required to show an educational statement of purpose: “Provision and dissemination of accurate and useful information is a key part of achieving our mission because it equips farmworkers and their families to make sound judgments, participate in a timely and appropriate fashion and defend themselves against exploitative practices of those who rely on the use of misinformation.”

Four years after submitting the application, PCUN Was notified in May 2005 that their application was accepted. They had eighteen months to build a radio station and start broadcasting.

Early steps in the process were daunting, especially for an organization that had no formal experience in constructing and launching a broadcast operation. Community meetings at PCUN helped to identify priorities00from identifying a location for the antenna and studio, and how to raise capital. During these early meetings, program ideas were also developed.

To make the process go more smoothly, PCUN partnered with a Philadelphia based nonprofit called the Prometheus Radio Project. Prometheus was founded to use participatory media for social justice. To this end, Prometheus’ main line of media advocacy was to serve as consulting group to help organizations, like PCUN, by walking them through the process of setting up a LPFM radio station. Prometheus provided guidance on fundraising, technical expertise, and they

helped to raise awareness of the PCUN station. The project culminated in a weekend long 'barn raising' in which the community and an international group of volunteers came together to build a radio station over three days. At the end of the third day, August 20, 2006, KPCN-LP started its first broadcast.

By bringing together volunteer labor, the Prometheus Radio Project, and PCUN's sister organizations, the farmworker union exercised network-making power. In other words, by bringing together different disenfranchised groups, PCUN was able to create a pocket of resistance to the corporately owned radio stations that systematically silenced the union's broadcast voice.

Resistance

In order to establish Radio Movimiento, PCUN had to bring together a number of disenfranchised groups. Connecting these parties through network-making power, PCUN was able realize its vision of operating a radio station that both supports Woodburn's Latino community and serves as trumpet for the union's mission. This act of network-making power was the first way that PCUN and Radio Movimiento pushed back at the system; an act of resistance that created a media place for marginal voices in Woodburn.

In order to maintain that place of resistance, Radio Movimiento exercises other strategies of counter power. The station promotes an identity of resistance, an oppositional world view that staves off assimilation. Radio Movimiento also utilizes network programming and switches to reinforce resistance.

For clarity, there are two dominant forces that PCUN is resisting through Radio Movimiento. First, there is corporate commercial media, like the commercial stations that opposed PCUN's earlier attempts to broadcast on political grounds. Second, there is Woodburn's socio-political apparatus that maintains power in town.

Identity

Castells argues that in the network society, nation states no longer represent, "the nation and identities built on local autonomy." (Castells 2006) In other words, the economic and political forces that operate on a global scale undermine the state's ability to unify its residents with a singular identity. In response to this dissolution of national identity, there has been a, "powerful expression of collective identity," that seeks to exercise some control over people's lives and the environment in which they live. (Castells 1997) This expression of identity is, "multiple, highly diversified," and responsive to the particular, "contours of each culture, and of historical sources of formation of each identity." (Castells 1997)

Resistance-based identity, "may be the most important type of identity-building in our society," Castells argues. "It constructs forms of collective resistance against," oppression. (Castells 1997)

Radio Movimiento constructs a resistance identity with the collaboration of its audience. This resistance identity is based both on a shared Mexican culture and

the development of a new culture that responds to life in Oregon. Language, ideology, and heritage all contribute to Radio Movimiento's resistance by identity.

Language

Language is a simple yet effective means for reinforcing a resistance based identity. Although Radio Movimiento does broadcast some programming in English (mostly Spanish / English bilingual news), by predominantly broadcasting in Spanish and indigenous languages (like Mixtec and Zapotec) the station is able to exclude Woodburn's existing power structure that speaks only English. By excluding the ruling party, Radio Movimiento is able to create a space on the airwaves where its audience feels comfortable sharing their stories and experiences. This dynamic of exclusion based on language unites Woodburn's Latino community through difference with the city's smaller white community that maintains all the traditional power.

Ideology

Radio Movimiento was founded with the specific purpose of serving immigrant farmworkers living and working in the Willamette Valley. And while the station's audience is broader than this subset, the fact remains that the station exists to service this community by connecting it to PCUN's ideology, a particular brand of social justice that focuses on *empowering farmworkers to understand and take action against systemic exploitation and all of its effects*. Fundamental to this ideology is reinforcing the difference between workers and employers. Building on that class dynamic, the station's mission is to raise consciousness about the class movement, educate workers about how they can advocate for their rights, and to have fun.

To realize this mission, Radio Movimiento, "creates a culture of membership focused on raising the consciousness of the community." (Valladares 2012) The primary way that the station raises the consciousness of its audience is through Radio Movimiento's approach to on air programming.

These programs are built around providing information as service to their audience. This information aims to raise consciousness about issues related to farm work and immigration. The current iteration of La Hora Campesina educates the audience about farm worker rights and how to adapt to life in a new culture. Other call in shows answer community questions about how to get legal

documentation, what to do if you are pulled over by a police officer while driving, and how to find affordable health care. (Torres 2012)

The station's "activist voice" can also be heard in the in musical and cultural programming that surrounds the information shows. (Valladares 2012) Not only does this cultural element add life and interest to the informational offerings, but it also reinforces the benefits of participation in the movement.

Often described as a form of social justice, the Radio Movimiento 'movement' focuses on encouraging its audience think more critically about their social position in a way that challenges authority through an identity of resistance.

Heritage

KPCN also connects people to heritage and culture through indigenous and cultural programming. Within Woodburn there are more than 7 indigenous languages spoken. Most of these dialects, like Mixtec and Zapotec, originate in the Mexican state Oaxaca. PCUN connects Oaxacan immigrants these people to their heritage by providing content in those different dialects.

In addition to connecting people to their cultural heritage, Radio Movimiento also connects its audience to an emerging sense of identity. This new or emerging identity is firmly grounded in the heritage of their cultural past, but is also shaped by life in this new wet climate. Within Woodburn's Latino community there are multiple generations of immigrants, Latinos that are native to the United States, and people representing a variety of ethnic backgrounds. In other words, the community is, "very diverse" in a way that causes tension among the different groups. (Arredondo 2012) All of these groups are represented in the station—from music, to volunteer DJs, to the people who call-in. Because the station's composition is, "reflective of the [Latino] community," it helps to heal that tension. (Arredondo 2012)

An emerging resistance identity

These three factors contribute to an emerging sense of identity in Woodburn's Latino community, especially those that listen to and participate in Radio Movimiento's programming. This identity reinforces existing cultural ties, but also acknowledges the transnational forces that define their lives in the network society. This new developing identity focuses on what it means to be a Latino living in Woodburn, Oregon, and advocating for your rights. This identity is a

resistance identity. It binds cultural differences within the Latino community but also differentiates itself from the Woodburn's power structure. But highlighting the differences, Radio Movimiento is able to support a culture as it staves off assimilation.

Networked resistance

According to Castells, the primary mechanism of institutional resistance in the network society is tools specific to networks: a network's program defines how that network operates internally; while switches are used to manage a network's external relationships.

Program

The program is a code that shapes how the "software" of a network operates. The program dictates which nodes or actors can be included and excluded. The program also describes how the different nodes in the network relate to each other.

Openness and tempered inclusivity

At Radio Movimiento, the founding program is most evident in the station's programming philosophy. The goal is to make it as easy as possible for the audience to participate in the station's programming. By lowering the barrier to entry, Radio Movimiento operates on a program that features openness and inclusivity. It should be noted that this program is open and inclusive to Woodburn's Spanish speaking population. Those that do not fit the station's target audience, while not explicitly excluded, are left out.

This openness and inclusivity create a self-reinforcing feedback loop with the audience that builds loyalty and reinforces Radio Movimiento's resistance-based identity.

The station wide policy that promotes broadcasting audience voices and perspectives helps to signify to Radio Movimiento's audience that they are important to the station and to the movement. This program of openness helps to differentiate Radio Movimiento from other corporate/commercial Spanish language stations in the area.

Community involvement is fundamental to the station's approach to realizing the station's mission and its core program. The primary way that the community is

involved is by lending their voices. “We try to give a voice to our community by broadcasting in Spanish, English, and in indigenous language,” says Marlen Torres, the general manager. Radio Movimiento does this several ways. They allow the audience to communicate with station staff and volunteer DJs through a number of mediums. Telephone is most popular, but as the audience gets younger, text message and Facebook offer alternatives. Radio Movimiento also encourages people that the station encounters to share their stories on the air. Sometimes this story telling focuses on sharing experiences of what it is like to participate in a station sponsored volunteer event. Other times stories bring community attention to injustice observed at the workplace, at home, or in the Woodburn area. This openness is also reflected in programming that openly discusses issues that are prevalent in Woodburn’s Latino community, from teen issues like pregnancy and gangs, to issues like domestic violence.

This connection also happens informally, as people often turn in found items to the radio station. So instead of handing off lost passports to the police, city hall, or the library, people bring them to the radio station, which will then air announcements until the owner comes to claim it.

The program that permeates throughout Radio Movimiento’s network is based on facilitating open and easy communication between members of that network, and excluding (through language) those actors that are external to the network. The dynamic of this network reinforces Radio Movimiento’s position of resistance in Woodburn.

Switches

Switches in a network operate by connecting one network to another. In order to make this connection, the switchers need to trade in common currency or barter. These common exchanges can be monetary, but can also be barter or in kind trades. The primary reason that networks use switches to connect with other networks is that it helps to establish legitimacy and strengthen the networks position within the network society.

Sister organizations

Radio Movimiento plugs into a larger network of social service providers that service Woodburn’s Latino community.

Since its founding in 1985, PCUN has become the hub for nine sister organizations in the Salem-Woodburn area. These sister organizations provides service address a failure on the part of city, county, and state government to provide for the area's Latino community. These sister organizations include:

- Farmworker Housing Development Corporation (FHDC)
- CAUSA
- CAPACES Leadership Institute
- Oregon Farm Worker Ministry (OFWM)
- Pineros y Campesinos Unidos del Noroeste (PCUN)
- Salem-Keizer Coalition for Equity (SKCE)
- Mano a Mano Family Center
- Mujeres Luchadores Progresistas (MLP)
- Voz Hispana Causa Chavista (VHCC)
- Latinos Unidos Siempre (LUS)

The primary tool of exchange between Radio Movimiento and these sister organizations is the radio audience. Three instances in which the radio station trades its audience for legitimacy of these groups include partnerships with CAUSA, the FHDC, and the CAPACES Leadership Institute.

CAUSA

In January 2008 Oregon's state legislature was meeting to draft legislation that would require all applicants for driver's licenses to show a valid Social Security number. This legislation would directly impact Oregon's Latino residents, forcing many off of the road and directly limiting their ability to earn a living by driving to work. To fight the legislation, CAUSA, an immigrant's rights coalition and PCUN partnered. Using Radio Movimiento as a call to action, these organizations were able to fill the state capital's hearing rooms and halls with protestors. (Killen 2008) To date this remains the largest instance of political action in Oregon's capital. "We didn't win, but the radio was critical for mobilizing thousands of people to show up at the capital." (Arredondo 2012)

FHDC

The Farmworker Housing Development Corporation exists to provide affordable, high-quality housing to Latino farmworkers. The FHDC partners with Radio Movimiento on awareness campaigns to draw attention to recycling and environmental education projects. FHDC staff report that when they conduct outreach through the radio, they get more positive response from their residents than other means.

CAPACES

The CAPACES Leadership Institute is a school that is designed to develop leadership capacity in Woodburn's Latino community by training parents on how to be involved in their children's education, registering voters, and assisting immigrants to obtain legal immigration status. Throughout 2011 and 2012 CAPACES has been constructing a new green building to serve as its headquarters. Located adjacent to PCUN and Radio Movimiento, the CAPACES construction site is operated almost exclusively by volunteers, resulting in construction that is entirely debt-free. Radio Movimiento contributed to this effort by encouraging their audience to volunteer and participate in construction. During the first six-months of 2012, Radio Movimiento has helped to bring more than 900 volunteers to the CAPACES project. (Torres 2012) (Valladares 2012)

Radio Bilingue

Radio Movimiento is also able to exercise its switches by connect to transnational networks. One such network is Radio Bilingue, a satellite network that exists to provide Spanish language radio stations with news, information, and cultural programming. Radio Bilingue is a nonprofit organization that receives funding from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Bilingue programs make it possible for listeners from different locations to call an 800 number to be connected to each other through the Radio Bilingue programming.

To partner with Radio Bilingue, Radio Movimiento exchanges funds for the connection and the right to participate. More importantly, though, Radio Movimiento also provides an eager and vocal audience, and a unique perspective on the immigrant experience in the United States. The ability to communicate back and forth between Mexico and Woodburn helps to reinforce the role that heritage plays in the resistance identity that the station is developing. This is especially true for families that congregate, via the radio, to listen to shared programming even though they live in different counties.

By connecting with this larger network, Radio Movimiento is able to strengthening its local programming by bringing an international perspective that helps to connect the audience to their heritage and an identity based on being a transnational. This sense of value helps Radio Movimiento to resist pressures of assimilation.

Radio Movimiento creates a place of resistance

Bringing together the inclusive/exclusive dynamic of network-making power with resistance-based identity and other networked tools for resistance, Radio Movimiento creates a place of resistance against local power structures and corporate/commercial media.

Conclusion

In creating the low-power FM radio license, the Federal Communications Commission provided an opportunity for communities, interest groups, and churches to reinforce their mission through hyper-local radio broadcasts. Although LPFM makes it easier for different perspectives to be heard on the radio, restrictions to the medium, namely exerted through the Radio Preservation Act of 2000, have also limited LPFM's potential impact on the national media landscape. In January 2011, President Obama signed new legislation into law that eases many of the restrictions from the 2000 act. Called *The Local Community Radio Act*, this new law may make it easier for LPFM to move into more urban market places. While it is too soon to determine whether or not this new law will have the desired effect, it is still useful to study how LPFM radio stations are being used.

Radio Movimiento combines network-making power, resistance-based identity, and other networking tools to create and sustain a place of resistance for the Latino community in Woodburn, Oregon. This resistance pushes back at corporate and commercial radio that excludes farmworker and indigenous perspectives from participating in the public dialog on the air, while also creating a sense of belonging that counters Woodburn's dominant power structures. Connecting its audience to ideology, heritage, social services, each other, and a transnational community, Radio Movimiento provides its audience with the tools to change their socio-economic situation.

In this light, Radio Movimiento can be seen as more than just an oppositional force. The resistance created by Radio Movimiento also acts as a source for community development by empowering, "a group of people in a locality," to initiate a social action process that seeks to change, "their economic, social, cultural, and/or environmental situation." (Christenson 1989) The primary goal of community development is to, "help people improve their social and economic situation." (Christenson 1989)

By connecting and organizing an audience around social action Radio Movimiento is able to realize not only its mission—to raise consciousness, to educate, and to have fun—but it is also able to reinforce the larger regional network of social service providers that serve and support Oregon's Latino community.

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