

PhD Thesis

Aberystwyth University

Department of Theatre, Film and Television Studies

NEGOTIATIONS OF IDENTITY IN MINORITY LANGUAGE MEDIA

FROM SILENCE TO THE WORD

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Statement of originality

I hereby ensure that the content of this thesis is original and all information used in it from sources, other than my own ideas, has been credited according to the referencing style of the APA 6th Edition.

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Summary

The present research explores the growing field of studies of Minority Language Media by focusing on two case studies, Wales and Colombia. The research seeks to answer the question of how the complex, hybrid identity of media producers negotiate their various identity allegiances in the preparation and broadcast of output for Minority Language Media. The research process takes an interpretative and qualitative stance to interviews with producers and participant observation of the production process, to determine the impact of the different negotiations of identity upon linguistic output. This analysis allows for a comparative discussion which provides new elements for the study of Minority Language Media from manifold perspectives: it evidences the impact of certain identifications on the linguistic output of media, it shows the various stances that may be adopted in regards to the purpose and interest of Minority Language Media, and it provides a set of examples which enable a discussion about the development of the field of studies beyond the European remit from whence it stems. Finally, this research seeks to lay the foundation for new aspects of interest in the developing field.

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Chapter I: Introduction

This is where the journey begins. A journey of both an intellectual and a personal pursuit. The interwoven narrative within these pages is factual evidence of a desire to explore the relationship between media and identity. Although the bound and solid presence of this introductory text might only be a mirage – a guise – of the sort of journey this document tries to compile.

When I began working on this research, I had already had my experience of multilingualism and, especially, minority languages. This is not the point where I will talk about concepts and meanings, but only where I will discuss the starting point of this narrative. The journeys of the mind often follow the journeys of the body. One thing is to talk about language and another to experience it, to face it, to listen to it throughout a series of travels.

Not long after I had read about minority languages, I grew fascinated with the idea of seeing how this creative human expression takes form in the mediascape - borrowing Appadurai's (2010) terminology. Reading Cormack's (1998, 2000, 2004) work on the subject was illuminating, leading me to explore the topic far and wide, and that was how experiencing first hand the dedication of media practitioners, hearing their stories and trying to make sense of them became the core of this journey.

Uibhist a Tuath, Ljouwert, Pontypridd, Barcelona, Chosebuz, Nazareth, Belalcazar, San Andrés are amongst the places where this journey took me. In each of them I heard the

voices and saw how these people expressed vehemently who they were, reifying their identity.

Pretty soon I noticed that the classifications in which these people were placed seldom did justice to who they were. Categories such as indigenous, ethnic or linguistic minority never seemed to encompass what I saw, heard and lived with them. These categories are our way to make sense of the world, of providing limits to it. They often grant or remove power, value and voice, packing together a multitude of persons under one single sobriquet. Hence, I felt the need to debate them, confront them and argue against them. They became so important that a whole heading in Chapter II is dedicated to them.

Whilst on this journey, I was also facing a personal challenge. Not only was I researching languages, I was researching, and writing, in a language different than the one I grew up using and learning. I was discussing ways of reaching knowledge which were at odds with certain academic perspectives, and I was challenging more passive views on research ethics. People I visited and spoke to were willing to share their knowledge, their experiences, their time and often their own food and living quarters. They asked for nothing in exchange, but I was indebted it to them. This research is worthless without them, and it is with and for them that this pages were written. Rather than claiming objectivity, something I believe almost unachievable in social research, I consider it much more honest to evidence my own subjectivity, my vantage point and my feelings towards what I do.

I found myself agreeing with Holloway (Holloway & Biley, 2011), who claimed that qualitative research is mainly based on telling a *good story*. This journey was, besides

anything else, a good story. About that, I am certain. These stories stem from listening carefully to the things people say about their motives for decision-making. Those motives are based on myths (see Barthes, 1999; McLuhan, 1959), long told stories which give meaning to our lives. When talking about my research with friends and acquaintances the issue was always the same, and it began with the question and a self-fulfilling prophecy: “Isn’t it just normal for languages to disappear? They must not be suited for modern communication”. But then, when I asked them if they would relinquish their own language, their reply was stark: “well, why should we? We all speak it, and it is a modern language, a world language”. The illusion of the universality of our language is a myth alongside the supposed advantage of English as an academic language, the monolingualism of our nation-states, and the imagined superiority of the ‘world languages’ to deal with new technologies and the lexical demands they imply.

Fascination for languages, which are the first and most evident macro-myths (McLuhan, 1959), was the motor for this journey. Aberystwyth in the heart of Wales was the point of departure, and it is likely to be the final destination. In the meantime, many places, languages, media, and hundreds of conversations were visited, heard, observed and uttered, respectively.

In more academic parlance, this journey begins with an exploration of Cormack’s (1998, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2007a, 2007b) work on Minority Language Media (often abbreviated into MLM). This is the main focus of the literary review in Chapter II, which explores Cormack’s construction of MLM as an area of studies in its own right. His interest in developing a theoretical framework on the subject was the first step in the process of

this research, and some of his roads are traversed again to follow his footsteps. But as the poet Antonio Machado wrote, and the Catalan singer Joan Manuel Serrat sang, “Caminante, no hay camino, se hace camino al andar”¹; following a trace creates a whole new path. New eyes spot other aspects, and some observations taken for granted by Cormack and his predecessors are challenged by new perspectives or available evidence. The foundation for his theorisation of MLM was Europe. But one has to accept that Europe is not representative of the world minority language situation, and in fact it is more of an exception when it comes to language diversity (see chapter III for an extensive debate on this issue). The question then comes up: *Is the European case comparable to non-European cases? Can it truly serve as proxy, guide, or best practice?* Having travelled far and wide in Europe and through other non-European countries has made this question even more pressing to me. This became, immediately, one of the questions driving this research.

Although Cormack clearly signposted his European bias, his interest remained exclusively within its boundaries. Compilers and theoreticians who started bringing together a variety of international cases often had a wider view (see Browne, 1996; Riggins, 1992c), and newer ones continue to emerge with a more world-wide approach, albeit to either ethnic or indigenous, rather than Minority Language Media (see Alia, 2010; Alia & Bull, 2005; Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011; Wilson & Stewart, 2008b), seemingly heeding to the call to de-westernise social sciences (Curran & Park, 2000; Gunaratne, 2010).

¹ “Traveller, there is no path, it’s as you walk that you pave the way”

If that much was true, there is another aspect I found thrilling in my travels. We all have preconceptions, when not downright prejudice, of those people who speak a language unintelligible to the national majority. Since our imagined nations tend to be portrayed as monolingual (see Anderson, 1996; Skuttnabb-Kangas, 1996), the fact that they are not is taken by the lay person as an anomaly. Those who do not conform must, then, be odd. They are 'others', different and strange.

It was precisely this debate about identity which made me wonder if those who produce media in minority language settings felt, recognised and expressed their 'otherness'. If identity is brought to the fore by media production, then its negotiation and reification would filter their way into the given products and output. How different are they? How clearly distinguishable? *How does this complex, hybrid identity become embedded in their media production or in the output of their channel? To what extent do their identities, their debates and negotiations, define their linguistic output?* This is a second set of inquiries that became pressing to my research, later to become one of the main research questions. There was, however, a methodological difficulty at hand. An absolute categorisation of our own identity markers, interests and allegiances appears to be far from our everyday concerns. The degree of consciousness we hold upon our own identity allegiances has already been subject of extensive debate (see, for instance, Bauman, 2005; and more importantly for this research, Hale, 2004), even in the specific case of ethnic minority media production (Husband, 2005). This debate inspired me to undertake research on those aspects of identity reification or evidence. Just like Bauman (2005), it is precisely my

own difficulty with specific identity markers that propelled me to undertake this journey.²

It prompted me to wonder what would be the best method to access information about identity and identity markers, which would take into account that we do not usually keep these ideas in our conscious minds. As you will see in Chapters II and III, first I needed to address the issue of how to classify or define the identity markers, and then I had to construct a method which would allow to extract information that would enable the construction of an 'identity map', the *Social Radar* (elaborated based on Hale, 2004)

That is the place where this journey took me, and where it will take you: those places where small media production groups – herein described as communities of practice (CoPs) borrowing Wenger's (1998) concept – create their minority language/media output, and how they feel about it. The journey explores two very distant countries, Colombia and Wales, and studies three and four cases within them, respectively, of MLM production. On this journey, unlike Darwin's, my subjects of study were people, for whom my presence meant something, and provided a new meaning, or at least a different perspective to their practice. I did my best to prepare the methodology to enable them to question my assumptions, and for the reflexivity of the process to grant them the option to develop their own views aside from my own, taking Riach's (2009) observations close to heart (see the heading on Qualitative Research in Chapter III for these observations). But despite my interest in trying to make my researcher role take a step back, their answers, their actions, always evidenced that they were talking to some form of expert on the field.

² My hyphenated last name is a marker of my identity that has, quite often, set people at odds with how to categorise me in their more common pigeon holes (For an interesting literary exploration on the issue, read Owen and Uribe-Jongbloed's contribution to *Tu Chwith*, N. 36).

Authority sometimes led them to ask for advice or for a guide or approval to their actions. The compromise demanded, of course, that I gave them something in return for their time and dedication. I maintain contact with them, and they get to see all parts of the research process unfold, hearing from me as I make advances in it. This is not easy, because not all people have a similar understanding of what research is, of how it works, and what its goals are. Research is, quite evidently, culturally bound.

My epistemological grounding does not deny the possibility of an ultimate universal truth. What it does present is that 'truth' is seen from various vantage points, each of them valuable or relevant in its cultural context. Hence, this process aims at looking at those various perspectives, and tries to understand the underlying 'truth' which binds them, as it arises from their commonalities. It assumes that looking at a tree from many different windows does not see different trees, but rather a different part, with its own meaning, of the tree that is visible. All knowledge is, thus, valuable to understand the full nature of that universal truth. Since we only have our windows to observe the garden, the more varied perspectives we engage, the more likely we would be to truly understand what the tree is, and why it means what it does to everybody involved. Therefore, what we see of the tree, through the means and myths we elaborate behind our window, defines how we deal with it. And since vantage points are seldom all available at once, it is through a collection of perspectives – of voices – that we can truly approach universal truth (for more profound debate on participatory research, see Gumucio-Dagron, 2007; Servaes, 1996a, 2006).

The log of this journey thus presents my own vantage point, trying to bring in as many of the other perspectives as possible. It aims at bringing academic approaches into a dialogue from at least the same two areas of the world studied, with the hope of increasing awareness on some peripheral authors, especially those who thrive beyond English-language academia. As far as it was possible to reach, minority language texts were included, restricted only by my own linguistic capabilities, which obviously limit the extensiveness of my research.

Like any journey, we need to take a look at the maps and prepare ourselves for the contexts under which we will pursue our travels. Chapter IV is dedicated to present the media situation in Colombia and Wales, to grant the bearings for our research compass. There we find, under the seven aspects outlined by Cormack (1998), a description of the general situation of policies and attitudes for MLM in those two countries. It serves as guide and as an overall map of what we intend to discover further on. Political and social issues which define media and shape their provisions are paramount to understand how these media have appeared. The two countries are seen through the same lenses to signal their commonalities, and to see if they can actually be classified under the same headings. The next two chapters, namely Chapter V and VI, concentrate on each of the countries, exploring a number of specific media producers and outlets. In the Colombian case, the journey unravels through mountainous regions, northern deserts and a Caribbean island. In Wales, it takes us from the industrial South East to the more rural North West. The journey is not only metaphorical, it is an actual trip from one part of the world to another, and in those places a good amount of miles were covered. All forms of transport served to

reach radio stations and television production companies. Trains, planes, automobiles, buses, trucks, and two legs were used to reach the seven locations where the interviews and observations took place. The pages in chapters V and VI give an account of what was seen in those CoPs, what they said they do, how they express their own identity allegiances in their work, and how this whole process defines them and their language in broadcast media. The interviews in which they participated give us an insight into the way they define their identity, and how that definition is negotiated in their media production practice. Who they think they are turns into what they produce, and what they produce then reflects the views they have about language as part of their identity. Each chapter includes the interpretation of the information given, with a graphic version of Hale's (2004) *Social Radar*, to make sense of their identity allegiances and provide material for discussion.

The discussion chapter at the end of this volume aims to provide food for thought and reflections about the methodological procedure selected, and about the process of identity negotiation that takes place in media practice. As producers and creators of collective myths, media practitioners play a very sensitive role where their own identity allegiances take form in their products and, once broadcast, reach an external, public arena. The discussion brings forth the methodological difficulties and successes experienced, and evaluates what can be learnt from them for future research interests. It also reflects upon the two questions already recognised concerning identity negotiations in MLM practice and the applicability of Cormack's MLM studies to non-European

situations. Finally, it presents Communication for Social Change as a potential bed-fellow for MLM studies.

By the time you reach the end of this journey, like myself, you will have seen many contrasting views. Sadly, there is a point in a journey where you have to stop travelling, and you cannot garner more information, or include an extra leg in before your final destination. Such is the case of the chapters of the book *Social Media and Minority Languages* (E. H. G. Jones & Uribe-Jongbloed, 2012), which will probably come out the printing presses at the same time as this research is presented. Some of the texts there, especially O'Connell's (2012), concerning questions about language policies in the media, Cormack's (2012), giving a review of the changes that have taken place since he first defined the area of studies, and Browne and Uribe-Jongbloed's (2012), with a summary of the most relevant works and questions about minority language media to date, would have worked well in the construction of this thesis, yet their timing did not fit into the construction of the literature review presented here. However, they can be read as contemporary accounts which, in a way, validate and evidence the currency of this work.

At that point, the journey is no more. New ones will start where this ship moors its anchor. It was through this journey that I began learning Welsh and that I had the chance to discover and explore regions of the world I had not dreamt of visiting. Furthermore, I met fantastic people whose own knowledge and experience served as the blowing wind for my research vessel. My personal journey does not end here, for my new acquaintances, friends, and informants will continue to help me make sense of the media's role in our lives.

I rest this introduction here, for the chapters you are about to read will no longer give a centre stage to this autobiographical account, in order to enable the research to come to the fore. My ethical concerns about evidencing my stance, and also about ensuring that those who participated were not only informed, but were made true participants of the research process, will indeed feature again, on occasion within thesis. However, the conscious effort to prevent the personal appreciation from taking over the carefully elaborated arguments and reasoning is aimed at providing a view that is as objective as possible as a subjective conception of knowledge truly allows.

Without any further ado, I wish you a pleasant journey.

Chapter II: Literature Review

This chapter is concerned with understanding the field of studies in Minority Language Media (MLM). It presents the aspects that have been explored, evidencing those issues which have not been studied sufficiently, in order to establish a good background to present a research proposal. The chapter is dedicated to four topics. Firstly, the chapter deals with the definition of MLM studies as an academic field in its own right. Secondly, it explores in depth the main concepts that define the field. Thirdly, it pays special attention to collective identities, namely ethnicity, indigenusness and language community, to understand how they have been constructed to define specific forms of media outlets (e.g. ethnic radio). Finally, the chapter looks at the concept of communities of practice as a good referential category to understand the studies that have been carried out about MLM producers world-wide. This final exploration would thus present the research gaps that this research will try to fill, in order to expand the knowledge on MLM.

Introduction

The first part of the chapter is dedicated to the development of MLM studies as proposed by Cormack (2004, 2007a). It presents the reasons given by Cormack to create a distinctive field of studies in the subject. It traces the origin of the field in works that Cormack described as foundation, and then it moves on to consider other texts discussing the field by authors contemporary to Cormack's work. The purpose is to give a picture of what the field of studies currently encompasses, and evidence the distance that Cormack has taken from the previous perspectives that included studies about MLM but did not define them

specifically as such (see Browne, 1996, 2005; Riggins, 1992c). This exploration looks at Cormack's (1998, 2000, 2004, 2007a) definition of the main interests of the field and the arguments he has provided to consider it more useful to pursue research on a field of its own, rather than continuing to be part of the fields of ethnic or indigenous minority media presented by Riggins (1992c) and Browne (1996), respectively.

Following the review, there is a debate of the concepts that Cormack (2007a) has defined as most relevant to the nascent MLM field. These aspects are expanded to provide the conceptual space where MLM studies fit into larger discussions in Media studies. These concepts are explored in the light of recent studies that deal with MLM, to see how they have been applied in this context, and what they intend to present for the case of the area of studies.

The centrality of identity to MLM studies is further explored and the problematic character of the concepts of collective identities is brought forth. As a viable alternative to the concepts of indigenusness, ethnicity, and language community, the research proposes using Hale's (2004) idea of *identity as a social radar*. This view allows the formulation of the hypothesis that *specific identifications are key to determine linguistic output*.

Afterwards, the chapter presents the concept of *Communities of Practice* as an appropriate conceptual framework for researching MLM production teams. It provides the conceptual category of analysis that will be used to describe the production groups with which this research is concerned.

Finally, the review evidences a gap in the research of MLM on two aspects: it shows there is a need to explore MLM outside the European situation, under which it has been developed so far; and, it evidences that research on MLM production has been neglected, especially in regards to the production group's perception of the linguistic implications of their work. It draws attention to the need to expand our understanding of how identity negotiations ensue in MLM production practices in order to understand the complexity of factors that affect MLM output.

Minority Language Media as an area of studies

This subchapter explores the main aspects that constitute the field of MLM studies. It starts by looking at the discussions promoted by Cormack (see Cormack, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2010, 2012) in various articles to establish the main aspects which the field aims to cover. At the same time as Cormack's arguments are presented, other concurrent perspectives are given to provide contrast. The subchapter also looks at the predecessors to the field of studies and at Cormack's attempt to provide a framework to study the potential impact of media in the maintenance of minority languages.

Cormack's starting point for the field of studies

In the late nineties, Cormack (1998) pointed out that there had been little general discussion of the problems confronting MLM, despite the various studies that had been conducted by researchers addressing media in specific languages. He proposed a discussion of the subject that would "allow generalizations about the role of minority

language media” (Cormack, 1998, p. 34). To do so, he provided a set of factors to represent the “various conditions which can play a role in the emergence of minority language media” (Cormack, 1998, p. 39).³ In further articles (Cormack, 2000, 2004), he argued in favour of viewing Minority Language Media studies as an area in its own right. He then stated that the field of MLM studies “differs from both language studies and media studies in important ways, but also makes use of contributions from other disciplines, such as sociology, politics and economics” (2007a, p. 10). In a collection of essays (Cormack & Hourigan, 2007), Cormack characterised MLM studies as an already established and developing area. He admitted that it was characterised by a mainly Western European bias, and that it focused on the traditional, regional languages of stateless nations or cross-border languages of Europe, rather than a discourse that also included languages of recent immigrant communities or other diasporas, in the development of the area of studies.

Cormack (2004, p. 5) defined the two main concerns of MLM studies to be: the relation between media and a specific language and its culture; and the economics and financing aspect of said media (see Figure 1).

³ These conditions will be discussed in length in Chapter IV.

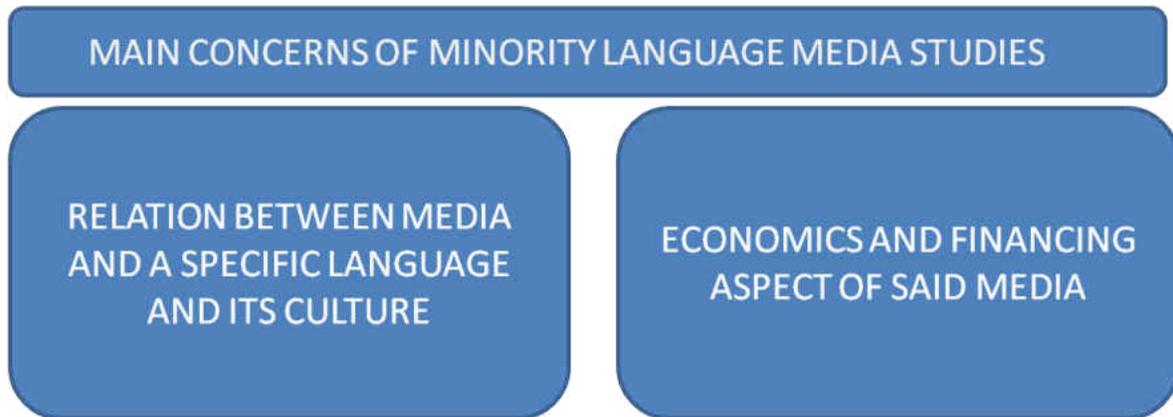


Figure 1: Main Concerns of MLM studies (Cormack, 2004)

Relation between media and a specific language and its culture

The first concern presented by Cormack coincides with the definition of MLM provided by Pietikäinen (2008a, p. 174), who stated that this term “encompasses the particular relationship between media and minority languages, often focusing on issues of expanding domains in minority languages, increasing awareness of them and enhancing the means and motivations to use these languages”. Cormack argued that there are four senses in which MLM are useful for language maintenance (see [Figure 2](#)): 1. they raise the symbolic value of the minority language; 2. they may provide an economic boost for the minority language community; 3. they enable the creation of a public sphere for the minority language; and, 4. they are important in relation to the inner and outer representation of the community (Cormack, 2004, p. 4).

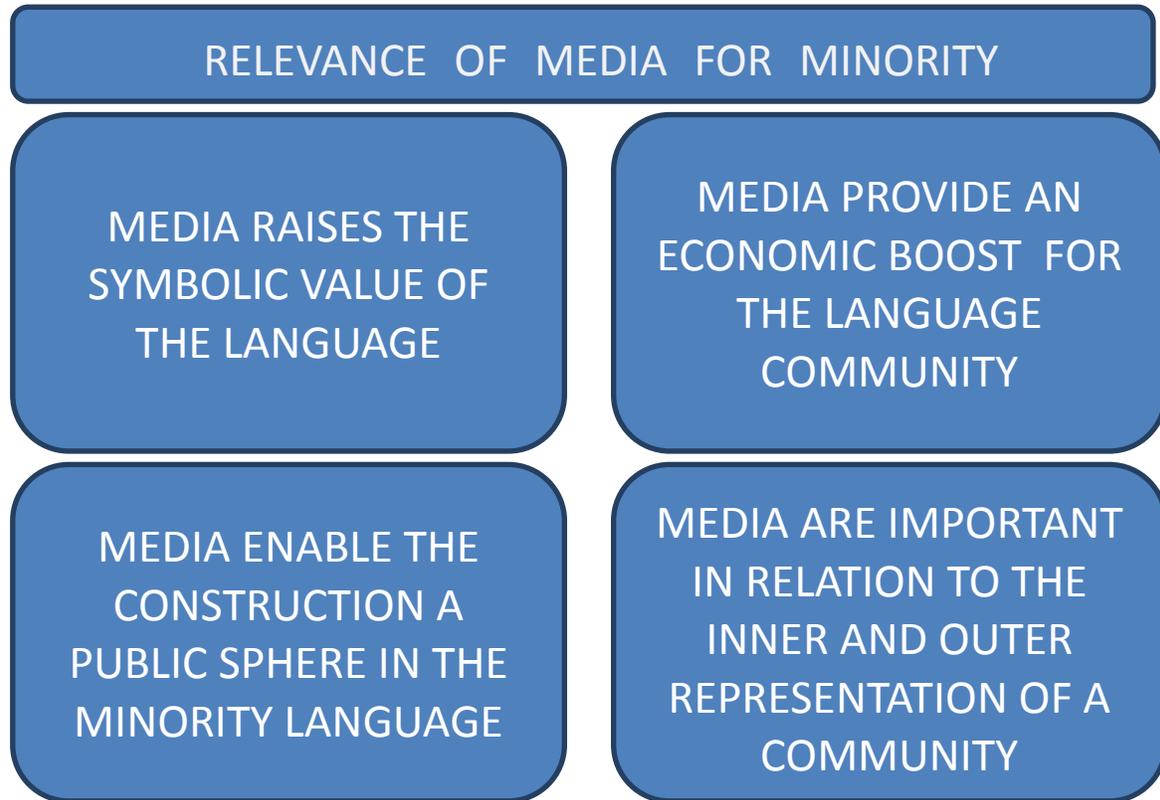


Figure 2: Relevance of media for ML (Cormack, 2004)

Slightly more sceptical, Browne (1996) has pointed out that despite the hope that media may serve for linguistic maintenance, there is a lack of empirical evidence on their positive influence for this purpose. Although “all stations broadcasting substantial amounts of [these] languages certainly have [the] expectation” (Browne, 1996, p. 169) that media provisions in their language would foster its use, it is clear that “at present it is almost impossible to establish a direct causal link between the provision of minority-language broadcasting and the vitality and sustainability of language” (Stradling, 2001, p. 55).

Notwithstanding this lack of empirical evidence described by Browne, many still argue in favour of MLM for the protection and maintenance of languages on a variety of grounds similar to those signalled by Cormack. These are some of the arguments that have been

levied: MLM may create a sense of commonality not achieved otherwise (McDermott, 2007, p. 119), because the media are an extension of people talking to one another (Thomas, 1995a, p. 179), and they bring social actors together (Amezaga, Arana, Basterretxea, & Iturriotz, 2000, p. 18); media also help create new spaces for the reconstruction of and exploration of identity (Lysaght, 2009, p. 56); they enable the elaboration of new terminology and promote language standardisation (Browne, 1996; Hourigan, 2001, p. 82; Pietikäinen, 2008a, p. 184); they may compensate for the relative absence of the language in other domains (E. H. G. Jones, 2007); and, media also provide public validation and legitimisation for the minority language (Guyot, 2001, 2004; 2007, p. 39; Riggins, 1992a, p. 283) including an increase in the prestige of the language (O'Connell, 2004, p. 37; Thomas, 1995b, p. 5; G. Williams, 2005, pp. 145-148). Furthermore, media can be seen as one element of a more complex strategy for language survival (Martínez, Paladines, & Yaguache, 2008, p. 50), since “the preservation and restoration of a language, and culture in a larger sense, is not the task of the media alone” (Browne, 1996, p. 7).

Bearing all this in mind, Cormack argued that MLM studies “can make a distinctive contribution [to] issues of cultural conflict, language in the media, the contrast between public and private financing of the media, the media and identity, the media and politics” (Cormack, 2004, p. 10), because “many of the arguments concerning culture and the media can be witnessed in an often attenuated form in debates concerning minority language media” (Cormack, 2005, p. 107). This in turn provides a good way to analyse the development of communication and cultural practices (Guyot, 2007, p. 49). Thus, Cormack proposed the study of MLM following the idea that “such work can feed into policy

development, at both organisational and production levels, giving this field of studies a very direct practical application” (2007a, p. 10).

Economics and financing of MLM

The concern about the economics and financing of MLM was expanded elsewhere by Cormack (2005), explaining that state investment in MLM serves to increase the quality of life of the minority language communities, which are usually underdeveloped in contrast to the majority language population. He complemented this argument for state support with two other claims: firstly, that speaking any language is a human right and granting access to media provision for the purpose of maintaining it is thus an obligation of the state; and, secondly, that creating such provisions is beneficial from the perspective of cultural diversity, which he defined as ‘cultural ecology’. His arguments rested on the assumption that linguistic diversity is an intrinsically positive thing, since he deemed that “linguistic and cultural diversity is a necessity, not a luxury (and, even less so, an obstacle) to human development”(Cormack, 2005, p. 115). As such, the state was required to provide support, because without it the language would disappear and its loss would then be negative for the cultural ecology of the country as a whole. Similarly, Grin (2000, p. 3) has taken the same starting assumption when he stated that “if we agree (no matter for what reason), that diversity is valuable and hence worth preserving, it follows that intervention may also be required to preserve and promote it”. This allowed him to justify state support for minority language media “not for political or moral reasons ... but for ‘technical’ reasons related to the very nature of linguistic diversity” (Grin, 2000, p. 12). One of those technical reasons is that linguistic diversity presents many of the crucial

characteristics of a public good and cannot be left to the demise of market economics and profitability, but instead has to be approached as a case of 'market failure', thus making state intervention necessary to ensure adequate provision (Grin, 2003, pp. 33-38). The case for state support for linguistic diversity should be understood "on the basis of an economic perspective on the very *nature* of certain types of services ... in the same way as it is considered logical for the state to develop an education or an environmental policy" (Grin, 2000, p. 7). This perception for MLM is shared by Moring (2007, p. 27), who stated that "in situations where a large part of the minority language speakers are bilingual ... the [commercial] economic viability of broadcasting in minority languages is low or even non-existent", making state support becomes necessary. However, the underlying assumption of the intrinsic value of linguistic diversity, key to these arguments, is not free of debate.

Van Parijs (2008) has argued that linguistic diversity cannot be assumed to be ontologically good. He dismissed the claims of the maintenance or protection of linguistic diversity based on the linguistic value of a language, on its information storage, and on the cultural diversity it may represent, by arguing that

assuming there is a positive impact of linguistic diversity on cultural diversity, therefore, the positive impact on the general interest will be offset, perhaps only partly but perhaps also to the point of becoming negative, by the lesser availability of whatever cultural diversity there is. (Van Parijs, 2008, p. 15)

He then stated that linguistic preservation is a "hindrance to the pursuit of economic solidarity and hence of distributive justice as equal opportunity, both across linguistic communities and ... within each of them" (Van Parijs, 2008, p. 25). Language survival

depends only on the communities' appreciation of their language as part of their identity, and their willingness to bear the cost it implies to maintain it. He conceded that identity allegiances towards a language are not easily altered, and thus, "the reason why linguistic diversity must and will be preserved is not that it is intrinsically valuable... it is simply that it constitutes, for the foreseeable future, a by-product of linguistic justice as equal dignity" (Van Parijs, 2008, p. 37).

Van Parijs' arguments clearly cast doubt, to say the least, upon Cormack's 'cultural ecology' claim. However, Van Parijs also admits that the communities' identity ties to a language, and their willingness to sustain certain costs for it, grants their right to maintain it. Thus, Van Parijs backed Cormack's case, not from the 'cultural ecology' perspective, but from the human rights argument.

Walking on the shoulders of giants: developments which support the field

Cormack has also argued that the field is an extension of a series of developments in other areas of media and sociolinguistics policy and study (Cormack, 2007a). On the side of public policy, they include the increased recognition and institutionalisation of minority languages in Europe; among them are the establishment of the European Bureau of Lesser-Used Languages (EBLUL) in 1982, the Mercator network in 1987 and the Council of Europe's European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages, adopted in 1992 (Cormack, 2005, 2007a). From the perspective of international comparative studies, Cormack (2007a) presents two books as forbearers of Minority Language Media studies: *Ethnic Minority Media* (Riggins, 1992c) and *Electronic Media and Indigenous Peoples: A voice of their own?* (Browne, 1996).

These two strands, the public policy intervention developments, and the forebears to MLM studies are presented in detail in the following pages to understand the context that led Cormack to develop MLM as an area of studies.

Public policy intervention developments

The European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages⁴ (Council of Europe, 1992) is worthy of note because it has a specific article on the topic of media. Article 11 itemises a series of demands regarding expected media provisions in regional or minority languages for signatory countries. However, these demands are vague and ambiguous, and it is not made clear how it can be determined that they have been fulfilled (Cormack, 2007a; Moring, 2007). This is because the demands are presented as a menu approach to media provisions for the languages, in which each signatory state may choose from alternative, rather than complementary, options. Confusion also arises because it is filled with a great number of ambiguities requiring clarification and interpretation (Moring & Dunbar, 2008). Besides the aspect of ambiguity in defining the type of provision considered adequate, the charter supports only those languages⁵ of Europe which are

traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population... (and) it does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants (Council of Europe, 1992, p. 2).

⁴ For the sake of brevity, the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages will be quoted as 'the Charter' in the remainder of this text.

⁵ Notice, however, that it is each state's decision to include or exclude any given language, and within which territories they recognise the given language(s).

In this way the charter sets apart historically rooted languages from new languages, although the presence of many of the so-called immigrant languages may be traced by for centuries (See Extra & Gorter, 2001a, 2008a; Extra & Verhoeven, 1993; Extra & Yagmur, 2008 below).

The Mercator network was established by the European Commission in 1987 along the same lines. One of its founding members⁶, namely Mercator Media with its base at Aberystwyth University, has produced the *Mercator Media Forum*, a journal

launched to promote discussion and the flow of information between those who work in the territorially-based non-state languages of the European Union in the field of media, very broadly defined to include book publishing, radio and television, newspapers and magazines, archives and libraries electronic networks and databases (Thomas, 1995b, p. 3).

Through this outlet, many issues of specific language communities and the media in the expanding European Union were developed. It was also the place where overarching debates on MLM took place, including Cormack's (2004) first call about the development of MLM as an area of studies. In line with the guiding principles of the Charter and of Mercator Media, Cormack (1998, 2000, 2004, 2005, 2007a, 2007b) has always kept a focus on (Western) European MLM. The book titled *Minority Language Media* (Cormack & Hourigan, 2007), evidences this bias in its contributions, although it provides a small reference to the history of MLM development elsewhere (see Browne, 2007). Furthermore, although the historical rootedness of languages may be contested on certain

⁶The four founding members were Mercator Media, at the then University of Wales, Aberystwyth; Mercator Education, under the lead of the Fryske Akademy in Leeuwarden, Netherlands; Mercator Legislation, hosted by CIEMEN in Barcelona, Catalonia; and, the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique CNRS in Paris, France under Henri Giordain.

specific accounts,⁷ and many books bring together articles on both immigrant and indigenous minority situations (Browne, 2005; Cormack & Hourigan, 2007; Extra & Gorter, 2001b, 2008b; Gubbins & Holt, 2002; Riggins, 1992c; Wilson & Stewart, 2008a), the separation between those two classifications remains common ground for Europe. This is because most European documents (e.g. the Charter) continue to favour the indigenous languages whilst failing to acknowledge immigrant languages (Hourigan, 2007).

Previous studies which dealt with MLM

Cormack (2007a) acknowledged that issues of MLM have appeared in previous studies, namely Riggins' (1992c) collection of contributions of practitioners of ethnic media and academic debates about them, and Browne's (1996) monographic work on indigenous electronic media. It is not surprising that these two texts are taken as foundation. Browne and Uribe-Jongbloed (2012) categorised the scholarship on ethnic and MLM in pre-1995 and post-1995 eras, the former with scattered texts on the issue and the latter with an increased interest in the topic, especially due to the increase of MLM outlets worldwide (Alia, 2010; Wilson & Stewart, 2008a). The specific issue of language in the media is present in most of the collaborations in *Ethnic Minority Media*, but it is not the focus of the collection. However, it is not only a foundational text for Cormack, but also one of the first texts to deal with ethnic media overall. In one of his contributions to that book,

⁷ Extra has consistently argued that "there have always been speakers of [immigrant minority] languages in Europe, but they have only recently emerged as community languages spoken in a wide scale in North-Western Europe, due to intensified processes of immigration and minorization" (Barni & Extra, 2008, p. 11; Extra & Gorter, 2001a, p. 3; 2008a, p. 9), thus undermining the argument that they only represent recent immigration. Furthermore, the increasing number of indigenous minority language users in the cities rather than on traditional territories can also contend the rural/urban dichotomy (See Moring & Dunbar, 2008, pp. 21-22).

Riggins (1992b) pinpointed the prevention of cultural assimilation as one of the main reasons for ethnic minority media. Moreover, he argued that using the ethnic language in the media is one of the defining elements which help prevent the assimilation by the ethnic majority.

Browne's *Electronic Media and Indigenous Peoples* appeared in 1996, and can be taken as the turning point where issues of ethnic/indigenous media start to pick up speed in a post-1995 era. He acknowledges the importance of minority languages in indigenous media. As has been quoted above, Browne mentioned constantly the interest communities have in the preservation of their language. He also showed how often they were willing to surrender to the majority language in order to be able to alter the negative conceptions the majority group had about them. Browne warned of excessive hope in the media, stating that "while the indigenous electronic media may see themselves as crucial elements in the struggle to revive and expand indigenous languages, the paths leading to success are many, diverse and of generally uncertain merit" (Browne, 1996, p. 189). He also reflected on the inner contradiction of indigenous media, opining that "while language revival or revitalization has been a major reason for establishing indigenous broadcasting stations, very few of them broadcast exclusively in indigenous languages and most of them broadcast in the majority culture language" (Browne, 1996, p. 223). Consequently, the reasons that may be put forward to ensure there is provision for minority languages on the media may not necessarily imply language revitalization. This is the case because "giving people the right to media services in their own language (...) is

not the same as arguing what is needed for language maintenance, which may be something altogether different” (Cormack, 2005, p. 113).

Both Riggins and Browne understood and addressed the relevance of identity issues for ethnic and indigenous minority media. They also acknowledged the importance of the use of the minority language. However, they also admitted that the presence of minority languages in these media remained quite low. Cormack (2007a, p. 8) defined their texts as fundamental to the rise of MLM scholarship because they relate to the “two sources of interest of minority language media ... – language activism and academic understanding”. Finally, Browne’s statements (1996), later echoed by Stradling’s (2001), on the lack of empirical proof of a direct causal link between MLM and language maintenance, led Cormack (2007b) to devise a way in which this link could be tested empirically.

The role of media in linguistic maintenance

In order to address how media may help maintain a language, Cormack (2007b) proposed a research methodology to establish their possible use. He called this is an ecological approach concerned with the interactions and processes between the media producers and audiences. He considered that the most appropriate way to obtain information was through in-depth interviews and questionnaires, rather than just evaluating the quantitative output or the qualitative aspects of media content analysis. For instance, one of the possible questions Cormack aimed to answer by an ecological approach was to be:

How do specific media interact with local, cultural and national identities?
(Cormack, 2007b, p. 65).

Browne (1996, 2005) and Cormack (2007b) brought the attention to the gap in understanding how media and language interact. They have set another challenge for

MLM studies, because their interest pointed not only to the presence, *but rather the absence*, of MLM output in the given languages. If most indigenous and MLM stations are established with a conviction that language revitalization is essential, then:

Why do some MLM refrain from using the language despite the fact that there is an outlet for it?

Riggins (1992a) and Browne (1996, 2005) had both already mentioned that ethnic and indigenous minority media may chose to use the majority language, rather than the minority language, because other interests of the group may require them to forfeit the language. If this much is true, and Cormack's (2000, 2004) observation that these media define their production according to identity policies, we can then be certain that identity is the key issue that defines media output. In his own words:

The content of minority language media sometimes gives the impression that the linguistic identity is the only one which matters, but other identities – political, sub-regional, religious – can cut across linguistic lines. (Cormack, 2000, p. 11)

Key Concepts of debate in Minority Language Media studies

Following his own review of the MLM field of studies, Cormack (2007a, p. 10) defined the following topics as the main areas of critical concern: “the public sphere, linguistic normalization, cultural identity, globalization, new social movements.” These topics appear regularly in the literature on the subject. They form the subject matter of the following sub-sections which explore each of them in depth in order to provide a more precise survey of debates in the area of MLM studies. Notice, however, that they are not presented in the order devised by Cormack, but in such a way that each one feeds into the next. For reasons that will be explained later, cultural identity has a subchapter of its own.

However, the other concepts will feed into one another, finally moving on to the debates of identity.

Linguistic normalisation

The idea behind linguistic normalisation is that of creating the social circumstances which enable a language to become the 'normal' element of exchange in everyday life (Cormack, 2007a). It has been used to define the linguistic process of incorporating language back into every domain and every register (Leisen, 2000, p. 43). This is done in such a way that its users are able to carry out their day to day routines without having to resort to any different language (Guardado Diez, 2008). The process of linguistic normalisation has been relevant for the development of media in Catalan (Corominas Piulats, 2007), Basque (Arana, Azpillaga, & Narbaiza, 2007), and Asturian (Guardado Diez, 2008) because the media are seen as a necessary tool that makes a language available for use in all aspects of the everyday life in specific communities.

Similar to normalisation are the concepts of functional and institutional completeness (Moring, 2007; Moring & Dunbar, 2008). Moring defined *Functional Completeness* explaining "[it occurs when] speakers of the language ... can live their life in and through the language without having to resort to other languages, at least within the confines of everyday matters in their community" (Moring, 2007, p. 18). He went on to argue that a precondition for *Functional Completeness* is *Institutional Completeness*, defined as "media platforms available in the minority language for each type of media" (Moring, 2007, p. 19). However, *Institutional Completeness*, even when fully achieved (assuming there are specific radio- and television broadcasters, a printed newspaper and internet provisions),

may not truly reach *Functional Completeness* until it covers pretty much the same areas and genres as the majority language media do. It could be argued, then, that a language is normalised when it achieves both institutional and functional completeness.

Although the specific use of the term 'normalisation' has not been widely applied outside the Iberian peninsula (Cormack, 2007a, p. 11), its usefulness rests in its definition of the ultimate goal each minority language struggles to attain: "its standardisation both from a structural and social perspective, namely, its corpus and its status" (Guardado Diez, 2008, p. 85)⁸. Since normalisation aims at enabling people to discuss all aspects of life through the language, it looks for the creation of a space of debate that overcomes the need to use any other language for communication practices. A concept that represents that space for the public debate of ideas is the public sphere.

Public sphere

A useful definition of the public sphere is presented by Dahlgren (1993, p. 1),

The public sphere is a concept which in the context of today's society points to the issues of how and to what extent the mass media, especially in their journalistic role, can help citizens learn about the world, debate their responses to it and reach informed decisions about what courses of action to adopt;

and can be complemented by the one provided by McKee (2005, p. 204):

[The public sphere] is a metaphor for thinking about how individual human beings come together to exchange ideas and information and feelings, about how large-scale communities manage themselves when too many individuals are involved to simply list the issues that affect them all and have each one explain, face to face, their position.

⁸ Original text in Asturian: "Por *normalización llingüística* entendemos la estratexa de caltenimientu o revitalización d'una llingua subordinada que tien como oxetivu la so estandarización tanto dende'l puntu de vista estructural como social, ye dicir, del so corpus y el so estatus".

These two definitions evidence that the public sphere is a conceptual space⁹, rather than a real one, where information of common interest is exchanged or channelled to reach the larger community. There has been ample debate within MLM studies regarding the appropriateness of using the Habermasian concept of public sphere (see Cormack, 1998, p. 43; 2007a, p. 11; Hourigan, 2004a, pp. 47-50). In his presentation of the public sphere, Habermas signalled the XVIII century as the epitome of national public debate of current affairs for which the only requirement was literacy (Habermas, 1989). Since nation-wide education was far from prevalent in the XVIII century, this requirement for participation evidences the elitist view Habermas gave to the public sphere. He stated that, “according to the liberal model of the public sphere, the institutions of the public engage in rational-critical debate were protected from interference by public authority by virtue of their being in the hands of private people” (Habermas, 1989, p. 180). He went on to say that the public sphere was safe until the debates went from the educated discussions of the XVIII century, into the mass-media of radio and television. He was especially critical of publicity, arguing that “the more [the media] effectiveness in terms of publicity increased, the more they became accessible to the pressure of certain private interests, whether individual or collective” (Habermas, 1989, p. 188).

In his criticism of the public sphere, McKee (2005) contrasted two ways of looking at its development, the ‘modern’ and ‘postmodern’ perspective. The ‘modern’ perspective worries about mass media (i.e television) trivialization, the entertainment-packed

⁹ It is useful to see the public sphere as a metaphor, because even in the original German *Öffentlichkeit* used by Habermas (1989) there is no reference to its spherical shape.

dumbing-down, fragmented development of the public sphere. The 'postmodern' view sees the same issues as a positive development of widening the scope of the public sphere to include previously ignored topics and forms of presenting them. McKee went on to pinpoint that it is a determined group of people (mostly middle-class heterosexual white men) who support the 'modern' conception of the public sphere, whereas the 'postmodern' view tends to be supported by those previously excluded from participation in the public sphere. He finally argues that the problem does not lie in a desire of either of them to argue against equality, but quite the contrary, the difficulty resides in defining it: "do we measure equality by input (treating everybody the same); or by output (taking account of differences so that everyone has an equal chance)?" (McKee, 2005, p. 207).

Hourigan (2004a) has also levied criticism to the public sphere concept when trying to apply it to MLM (see Figure 3), especially on the case of minority language television: 1. The public sphere cannot be free from economical or political influences, as Habermas himself mentioned (see above); 2. The public sphere is considered a rather rational approach, opposed to the more emotional approach which seems to be more common of television; 3. Television becomes a form of entertainment, instead of an informative space (see also Cormack, 1998, p. 45). In her criticism of Habermas's public sphere, Hourigan also worried about its de-rationalization, evidencing a 'modern' perspective, instead of seeing the emotional and entertainment side of television as a way of expanding the usual remit of public discussion. Cormack (1998) considered access to the public sphere a necessity for minority language communities to achieve political maturity. He added that although entertainment in the media may contribute to the public sphere, "very little of

the entertainment programmes broadcast in minority languages in most Western European countries can be seen as making much contribution to this” (Cormack, 1998, p. 45). In these aspects he also seemed to be advocating for a ‘modern’ version of the public sphere. At the same time, Cormack acknowledged some of the difficulties for MLM to fill in the same spaces of the public sphere as the majority language. This is because Habermas seemed to regard the public sphere as working primarily on the national level (Browne, 2005, p. 10).

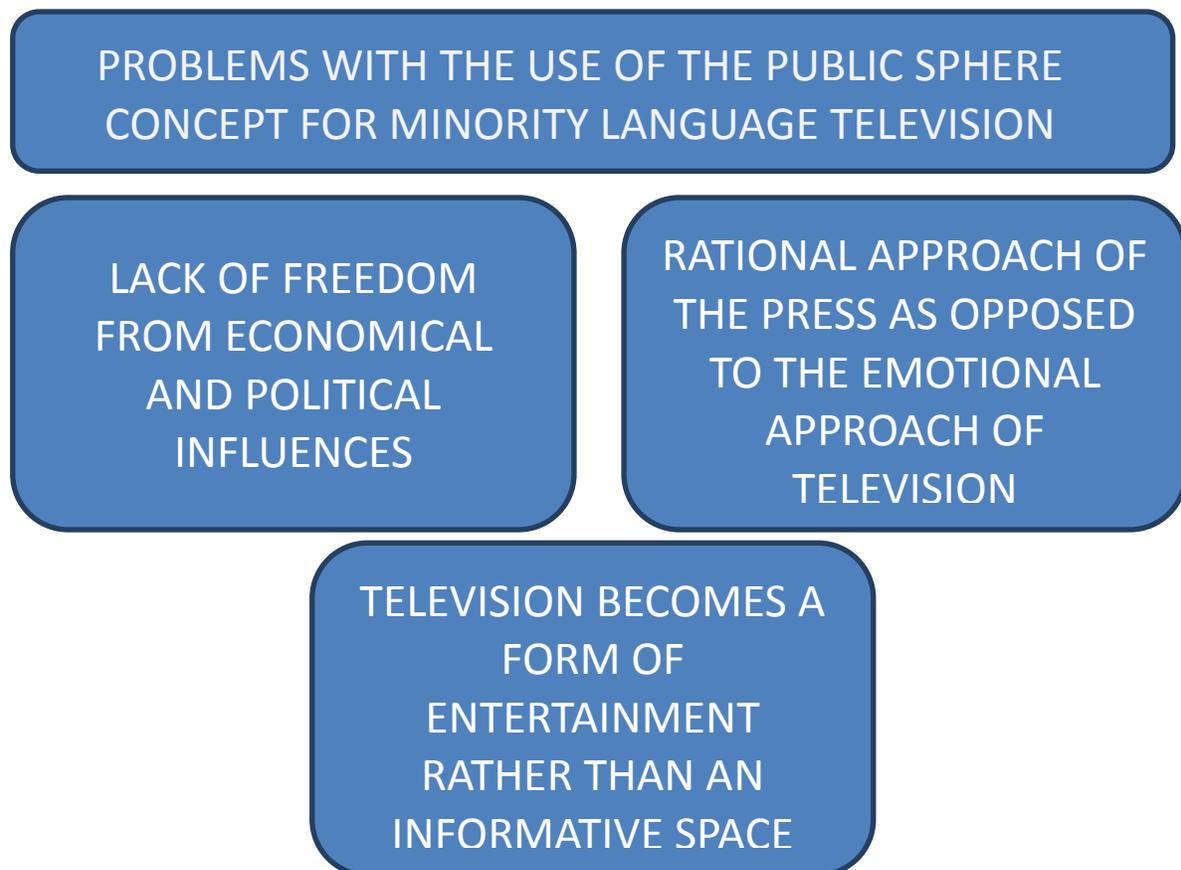


Figure 3: Problems with the use of the public sphere concept for minority language television (Hourigan, 2004a)

Despite its shortcomings, Browne (2005) used Habermas’s concept of the public sphere, including some of its critiques and modifications, to study the relationship between

electronic media and ethnic minorities. In his conclusions, Browne (2005, pp. 192-193) emphasized that the public sphere can take place even through formats associated with entertainment, and that instead of one unique public sphere based solely on language, one could conceive of multiple interconnected sphericules, each providing a space for different debates (see Cunningham, 2001 for a lengthier debate on the public sphericules; Gitlin, 1998). Thus instead of MLM becoming the centre of a national public sphere, they can be seen as creating alternate sphericules which contest the main public sphere of the state in question. If these sphericules seem to challenge the public sphere from within, the increasing amount of inter- and transnational media via cable and satellite bring a new challenge to the national public debate. If we take the increase international trade of audiovisual products and services as proxy of the extent of globalisation (Thusu, 2010), one could argue that globalisation brings forth a whole new debate for the public sphere.

Globalisation and Cultural Imperialism

Most definitions of globalisation seem to include what it is, its consequences and what should be done about them (Rantanen, 2005, p. 5).¹⁰ Globalisation, as a concept, has

¹⁰ Examples of definitions of globalisation are:

Globalization is a reality: a complex, interconnected but partly autonomous set of processes affecting many dimensions of social life (economic, political, social, cultural, environmental, military and so forth) which constitute changes in the spatial organization of social activity and interaction, social relations and relations of power, producing ever more intensive, extensive and rapid interconnections, interdependencies and flows on a global scale and between the global scale and other (macro-regional, national, local, etc.) scales (Fairclough, 2006, p. 163).

This term [globalisation] refers to the intensification of global interconnectedness, suggesting a world full of movement and mixture, contact and linkages, and persistent cultural interaction and exchange. It speaks, in other words, to the complex mobilities and interconnections that characterize the globe today (Inda & Rosaldo, 2008, p. 4).

been applied loosely and in contradictory ways (Robertson, 1992, p. 8). However, although “there is no single theory of globalization that commands common assent ... there is a certain banal agreement that globalization means greater interconnectedness and action at a distance” (Sparks, 2007, p. 126).

Globalisation is the interplay of increased exchange (of people, goods, images, capital, etc.) and the development of a conceptual category of the whole of the globe as the phenomenological space of action (Inda & Rosaldo, 2008)¹¹, which “make it easier for us to understand each other across cultural divides, but [which] also creates tensions between groups that were formerly isolated from each other” (Eriksen, 2007, p. 13). Also, globalisation opens international trade, at the same time as it opens up the links that help generate international protests. Della Porta et al. (2006, p. 16) have claimed that “if globalization is the challenge, it also seems to be the resource of protesters who, as we have said, do not oppose it absolutely but aim at changing its contents”, with its most recent examples being the opposition to the WTO and Davos meetings. The same elements that enable communication and action over distance have facilitated the creation of networks, prompting Castells (1996) to talk about the rise of a network society.

Globalization as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole. The process and actions to which the concept of globalization now refers have been proceeding, with some interruptions, for many centuries, but the main focus of the discussion of globalization is on relatively recent times (Robertson, 1992, p. 8)

¹¹ These can be compared with the eight features of globalization presented by Eriksen (2007): Disembedding (distance becoming irrelevant); Acceleration (near-instantaneous/immediate communication); Standardization; Interconnectedness (networks becoming denser, faster and wide-reaching); Movement (increased migration, tourism, business travel, etc.); Mixing (growth in number, size and diversity of human encounters); Vulnerability (weakening of some borders, and interstate-business taxes, difficulty protecting against treats from terrorism, AIDS, Swine Flu); and, Re-embedding (local power, community, national and sub-national integration).

This age of information is seen as a time of nationalist resurgence, not necessarily aimed at the construction of sovereign states, but at the same time not limited by the European nation-state concept. Castells highlights the Catalans as a case in point when he argues that:

By not searching for a new state but fighting to preserve their nation, Catalans might have come full circle to their origins as people of borderless trade, cultural/linguistic identity, and flexible government institutions, all features that seem to characterize the information age (Castells, 1997, p. 50).

He agrees with those who see globalisation as a form of altering the status quo of states (Webster, 2006), since "nation-states, despite their multidimensional crises, do not disappear; they transform themselves to adapt to this new context" (Castells, 2009, p. 39).

Castells presented three arguments that highlight the weakening of the state: 1. An increase of networks of shared sovereignty; 2. An increasingly dense network of international organizations; and, 3. The nation-states engagement with devolution of power (Castells, 2009, pp. 39-40). Yet these conditions may not necessarily weaken the nation-state (Sparks, 2007, pp. 158-165)¹². Instead of secession, devolution of power appears as a way to avoid fracturing central state power by making regional concessions.¹³

Supranational organizations decide to support minority protection and exercise efforts to pressure states to acknowledge and protect their own minorities, not in efforts to take away sovereign power from the nation-state, but because states are the ones that

¹² See also Shaw (2000, pp. 173-256) for a more in-depth analysis of the nation-state in relation to globalization.

¹³ As in the case of Catalunya, there seems to be a new institutional option, that of a recognized and relevant region, rather than an independent state (Keating & McGarry, 2001, p. 9; Laitin, 2001, p. 110).

legitimize supranational organizations, and fractured states would thus undermine them (Macklem, 2008).¹⁴

On the other hand, there is a growing international regime that places human and minority rights ahead of sovereignty (Keating & McGarry, 2001). However, these overarching institutions (e.g. Council of Europe, Inter-American Court of Human Rights) and ideals seldom undermine state power, since “the seeds of transnationalizing human rights ... still lies exclusively in the state’s capacity to enforce minority rights” (Roach, 2005, p. 135). Also because minority rights are “enjoyed by individuals in their own states and implemented under their domestic laws and institutions” (Vijapur, 2006, p. 392). Finally, as exemplified by the unilateral military incursion in Iraq, the “largest and richest states, remain in rude health, and continue to exercise the traditional, Westphalian rights of controlling their denizens and waging war upon other states” (Sparks, 2007, p. 185).

MLM and Globalisation

A consequence of this, however slight, erosion of power by the state is taken as a window of opportunity by those seeking a space for their own identities of resistance (following Castells’ definition). This is quite relevant to MLM and Hourigan (2004a, p. 176) epitomised it clearly when she stated:

¹⁴ Here is a good example of what was mentioned by Macklem. In the conclusions to his research, Sahin (2002, pp. 311-313) presents five approaches of the EU towards self-determination and minority rights issues within States: 1. Preserve established borders even if they don’t match with ethnic boundaries, to avoid conflict that could threaten European stability; 2. Give strong backing to minority rights and democratic governance, *preferring internal self-determination* within the existent state; 3. The EU accommodates ethnic demands through emerging EU structures (e.g. Committee of Regions); 4. Respect of minority rights is a precondition to join the European Union; and, 5. The EU encourages *peaceful settlement* of external ethnic claims (Emphasis added).

Rather than being defensive movements, minority language media campaigners have been opportunists in the dismantling of national infrastructures through globalization ... They are not pining for the certainties provided by nation-states; on the contrary, many of these activists would willingly dance on the grave of these nation-states even if it meant partnering Intel, Microsoft or AOL Time Warner ... rather than seeking to escape the global village, campaigners involved in minority language media campaigns are willing participants as long as they can have their own voice, their own discursive space and some control over their own destiny.

Discourses of globalisation intertwine with MLM activism, as linguistic communities oppose the central states whose cultural and linguistic imposition they want to overcome. Finally, it is these impositions which they see as their most oppressive form of cultural imperialism.

Cultural imperialism

This concept, cultural imperialism, came to prominence by the works of Herbert Schiller, who claimed that “the output of American television industry was responsible for the weakening of national media structures around the world” (Hourigan, 2004a, p. 43).¹⁵

This view of a homogenizing narrative has certainly not gone without criticism (see Curran, 2002, p. 170; Hourigan, 2004b, p. 44; Inda & Rosaldo, 2008, p. 18; Morley, 2006, p. 34; Sparks, 2007, pp. 116-117). It ignores the processes of hybridization (García Canclini, 2000), where cultural products are reconstructed and adapted into local cultures, appropriated and modified. It is also undermined by the appearance of new regional nodes of production and distribution (Castells, 2009), which erase the notion of a unidirectional flow of cultural products (see also Thussu, 2010).

¹⁵ In the words of Sutcliffe (1999, p. 139): “Imperialism is essentially the idea that the world contains an undesirable hierarchy of nations in which some oppress or exploit others or strive to do so”.

However, this hybridity may rest only at a superficial level, leading to “rough adaptations of the local cultures to the hegemonic and transnational cultural paradigms” (Roveda Hoyos, 2008, p. 62), and, conversely, fostering cultural protectionism (Morley, 2006). Moreover, regardless of the establishment of those nodes for the production and distribution of audiovisual products in some regions of the world (e.g. Mexico and Brazil for Latin America), the USA remains the main node (Morley, 2006, p. 41; Sparks, 2007, p. 208), and the ‘common language’ is constructed based on the USA audiovisual narrative (Machin & van Leeuwen, 2007). In the case of television, despite its increasing number of channels, “the vast majority of programmes comes from the United States of America” (Sparks, 2007, p. 185).

The latter aspect is relevant for MLM under two perspectives: since many MLM television stations concentrated on the output of language, rather than its production, they opted for dubbing as a way to reach high linguistic output with low production costs. American productions, along with their cultural references, in feature and series dubbings filled the grid on the early years of ETB in the Basque Country (Barambones, 2006) and children programmes and animations did the same on the TG4 grid in Ireland (Mac Dubhghaill, 2006). Additionally, the increased number of television channels available in the linguistic minority areas through satellite or cable subscription imply that any MLM output is dwarfed by the amount of any other linguistic output (Cormack, 2007b, p. 59). This raises the question of whether local media products that stem as a reaction to global influences, use the same production standards, procedures and cultural formats than their

counterparts (Machin & van Leeuwen, 2007) or they present a totally new way of conceiving media.

Along these lines and in relation to his research on indigenous media, Browne (1996) set two aspects of analysis based on the cultural imperialism paradigm. Firstly, he wondered if indigenous media absorb and follow majority culture media staff models of professional production practices and other forms of behaviour. Secondly, he reflected about to what degree their media followed models forged by majority culture programming. His conclusion was that the tendency is neither universally present nor absent, and that further research on this subject had to be undertaken (Browne, 1996, p. 226), thus subscribing, albeit modestly, to García Canclini's (2000) hybridity theory.

In his later work on ethnic minority media, Browne (2005) arrived at a similar conclusion, noticing that these media have many similar characteristics with majority media, despite having their own subtle and not-so-subtle differences. He stated this quite clearly himself by saying:

It has been rare in my experience to find ethnic media service that did *not* exhibit at least a few mainstream media characteristics, just as it has been rare to find any such services that lacked ethnic minority characteristics. (Browne, 2005, p. 203)

His conclusion does not disprove the cultural imperialism paradigm, but evidences how the interaction between global and local forces is more complex than just unidirectional cultural imposition maps. This conclusion gears us to try to understand how social groups attain the media provisions on the first place, making "how to reach the global from the local, through networking with other localities - how to 'grass-root' the space of flows -

become the key strategic questions for the social movements of our age" (Castells, 2009, p. 53).

New Social Movements

Hourigan (2001, 2004a, 2004b, 2007) has consistently pointed how MLM campaigns for television services conform to a New Social Movements perspective. She argued in favour of this argument under the following two reasons: activists in MLM television campaigns were concerned with the production of culture; and, they explained their activism as a personal need to express themselves and their identity in a changing world. She showed that, on the one hand, a classical social movement theoretical framework does not encompass much of the indigenous minority language television campaigns in Great Britain and Ireland, save for accounting for the role of charismatic leaders and the fact that discontent concerning exclusion or stigmatization of regional languages by national broadcasting organizations was at the heart of the campaigns. On the other hand, New Social Movement theory seems to fit in much better because it accounts for the composition of the activists, mainly middle-class professionals, focused on culture and identity. Hourigan also pointed out that the campaigns undertaken in the Spanish state bear less resemblance to New Social Movements, by being more closely related to political-nationalist goals, a characteristic of classic social movement theory.

This shows how MLM campaigns are a mixture of old disputes – statehood and nationalism – and current identity politics. Cormack (2005) highlighted Hourigan's postmodern context for MLM campaigns, in the sense that communities are not victims of globalisation, but examples of it. Although its European context might preclude its

application elsewhere, the idea of thinking of New Social Movements as prompting new hybrid movements may prove useful when examining cases outside Europe as well. Moreover, her approach draws constantly on the issue of cultural identity, an aspect previously highlighted by both Cormack (2005) and Van Parijs (2008) as fundamental to MLM development. This issue of identity and MLM will be dealt in depth under the next subchapter.

Identity and Minority Language Media

Cormack (2000) emphasised on the fact the various identities, including linguistic identity, are always in potential conflict. Furthermore, he ascertained that “the different political situations, and different geographical distributions, and differing relationship to neighbouring languages all give rise to very different overall situations” (Cormack, 2000, p. 11). The relative conflict between the homogenizing discourse presented by globalisation and heterogenic minority groups (see above) has prompted the identity debate in the last decades (C. Barker, 1999; Gómez Suárez, 2005; Weedon, 2004). This conflict takes place when there is a crisis of identity, brought about by the “gap between where the issues arise (global) and the space where the issues are managed (the nation-state)” (Castells, 2010, p. 39). Simultaneously, there has been a recent emergence of ethnic identities in Latin America (Favre, 2006; Smith, 2008), while the appearance of international conventions such as the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations, 2008) and the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (UNESCO, 2002) also exemplify a growing interest for identity politics worldwide. Despite the undertheorization of the

'cultural identity' category (Orchard, 2002), it has become common currency to describe ethnic-, indigenous- and language groups who have challenged the policies in their respective nation-states under this idea. These groups oppose the legitimizing identities introduced by the dominant part of society¹⁶, expanded and normalised through media representation (Sampedro Blanco, 2004), through the creation of identities of resistance: communities defined as "the exclusion of the excluders by the excluded" (Castells, 1997, p. 8).

Since "identities may be socially, culturally and institutionally assigned ... (and each) is made visible and intelligible to others through cultural signs, symbols and practice" (Weedon, 2004, pp. 6-7) their presence in the media is substantiated. Television and other mass media have a very important role to play, for "the argument that identities are formed within and through representation is important to debates about culture, identity and television, because TV is the major communicative device for disseminating those representations which are constitutive of (and constituted by) cultural identity" (C. Barker, 1999, p. 31). In that sense, ethnicity and indigenous identity, fundamental to the works on ethnic minority media (Browne, 2005; Extra & Gorter, 2001b; Riggins, 1992c) and indigenous minority media (Browne, 1996; Wilson & Stewart, 2008a) respectively, acquire relevance to MLM. Exploring these categories in-depth provides further perspective on their media output.

¹⁶ This reclaim of the means of defining identity exemplifies how "the importance of 'talking back' for marginalized and colonized groups ... enables people who find themselves subject to racist, sexist, colonial and homophobic power relations to resist negative definitions of what and who they are, to rewrite their history, to explore existing identities and to create new ones" (Weedon, 2004, p. 154)

Ethnicity

Ethnicity has been consistently used in the social sciences as one of the main indicators of group association, based on common culture, a real or imagined common ancestry, language, history, religion or customs, although not necessarily having all these traits present at once (Hale, 2004, p. 473; May, 2001, pp. 19-51; Riggins, 1992a, p. 1). Segal (1979) concludes that:

Ethnicity, then, is objective and subjective, involving the fact and sense of membership in a group in contact with another in the same society where each has at least a partially unique normative culture resting upon, reflecting, and sustaining its notions of its own origins and history. (Segal, 1979, p. 10)

This conclusion seems to hold a part within the discussion whether ethnicity is a primordial, or in other words, original and unalterable trait, or whether it is an absolute social construction, which can be changed and modified according to the whims of the individual (Alverson, 1979). However, in some cases ethnicity is simply a euphemism for the concept of 'race', as it was used before WWII, and as remains in use in public discourse in Latin America (Bacal, 1997) and "often hides the persistence of racism as a negative and discrimination force in Western societies" (Weedon, 2004, p. 15).

For instance, Kallen (1996, p. 117) argues that "the concept of *ethnicity* refers to any arbitrary classification of human populations utilizing the biogeographical criterion of ancestry in conjunction with such sociocultural criteria as nationality, language and religion".¹⁷ Moreover, she divides ethnic groups between voluntary minorities and involuntary minorities, referring to the former as those who willingly migrated to a

¹⁷ This seems to fit hyphenated ethnic categories, such as African-American, with the biogeographical criterion of ancestry being a whole continent, Overseas-Chinese, and ethnic-Germans, the latter used to define the German-speaking minorities living beyond the borders of today's Germany in its neighbouring countries.

different territory, whereas the latter are those who were either removed or driven away from their ancestral land, by such actions as slave trade, invasion or colonization. That would explain the association of ethnic groups with what Eriksen (as quoted in May, 2001, pp. 45-48) has described as urban ethnic minorities comprising immigrant groups that have settled in a country of destination, although their settlement does not necessarily follow from an individual's desire to migrate or to adapt to a new environment, for it may also be due to economic necessity, slave trade (such as the communities of African descent in the Americas) or other forms of unwilling displacement. Therefore, "ethnicity is a product of the dissociation between territory and culture" (Oommen, 1997, p. 34)¹⁸, Similarly, Bacal (1997, p. 293) states that "often, inter-ethnic relations originate in the aftermath of military and political conquest, establishing thereafter 'dominance-dominated' type of social relations between the conqueror and the vanquished ethnic group". This in its turn leads to the sense of ethnic transparency on the part of the powerful majority culture group, whose ethnic identity becomes the norm or the mainstream, and ethnic groups are labelled and organized according to the contrast with this a-ethnic 'normal' group (Weedon, 2004). Hence, Browne's (2005) working definition of ethnic group is based on self-definition as linguistic or culturally different from the majority population. Castells elaborates on this point when he ascertains that

Ethnicity, while being a fundamental feature of our societies, especially as a source of discrimination and stigma, may not induce communes of its own. Rather, it is likely to be processed by religion, nation and locality, whose specificity it tends to reinforce (Castells, 1997, p. 65).

¹⁸ Although this idea of dissociation does not go without its critics (Escobar, 2001).

In other words, Castells sees ethnicity as a collection of identity traits, some of which may provide the stratus for a resistance identity, but disregards the possibility of the whole set of traits to provide the cohesion for it. Similarly, Riggins states that even though ethnicity may be made up of various traits, “it is unlikely that a group will perceive itself to be unique in all of [those] respects, and one or two characteristics may be chosen as most symbolic of collective identity” (Riggins, 1992b, p. 1). This supports a claim of defining ethnicity as a contrasting category of difference, an ‘otherness’, and thus,

Ethnicity can be defined as variable series of dichotomisations of inclusion and exclusion. The assignment of persons to certain groups is a process both subjective and objective, undertaken by the individual and by others, based on the attributes defined to achieve membership (Ramírez, 2002, pp. 161-162).

Indigenusness

Another contested category to describe social groups which share cultural, historical, and territorial characteristics is the word ‘indigenous’.¹⁹ This word has been consistently criticized recently, but despite it remains very relevant in contemporary discourse (Coates, 2004; Nair, 2006). Indigenusness, or the sense of belonging to an indigenous group, entails more than just belonging to an ethnic group defined with the same name.

Browne’s appreciation of this issue is quite illustrative:

Indigenous groups appear to have little problem with their identification as ethnic minorities so long as it is clear that their indigenous status is recognized: They were the chief residents of the land before more recent arrivals came to or created the present nation, and as such feel that they have a particularly valid claim on its resources and services. (Browne, 2005, p. 7)

¹⁹ “One tends to forget that ‘indigenous’ is not a referential category nor a description ascribed to individuals, but rather the expression of a social relation established through economic, social, political and symbolic practices of modern colonialism” (Espinosa Arango, 2007, pp. 57-58).

As any other concept, indigenusness is dynamic, and its meaning changes according to historical perspectives in the evolution and developments of the scientific fields which use it.²⁰ In the report from the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues (1987, pp. 4-5) there is an observation on this problem:

There is no generally accepted definition of indigenous peoples. However, there are core elements of such definition which are probably acceptable to all. Nonetheless, the boundary between what constitutes an indigenous people and an ethnic group is very difficult to draw.

Berger (1987, p. 9) describes that indigenous peoples are those who satisfy some or all of the following criteria: Descendants of the original inhabitants of a territory overcome by conquest; nomadic or semi-nomadic groups with little surplus and low energy needs; no centralized political institution; common language, religion, culture and other identifying characteristics; different world-view; and, people who deem themselves indigenous. Hannum (2003, p. 72) provides a very similar definition based on three aspects: self-identification as indigenous; historical continuity in pre-colonial or pre-invasion societies; and primarily living in a traditional manner distinct from the dominant society which engulfs them.²¹ Further he adds that “indigenusness today does not necessarily depend on which group was in a given location first, since all civilizations came from somewhere else if one goes back far enough” (Hannum, 2003, pp. 72-73).

²⁰ For instance, Correa (2006) observes how the change in the field of anthropology in Colombia changed its definition of ‘indigenusness’ through the XXth and XXIst centuries.

²¹ This is evidently relevant, since “indigenous identity did not ‘exist’ previous to Portuguese-Spanish conquest and colonization, which unified all groups under one banner: that of the *defeated* or *Indian*... this is how indigenous peoples became ‘subjects’ of western history” (Gómez Suárez, 2005, p. 3), and because “the historical wound of European conquest of the Americas becomes the moral link between present and past” (Espinosa Arango, 2007, p. 55).

A more comprehensive definition was part of the U.N. Draft Declaration on the rights of Indigenous Peoples²²:

‘Indigenous peoples’ and nations are those which, having historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories or part of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to further generations their ancestral territories and their ethnic identity as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems (Daes, 1996, p. 56).

Summarizing all these observations, the consistent claims that define indigenesness are territorial importance, non-dominance and self-identification²³. It can be argued that “the indigenous peoples of the Americas are only indigenous because they and their territories were colonized by others” (Weane, 1996, p. 11). Correa (2006, p. 35) also reports that “territory has been highlighted as a decisive factor, in social relations and relations with the national society, to characterize indigenous peoples”.²⁴ However, the emphasis placed here on territory seems to leave out tribal groups which do not satisfy the criterion of ‘being first’ to a specific area, as is the case of groups in Africa that, as a consequence of historical population movements, have less long-lasting ties to territory (Scheinin, 2005, p.

²² It is important to note here that the actual Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, as ratified by the UN General Assembly in 2007 (United Nations, 2008) exclude the definition of ‘Indigenous peoples’ altogether, in spite of it being part of the working draft version.

²³ Self-Identification has been especially privileged in the Organization of American States (OAS) Draft American Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (as it stands on December, 2008) appearing as the only defining element of indigenous identity under article 2, where it states: “Self-identification as indigenous peoples will be a fundamental criteria for determining to whom this Declaration applies. The States shall respect the right to such self-identification as indigenous, individually or collectively, in keeping with the practices and institutions of each indigenous people.”

²⁴ This is a translation from the original Spanish.

12). At the same time, it has been pointed out that the most general usage of the concept of indigenusness leaves some groups outside its remit. Such is the case of the “protoneations”, according to Eriksen’s classification (May, 2001, p. 85), seeking the establishment of their own states, or at least a stronger recognition of their own cultural differences within the political space. There is an evident distance between how the concept of indigenusness can be applied to the Americas, Australia²⁵ and Aotearoa/New Zealand, on the one hand, and the European and Asian context, on the other, where imperial colonization is not as clearly defined (Nair, 2006). Self-determination as indigenous implies that there is always an escape clause to those who do not meet the other criteria. Since indigenusness has been set as a requirement to access certain benefits determined by the nation-states, indigenous self-identification also becomes a way of gaining political access to the provisions enacted for them.²⁶

In his book *Ethnic Minority Media*, Riggins (1992c) divides what he calls indigenous groups into two strands, forming two of his chapters. The division is between those adhering to traditional values and those whose modern values seem to be just a subcultural variation of the dominant values of their countries. The former category seems to comply with the definition quoted above of an indigenous group, whereas the latter seems to fit the

²⁵ Although it has been argued that for the case of Australia, the indigenusness tends to be regarded as an issue of race rather than nation (Hartley & McKee, 2000, pp. 51-66). Because of the appropriation of the Civil Rights discourse of the aboriginal population, “indigenous people are the bearers of discourses of ‘race’ in Australia that in the USA do not apply to Native Americans” (Hartley & McKee, 2000, p. 64).

²⁶ Such is the case in Colombia, where “while indigenous leaders continue to give shape to their indigenusness, other social groups – previously assimilated under the dominant culture – have been moved to invent and construct an ethnic identity to achieve certain rights, only recognized to the indigenous peoples” (Ramírez, 2002, p. 167).

concept national minorities, outlined above. Riggins adds that it is the latter which seeks to gain more power on linguistic rather than other cultural grounds. Browne (1996) defines indigenusness from a more pragmatic approach arguing that indigenous peoples are those population groups currently living in a given area and who have been there before any others, according to the available documentation.

Another common use of the indigenusness, albeit completely different, refers to a definition of local national production as opposed to imports. It has become quite common as product labelling that distinguishes the 'global' faceless and internationally profit-driven market, from the national or regional one. This occurs at the same time that the label indigenous is also attached to a set of internationally branded products, such as recordings of world music, woven hand-bags and other handcrafts which now represent a considerable market (Browne, 1996; Wilson & Stewart, 2008a).²⁷ These two new discursive values of indigenusness gain space in contemporary public debate, obscuring or tainting the previously mentioned debate on the concept which remains contested and discussed in academic and political circles.²⁸

²⁷ Wilson and Stewart (2008a, p. 5) mention that: "In today's economic environment, marketing and selling 'the indigenous' through media, tourism, art, crafts, music, and the appropriation of traditional knowledges and Indigenous images has become a profitable enterprise that Indigenous people worldwide feel the need to monitor and protect".

²⁸ It must also be pointed out that there is also a tendency to label as 'indigenous' those products of mainstream media which deal with the topic, or detailing a story about indigenous peoples, but produced and carried out solely by members of the majority, outside the indigenous community (Wilson & Stewart, 2008a, p. 19). Since this label seems to provide no real relation to the indigenous people, except as matter of topic, this should not be considered as 'indigenous media' at all. It is mentioned here only to ensure that the concept is not mistaken to imply it. Although it is also relevant for indigenous peoples to ensure that they are portrayed in a fair and just way by mainstream media, media about indigenous issues cannot be equated to indigenous media.

Language

It is not easy to define language, since “how one chooses to define a language depends on the purposes one has in identifying that language as distinct from another” (Lewis, 2009, p. The problem of language identification). The criterion of mutual intelligibility between two speech communities is not always a good indicator of linguistic difference, and the debate on the difficulty of labelling languages is present in all the literature regarding language disappearance (Berdichevsky, 2004; Crystal, 2000; Dalby, 2002; Fishman, 1991, 2001; Grenoble & Whaley, 1998; Nettle & Romaine, 2000).

Moreover, Ethnologue (Lewis, 2009) acknowledges that some classification of language may not be based on linguistic merit but on political grounds. As a dialect is a relational term usually meant to describe varieties of language in comparison with the most powerful one, it demonstrates hierarchicalisation in the politics of language (Skuttnabb-Kangas, 1996). This exemplifies that “the relationship between languages and language groups is inevitably a relationship of power, so it’s not surprising that the terms we use to describe categories of language have political overtones and implications” (Thomas, 2001, p. 44) and that “the language and identity link cannot be understood in isolation from other factors of identity, nor from the political conditions in which it is situated” (May, 2001, p. 135), because “language, after all, is not only a means of communication, but it is also a marker of identity and, through its pragmatics, a cultural institution” (Laitin, 2000, p. 144).

This is also particularly problematic because “frequently in Europe, though very much less frequently elsewhere, the nationalist perspective assumes that each nation has a clearly

distinct national language, peculiar to that nation” (Barbour, 2002, p. 11), creating a two-tier system between the language(s) of the nation-state, and those languages only spoken by a non-state represented minority.

The concept of ‘minority language’ has been used to refer to these languages, although it remains contentious in current academic debate (Cormack, 2007a, pp. 1-2; Guyot, 2004, pp. 15-16; Hourigan, 2007, p. 2; Nic Craith, 2007, pp. 57-58; O'Reilly, 2001). Notwithstanding, its usefulness arises because it emphasizes the fact “that [these languages] are dominated politically and economically by numerically larger communities within a particular state” (Cormack, 2007a, p. 2), especially since “linguistic minorities are created by nationalisms which exclude them” (Heller, 1999, p. 7). This happens because language is thought to be fundamental to building the concept of nation, and nation-states see their linguistic minority groups as contenders or secessionists aiming to create a different state (Skuttnabb-Kangas, 1996).

Furthermore, there are many other difficulties that arise when using the concept of “linguistic minority”. A language is not defined as a minority by its absolute number of users, as the name might wrongly signal; it is consistently pointed out in the literature that Danish has fewer speakers than Catalan, but the former is not considered a minority language while the latter is (Nic Craith, 2007, p. 57; O'Reilly, 2001, p. 9). Neither does it necessarily imply that the group of speakers within a nation-state are numerically lower than those who speak the majority language. In some Latin American countries, the dominant ‘majority’ language is Spanish, even though the indigenous language users in

them may be a larger population.²⁹ Also, a minority language within a nation-state might be a majority language in a different country. There are Romanian-speaking Hungarians, German-speaking minorities in Denmark, Poland and France, and Swedish-Speaking Finns, whose national allegiances rests with their host country, yet their language represents a minority usage in it (Berdichevsky, 2004). Finally, immigration has ensured that most cities in the developed world include significant numbers of speakers of other, non-national languages.³⁰

If so much is clear for minority languages, it becomes more difficult when we address the community which identifies with the language: the minority language community. In theory at least, any person who knows the language in whatever capacity, regardless of cultural attachments, may belong to the minority language community, especially since "many people throughout the world have complex language repertoires, and can communicate quite effectively across a range of apparently diverse cultural zones" (Laitin, 2000, p. 143). This fact evidences that the ability to communicate is not a sufficient indicator of cultural homogeneity (Laitin, 2000). As such, language cannot be assumed to be a good example of this homogeneity. But by settling the claim upon language itself, the

²⁹ The clearest case is that of Paraguay, with a population of over 6 million people (CIA, 2009), of which more than 4 million are Guaraní speakers, whereas the number of Spanish speakers does not reach 200.000 (See the Paraguay entry on Lewis, 2009). According to the Bolivian National Institute of Statistics (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2008), Spanish is spoken in Bolivia by 6,831,844 people as first language, and 2,283,465 people speak Quechua. However, the macrolanguage Quechua is spoken by over 10,000,000 people (see entry on Quechua in Lewis, 2009) on the border regions between Bolivia and Perú (Luykx, 2001).

³⁰ According to a study of home language survey in schools in six different cities in Europe, Extra and Yagmur (2008) found that from the 20 most reported languages, 10 came from Europe and other 10 came from abroad. Moreover, in England there are over 300 languages being spoken (Edwards, 2008) showing the extent of multilingualism experienced in developed countries.

culture and territory which historically surrounded the language are set apart. Unless one takes a socio-linguistic approach, talking about a minority language would be irrespective of any given place. This is the danger of using this category as a claim, because a minority language community lies wherever a person who is able to use the language may be. In fact, MacKinnon (2009) claims that minority language policy needs to take into account the high mobility of the community from its historical setting to their new settlement areas.³¹ Linguistic minorities may remove themselves from the traditional or historical place of their language because “speakers of such languages have been forced by economic or other circumstances to move to other regions of the state, particularly regional or national capitals” (Moring & Dunbar, 2008, p. 22). If we decide to opt for a more open view on what language might entail, including a history, a territory and a specific symbolic output, there could be a risk of making language coterminous to culture. This would not be helpful in order to assign definable categories. Simultaneously, it shows how linguistic grounds, detached from other claims to cultural or territorial ascription and their consequent rights, reduce the strength of arguments for recognition by a given nation-state.

Accordingly, Spencer (2008) has argued that cultural claims made by minority groups, such as linguistic minorities, are not to be addressed the same way in all cases. She expressed

³¹ MacKinnon states: “Recent census returns have shown that numbers of Gaelic speakers in urban centres such as Greater Glasgow or the Edinburgh area are now approaching the numbers of Gaelic speakers in traditional 'homeland' areas such as the Western Isles and the Isle of Skye. In 2001 the proportion of speakers in the Highlands and Hebrides as a whole compared with the Lowland area was around 55:45. It may well have reached 50:50 by now. Policies for the support of Gaelic will need to take account of this. Internal migration is on the order of over-11% annually for Gaelic-speakers and non-Gaelic-speakers alike. Language planning will need to be in terms of a highly-mobile society” (MacKinnon, personal communication, 30-03-09).

that “all cultural claims against the state by different groups cannot be seen as equally valid” (Spencer, 2008, p. 256), considering the historical precedent and uniqueness of certain groups as a more valid claim than others. This seems to be the same stance as purported by most countries regarding their immigrant minority languages, thus setting indigenous and immigrant languages apart.

Identity as a social radar

The above mentioned concepts all highlight different relations between how a group of people thinks about itself, and about the surrounding society (or societies) with which it exchanges communication practices. If identity is defined by how a subject sees him/herself and how s/he is seen by others (Weedon, 2004), then they are all identity markers, giving meaning to the position in the social continuum. Taking this idea further, Hale (2004) proposes to look at identity as a *social radar*:

It is useful to treat the notion of identity as the set of points of personal reference on which people rely to navigate the social world they inhabit, to make sense of the myriad constellation of social relationships that they encounter, to discern their place in these constellations, and to understand the opportunities for action in this context (Hale, 2004, p. 463).

The advantage of looking at identity through this concept is that it enables us to see the different points of reference as processes of identification which are symbolically constructed through time and agency, viewing identity as a work in process (C. Barker, 1999). Borrowing from Geertz (1973), Hale presented some of those points of reference as ‘thick’ (i.e. complex and heavily laden with value) or ‘thin’ dimensions. Hale brought elements from studies done in psychology to contest the concept of ethnicity, by saying that it is “just like any other set of identity dimensions except that it involves traits

commonly referred to as ‘ethnic’” (Hale, 2004, p. 473). He argued that the specificity of those traits being defined as ethnic has never been properly proven. *Rules of thumb*, the definition Hale gives to these sense of categorization, would then seem to come to be applied when there are evident barriers of communication (linguistic or cultural), visible physical differences, congruence with external factors such as territory or social strata, and symbols and myths of common origin. In fact, as opposed to considering ethnicity as a salient identity developed only recently, Hale stated that prominence of these identifications has been raised due to the increase in communication through technological developments and proximity.³²

Looking at identity as a *social radar* prevents us from talking about different identities, but rather leads us to think of one identity built on various points of reference which vary in their ‘thickness’. One could then argue, for example, that Catalonians in Spain are making their identification with their region and with Europe become thicker, while thinning out their identification with Spain, rather than setting them as different, contrasting identities. By extrapolating this, it would be possible to see other minority groups as thinning out their linguistic identification, by thickening a different one that they opt to embrace. That may be the case for some indigenous peoples, because users of “Indigenous languages identify themselves not as members of an ethnic group but as campesinos [peasants] or as people from particular communities or regions” (Smith, 2008, p. 187).

This conceptual definition also evidences why the politics of language have become more relevant nowadays, and addresses the fact that “while a specific language may well be

³² Castells (1997) also argues this to be the case. This also relates to a discussion brought up earlier on in this chapter under the subheading of globalisation.

identified as a significant cultural marker of a particular ethnic group, there is no inevitable correspondence between language and ethnicity” (May, 2001, p. 129), also because “ethnic differentiation in numerous cases around the globe is based on criteria other than language”(Laitin, 2000, p. 143). It proves useful to apply this concept of identity to avoid the pitfalls described in the definitions of ethnicity and indigenusness, which seem to overlap at essential points. As an analytical tool it provides a way of looking at how social groups evidence their identity allegiances, by enabling the multiple identification division of the diverse facets of identity, as opposed to trying to classify the various cultural groups according to the vaguer definitions mentioned above.

Minority Media as Communities of Practice

The previous subchapters have illustrated the problem of defining social groups and their media output under the concepts of indigenous, ethnic or minority language media, because those categories are not clearly separated from one another and can be used both to combine or distinguish media outlets. However, all those media forms are minority media, in that they represent partakers of alternative public spheres, or sphericules that discuss issues by and for people who are not part of the mainstream media channels.

These new media arise, not only in a context of migration, but in the renewed interest in media participation and alongside the fragmentation of mainstream media audiences (Deuze, 2006) even though these “collectives which display oppositional identities that question the legal norm and the social normality have a very limited media opportunity

structure” (Sampedro Blanco, 2004, p. 141). In some cases all the three different concepts apply to a given group’s media output, as is the case of Sami radio over the northern borders of Norway, Finland, Sweden and Russia (Pietikäinen, 2008a, 2008b).

However, they are not usually interchangeable, despite being intertwined. The interest of the media producers openly combines and negotiates those identifications, making some more prominent than others and bringing them into active competition between one another. In all the cases, identity was negotiated by the cultural producers according to their personal conceptions of the role of media and their identity practices, constrained or enabled by the structural, economic and managerial limitations of their specific medium. In other words “for media workers within minority ethnic media the defensive carapace of ‘professionalism’ may be fractured by other strong and possibly contradictory claims; namely, a personal identity politics that commands allegiance to an ethnic community” (Husband, 2005, p. 462). This suggests that the identity negotiation practices that take place in MLM production evidence and expose the larger perspectives of the communities with their specific goals and interests. Thus, studying the process of identity negotiation of MLM production practices will provide a good starting point to analyse the potential effect of MLM in linguistic maintenance.

The need to constantly negotiate, establish and reassert these variable identifications requires for a constant thickening and thinning of the given identifications, according to the specific interests of the minority media group. The media workers that work together in a radio station or a television production team encompass a social group which constantly undertakes these processes of constructions and negotiations of identification.

A conceptual perspective useful to describe and classify these groups is that of a Community of Practice (CoP) (Wenger, 1998). They can be defined as a “group that coheres through ‘mutual engagement’ on an ‘indigenous’ (or appropriated) enterprise, and creates a common repertoire” (Cox, 2005, p. 531) and they are “characterized, above all, by the opportunity of [their] members to develop their capabilities, constructing knowledge through the mutual exchange of multiple experiences, as well as through the incorporation of a socially legitimized competency” (Souza-Silva, 2009, p. 177). Therefore, a CoP is “both a sustained organisational activity in which individuals work together by employing shared routines and complementary skills, and a location where new participants are socialized into the community” (Husband, 2005, p. 463). In the case of the media, the CoP is a group which combines the labour of producing media output, while at the same time creating a learning environment where the newcomers are induced into the processes that define allegiance to the media group and its wider affiliations.

The use of the concepts ‘community’ and ‘practice’ has been criticized by a number of authors (Cox, 2005; Jewson, 2007) because they do not seem to comply with the normal usage nor social science definition of either of those words, and they render the idea of CoP ambiguous. Furthermore, CoP is deemed too broad and abstract a view to be brought unto the applied realm (Storberg-Walker, 2008). Notwithstanding this criticism, CoP is a useful framework to understand how identifications are constructed and acquired.

Wenger (1998) finds identity to be fundamental in CoPs, looking at them as being simultaneously individual and collective, and defined as much by participation as by non-participation in given activities and as part of a multiplicity of memberships, that is, a

membership to different CoPs sometimes as a full member and sometimes just a peripheral participant. Thus, identity becomes “the key concept in Wenger’s analysis” (Jewson, 2007, p. 71). Wenger (1998, pp. 143-213) sees identity as being made of two differentiated aspects: identification and negotiability. The former refers to the construction of identity by participating in processes of taking on or appropriating meanings that create our bond or distinctions with others in social groups, and the latter refers to the ability upon, and control to define, the meanings themselves which form the identity.

What it highlights is that the process of feeling a member of any category or group is a constant interplay of agreeing and accepting specific meanings, or meaningful practices, and the ability to define what those meanings are or should be.³³ CoPs are then a social space in which identity is negotiated, defined and redefined constantly in time. Husband (2005) has taken CoP as the structure under which media practitioners define their professional identities in ethnic media vis-à-vis their other identifications. Not only are minority media workers influenced by the professional identity to which they ascribe, but they are also heavily identified with other concurrent aspects of their ethnic minority status. Therefore, “this fusion of ethnic identity with media professional identity may not be so seamless or effortless” (Husband, 2005, p. 467), but remains contested and

³³ This is similar to the idea presented in the previous chapter and proposed by Hale (2004), through which allegiances to a community may be defined by the appearance of certain identifications, yet the level of commitment to them, their thickness or thinness, can be negotiated and redefined, thus not demanding for everyone within a collective category to have the same level of identification, nor the same level of meaning into it.

negotiated constantly within the community of practice. Thus, the CoP becomes the focus space for this negotiation.

The space of the CoP, whether physical or based on common action, is the central structure in which identifications are negotiated, and the decision regarding them siphons through to media production and, consequently, becomes a trait of media identification. Language is also a relevant aspect of community membership and identification in CoPs. It is important in the negotiation and establishment of the repertoire (i.e. the naming or categorization practices) of shared experiences and it is affected both by the identification and negotiability of the individual in the CoP. Tusting (2005, p. 53) argues that “looking at language use can give us insights into the way in which broader social structures and power relationships are played and maintained within the dynamics of participation and reification in a particular community of practice”. This is even more relevant in the case of multilingual CoPs, where the presence, absence or precedence, and overlapping of one language upon another also show the power stance of each of the languages in the creation of meaning.

Media producers for MLM

The media are the main vehicles of identity representation and legitimization in contemporary societies (Browne, 1996, 2005; Cormack, 2000, 2004, 2005, 2007b; Cottle, 2000; Deuze, 2006; Ginsburg, 2008; Hartley, 2004; Hartley & McKee, 2000; Husband, 2005; E. H. G. Jones, 2007; Lysaght, 2009; Martínez, et al., 2008; McElroy, 2008a; Pietikäinen, 2008a, 2008b; Riggins, 1992a; Roveda Hoyos, 2008; Sampedro Blanco, 2004). Despite the relevance of media on all levels of community building, there has been little

study on the persons or groups who engage in cultural production (Mahon, 2008). Minority ethnic media have been a neglected area of media practice, especially because it has been the majority media that have preponderantly been the focus of attention (Husband, 2005).

Most studies on MLM underwent a first phase of descriptions of the current presence of language in the media and the development of policies and media in them (making most of the content of the *Mercator Media* Forum journal articles) and then have concentrated on the depiction of the minority language community within their own media, in terms of content analysis, focusing on the construction of territorial identity (Amezaga, et al., 2000; Castelló, 2007; E. H. G. Jones, 2007) or political representation (Laszló, 2008), the aesthetic of narrative choices of specific audiovisual products (Evans, 2002; Glyn & Tyson, 2007; McElroy, 2008b; Santo, 2004; see also Part 1 of Wilson & Stewart, 2008b), the effect of recordings and broadcasting on oral tradition (Leguy, 2007), an analysis of the relationship between the minority language community and the larger majority community through the study of one radio broadcast (Luykx, 2001; Martínez, et al., 2008), comparative analysis of media campaigns for MLM (Hourigan, 2001, 2004a, 2004b), examination of the possibilities of new media (Cunliffe, 2004, 2007; E. H. G. Jones, 1998; Staffans, 1997), the issues of translation and dubbing into or from minority languages (O'Connell, 2007; Thomas, King, & Jones, 2001; Walsh & O'Connell, 2008, and most articles on *Mercator Media* Forum 9), an examination of the tendencies, possibilities and limitations of one MLM outlet (Pietikäinen, 2008a), a study of the programme output in minority languages of a handful of MLM radio stations (Uribe-Jongbloed & Peña

Sarmiento, 2008), responses to surveys on the influence of television shows on the use of a minority language amongst bilingual teenagers (Burmeister, 2008), and a comparison of the relation between linguistic policy and linguistic practices in certain MLM (Kelly-Holmes, Moriarty, & Pietikäinen, 2009).

Five of those studies (Castelló, 2007; Evans, 2002; Kelly-Holmes, et al., 2009; Martínez, et al., 2008; Pietikäinen, 2008a) aim at answering, even if just partially, Cormack's (2007b, p. 65) question presented above: ***How do specific media interact with local, cultural and national identities?*** These works include the perception of the producers, obtained through interviews and participatory observation, and provide valuable information to understand the decision-making process that leads to the production of a minority language programme, and to determine the linguistic choices made in the development and final output of production. In one way or another, they engage with the CoPs that establish media production.

Evans (2002) shows that Inuit companies producing audiovisual works in Inuit language and culture are divided among those carried out by IBC a government-supported organization, and Igloodik Isuma, an independent producer. Whilst the former works within the established Canadian cultural and media status quo, the latter tries to oppose Canadian colonialism. Both work at the same time inside the already established system of cultural hegemony, one participating in it, with the other one challenging it. Clearly, the two groups compound their indigenous identity as either cohesive or integrated with the larger Canadian national consciousness, or somehow alternate to it.

In the case of the study of the bilingual radio programme *Kawsaypura Yachanakushun* in a community radio station in southern Ecuador, Martínez et al. (2008) discovered a series of issues. There was a lack of women participation, a strong interest in language revitalization and mestizo-indigenous interaction in the programme. At the same time, they noticed the programme was being one-sided in its political discussions, due to the excessive participation of local officials as guests and the lack of an open microphone system for different perspectives. The main purpose of the research focused then on the community value of the radio programme, and its potentialities, rather than a discussion into how those different identifications (masculine, indigenous, and political) have a bearing with the linguistic output.

Pietikäinen (2008a) focused her study on the experiences of Sami journalists in their everyday practices, and discovered how Sami media allowed them to get political power generating resistance against the construction of an hydroelectric plant in their territory, increased the awareness of their community, and contributed to the survival and strengthening of the Sami language. However, these gains came with trade-offs which followed some of the producers' decisions: since not all Sami speak indigenous languages, considerable proportions of the populations were left out of the mediated community, and it implied difficulties in trying to find native speakers for some of the Sami languages. The fact that the journalists were willing to sacrifice part of their audience because of the language, and their commitment to finding people to interview in the Sami language, evidences the 'thickness' granted to language for the identity of the radio production at the expense of other ethnic identifications and interests.

In a further article that includes an excerpt about Sámi media (Kelly-Holmes, et al., 2009), their situation is contrasted with the cases of Basque language television and Irish commercial radio. By contrasting different language communities, but also different media outputs, the researchers concentrate on the identity elements and level of compliance with linguistic polices, whether explicit or implicit. The comparison shows that “minority language media face the challenges of language shift and (increased) multilingualism/hybridization” (p. 239), and MLM producers evidence contrasting views about monolingual content for a multilingual audience, making the top-down, nationally-backed approach of monolingual exclusivity come under question in their practice. This questions the upheld belief that monolingual media and participation are the only way to prevent language shift, presenting a challenge on “how to turn this increasing multilingualism and hybridity into a resource while, at the same time, contributing to protecting minority languages” (Kelly-Holmes, et al., 2009, p. 240).

Castelló (2007) highlights that decision-making in Catalan audiovisual drama production depended heavily on production, economic and political issues. Similarly to the comparison mentioned above, Castelló introduces the perception of a section of scriptwriters, who contested the normalization of the language in media products, arguing that fiction should be more faithful to the bilingual reality of Catalonia. The relevance of the decision making process upon the linguistic output of Catalan television dramas is encapsulated by the disagreements amongst scriptwriters:

Those in favour of the [linguistic normalization] policy argue that TVC [Catalan Television] has been the most important tool for domestic language in the last 20 years and fiction ... is like a [daily] language lesson. For others, fiction is not a

language course and its standardization of the texts blurs differences among characters. Scriptwriters who plead for minimizing standardization think that this criterion impacts in two different ways: First in naturalistic programmes, standardization reduces realism because characters lose credibility. ... Second, in humorous programmes, it sometimes makes it difficult to crack language based jokes. (Castelló, 2007, p. 61)

Institutional imposition in production clearly denoted that Catalan was still not normalized, but that linguistic and cultural Catalan-ness were direct mandates of TVC. A question arises as to whether the scriptwriters interviewed by Castelló would have revealed the same information, had they been interviewed during the scriptwriting process, rather than some years afterwards. Although this question cannot be answered, the interest of those linguistic decisions in present might also provide other insights in the negotiation of identities constantly active in MLM practice.

The four case studies, and the comparative study shown, provide the different varieties of cultural positioning that producers and practitioners may adopt in their negotiation of identities within media production. In the case of the Inuit, two different strategies were present to reinforce ethnic identity as participant or oppositional to Canadian hegemonic views. For the radio station programme in Ecuador, social cohesion and the structure of a mestizo-indian community superseded increased language output. Journalists in Sami radio have prioritised language over other ethnic identity markers, emphasizing the role of the radio as a linguistic revitalization structure and evidencing their identification with the Sami languages despite the decreased audience. At the same time, the Sámi, as the Basque Television producers and the Irish radio presenters, allow for certain level of hybridity and heteroglossia to permeate their work, understanding that there is no

monolingual audience, and that multilingualism is a part of, if also a challenge to, their identity. For Catalan scriptwriters, the debate between the linguistic aspect of their production collided with their professional interest to create better quality shows, and evidenced that standardisation practices were seen as aesthetically constraining.

Conclusion

The review of the literature of MLM studies has shown how, despite its roots in ethnic and indigenous media developments, it has pursued its own area of studies within Europe, following the increasing importance given to linguistic identity in the European Union. However, the growing interest in ethnic and indigenous media worldwide, and the relevance of new immigrant languages to the European Union, as well as more interest in exchanging knowledge and forming networks of identity and interest prompted by globalisation, would appear to indicate that the applicability of MLM as an area of studies also depends on its possibility to provide a space for reflection beyond its European origins. This brings together the claim that ethnic and other types of minority media have been established because of an increasing interest in participatory media culture partly fostered by the internet (Deuze, 2006) and stimulated by reduced production costs and increased access to equipment (Ginsburg, 1991; Wilson & Stewart, 2008a).

Related to that participatory culture is the idea that globalisation implies action at a distance and an enlargement of our phenomenological space, along with the cultural and media imperialism undercurrent that is still associated with it. They serve as the

background of the power relations that New Social Movements based on cultural identity seek to oppose and the various hegemonies they try to counterbalance.

The series of documents and concerns raised in Europe regarding identity have often held language as a key factor rather than culture, because, “a straightforward and non-contentious equation between language and culture cannot easily be made [since] it is not easy to differentiate minority language cultures in any terms beyond the language itself – cultural content seeps across these divisions” (Cormack, 2000, p. 11).

However, the case for other parts of the world is dissimilar, for a score of reasons ranging from territorial claims to religious and tradition differences. Some of these differences are encapsulated under the broader collective ethnic or indigenous identities, which consequently stress the interest in creating parallel, alternative or counter-hegemonic public spheres, or sphericules. For some of these groups language is the means of reaching self-determination as much as its goal (Nichols, 2006), though not necessarily for all of them. In spite of this, the relationship linguistic communities have with already established media hegemonies is managed differently by each group, some working within the system while others create – or aim to establish – counter-hegemonic public sphericules of their own, most of which work with small structures and organizations that are usually disregarded or allowed to coexist in the fringes by mainstream media (Evans, 2002).

Furthermore, although some ethnic minority and indigenous media are produced by groups which are at the same time minority language communities, it has been consistently shown that they do not always broadcast **in their minority language**. An

inquiry into the production and the decision making process, in linguistic terms, of those involved in ethnic and indigenous media, might explain why there is low output in the language, despite having the channel for it.

Following the explanations provided by Hale (2004) and Van Parijs (2008), linguistic minority communities may decide to leave their language to fade because their identification with the language is thinning out, and the respective trade-off cost of maintaining it through the media may be considered too high. This trade-off happens in production groups, strengthening or weakening certain identifications in a constant process of identity negotiation. Hale's perspective of identity as a *social radar* and Wenger's (1998) CoP, may combine well to present a methodological framework to study how these processes take place in media production practices.

Finally, there has been a gap on the empirical research that has been done on the relationship between language and its maintenance. MLM producers, in their language standardisation and normalisation roles, play a key role in linguistic maintenance. However, they might not consider their work as a linguistic one, but rather as a professional or cultural one for which language only represents an instrumental function for the purpose of communication.

The essential topic of debate proposed by Cormack on MLM studies is that it explores, among other things, the ***relation between identity and the media***. Within those boundaries, a study of the production practices of media of minority language communities, which may or may not broadcast in the minority language, provides empirical evidence of internal identity negotiations which may be fundamental to further

understand the relationship between the media and language maintenance. As presented by Cormack himself:

There is a need to analyse carefully the work of minority language [cultural producers and educators], particularly in small communities, particularly when they are in positions of power of any kind, and even more particularly when that power lies in the media. (Cormack, 1998, p. 48)

If we admit that the negotiations of identity have an impact on media production, and thus upon linguistic output, and that the Community of Practice which endeavours to undertake media production are the gatekeepers or role-models who lead the way in our modern societies, then we must admit that their own negotiations of identity and the impact they have will necessarily provide an idea of how the whole process of linguistic maintenance is integrated with the media practices. Bearing these ideas in mind, and trying to reformulate Cormack's question about ***how do specific media interact with local, cultural and national identities***, these two issues form the basic questions that this research project wants to cover:

1. How do media producers of MLM reflect on their own identifications (ethnic, indigenous, linguistic, or others)?
2. How do they prioritise them in their production practices?
3. What is the impact of the prioritisation of identifications upon linguistic output?

Furthermore, in order to ensure that different types of media are studied, and that they also serve to see the development beyond the Western European cases already rendered in theory by Cormack, this research also aims to answer the following question:

4. What does a study of different cases of MLM production practices between Europe and the rest of the world add to the developing field of MLM studies?

Thus, the objectives of this research are to describe and classify the identifications of MLM producers, determine the impact of the prioritisation of certain identifications upon others, and, finally, use the results from the case studies to strengthen the theoretical construction of the area of studies in MLM.

Chapter III: Methodological Issues

The literature review has shown that there are important aspects about MLM production that have not been researched, and which are fundamental in order to understand how media and language interact, and how media may prove useful to language maintenance. Furthermore, the literature review also evidenced the very limited theoretical work that has been undertaken in MLM studies outside a European context.

The research questions that stem from the literature review are:

1. How do media producers of MLM reflect on their own identifications (ethnic, indigenous, linguistic, or others)?
2. How do they prioritize them in their production practices?
3. What is the impact of the prioritization of identifications upon linguistic output?
4. What does a study of different cases of MLM production practices between Europe and the rest of the world add to the developing field of MLM studies?

The questions engage with two separate aspects: the first three questions are concerned with people – the producers – and how their actions define their media production and, consequently, the linguistic output of their work; the fourth question is more theoretical and is aimed at analysing whether the existent theoretical frameworks are enough to encompass the MLM phenomenon, or whether other aspects that arise from this present research need to be taken into account. Conversely, two different sets of tools are required: one set concerned with how to obtain information about identity allegiances

and negotiations of producers in their respective work settings, and a second one on how to structure that into a larger theoretical debate.

It is also necessary to determine the MLM production groups that constitute the source of information for this research, and how they have been selected. There are many different kinds of MLM outlets world-wide. Most theoretical work in the development of the MLM area of studies, as pointed out earlier, has been done within a European context. In order to evaluate the appropriateness of the theoretical frameworks already in place in the field, it is useful to inspect MLM cases outside Europe. This can be especially fruitful if they are contrasted with at least one of the European cases used as basis to the development of the theoretical framework in the first place.

The following sections respond to these questions. They engage with the two different aspects highlighted, and present the selection of the case studies. However, since the selection of the specific case studies has a bearing upon the choice of the most appropriate methodological tools – because cultural and linguistic aspects are fundamental to this research – the section outlining them precedes the one about the specific tools selected.

Minority Language Media examples

This section aims at describing the situation of MLM in the world and presents two cases as the empirical base of the research. The two cases chosen aim to represent a considerable degree of difference and draw attention to the wide range of possibilities that opens up when discussing the issue of MLM on a world-wide scale.

World language diversity

According to Ethnologue (Lewis, 2009) there are about 6,909 living languages in the world, of which only 234 (3.4%) are original to Europe, compared to 993 (14.4%) in the Americas, 1,250 (18.1%) in the Pacific, 2,110 (30.5%) in Africa, and 2,322 (36.6%) in Asia. Looking at the statistics even further, there is a much wider variety. Whereas the average language of Europe has well over 6 million users, with half the languages of Europe having more than 200,000 users, in the Americas, the average language has only 50,000 speakers, and half of the languages have less than 2,300 speakers. European languages, evidently, are faring better overall than other languages. Five out of the ten most spoken languages in the world are of European origin.³⁴ They are also the languages spoken in most places of the world, with English being spoken in over a hundred countries while some of the other European languages spoken in over 30 countries each.

This information illustrates the complex picture of language interactions world-wide. It makes evident that countries have to cope with language diversity constantly, because language diversity within every country is not a curiosity, *but actually the most common occurrence*. Taking a look at the country and language tables provided by Ethnologue (Lewis, 2009), a linguistic variety of over 40 languages is to be expected in most countries. If linguistic diversity is an integral part of every country, MLM studies has world-wide relevance; even more so when it becomes evident that many countries harbour languages within their territories which are not officially acknowledged and represented. Hence, MLM as an area of studies has a global remit, and to account for that, it becomes

³⁴ Spanish comes second after Chinese, English is the third, Portuguese comes seventh followed by Russian, and German is the tenth.

important to test its current theoretical developments in cases different to those that have been already studied.

Endangered languages

The idea that languages are under some sort of risk or threat has become common in many disciplines in recent years (Duchêne & Heller, 2008). Although the most usual association is with those languages which are disappearing all over the world (see Crystal, 2000; Dalby, 2002; Grenoble & Whaley, 1998; Harrison, 2007; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Tsunoda, 2001, p. for more information about language disappearance), the discourse of endangerment has also been used to argue in favour of larger languages under no real threat of disappearance, but whose majority stance seems at risk by the growth of other linguistic groups within a, supposedly, monolingual State, as in the case of the USA (see Schmidt, 2008), or because of the risk of dialectal variation leading to language separation in the case of Spanish (del Valle, 2008).

A language is considered endangered when its users stop using it as means of communication for a variety of reasons.³⁵ Languages can disappear suddenly when natural disasters, genocide or widespread diseases wipe-out entire user populations.³⁶ Nonetheless, the most common cause is usually that users of a language stop using it and

³⁵ Tsunoda (2001, p. 8350) lists ten different reasons which lead to language endangerment: 1. Dispossession of the land by invaders; 2. Decline or loss of population; 3. Relocation of the people away from their traditional land; 4. Socioeconomic oppression; 5. Low status of the language; 6. Assimilation policies of the government; 7. Switch to modern life; 8. Religion; 9. Mixture of speakers of various language; 10. Language attitude.

³⁶ Nettle and Romaine (2000, p. 51) define this as 'sudden death' as opposed to 'gradual death' due to language shift. See also Tsunoda (2001).

adopt an altogether different one. This process is called 'language shift' (Fishman, 1991, 2001), and ultimately leads to the disappearance of the language.

The conditions that lead a language to disappear are affected by a multiplicity of factors. Political issues, such as state support, and environmental issues, such as ecological and climate change, may have considerable influence in leading a language to disappear, and they are but a sample of all possible reasons for language demise (Crystal, 2000; Dalby, 2002; Grenoble & Whaley, 1998; Harrison, 2007; Maffi, 2001; Nettle & Romaine, 2000). If language disappearance seems to be part of the normal state of things, the question is why we should bother to prevent their disappearance.

Rivenburgh (2005) discovered that international reports by the press tend to portray the loss of the language as relevant only to scientists (especially linguists) and the language community itself. Furthermore, she argued that these international news wires frame the disappearance as caused by conscious choice made by the community, a historical transgression that cannot be modified, or a recent global trend, thus unavoidable. The news wires do not bring up how the language loss represents a loss of all common human knowledge (Harrison, 2007; Pinker, 1994, p. 260) nor how it may serve as proxy for the destruction of the environment (Maffi, 2001; Nettle & Romaine, 2000). The issue is simplified by making the two most evidently self-interested groups, academics and the community members, appear as the only ones affected by the disappearance of the languages (Rivenburgh, 2005). In spite of this, many international organizations have made efforts to bring more attention to the loss brought about by language disappearance.

UNESCO (2011a) has called for action to be undertaken by governments and linguistic communities to prevent this demise, and has sponsored a programme which promotes international cooperation for this purpose. Moreover, UNESCO took steps to protect endangered languages. It proclaimed 2008 the UN Year of Languages. It promoted research projects on specific languages, and it had considered encouraging the protection of endangered languages through a convention (Wintermans, 2008), although the latter has yet to occur. However, since the conventions on Cultural Diversity (UNESCO, 2002, 2005) and Intangible Heritage (UNESCO, 2003) both hint at the protection of endangered languages, it is unlikely that a separate convention will garner enough momentum (Wintermans, 2008, p. 233).

Furthermore, UNESCO (2011b) has provided an updated version of Wurm's (1991) 'Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger of Disappearance' and also a web version to be browsed online. This map includes a measure of the language's vitality – or endangerment –, although it is simply divided into five categories, ranging from unsafe to extinct.³⁷ The category given is based on an assessment carried out following an evaluation of nine factors to measure language vitality and endangerment (UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Linguistic Vitality, 2003).³⁸ One of those aspects is especially relevant to this research:

Response to new domains and media.

³⁷ Here it is useful to remark that between the previous atlas (Wurm, 1991) and the online one (UNESCO, 2011b), Catalan has ceased to appear as an endangered language altogether. This has important implications in the promotion of the language, since it is now considered safe.

³⁸ The nine aspects are: 1. Absolute number of speakers; 2. Percentage of speakers compared to the total population of the state; 3. Availability of materials for education and literacy; 4. Response to new domains and media; 5. Type and quality of documentation; 6. Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use; 7. Shift in domains of language use; 8. Community member's attitude to their own language; and, 9. Intergenerational language transmission.

The vitality assessment becomes of considerable importance in arguments for political support for minority languages, since it provides an internationally recognized and legitimized statement in favour of developing a provision for MLM. Although Cormack (2007a, p. 2) originally considered the 'endangered' sobriquet subjective, he has later on admitted its significance for MLM studies, claiming that "ultimately, of course, it is the fact that many of these languages are endangered that is the main justification for this work" (Cormack, 2004, p. 10). But since the endangered language category does not include those languages which may be a minority in one national territory, while a majority somewhere else, it does not work as a synonym to replace minority language. Nevertheless, the likelihood of disappearance of languages, and the loss of cultural wealth it may represent, will remain as one of the main moral reasons for pursuing research in MLM.

However, there is a caveat. The various motivations to prevent the demise of a language should not overcome the community's freedom to decide how to define and undertake the preservation, maintenance and further use of the language (see Van Parijs, 2008, p. for a lengthier debate). A language is not only a repository for knowledge or an aesthetic singularity, it is a means of communication with long-standing cultural value for a community, and as such, it is the commitment and desire of said community which should be pressed forward before any outside interest.

But, if the world-wide picture evidences that minority languages within states are the norm, rather than the exception, the question of why there are no MLM outlets for each of them seems more pressing.

Cormack's seven conditions for the development of MLM

In order to answer the question of why MLM do not emerge in all cases where there is a linguistic minority, Cormack (1998) provided a set of interlocking variables that he considered should be taken into account to assess the chances of success for MLM development.

The seven factors he considered are summarized as follows (see [Table 1](#)):

Factor	Description
Number of users of the language	One million is considered to be the minimum size of population to justify the full range of modern media. However, although larger numbers might seem to be necessary for media provisions to make sense in economic terms, even small numbers may lead to provisions if they have sufficient political backup.
Mass Campaign for Media	This is necessary "because [MLM access] is a political matter and without clear demonstration of political pressure no changes will be made" (Cormack, 1998, p. 40).
Leadership and Organisation	Strong leaders and organized collectivities exert influence and garner attention to promote their grass-root efforts.
Political Culture of the Relevant State	Centralist states are less likely to concede MLM provisions than federal states or those with autonomous regions.
Political Weakness of the Central Government	Willingness of central government to concede power to regions or communities is higher when parties need to strike political deals.
Symbolic Status of the Language	Whether the language serves as support for nationalistic discourses, even for those who do not speak the language.
International trends	Debates of Europeanization and its unity in diversity motto. Documents such as the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages

Table 1: Cormack's (1998) seven factors for MLM development

Cormack limited minority languages to those of Western Europe for his own study, and considered these seven conditions to play a relevant role for successful media development for those languages. He argued that the political factor is the most relevant one for linguistic minorities to achieve success in access to media provisions. The seven conditions clearly show this convergence into political force, with those aspects showing, in one way or another, how the political momentum serves the purpose of a specific community.

Notwithstanding, there are some problematic issues in his selection and construction of the conditions. First of all, Cormack (1998) argued that these conditions are to be met for “fully-fledged media output, with reasonable range of contents” (p. 39), but never explained specifically how success was measured: output hours; available separate media provisions; numerical correlation between majority and minority language media products available locally, regionally, or nationally; or, the range of different media, for instance. Since he provided no examples of those cases he actually considered as proven to be successful, and how that success is defined, it is difficult to see how said conditions would be necessary for them.

Secondly, in his own description of the conditions Cormack actually provided evidence on how one of them actually does not represent a necessary condition. He argued that “the numbers involved (...) might seem to be the most likely factor” (p. 39) later on saying that they are not, thus showing that rather than a condition, large numbers of users help providing a backing for some of the other conditions described. Thus, the number of users

is merely descriptive of potential support, but it is in no way a condition for MLM development.

Furthermore, the seventh condition, that of international trends, is presented by Cormack from the perspective of 1998 looking backwards to recent events rather than starting from before the successful cases were implemented. Cormack (1998, p. 42) included as international trends the development of S4C in Wales, TV3 in Catalonia, and ETB in the Basque Country. Again the problem stems from not defining which cases were taken as the successful ones, and how to define their success. The international trends seem to have been set and defined by MLM outlets, creating a momentum for new outlets to draw on their experience and relative success, but cannot, therefore, be considered a prerequisite or condition for their coming into existence. Thus, though it cannot be taken as a condition of the most successful MLM in Western Europe, it is clearly a condition that has relevance to any new outlet.

The remaining five conditions do, however, exemplify issues that took place in the case of existent MLM provisions of the time, and which can also be structured to describe likelihood for those media to become established. Following Cormack's reasoning and assuming the best case scenario, there is more likelihood for MLM to be established in the case of minority languages which enact mass campaigns, under clear and concise leadership, linking linguistic identity to discourses of national identity, within federal nation-states at a moment when central power is weak, and after major international developments promote debates on cultural and linguistic diversity and plurality. The main cases that lead him to consider this to be the ideal situation are the Catalan, Basque and

Galician cases in the Spanish state, and the Welsh, Scots Gaelic and Irish cases in the United Kingdom, although it could be argued to what extent these conditions have really been met in each case.

If we take this much to be true for MLM in Europe, a comparison between one of those successful cases, with a different case outside Western Europe, would allow us to see in how far this requirements can be considered to be fundamental to the development of MLM world-wide. Furthermore, the application of this framework to provide a background to the cases studies would also evidence the strengths and shortcomings of Cormack's proposed area of studies.

Selecting two case studies³⁹

Although the concept of 'nation', still a contested category, raises questions regarding the appropriateness of cross-national research (Livingstone, 2003), it proves suitable to use 'nation' as the comparative category in this research. Since a minority language is only considered as such when in comparison to another language within a nation-state, and media policies and broadcasting legislation are enacted on the national or state level, it remains a comparative category. In this way, the use of nation-states here is taken as a unit of analysis where "systematic relations are sought among [measurable] dimensions, each nation thereby serving as one unit or data source" (Livingstone, 2003, p. 485).

As debated earlier, most information for the constitution of the MLM area of studies has come from Europe. Welsh-language media production in the United Kingdom can be

³⁹ The full description of the situation of MLM in the countries selected is explained in detail at the beginning of their respective chapters.

considered to be among the most successful cases of MLM development in terms of television broadcasting, with one dedicated channel, even if it was only for a certain amount of hours a day during most of its existence,⁴⁰ and it has been fundamental for most theorization of MLM as an area of studies (see the previous chapter). Moreover, it presents a situation akin to other European countries, where (endangered) minority languages are often found under specific constituent nations or autonomous regions,⁴¹ and where they seem to compete not only with a majority language but with the increasing diversity of immigrant languages. It is also not only a minority language, but one with claims to indigenusness in the region it is spoken, and currently considered to be endangered.

The other case selected is that of Colombia which represents a situation closer to the one found outside Europe: there are various languages, many of which have a dwindling number of speakers in comparison to the majority language. In Colombia one single majority language (e.g. Spanish) is spoken by most of the population, whereas the other 60+ languages together only account for less than 5% of the total population (DANE, 2007; Lewis, 2009). Furthermore, there are both indigenous (i.e. pre-colonial), and non-indigenous minority languages, which are also endangered. Despite this variety and the reduced number of minority language users, there has been a remarkable growth in MLM

⁴⁰ That was the case for the analogue terrestrial version of the channel. Since the introduction of S4C digidol (S4C Digital), there is a 24-hour outlet of Welsh-language programming.

⁴¹ Although it cannot be generalized to all countries of Europe, it is also the case for Catalan in Catalunya, Basque in the Basque Country, and Galician in Galicia, in Spain, and also Frisian in Fryslân in the Netherlands, Sardinian in Sardinia in Italy, to name a few.

outlets in the country. Most of them are radio stations recently established, although there are some token gestures in regional and national public television channels.

Comparing these two cases, thus, helps provide a more representative global view on MLM and also serves to contextualise the extent of MLM inquiry, instead of concentrating on more similar cases, within one continent. It helps address the “critical need for comparative research about the impact of media on identity” (Tubella, 2004, p. 386). In fact, they provide insight into whether MLM studies can be used as a theoretical framework to be applied beyond the European context. Bringing a non-European case to the fore would also follow recent calls to de-Westernise media studies (Curran & Park, 2000; Gunaratne, 2010; Matsaganis, et al., 2011) and offer more glimpses into the development of ethnic minority media in Latin-America.

The language groups chosen have very similar language endangerment levels according to UNESCO (2009), with Welsh, in Wales, Wayuunaiki and Creole, in Colombia, within the ‘unsafe’ category, and Nasayuwe, in Colombia, in the ‘definitely endangered’ category. Two different media are being considered: Television production in the Welsh case, and Radio production in all the cases in Colombia. Although it is unusual to compare two different media, there are reasons to do so in the present research.

This research is aimed at understanding how identity allegiances have an effect on MLM production. Since the interest is in the correlation of identity markers and production decisions, rather than specific production outcomes or styles, the kind of broadcast media is not fundamental. They can be compared effectively, not in the technical characteristics of their products, or regarding their financing and final benefit, but seeing them as media

production Communities of Practice which create MLM products. In this sense, this research echoes the comparative approach of applied linguistic policy in media practice developed by Kelly-Holmes et al (2009), but crossing over the geographical boundary constrained to Europe in that article.

Beyond the selection of the given countries, the groups selected have been chosen to be relatively small Communities of Practice (CoP) which can be engaged with both in terms of size as in terms of access. For the purpose of this research, CoPs represent the groups selected to be analysed. The production groups which interact for a common goal (i.e. a given weekly TV programme or the daily radio schedule) engage constantly in this learning process and construct their identity through reinforcing certain aspects whilst ridding it of others. In the specific case of media production, the reification (Wenger, 1998, pp. 57-71) process becomes broadcast material and turns into a cultural product. In other words, identity negotiation determines the production outcome and the presence and absence of given material (i.e. linguistic composition) of the output. Studying the process of negotiation which goes on in the production groups as communities of practice will provide an insight into the decision-making strategies and justifications that define (certain) linguistic output.

Thus, the research looks at four welsh-language television production teams in Wales, and three different radio station production groups in Colombia. In the latter, the selection has been made based on the largest linguistic groups (i.e. Wayuu, Nasa and Raizal), the availability of their media, and the requirement that there is at least one member of the minority linguistic community in the group selected. Previous involvement of the

researcher with these communities was also considered in the selection process, ensuring that there was established rapport and that social bonds previously developed would allow for the research process to run smoothly. Since rapport is built over time and confidence, going back to the same communities strengthens the relationships that set the ground for the research process.

In the case of dealing with minority community media this is specially relevant since:

Awareness of the existence of such a relationship strongly suggests the need for a research methodology that parallels this process, or at least sets out to engage with it as seamlessly as possible. In such an environment, reciprocity becomes a key element. Working with Indigenous (or other tightly-knit local) communities engaged in media production places researchers from whatever discipline in a good position to work as mediators between communities and external agencies like governments and NGOs. (Meadows, 2010, p. 315)

Furthermore, it also goes hand in hand with the ethical commitment of the researcher.

The genuine interest the researcher has with his or her actions and the community's involvement (Servaes, 1996b) reduces the likelihood of the community regarding the researcher as a prober or miner who only aims at extracting information from them without providing anything in return (Servaes, 2006).

The Welsh CoPs selected belong to renowned producers which had recently made at least one programme in 2009 for S4C, the Welsh-language channel (S4C, 2010). In the interest of ensuring there were a variety of production groups, the specific kind of audiovisual production was not taken into account. The importance was set on the size of the CoP, and on the geographical location of the production company, ensuring also that all of them were independent producers.

In Colombia, the MLM outlets visited were representative of the media output of their respective communities. Radio Nasa is one of four Nasa radio stations; Jujunula Makuira is one of two radio stations of the Wayuu community in northern Colombia; La Voz de las Islas is the only legal radio station which broadcasts content in Creole.

In all cases all the participants were either monolingual English or Spanish speakers (the languages the researcher can understand and speak) or plurilingual with the minority language or any other languages in their repertoire. This is of considerable importance, since linguistic intelligibility is fundamental for this research.

The selected groups are:

- Radio Nasa in Paez (Belalcazar), Cauca, Colombia. Linguistic Minority Nasa Yuwee.
- Radio Jujunula Macuira in Nazareth, Guajira, Colombia. Linguistic Minority Wayuu Naiki.
- Radio La Voz de las Islas, San Andrés Isla, Colombia. Linguistic Minority San Andrés Creole.

And the following television production groups in Wales (all of them from the Welsh linguistic minority):

- Ceidiog, Pontypridd, Wales
- Green Bay Productions, Cardiff, Wales
- Boomerang (Stwnsh Sadwrn Team), Cardiff, Wales
- Cwmni Da (Ffeithol/Hanes Team), Caernarfon, Wales

Methodological approach: Interviews, observation and analysis

The first two research questions presented aim at uncovering how media producers understand, display, negotiate and prioritise their identities in media production, and how this process then affects the linguistic output of their media products. The interest is to understand the decision-making process of the actions they undertake, and how their different interests and attitudes, stemming from their identity allegiances, define their production output. The main objective here is to understand the perception of *specific* people and see how their perception has an effect upon the choices they make in the production of MLM.

In the social sciences methodological tools are commonly divided into *quantitative* and *qualitative*. Although “the distinction between quantitative and qualitative approaches to research is of course more complicated than simply a choice between the use of numerical and statistical procedures on the one hand, and the search for patterned relationships on the other” (M. Barker, 2003, p. 316), generally the former refers to the study of quantifiable elements (e.g. intake of apples in a day by person, for example) and the latter refers to interpretation of specific situations from a non-quantifiable origin (e.g. the way in which people define the consumption of apples).⁴² Quantitative methods require for elements to be easily discriminated (e.g. apples) and measurable, in either scales or absolute definitions (e.g. eating a whole apple). They may provide excellent information for generating correlations. We can compare apple consumption to

⁴² The debate of what can actually be quantified has been amply debated as well, see, for instance Michell (2003, 2011) for the debate in psychology.

admittance to A&E wards, for instance, and discover a correlation between apple intake and lower A&E admittance. However, “quantitative researchers are reluctant to move from statements of correlation to causal statements” (Silverman, 2004, p. 28), and rightly so, because of the infinite variables that may be attached to peoples’ interest in apple consumption (and their ability to know this when reporting in a questionnaire), and the many different reasons one may be admitted to an A&E ward. This makes it very hard to prove the old saying of whether, indeed, ‘an apple a day keeps the doctor away’.. If variables can be narrowed down enough or be controlled, and the results measured over a period of time, correlation may be more clearly proven to be causality.

However, it is hard to imagine that an established set of variables previously defined in a form, in a survey or a questionnaire, may cover the multiplicity of possibilities that constitute our identity allegiances. As many of us have experienced at different times in life, Census forms, quality survey forms, and service questionnaires with multiple-choice answers rarely present all the possibilities of our perception of issues in our world. In many cases, the need to comply with pre-defined tick-boxes allows for no contestation of their appropriateness. In these cases, they lead to simple accommodation to the boundaries imposed (e.g. you tick the box which you least disagree with amongst the possibilities). If your ethnicity can only be defined by ticking one of a number of boxes, then ethnicity is defined *for* you, rather than *by* you.

In the case of defining identity allegiances, quantitative tools present more difficulties than advantages, because of the need for bound categories that are not contestable, and thus, easily quantifiable. As argued earlier in this text (see chapter II), the ambiguity of the

ethnic category –the ethnicity marker – highlight this problem.⁴³ Although quantitative research methods make direct comparison easier, because bound categories provide clearer contrasts, it is precisely the problems with those bounded categories that was debated in the literature review, and if the interest is to try and piece together the different elements that constitute complex identities rather than providing an overarching pre-defined concept, quantitative tools seem less useful than qualitative ones.

Qualitative research: a window to people's perceptions of the world

Qualitative research is developed from a phenomenological interpretation that draws from discourse as a way of producing knowledge not limited to the collection of data, but based on exchange and dialogue as bases of participatory construction of knowledge (Servaes, 2006). This poststructuralist view advocates that knowledge is constructed as a social process and that its claims of truth are based on representation, and as such the researcher can only access a version of the truth from a determined vantage point that can be presented for others to consider (Gray, 2003, pp. 20-21), rather than claiming to have found the ultimate truth on the subject. In other words, interpretative research allows for the creation of a narrative, since qualitative research is, in the end, a matter of telling a *good story* (Holloway & Biley, 2011).

Servaes (2006, pp. 940-941) defines qualitative research as a “human approach to the understanding of a human world” and expresses that it emphasises how humans

⁴³ In fact, many categories applied to Census surveys tend to create the categories themselves, as Wade (2009) has pointed out for the concept of Afro-Colombian in the 2005 Census. Sometimes small differences in the phrasing of a question may render comparison difficult, as in the case of the Scottish-Gaelic question in the UK Census in Scotland changing from “Speaks Gaelic” to “Is able to speak Gaelic”, and what it actually means to tick a box saying that (Duwe, 2005).

construct reality instead of only describing how they react to stimuli. As such, qualitative research aims at answering the questions of how people behave and operate by analysing experiences of individuals or groups, interactions and communications in the making, and traces of experiences and interactions (Flick, 2007, p. ix). This proves especially useful in studies about linguistic preference, such as those whose aim it is “to examine instances of negotiations of identities that are not necessarily limited to code-switching and to explain what identity options are available to speech event participants, what shapes these options and which identities are being challenged and why” (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2003, p. 10). Hence, since the present interest of this research is to establish how those identity negotiations take place, and the impact they have on linguistic output, qualitative methods seem to be the way forward.

Furthermore, qualitative approaches can also include ideas of participatory research, in which those who are been researched are not only subjects of evaluation, but whose discussions questioning or involving themselves in the research process are taken into account. Research subjects are able to challenge the categories, rather than just ticking boxes already defined. They also acknowledge that the purpose of research is for those researched and, as such, it should not be seen as an elitist function, but instead as a shared production, in which the participants are aware of the underlying bias the researcher may have (Arnst, 1996; Servaes, 2006).

This interest in participatory research requires for the researcher to be open and willing to discuss even the assumptions made upon how the relevance of the questions presented arise, and it presents a constant challenge in the evaluation and assessment of the results

of the research process. This is borne in mind knowing that: “Our sometimes tortuous pathways through university administrivia and bureaucracy should be underpinned by the central recurring research question: whose story is it?” (Meadows, 2010, p. 311). Since academia aims to perpetuate itself, it is difficult to pursue knowledge in ways that differ from those in vogue at the scholarly level (Arnst, 1996). To overcome this inherent bias, the research mechanism adopted needs to provide an opportunity for participants to debate, and not only respond, to the assumptions made by the researcher about their interpretation of their own actions. Adding such a contention within the methodology, satisfies both ethical and academic responsibilities of the researcher.

Finally, this research strives to fulfil the eight “Big-Tent” criteria presented by Tracy (2010). It does so by following each of the main tenets presented there. It ensures that (1) *the processes evidence the relevance of the topic*, as presented in the literature review. It shows (2) *considerable rigor in its production*, (3) *self-reflexivity and evidence of both success and failures in the application of methodology*, as can be seen here in the construction of the techniques applied, and in the final chapter in the discussion of its pros and cons. The next chapter describing and analysing the results provides (4) *profound descriptions and evidence of interpretative analysis*, (5) *avoidance of generalisations*, (6) *elicitation of significant contributions*, bearing in mind that the cases studies, though significant, are in no way proof of an overall trend in the world. The reflective process, both in the production of new knowledge and in the final discussion also presents a (7) *deep understandings of ethics as part of every element of the process of research*, which finally leads to (8) *meaningful overall coherence*.

Especially relevant to this research are those last two tenets. Ethics have been considered all along the research process as an integral part of the whole conception of its implementation. As such, there is no separate chapter nor subheading detailing them. The discussion chapter, at the end, includes reflections on the ethics of research, as experienced by this present endeavour. The tools presented in the following heading also evidence how participation as an ethical imperative has been borne in mind for the purpose of obtaining information in a way which does not harm, and may even empower, those communities visited.

Selecting the methodological tools

There are a variety of tools at the disposition of the researcher when engaging in qualitative analysis. Silverman (2004, p. 11) has presented, and classified, four major methods of qualitative research, which shall be explored briefly in the following pages: observation, analysis of texts and documents, interviews, and recordings and transcriptions.

Observation has been used by different scientists throughout history as the first approach to gathering information about the world (Babbie, 2000, p. 258). In the case of events that are directly observable to our senses, there are very little tools required to perform it. Observation may prove useful because it allows for the naturally occurring events to take their action, while the researcher concentrates on honing his or her senses to capture as much information he or she can through them. Most information is noted, recorded in one way or another, to form a corpus of data. The idea is for the observer to be descriptive without making judgement calls upon the events observed. Although it is

difficult to ensure that these observations are not formed by the cultural and academic structure of the observer (Rosaldo, 2000) – the observer bias –, it still provides direct information.

The advantages of observation, especially when researching human beings, comes from the fact that our senses work in more or less the same way as those researched, and hence we can receive the same general information that is available to them. Observed actions can be recorded, and their recurrence or context can also be accessed.

Common disadvantages of observation are a bias because of the standpoint, the availability of the appropriate set of interpretative tools ahead of the observation, including linguistic skills and overall cultural knowledge of the practices (Babbie, 2000, pp. 264-265). Furthermore, the influence of the observer upon those being observed might modify their behaviour, leading them to act differently because of the observer's presence. Content analysis of texts or other works is another common method of qualitative research. It implies taking a given product or 'text' and applying a set of tools to uncover structures, patterns, occurrences, apparition or absence of given elements, amongst other things. Textual analysis relies heavily on interpretation of elements within the texts. It aims at describing specific practices that evidence the way in which the texts or products were made. It often requires the establishment of categories that will be used to classify the results.

The advantages are that it allows for debate of intended motives in the practice, it provides clear evidence of the arguments debated, and it uses elements that are already existent and available to the researcher (e.g. media products). It tends to have a lower

cost, both in researcher's time and transportation, because material can be studied easily at the researcher's office (Babbie, 2000, pp. 295-296). It can also be used to compare ways of 'reading' the texts, and may allow for easier comparisons based on recurring elements. The disadvantages are the cultural contingency in which textual analysis may be bound. Symbolic practices, not least language, are of outmost importance to correct interpretation of media products and to their categorisation. Availability and accessibility to the texts is also very important, as is the sample selected according to the interest to be discussed.

Interviews allow for access to the social worlds in which the interviewees are situated (Miller & Glassner, 2004). This takes the interview process as a collection of different voices and contexts for the production of personal narratives, including sometimes oppositional and contrasting views (Tinggaard, 2009). As such,

The goal of interviewing should, therefore, not be to arrive at "fixed knowledge" of the self or the world once and for all but to help human beings improve the quality of their conversational reality and to debate the goals and values that are important in their lives. (Tinggaard, 2009, p. 1512)

When interviews allow for an exchange, rather than an extraction, of knowledge, a dialogue is established, enabling a collective construction of knowledge (Holstein & Gubrium, 2004).

The main advantages of interviews are that they enable interaction between those engaged, they give the respondent the possibility to adjust or modify questions as they are being asked, refuse to respond them or avoid them altogether, and even counter-question the interviewer. Although the degree of freedom in an interview depends on the

specific interest and willingness of the interviewer, because “in essence, a qualitative interview is a conversation in which the interviewer sets a general direction and follows the topics presented by the interviewee” (Babbie, 2000, p. 268), it becomes an open method that enables for the interviewee to expand on a variety of issues, reach ample detail and even expand on the aspects that he or she may consider more relevant to debate. It is also a way to reach the personal perspective on issues, especially in the case of one-to-one interviews.

It also has a series of disadvantages. Interviewing processes set the two members of the conversation in different positions of power, with the interviewer as the one in charge of setting the agenda and asking the questions. Because of this position of power, relevant issues concerning language register, formality, convention and linguistic skills (including language) may have an effect upon the result. Interviews are also staged, prepared and usually defined by clear markers that bound their beginning and their end. Exposure to different types of interviews in the media, and other influences may frame what those interviewed believe the purpose of the interview to be.

Audio and video recordings, as well as transcripts of based on standardised conventions “can offer a highly reliable record to which researchers can return as they develop new hypotheses” (Silverman, 2004, p. 13). However, they are usually an extension of any of the other methods described, rather than one in itself. They require for the information to be interpreted as a text, although if they are of ‘naturally occurring events’ they would avoid analysing intentionality.

Tool assessment

As mentioned above, all the methods have their advantages and disadvantages, and their appropriateness can be evaluated based on them. A mixed approach that brings together the advantages of two of the methods and helps overcome their disadvantages would seem to be the most appropriate way to address the research.

Textual analysis is discarded because of various issues: one, because of already existent research undertaken on specific products as mentioned in the literature review for the Welsh case; second, because textual analysis requires for comparable products, and a deeper knowledge on the cultural and linguistic intricacies of the minority language and community, which would demand linguistic and cultural competences on both aspects that the researcher does not possess; third and perhaps more relevant, textual analysis does not show much evidence of production practices that occur in the production process, because it limits the evaluation space to those elements recorded purposefully as content of the product.

Interviews allow for a self-reporting which enables access to aspects of identity negotiation to be elucidated. However, “the existential presence of a complex hybrid identity structure is not necessarily matched by a personal reflexive awareness of this complexity by the individual” (Husband, 2005, p. 466), so direct questions about identity allegiances (e.g. What is your main identity?) are pointless.

A useful way to overcome this problem is to follow an initial interview with participant observation. Original reports can be corroborated or ascertained, and other issues, such as over- or under-reporting can be contrasted. The in-situ observation provides

information which is noted while accompanying the producers in their everyday practice. An extra challenge is the fact that languages used around the researcher may not be understood by him or her. Not belonging to any of the minorities to be interviewed, representing for some an absolute 'other'⁴⁴, my position as a researcher who comes from outside is far more evident, and breaking through to those being researched may prove difficult. The literature on the topic mentions plenty of cases of the difficulties of researchers as outsiders or distanced from those researched (see for example Castillejo, 2005; Gray, 2003, pp. 33-34; Hallowell, Lawton, & Gregory, 2005, pp. 42-109; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, pp. 74-76; Servaes, 2006, p. 938), and how our own position may have an effect upon how we analyse the information received. In fact, even in the case of the practice itself, although previous media experience may provide a point of entry to a media production group, it may also add challenges to the ethnographic practices of observation (Patterson & Zoellner, 2010).

This obstacle may be bridged by asking questions to the producers, and, in cases where the question cannot be asked, noting as much of the situation as possible. The interest of providing a space for debate of the observations originally made by the researcher during the participation in their activities, aims at bridging the outsider's bias. This bias comes from the specific interest the researcher has on the subject. "Participant's ideas of *why* we, as researchers, research certain subjects is therefore of key importance when considering who we interview, and why they might want to be interviewed" (Riach, 2009, p. 363), and conversely have an effect on the information provided by them.

⁴⁴ Non-member of the ethnic group, majority-language speaking, university graduate, and male in the case of Colombia, and including the fact of being a foreigner in the case of Wales

A second set of interviews can then be used to assess this circumstance. Through the response to the observations, possible contradictions, and arising questions made by the researcher, the interviewee has the opportunity to reflect and evaluate the observations, contest them if necessary, and understand the interpretation process led by the researcher. “The negotiation of meanings and the particular constellation of relationship between interviewer and interviewee are of paramount importance for the meanings produced in a qualitative research interview” (Tinggaard, 2009, p. 1509), because they can help overcome the interpretative bias of the researcher and allow for cross pollination of ideas. Also because “whatever analytic stance is adopted, you cannot escape from the interactional nature of interviews, that the ‘data’ are collaboratively produced” (Rapley, 2001, p. 318), and that the meanings are constructed between the interviewer and the interviewee in their interaction.

This collective production of knowledge takes place because “any interview situation - no matter how formalized, restricted, or standardized - relies upon interaction between participants who are constantly engaged in interpretative practice” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2004, p. 155), and “the analytical purposes for which research interviews are designed may not be shared by participants” (Bangerter, 2000, p. 459), thus requiring constant debate and interpretation.

Furthermore, this research fosters a commitment to a research-subject-oriented perspective which “leads researchers to collaborate with, rather than investigate the practices of, the study participants” (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2003, p. 25), and implies a

responsibility to share and debate findings made by the researcher with those who take part on the research practice.

Although it seems impossible to overcome all biases, the dialogue and construction of rapport with the interviewees allow for them to contest the position of the researcher. This way the interviewee does not see her or his part as merely providing answers to abstract or contingency-bound questions, but involved in the work of making sense of their own actions and their own identifications (Riach, 2009; Tanggaard, 2009). Reflexivity becomes a key issue, and those difficult moments during interviews when the researcher's role is brought to the fore as unable to comprehend, participate, or as resembling the opposite of what is discussed, the 'sticky moments' actually "allow us to consider the ways in which research subjects acknowledge and consider their own positionality or biographically created knowledge in relation to their dialogue and practice" (Riach, 2009, p. 366). An evaluation of their decision-making reasons, their choices and underlying assumptions is not only presented but compared to how they imagine themselves to act, (re)defining their identifications and the thickness they may possess.

Issues regarding linguistic or other cultural issues might also arise. Despite the fact that the interviewees and participants may be competent in the language of the researcher, or vice-versa, the language used needs to be taken into account when making the analysis of the information. Because of this, there will not be an emphasis on specific linguistic elements or linguistic constructions, but rather on the overall context of their narrative.

The three-step approach: taking the theory into practice

Interviews are selected as the main research tool for this research process, but they are complimented by an observation of one day in the production environment. The research methodology proposed in this project follows a construction of three steps to the interview process. Those three steps are outlined after an initial informal talk between researcher and those researched, the researcher aims to begin building rapport, explaining the purpose of the research project, the mechanics of the interviewing process, the provision of the informed consent forms, and a talk about the general guidelines. The three steps are:

1. A description of the actual day of work in the life of the media producers, through an Interview to the Double (ITTD) technique.
2. Participative observation of the production work.
3. In-depth semi-structured interview.

Interview to the Double (ITTD)⁴⁵

On the first step, the objective is to understand how the research subject identifies the practice of his or her CoP. The process used to compile this information comes from the work presented by Nicolini (2009), which draws on previous work by Italian occupational psychologists of the 1970s.

The interviewee is asked to present his work in a narrative, describing to the interviewer all the actions he or she undertakes on one single day whilst at work. The way they are prompted to do so is through imagining that there was a double that would come and

⁴⁵ Though the sentence might sound odd, I have used the exact wording presented by Nicolini (2009)

take his or her place in their job whilst pretending to be him or her for the day. This type of interview is called an Interview to the Double (ITTD) and “offers a glimpse into the modes of justification and rhetorical resources members have at their disposition to make themselves accountable for different practical purposes” (Nicolini, 2009, p. 205).

It provides the interviewer with a general idea of how the interviewee defines his/her job, the relationships of accountability and responsibility, and grants a window into the process that would later ensue, when during the participative observation. This first step is recorded and transcribed after the whole process, serving as a point of departure which will help organise the other methodological steps.

Its overall potential is increased when combined with a participant observation approach, because the original ITTD may be laden with idealized moral account that encompasses three aspects. Nicolini (2009, p. 205) describes those three aspects as follows:

1. The interviewee elicits a minor common denominator among local practitioners, the aspects of the object of work which are less controversial and less likely to be contested.
2. The interview articulates some of the main practical concerns which govern his/her activity and give the practice a projected directionality and sense.
3. The interview taps into the local lexicon of accountability that novices have to learn in order to produce activities which are observable-reportable, that is accountable.

Thus, ITTD not only provides an idea of how work is undertaken, and how it is expected to be carried out, but it gives a general idea of which are the aspects of said job which are

considered as unproblematic. It will then be specifically useful in evidencing the problematic/unproblematic nature of language use in the work, as well as establishing the instances and spaces of production, and the mechanics related to it.

After being prompted to describe their day of work as a narrative to a double, the response given by each participant is recorded without any interruption by the researcher. It is later transcribed for the analysis.

The specific information given by participants varies. It is precisely the variations between their specific description of chronological or step-by-step actions and they may provide an account that goes beyond their actual specifics and include motivations (e.g. 'I do this because of X'), correlations (e.g. 'like the other week when I did X'), reaffirmation of their positioning (e.g. 'And I make X do Y' or 'have X tell Y') amongst many other possibilities.

Since the variety of responses and the information they may include cannot be measured beforehand, there is no way in which this method can be piloted and its results assessed prior to the actual application. However, all the interviews are recorded to be able to assess the information and for the specifics to be analysed and compared with the information provided by other members of the same CoP.

Also, research subjects do not come to the interview from an information vacuum about the research project. They have all received the 'Ethical guidelines' which include information about the intended objectives of the project (i.e. Identity negotiations and language output), and they have received an introductory talk in which the researcher presented himself to the group. These information elements may lead them to add more specific information they may consider of interest to the researcher into their accounts

(i.e. 'This is something you will find very interesting...'), creating some of the 'sticky moments' mentioned above. Furthermore, since the linguistic repertoires of those interviewed are always available to them, and their linguistic interests (especially when recorded) include giving visibility to their languages, their own language may make appearances in their rendition of the interview, creating questions for the researcher about the transcription process and how to interpret this information.

Furthermore, the interest on the ITTD is that it evidences the aspects of their daily tasks which they consider (or render) as unproblematic, and those to which they assign specific relevance or importance. The highlighted items are contrasted and contextualised with the observation or production practices.

Observation

The second step includes the participation of the researcher in one day of the production practice itself. First, it enables the researcher to overcome the bias of self-reporting, providing an external evaluation of the actual process undertaken in the media (Cottle, 1998). Furthermore, "by comparing the results of the interview with the observation of the everyday practice and the analysis of other sources, [one] is able to appreciate not only what the instructions contained but also what was left out and deleted" (Nicolini, 2009, pp. 205-206). It is exactly this contrast which proves extremely useful to determine their identity allegiances, because the participants can show evidence of the information they reported as well as having to explain the circumstances in which the report differs from actual activity.

Concomitantly, by participating in the actual production process the researcher has the opportunity to present to the subjects of research the aspects of their activities which he deems especially interesting, allowing the participants to reflect upon them while continuing their work, rather than afterwards. This enables them to engage in reflexivity “through reintroducing the research subjects into the research process, thus allowing reflexive moments to be woven into the analysis” (Riach, 2009, p. 366). It also allows for an interplay of seeing as well as listening (as recommended by Silverman, 2004, pp. 61-63) which allow for evident contradiction between reporting and action to be noticed, as well as creating the space for debate on how their reporting represents their engagement, and making it evident. It provides the researcher the possibility to go back to those moments in the final interview, ensuring that the process of reflexivity upon the action does not ensue as a reconstruction of a previously experienced instance, but instead allows those researched to construct their own web of meaning from the moment the action was signalled as relevant.

Linguistic and cultural barriers provide certain obstacles for the research observation (e.g. my personal intermediate knowledge of Welsh allows me to understand some conversations and basic discussions, but prevents me from joining them), making it sometimes impossible to understand the exchange (especially in Wayuunaiki or Nasa Yuwe).⁴⁶ Clearly, linguistic impairment has a bearing upon the analysis of the information, but circumventions were set in place to overcome this problem.

⁴⁶ However, the fact that all of the people who participated in the research were able to communicate efficiently in English or Spanish, the languages the researcher could use fluently, I was able to ask questions and receive answers without major inconveniences.

Semi-structured interviews

The third and final step is a semi-structured interview performed on a one-to-one basis or on a collective interview with all the available members of the CoP. The main factor that determined the type of interview was the time, space and labour requirements of the specific CoP. It was not possible to secure equal conditions for all the interview cases, and this evidences once more how the different cases provide examples of how international/intercultural research presents constant challenges for standardisation of procedures (an issue that I will discuss in depth in the conclusions).

Through this interview, the interviewee is prompted to discuss those moments of decision-making, about the relation between his/her description of his/her job following the ITTD, and the actual on-site actions undertaken. The interviewee is made aware of the moments in which the researcher has seen the action and negotiation of identity occurring and becoming crystallised, or reified, in the production process. Therefore, they will not be caught unawares in the interview, and the gesture takes a step “beyond the trend of grafting on tokenistic, self-indulgent or tick-the-box reflexive accounts and instead integrate[s] reflexivity into both our theoretical commitment and our analytical framework” (Riach, 2009, p. 367). The justification for the decisions made, as well as the description of how those decisions were made, would provide the information regarding how identities are negotiated and how this negotiation eventually becomes reified in media products that are produced and broadcast. Of special interest would be the displacement of decision-making or the accountability and responsibility shifts regarding the final decision. In other words, how media producers define the appearance or absence

of the minority language and how do they link it to other important identity processes which define them and situate them in their media production roles.

In practice, since asking directly about identity is not useful, the interviews aim to cover specific points, rather than having set questions previously defined. The questions try to cover, in one way or another, the following points:

1. Why is a certain language used//allowed to be used//present//absent?
2. What issues affect the presence of a given language in the production process // when and why is the minority language not used?
3. What aspects are relevant for the producers in their production process?
4. How does their production link with national // regional // local // ethnic // professional // other 'identities' or aspects?

The observation provides the material for the questions, in combination with the issues presented in the ITTD. The interviews are not totally free, since they have a specific interest of information and they are not aimed at analysing rhetorical strategies, nor commonly occurring talk, but rather trying to uncover specific aspects of identity allegiance and negotiation.

Cross referencing and analysing responses

The data obtained from the three-step approach is classified and organised through a selection of various instances. On the first interview, the attention is given to the structuring of the actions and processes (order in which things are done); presence/absence of the linguistic divide (descriptions, if any, of when a specific language

is used and why); highlighted elements (stressed by means of repetition, reiterative statements, inflections of speech –increased tonality, fluctuation, etc.). This provides a basic map of *what* is done, how *relevant* it may be, and how much of a *routine*, or *unproblematic*, it is. Notice, however, that though the speech is analysed if tonality seems to be relevant, a specific study on tone, prose, speech action or any other rhetorical trope is not to be carried out by the research and lies beyond its scope.

The participant observation looks at how the information originally presented is actually engaged with, and the main product is a notation of *incongruence* or *emphasis* of those actions reported. It also describes those issues not normally covered by the *usual* routine practice. These issues are brought up on the spot, and referenced for the discussion at a later moment in the in-depth interview.

Finally, the in-depth interview is used to highlight responses to the matrix of description of action and observation, following on the reflexivity brought into the process. The responses are interpreted and categorised into identifications markers. This categorisation process is heavily dependent on interpretation, and thus may be affected by the mentioned biases. However, instead of fighting against the interpretative nature of the research, the analysis is made evident to the reader. The categorisation into the already mentioned ascriptions (i.e. indigenous, ethnic, linguistic, professional, etc.) or any constituent elements of the same (i.e. territory, cultural difference, self-identification, etc.) allow for a mapping of the CoP's identification allegiances.

Furthermore, the responses are set in the framework provided by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2003), under the divisions of *Imposed identities*, *Assumed identities*, and *Negotiated Identities*. These three broad categories refer respectively to: 1. outsider defined identification or set of them, unable to be contested by the persons defined by it (in the case of the *Imposed Identities*); 2. insider modifiable, acknowledged or reified identifications provided by outsiders but embraced and accepted without negotiation (*assumed identities*); and, 3. those identifications which the respondents feel an agency in constructing, altering, defining or re-defining (*negotiated identities*). These categories coincide with the levels of participation expressed by Wenger (1998), as non-participation, marginality and full-participation, especially in how it relates to the *Negotiability of Meaning*.

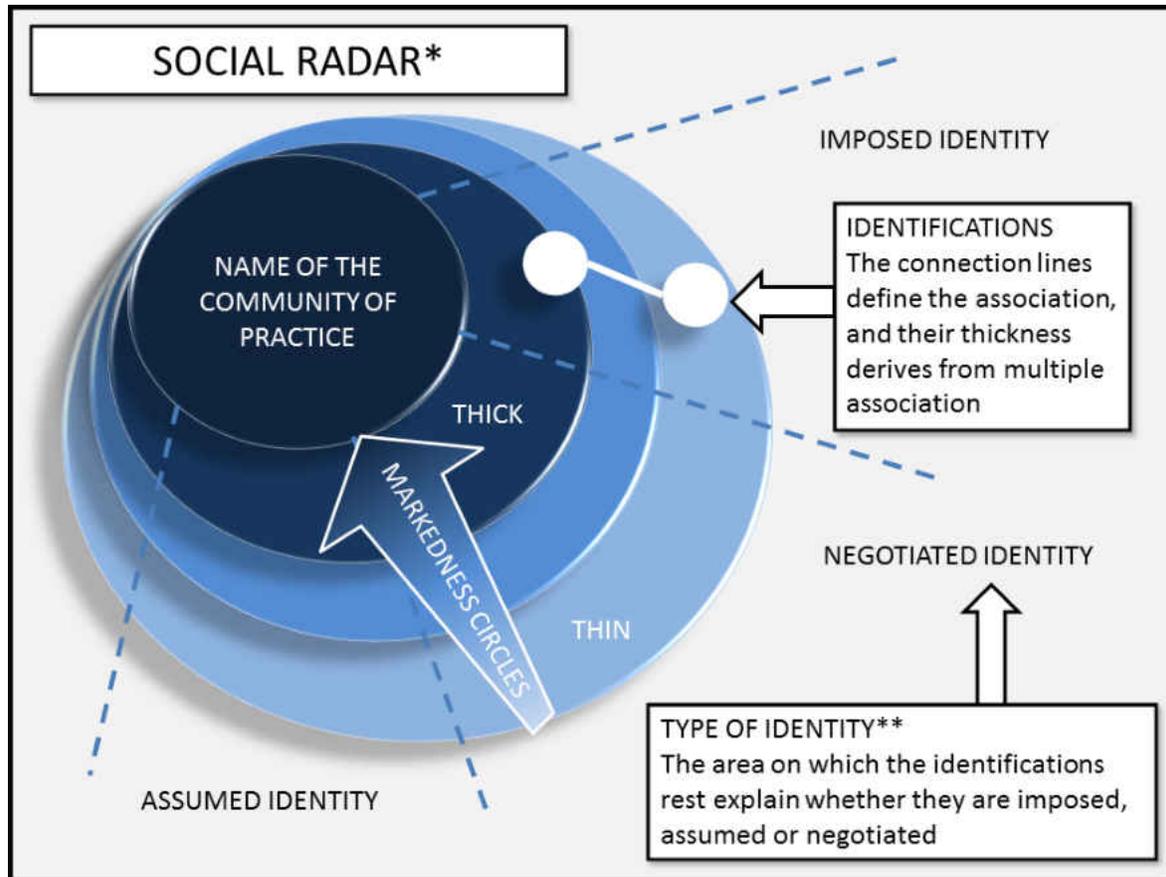


Figure 4: Social Radar.
*Adapted from Hale (2004). **Following Pavlenko and Blackledge (2003).

The categories constructed and defined in terms of markedness or thickness are used to create a visual extension of Hale's (2004) social radar (see Figure 4), aimed at emphasizing the identification thickness. The main identifications reported by the participants are integrated and interconnected with other identifications. The strength of the different connections, based on the responses and on the relationships established between them, is then classified under simple markers of thickness or thinness, considering the recurrence and interconnection of certain aspects. The respective identification is given a number for listing purposes and has no other value for the research.

Thus, the final analysis looks for establishing the relevance and main important identifications that are mentioned by the media practitioners as gearing their decision-making process, and how that is constrained, enabled or encouraged by the structures provided in their organizational setting. The expected results from the interviews are the connection between particular elements which take part in the media product, and belong clearly to the development or output of the same. Finally, the research aims at establishing the correlation between specific identification elements, their thickness, and the reification of correspondent aspects in the media products.

Bearing in mind that the cases presented have little commonality other than the Minority Language situation and their access to media, this research does not aim to provide conclusive generalisations. It highlights specific aspects of identity and its relationship with language and media production by exposing their underlying differences in negotiation practices. It may thus shed light on the way in which MLM as an area of studies may engage in keeping the conceptual differences within its focus.

Chapter IV: Colombia and Wales Media Contexts

The following pages are intended to present the media context of MLM in Colombia and Wales, and provide an overview of their development. The chapter is divided in two parts. The first part addresses the history and current situation of MLM broadcasts in the two countries within the context of their broader broadcasting environments. This intends to provide a general background to the information, especially to those who are not very familiar with their media structures. The second part uses Cormack's (1998) seven conditions as framework to present the contemporary debates on the specific languages specified in the previous chapter, namely Welsh, Wayunaiki, Nasa Yuwe, and Creole.

It is worth noting here that, as any summary, this is by no means a full recount of the history of MLM development in either nation. It is only intended to provide basic information required to understand the context under which the case studies exist. Furthermore, in using Cormack's framework, the Welsh and Colombian cases can be compared, and their similarities and differences established. This will also help interpret the results of the next chapters.

Colombian Minority Languages and media provisions

Colombia, with a population of over 41 million people (DANE, 2007, p. 64), has over 80 recognized ethnic groups (Rodriguez & El Gazi, 2007, p. 449) and more than 60 languages apart from Spanish (Lewis, 2009). The indigenous population is estimated to be under 5% of the total population, reaching 1,392,623 people, and together with other minority ethnicities (Afro-Colombian, Raizal, Palenque, and Rom) they represent little over 14% of

the total population of the country (DANE, 2007, p. 37; N.D., p. 27). Notice, however, that most of the indigenous and other ethnic populations are currently Spanish monolinguals, with less than 2% of the population of the country as users of their own languages different than Spanish.

The largest indigenous populations are the following: Wayuu, 149,827; Nasa/Paez, 138,501; Emberá, 88,096; and Pastos/Quillasingas 69,789 (Arango & Sánchez, 2004, pp. 70-71).⁴⁷ Of these four Indigenous groups, the first three maintain the use of their respective indigenous languages, whereas the Pastos/Quillasingas are now all Spanish monolinguals (Pineda Camacho, 2000, p. 119).

According to the 2005 Census, there are a variety afro-Colombian⁴⁸ minority groups, two of them maintaining the use of distinctive Creole languages: the self-recognised Raizal minority of the San Andrés Archipelago consists of 30,565 people, whereas the self-recognised Palenque community of San Basilio includes 7,470 people (DANE, N.D., p. 27) . Finally there is also a Rom population of 4,858 people, making it around 0,01% of the total national population (DANE, 2007, p. 37).

Broadcasting media history and structure

Colombian radio broadcasting development, similar to the trend in Latin America, has been predominantly commercial, and considerably extensive, since there are a great

⁴⁷ Notice, however, that the information on total number of indigenous people is based on the 2005 Census, whereas the one on the specific ethnic groups is based on the information of the 2001 Census. This is pertinent, because the number of people who defined themselves as indigenous almost doubled between the two Censuses (and quadrupled that of the 1993 Census). There is currently no discriminate information of ethnic group population or language publicly available from the 2005 Census results.

⁴⁸ Wade (2009) has highlighted the problematic status of this categorisation, and has shed light on the dynamics that create inclusive concepts of *Blackness* in academic and governmental circles, which make Raizal or Palenquero become sub-categories of the Afro-Colombian concept.

amount of radio stations licensed all over the country, totalling more than 1500 in 2011 (Ministerio de Tecnologías de la Información y Comunicaciones, 2012). Television, on the other hand, was a mixed system of public ownership with slots given by auction to independent producers until 1995 when regional and local channels were established and two private channels were allowed to begin broadcasting, leading to the demise of the previous model (Arango Forero et al., 2009).

Radio

Radio emerged in the late 1920's when the government realized the need for an official voice. The first radio broadcaster was established in 1929 as the 'Emisora HJN' (later known as Radiodifusora Nacional – National Radio broadcast) and only four months later, the first private radio station appeared, followed shortly by the first commercial radio station in January, 1930 (Arango Forero, 2011; Pareja, 1984, p. 18). Commercial radio expanded, and in the 1940s and 1950s the three major radio networks, which are still present today, were established – namely Radio Cadena Nacional (RCN), Cadena Radial Colombiana (Caracol), and Todelar (Arango Forero, et al., 2009; Pareja, 1984). In the 1970s and 1980s, despite the penetration of national television, radio maintained a large audience and ample advertisement investment, to the point that “by the end of 1977, Colombian radio was the leader in advertising investment worldwide with a share of 22%, followed by Puerto Rico (15%), Costa Rica (13%), Guatemala (12%), Chile (11%), Spain and France (10%)” (Arango Forero, 2011, p. 406). By the end of the 1990s the total number of licensed commercial radio stations had surpassed the 1000 mark, more than half of them on FM (Arango Forero, 2011).

In 2008, over 50% of the radio stations in AM and FM belonged to commercial broadcasters – with the lion’s share belonging to the three network giants RCN, Caracol and Todelar; – another 12% are radio stations labelled as ‘Radio de Interés Público’ (Public Interest Radio), which belong to governmental organizations including the police and the army; and 36% are low-powered community radio stations, established since 1997, which are usually supported by local governments or other non-governmental organizations, including religious organizations such as the Catholic church (Arango Forero, et al., 2009).

Community Radio Stations developed from the experiences of *Radioescuelas* (Radio-Schools) which started in the town of Sutatenza in the late 1940s as a literacy and training system for the rural population of the area (Beltrán Salmón, 2005; Ministerio de Cultura, 2010; Murillo, 2003; Pareja, 1984). These independent low-powered stations “dubbed themselves as community radios because of their proximity to citizens and their ability to collect local processes” (Ministerio de Cultura, 2010, p. 43). By 1995 their official recognition led them to be included in the national decrees on communication, under the title of ‘Radiodifusoras Sonoras Comunitarias’ (Community Radio Broadcasters) (Ministerio de Cultura, 2010, p. 45)

Law 1341 and Decree 2805 of 2008 provide the normative basis for the use of the electromagnetic spectrum and the overall structure of radio broadcasting, providing three possible avenues for radio stations: a) Public Interest Radio, stations financed by governmental or traditional authorities and which cannot derive revenue from advertisement further divided into three remits –Armed Forces stations; Territorial Stations, which include indigenous traditional reservations (Cabildos); and, Stations for

Education Institutions,; b) Commercial Radio; and, c) Community Radio (Ministerio de Tecnologías de la Información y Comunicaciones, 2010).

Minority languages have been more likely to be present on Public Interest Radio and Community Radio. For instance, the radio stations developed by the 'Comunidad' programme of the Ministry of Culture, and aimed for indigenous minorities, work similarly to Community Radio Stations, although they follow the requirements of Public Interest Radio. Two of the main requirements are to abstain from direct political proselytism and a ban to revenue accrued from commercial advertisement (Rodriguez & El Gazi, 2007). There are smatterings of output of minority languages in some local commercial stations (as is the case of *La voz de las Islas* in San Andrés) and in illegal radio broadcasting, but they are usually incidental, in the former, and irregular, in the latter.

Television

Television broadcast was started in 1954 under the government of the self-appointed President, General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, who inaugurated the service with a celebration of his first year in office (Arango Forero, et al., 2009; Pareja, 1984, p. 133).

From 1969 until 1995, Television was a state-owned business in the form of a public monopoly of the broadcasting channels with an oligopoly of commercial television production companies bidding for specific slots (Arango Forero, et al., 2009; Calero Aparicio, 2002; Pareja, 1984, p. 135). During this time, the hybrid model of public-private ownership of television made Colombia the Latin American exception to either private or public monopolisation: there were two public national channels with commercial production in assigned slots, one public service national channel dedicated to culture and

the arts with in-house and commissioned productions, and four regional channels which exhibited decentralized production (Calero Aparicio, 2002, p. 99).

In 1995, following the requirements of the 1991 Constitution, the Comisión Nacional de Televisión – National Television Commission – (CNTV) was established as a separate independent governmental body in charge of television policy and commissioning of regional programmes; simultaneously, the possibility of new private national channels, as well as regional, local, and community channels, both public and private, was enacted (Arango Forero, et al., 2009). This allowed the media conglomerates RCN and Caracol to create their own private channels, – consequently causing the demise of one of the national public channels –, and set the bases for the establishment of a variety of regional, local and community channels (Arango Forero, et al., 2009; Calero Aparicio, 2002).

As of 2010, there are four national public television channels (one of which broadcasts commercial programming), two national private commercial channels (RCN and Caracol), eight regional channels with commercial and government-sponsored programmes, one local commercial channel (City TV), 46 local not-for-profit channels, 718 community not-for-profit closed-circuit channels, and 46 subscription-based channels (CNTV, 2010). In 2011 a senate proposal to dismantle CNTV, following a row of scandals and allegations concerning its finances and working practices, has regional channels on the verge of losing an important source of monies for their in-house and commissioned production.

Current situation and media financing

Colombian media composition in 2010 is no exception to the situation in the rest of the Latin American region, where “as a result of the formation of conglomerates, a handful of

companies controls the majority of media interests” (Fox & Waisbord, 2002, p. 12). Since some of these companies have been acquired partly or wholly by international conglomerates, there is also the feeling that freedom of speech can be threatened and alternative communication may disappear, because journalist would feel limited in their investigations by the economic interests of the new owners (Mancinas Chávez, 2007). Many of the conglomerates interested in Colombian media are major players in the Spanish market (e.g. Prisa and Planeta Group). This has led academics and journalists to label this process of foreign investment ‘the re-conquest’ (Arango-Forero, Arango , Llaña, & Serrano, 2010).

Two national media corporations (i.e. RCN and Caracol) own direct or indirect control of the two major commercial radio networks, over the two private national commercial TV stations, and over various printed media (Arango-Forero, et al., 2010; Mancinas Chávez, 2007, p. 47; Waisbord, 2000, p. 59). However, the predominance of commercial interests is not a recent development for radio (Arango-Forero, et al., 2010; Arango Forero, 2011; Arango Forero et al., 2009; Pareja, 1984), or television (Arango-Forero, et al., 2010; Arango Forero, et al., 2009; Calero Aparicio, 2002) as was explained above. Notwithstanding this duopoly, there are a considerable number of commercial radio stations which do not belong to the major networks. Also, there is a score of low-powered community and public interest radio stations smattered across the country, financed solely by chieftaincies, local NGOs or small government, or international, grants, and mainly staffed by volunteers. There are, as of 2012, over 670 commercial, more than 550

community, and about 150 public interest radio stations in Colombia (Ministerio de Tecnologías de la Información y Comunicaciones, 2012).

Minority Language Media

From 2000-2006, radio stations sponsored by the Colombian Government were granted to 26 indigenous communities, not all of which still retain a traditional language (ONIC, 2009; Rodriguez & El Gazi, 2007; Uribe-Jongbloed & Peña Sarmiento, 2008). According to a report from 2009, there is a total of 29 indigenous radio stations, 21 which broadcast in indigenous languages, 3 which broadcast solely in Spanish despite the indigenous groups having a language of their own, and 5 which belong to indigenous groups who have lost their indigenous languages altogether (ONIC, 2009). Aside from the slots of Creole-language television programmes in the regional channel *Teleislas*, there is no television output in minority languages.

MLM in Colombia are few and far apart. Although the social and community value of indigenous radio stations is unquestionable, the amount of indigenous language output remains considerably low, usually less than one hour a day (ONIC, 2009; Uribe-Jongbloed & Peña Sarmiento, 2008). Other radio stations, especially the pirate Christian radio stations in San Andrés, have a more ample broadcast in their native Creole language, but their scheduling is irregular and their illegal use of the broadcast spectrum makes them difficult to study. Indigenous Radio Stations, just like Community Radio Stations, are also targeted by the participants of the Colombian internal conflict, in some cases receiving threats regarding the language they use for broadcasting (see, for instance, the case reported by Caracol TV, 2009). Radio remains the second most widespread medium in

general, with 68% of the population tuning in as of 2007 (Arango Forero, et al., 2009), and it is clearly the main medium for minority languages in Colombia, reaching over 78% of the indigenous population (Rodriguez & El Gazi, 2007), and some of the other ethnic minority groups. As their radio output consolidates itself, more studies exploring the correlation between media production and language usage can try to provide an answer, or at least a perspective, of the way in which media help maintain cultural, linguistic and ethnic identities.

Television output is limited to few shows in Creole on the regional channel *Teleislas*. Despite an incentive in 2009 by CNTV to encourage universities and other institutions to develop projects with indigenous and other ethnic minority groups to try to ensure that they gain access to the 5% of the broadcasting space already assigned for them in the Public Service Channel 'Señal Colombia', this has yet to show more minority language content.

Welsh media and Welsh-language media provisions

Wales is one of the constituent nations of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The total population of the United Kingdom is estimated to be 61,113,205 people (CIA, 2009) and that of Wales is over 3,000,000 people (ONS, 2009), making it around 5% of the total population of the UK. After the devolution referendum in 1997, Wales received an assembly government which could enact laws for the nation on some, not all, remits of legislation. However, the assembly decisions had to be confirmed and approved by the UK parliament at Westminster, after often lengthy processes. This

has changed after the new assembly was sworn in September 2011, following the Welsh referendum held in March 2011 which resulted in a 'yes' vote in favour of allowing the assembly to have direct legislative powers. Notice, however, that for 2012:

UK Parliament remains sovereign in relation to all UK law and can still legislate, in theory and in fact, in all areas relating to Wales. By convention however, it does not legislate for matters which have been devolved to the National Assembly or Welsh Ministers without first obtaining the consent of the National Assembly through a mechanism known as a Legislative Consent Motion. (National Assembly for Wales, 2012)

Despite the fact that “the fundamental problem faced by the people of Wales in relation to their media is that policy is made in London” (O'Malley, 2011, p. 1), it is also important to note that devolution is a process and that “the development of broadcasting policy post-devolution is still in its infancy” (Andrews, 2006, p. 205). Hence, for 2012 media policy remains beyond the powers of the National Assembly for Wales.

Broadcasting media history and structure

British broadcasting was an exclusively Public Service Broadcast (PSB) from its start in 1922, continuing to the incorporation of the BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) into a public body in 1927, and it remained solely PSB until the introduction of the Television Act of 1954, which opened the opportunity for privately-owned television companies (Cormack, 1999, p. 417).

Radio

The first phase of broadcasting policy in Great Britain, from 1922 onwards, was driven from London. In 1936, “the pressure from Welsh political elites resulted in, at first, the

establishment of a BBC Wales region in radio” (Barlow, Mitchell, & O'Malley, 2005, p. 221), which was a mainly English monolingual radio broadcast.

The first appearance of Welsh in the airwaves were a 10-minute talk by Huw J. Huws and a two-line quote by Gwilym Davies on St David's Day 1923, broadcast from Cardiff (Davies, 1994, pp. 9, 392). This was not followed by larger amounts of Welsh-language radio broadcasting, well until “the pressure from Welsh political elites resulted in, first, the establishment of a BBC Welsh region in radio in 1936 and increasing levels of support for Welsh- language programming” (Barlow, Mitchell, & O'Malley, 2005, p. 221). There were some Welsh language broadcasts in BBC Wales since its creation as a broadcasting, but English remained the main language of the broadcast. The BBC created a separate Welsh-language radio station, apart from its English-language one, launching Radio Wales and Radio Cymru in 1977, and re-launching them both in 1978 and 1979 respectively, around the same time that commercial radio had begun, following the 1972 Sound Broadcasting Act (Barlow, et al., 2005, pp. 105-110; Davies, 1994, pp. 309-315; K. Williams, 1997, p. 13). In 1995 Radio Cymru was relaunched again, as was Radio Wales in 1996, both aiming to attract a younger audience, with mixed audience results (Ellis, 2000).

By 2003, there were 14 independent licensed radios (ILR) and one regional radio licensee (Real Radio) broadcasting in Wales, of which Radio Ceredigion and Champion FM had the strongest bilingual elements, while the rest have minimal amounts of programming in Welsh (Barlow, et al., 2005, pp. 107-111; 121; Ellis, 2000). In 2004 the 'Third Tier' of community radio stations was given a legal framework by the Office for Communication

(OfCom), and since 2005 it has awarded over 200 licenses in the UK (Milan, 2005, p. 605; Peissl & Tremetzberger, 2008, p. 128), of which 11 broadcast in Wales (Ofcom, 2010).

Television

Television broadcasting in the UK began in 1936 with a first national BBC channel. It was interrupted during the Second World War and resumed transmission in 1946. It was complimented in 1964 with a second national channel (BBC 2) aimed at a less popular audience than the former (Cormack, 1999, p. 417). Television arrived in Wales with the 1952 overlap of transmitters serving England (Barlow, et al., 2005, p. 128). In the 1950s some households in East Wales could already receive television broadcasting from the English Midlands transmitter (Davies, 1994, p. 171). Other parts of Wales began receiving transmission when the BBC set up a transmitter near Cardiff in 1952 serving Wales and south west England (Barlow, et al., 2005, p. 128), but Welsh-language broadcast remained very low (ap Dyfrig, Jones, & Jones, 2006, p. 12).

Although “the early 1950s saw the advent of the opt-out system, whereby a region could opt out of the national (British) network and broadcast programmes of a regional interest” (Medhurst, 2010, pp. 22-23), the specific opt-out service for Wales – BBC Wales – was only set up by the BBC in 1962 and during the period until 1982 it broadcasted around 6-7 hours a week in Welsh (ap Dyfrig, et al., 2006, p. 12).

The Television Act of 1954 established a system of regional commercial TV companies, and when the independent television companies ITA and Granada began broadcasting from Lichfield in the Midlands and Manchester in 1956, some parts of east and north Wales, respectively, were able to receive the broadcast if they had the appropriate equipment for

it (Barlow, et al., 2005, p. 129; Davies, 1994, p. 212; Medhurst, 2010, p. 28). Despite the active role of the different independent commercial broadcasters set up in Wales, “the presence of Welsh-language programmes within the schedules of TWW [Television Wales and the West], WWN [Wales (west and north)], and HTV [Harlech Television] prior to 1982 created divisions within the Welsh society” (Medhurst, 2010, p. 181).

The Broadcasting Act of 1980 “set up a second commercial channel (Channel 4 which began broadcasting in 1982) organised as a single national channel” (Cormack, 1999, p. 417), alongside the creation of the separate Welsh Fourth Channel Authority which “would acquire and schedule programmes for the new channel, but not produce any” (Barlow, et al., 2005, p. 138). This led to the creation of Sianel Pedwar Cymru, S4C (Channel Four Wales), which began broadcasting as a terrestrial channel in 1982. The Broadcasting Act of 1996 determined the process of digital allocation of frequencies in the UK and in November 1998 S4C digidol (S4C digital) began broadcasting 12 hours a day in Welsh (ap Dyfrig, et al., 2006, p. 14).

Current situation and media financing

As of 2010, there are only 11 ILRs and Real Radio as the only regional broadcaster apart from the BBC (Llywodraeth Cynulliad Cymru, 2010). By 2011, Real Radio has become the only national commercial radio station, and seven new community radio stations were established in Wales (Ofcom, 2011).

BBC Cymru Wales is the largest radio and television broadcaster in Wales; S4C established a digital service, S4C digidol (whilst the analogue version was still functioning), broadcasting solely in Welsh, and S4C2 broadcasting the Assembly proceedings, with the

possibility of choosing Welsh or English in the interactive service (Llywodraeth Cynulliad Cymru, 2010). By 2011, “ninety-eight per cent of households can receive the three public service multiplexes, carried by all the transmitters in Wales and providing around 20 television channels, including the BBC and ITV services, Channel 4, S4C and Five” (Ofcom, 2011, p. 6). In 2012, after the digital switchover, the S4C digidol replaced the analogue version and became S4C proper, while S4C2 ceased its broadcast.

The BBC has been historically funded by the licence fee, a tax levied upon owners of radio or television sets to receive the service. Radio sets became exempt from the fee in 1971, but television licenses, with differentiated fees for black and white or colour receivers remain in place until today (Press Association, 2005). According to the 2010/2011 financial report, the television licence fee remains the main source of funding for the BBC, representing over 70% of its 4.9 billion pounds income (BBC, 2011).

S4C, on the other hand, was funded directly by a grant from the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport following Section 61 of the Broadcasting Act of 1990 and the amendments or substitutions made by the Broadcasting Act of 1996 and the Communications Act of 2003 (S4C, 2010, p. 11). The budget for 2010 was around £104 million (S4C, 2011). According to the Work Plan for 2012 (S4C, 2012c), the grant would continue to be the source of funding for S4C in 2012, but it would be cut down to £83 million, leading to restructuring and a drive for efficiency. However, from 2013 onwards, most of the funding will come from the licence fee and handed over by the BBC trust. It will amount to £76,3 million from the licence fees provided by the BBC Trust (to be decreased annually), and an HMG Grant-in-Aid of approximately £7 million and

commercial income would be other sources of revenue for the 2013/2014 period (S4C, 2012b).

Minority Language Media

As already mentioned, BBC Radio Cymru was established in 1977 as a Welsh-language radio broadcast, alongside BBC Radio Wales as its English-language sister, and underwent considerable changes in its structure and programming in 1995 (Ellis, 2000). BBC Radio Cymru remains the only Welsh-language monolingual radio broadcaster in Wales. Aside from BBC Radio Cymru, other radio stations may broadcast some amounts of Welsh, but most of the ILRs broadcast solely or mainly in English.

For television the case is somewhat different. “As of 1964, BBC Wales was required to provide 6 hours per week of Welsh-medium television programming” (Grin & Vaillancourt, 1999, p. 27), although television coverage did not reach every corner of Wales at that point. After the campaign in favour of a separate Welsh-language channel, S4C began broadcasting as a terrestrial channel in 1982. From the beginning on, it was only a window of Welsh-language programming at peak hours (from 6:30pm to 10pm), and with children’s programmes in the mornings, with the remainder of the schedule made of English programmes, provided free of charge by Channel 4. S4C started with an average of 22 hours of Welsh-language programming a week, going up to 30 hours a week in the early 1990’s (Awbery, 1995). By 1996, about 27% of the programming was in Welsh (at peak viewing hours) whilst 73% corresponded to English language programmes provided by Channel 4 (Grin & Vaillancourt, 1999).

In 1998, S4C digital began broadcasting, complying with the requirement of the 1996 Broadcasting Act stating that “all the programmes in Welsh which are broadcast on S4C [terrestrial analogue] are broadcast on S4C Digital at the same time” (“Broadcasting Act 1996,” 1996). In 1999, S4C2, available only through the digital platform, was established to broadcast the working sessions of the National Assembly and additional Welsh-language programmes (ap Dyfrig, et al., 2006). In 2008, S4C in all its channels, broadcasted a total of 11,302 hours a year, consisting of an average of 212 hours a week of Welsh-language programmes, and 109 hours of English-language programmes, including both new productions and re-runs (S4C, 2009). Even though this was a considerable increase from the 1996 figures, it still showed that in spite of the fact that most of the Welsh-language programmes were presented during peak hours, S4C analogue remained a bilingual channel, where Welsh was clearly privileged. By 2011, this has changed with S4C digital (S4C Digidol), after the analogue terrestrial channel was finally removed at the end of the digital switchover. S4C2 does not broadcast anymore.

McElroy (2008a, p. 234) claimed that “the success of the first two decades of Welsh-language television programming in linguistic data: the 2001 census showed a reversal in the decline of Welsh speakers”. Later on she admitted that the change in the declining trend is not the effect of media alone, but also because of “increased esteem enjoyed by the language after devolution [of power] in 1997 and the policy since 1999 for Welsh to be compulsory subject for all school children up to the age of sixteen” (p. 234). Thus, Welsh-language television could be seen as one of the success factors that may have had a bearing on bucking the declining trend.

Along with this success comes a new set of challenges. Turning digital means that S4C has become solely Welsh-language based, but advertisement continues to be predominantly in English as it has been so far. The changing trends, including the increased mobility of Welsh-speakers to the Cardiff area, and the inclusion of ethnic minorities in the production and portrayal of programmes of S4C provide challenges for the development of a now mature broadcasting entity (McElroy, 2008a). Although S4C has been praised for giving more space not just to the Welsh-language, but to Welsh issues and the whole of the Welsh nation in its socio-geographic representation (E. H. G. Jones, 2007), the fact that it was created to foster and maintain a language, gives it a responsibility not usually expected of the media (Cormack, 2005, 2007b). As such, questions arise as to how language issues are addressed by those who produce the commissioned work. Since S4C does not produce its own output, but commissions programmes to the BBC, ITV and independent producers, it becomes important to find out how they make the linguistic calls, especially when the production process itself demands more than just complying with specific guidelines.

Approaching Cormack's seven conditions

Cormack (1998) presented seven conditions which he suggests are necessary in order to create MLM. With these conditions he set up the first theoretical construction to bring all cases of MLM within Europe under comparable variables. The set of conditions has already been explored and debated in Chapter III (see Table 1). The next pages use those

conditions as framework to describe the context of Colombian and Welsh MLM, both to organise the information and to assess the applicability of the theoretical construct.

Cormack's seven conditions in the Colombian context

1. Number of users of the language

Although most indigenous groups still use a traditional language, not all of them do, and some of them use Spanish as their only language of communication (Pineda Camacho, 2000, p. 119).⁴⁹ Moreover, there are two Afro-Colombian groups which are usually considered separately due to their different Creole languages: Raizal, in the Archipelago of San Andrés, Providencia and Santa Catalina; and Palenque, in San Basilio de Palenque (Álvarez López, 2007; Pineda Camacho, 2000, pp. 127-128). These are two of the five officially recognised languages in Colombia, along with Spanish, English and Romani, which are not of an Amerindian language family.

Based on the numbers of speakers of indigenous or other ethnic languages obtained from *Ethnologue* (Lewis, 2009), the largest linguistic minorities in Colombia are: the Wayuu, with an estimate of 135,000 users of the Wayuu language – Wayuunaiki – (and some 170,000 more over the border in Venezuela) mainly in La Guajira (see Figure 6); the Nasa/Páez with 77,400 users of Nasa Yuwe in Cauca and surrounding areas (see Figure 7); the Emberá, which includes different varieties often regarded as languages in their own right, with over 80,000 users; and the Creole/Bende of the Raizal people of the archipelago of San Andrés (see Figure 8) with little over 15,000 users.

⁴⁹ For instance, see the case of the Pijao in Espinosa Arango (2007) and the Quillasinga in Uribe-Jongbloed and Peña Sarmiento (2008).



Figure 5: Map of Colombia with political departments (Source: Shadowxfox, 2012c)

Indigenous peoples represent 45% of the total population of 655,943 in the department (administrative unit) of La Guajira (DANE, 2007, p. 35), where Wayuu people live. With these numbers in mind, Wayuunaiki can be considered to be used by more than a fifth of the population of La Guajira. Furthermore, according to Pineda Camacho (2000, p. 119), 96.5% of the population over 3 years of age amongst the Wayuu speak Wayuunaiki and only 3,623 people are Spanish monolinguals. A similar percentage (96% Wayuunaiki

monolinguals or Spanish/Wayuunaiki bilinguals) is given by Etxebarria Arostegui (2008) of a survey of 325 people amongst those who considered themselves to be Wayuu. The percentage of those who said they were Spanish monolinguals was 1.8% of the respondents, which, of the total 286,000 Wayuu population (according to projections), would imply that 5,172 people would be monolingual Spanish users. However, since there is no actual population information from the 2005 Census, and this survey was reduced in number, it is difficult to accept or challenge these findings.



Figure 6: La Guajira department (Source: Shadowxfox, 2012b)

In the Cauca department, 247,987 people consider themselves indigenous within a population of 1,182,787 people (DANE, 2007, p. 38). However, the area where Nasa

people live and where Nasa Yuwe is spoken is restricted to the north-east of the department, far from the capital city of Popayan where the bulk of the population of the department concentrates.

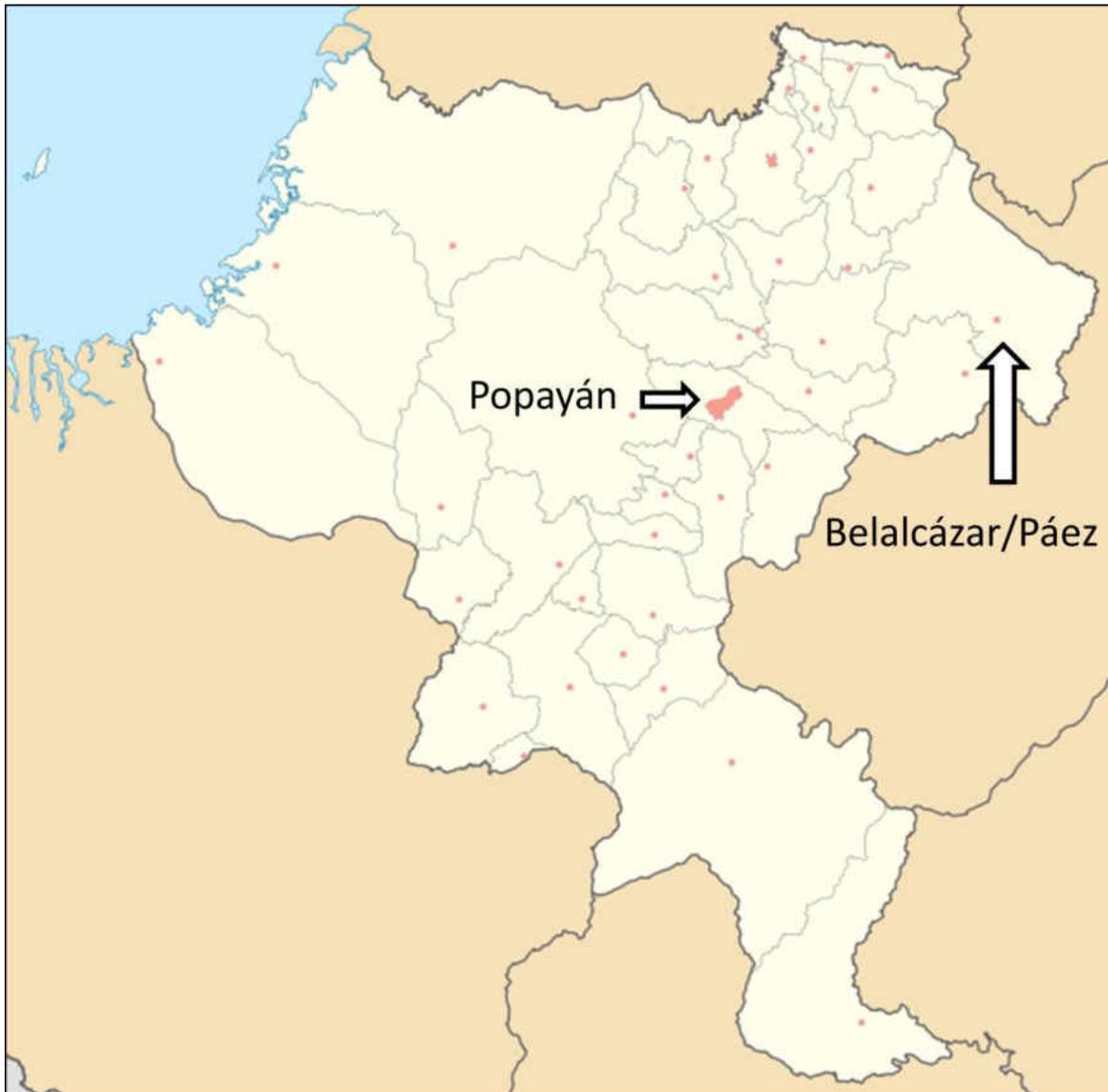


Figure 7: Cauca department (Source: Shadowxfox, 2012a)

The population of the Archipelago de San Andrés, Providencia y Santa Catalina is of 59,424 people (DANE, 2007, p. 38), of which slightly more than half consider themselves Raizal (DANE, N.D., p. 27). If the number of Ethnologue of 15,000 users of Creole remains

acceptable, a quarter of the population, and half of the self-identified Raizal in the island speak the language.



Figure 8: San Andrés archipelago (Source: Shadowxfox, 2012d)

As can be seen from the difference between the number of users of autochthonous languages and the overall number of those who ascribe to the ethnic or indigenous groups, language attrition and language shift towards the majority language is evident.

2. *Mass Campaigns*

There is considerable research on the indigenous movements regarding land, self-determination and cultural politics (Gow & Rappaport, 2002; Jackson, 2002; Murillo, 2008; Velasco, 2011), or media portrayal of indigenous peoples (see, for instance, Dangond Peralta, 2008; Hombre Nuevo, 2005), but media interest developed by the minority groups seems to be a relatively new concern. Rodriguez and El Gazi (2007, p. 452) have argued that media was at the centre of all indigenous social movement agendas, stating that “Colombian indigenous leaders have their own very clear ideas about how the mass media play a significant role in the marginalization of indigenous peoples and cultures”. A similar claim is also made in the report on indigenous radio stations (ONIC, 2009, p. 7), although there are no specific mentions of instances where media were the main reason for mass campaigns.

In the case of the Raizal population of San Andrés, most claims carried out by social movements in the 1960s and 70s were aimed at cultural and territorial independence, the Islander Civic Movement, founded in 1978, also included demands for “the officialisation of English, *bilingual education and television programmes*, the restoration of civic pride and consciousness and the right to self-government”⁵⁰ (Ross, 2007, p. 25, citing Clemente, 1991, p. 163). The remaining movements established in the 1980’s, Movimiento Autónomo Regional (MAR) and the Sons of the Soil (SOS), “focused particularly on controlling immigration and establishing political autonomy” (Ross, 2007, p. 25), rather than discussing issues of language and media.

⁵⁰ Italics used for emphasis here.

3. Leadership and Organisation

Strong leadership has been always visible in the Cauca region, starting from the 1930s and 1940s armed opposition of Quintín Lame and on with the development of CRIC (Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca – Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca) in the 1970s, and later on the ONIC (Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia – National Indigenous Organization of Colombia) in the 1980s (Correa, 2006; Espinosa Arango, 2007; Gow & Rappaport, 2002; Jackson, 2002; Velasco, 2011). The commitment of university anthropology scholars with the indigenous cause increased criticism of the state's indigenism⁵¹ policy in the 1970s, supported by the effects of the Cuban and Chinese revolutions, and the decolonization of African and Asian countries (Correa, 2006). The role of certain indigenous leaders, such as Lorenzo Muelas (of the Guambiano people) and Francisco Rojas Birri (of the Emberá Katio), was fundamental for the development of the 1991 Colombian Constitution, which, according to Rodriguez and El Gazi (2007), modified the concept of the Colombian State from a supposedly homogenous nation to that of a multiethnic and multicultural nation. This has to be observed always bearing in mind that “the term ‘indigenous peoples’ should not be equated with a subject in the singular” (Rodriguez & El Gazi, 2007, p. 460), because there are different cultural and ethnic groups that portray varying interests and relations both with the majority culture and, even, with the media.

⁵¹ This is the term given to the instrumental use of indigeneity to justify nationalistic perspectives. It is usually seen as the symbolic appropriation of the indigenous past by white or mixed-ethnicity elites, rather than granting more access, power or voice to the indigenous peoples themselves.

Wayuu and Raizal leadership and organisation has been much less documented. In the case of Raizal population in San Andrés, although it was not represented in the 1990 Constitutional Assembly, “they found allies in the other indigenous groups of the continent as in many areas their concerns and needs were similar to those of the Raizales” (Ross, 2007, p. 28). Ross goes on to point out that leadership seemed to wane and that they were never as successful as their indigenous counterparts (such as the Nasa mentioned above).

The Unidad de Radio (Radio Unit), a dependency of the former Ministry of Communications, engaged in a participation and consultation activity about the possibility of developing radio stations with indigenous communities, following the International Meeting of Indigenous Radio in 2000 (Rodriguez & El Gazi, 2007; Unidad de Radio, 2002). After these consultations, and in a period of three years, the government sponsored 26 radio stations, providing equipment and basic training for those communities interested (Uribe-Jongbloed & Peña Sarmiento, 2008). Although the responses to the consultation were as varied as the cultural differences of the various indigenous groups and the fact that the special category under which they were defined remains contested (Rodriguez & El Gazi, 2007), some indigenous groups joined the project to produce their own media output.

These indigenous radio stations were assigned to specific associations in each of the indigenous reservations. *Wayuu Arawayuu*, an association of tribal chieftains (traditional leaders) of the Wayuu community, were given the control of the radio station in Nazareth. *Radio Nasa* is one of nine partner indigenous and peasant radio station of the AMCIC radio

network of the Cauca region associated under the CRIC, which exchange audios between five different indigenous groups (and a peasant community) living there (CRIC, 2012a). Their radio stations are organised in five associations called *Colectivos de Comunicación* (Communication Collectives) depending on the location of the stations and the indigenous councils or reservations they reach. Other radio stations are under the control of the respective indigenous chieftaincies within the given reservation.

The lack of state support beyond the establishment of the radio station has been considered both an obstacle to its sustainability (Uribe-Jongbloed & Peña Sarmiento, 2008), and an opportunity for indigenous organisations to remain free of governmental impositions and enabled them to keep a critical anti-hegemonic stance (Murillo, 2008).

4. Political structure

The most relevant political change, which is certainly the starting point for most discussions on the topic of indigenous recognition, rights and, concomitantly, their media rights and obligations, is the establishment of the 1991 Constitution (Colombia, 1991) after a democratic process that included the participation of indigenous leaders, political parties and other ethnic and religious leaders (Correa, 2006; Rodriguez & El Gazi, 2007). Therein, the most significant articles - Article 7, Article 10 and Article 20 - address the obligation of the state to protect ethnic and cultural diversity, the designation of (Castilian) Spanish as the official language and indigenous languages as official in their given territories, and it establishes the guarantee of freedom of expression and the liberty to create media outlets.

Moreover, the recently approved 'Ley de Lenguas Nativas' (2010) addresses the issues of mass media (Article 16), printed texts (Article 17) and audiovisual productions (Article 18), emphasizing that the State should "promote the production and broadcasting of programmes in native languages in the various media of information and communication technology as a strategy to safeguard native languages" ("Ley 1381 Protección de Lenguas Nativas de Colombia," 2010, p. 4). As this law entered into force on January 25, 2010, it is still too early in 2012 to judge how it has affected the production and distribution of minority language media products so far.

5. Temporary weakness of the central state

Murillo (2003) has described the 1991 Constitution as an attempt to correct many problems with the Colombian democracy. He argued that it "was widely seen as resulting from years of organized resistance –armed and 'legal' – to a very authoritarian, undemocratic system that based its legitimacy on the veneer of a constitutional democracy" (p. 126) and that it brought together participants who had been excluded from the national debate for years. This new constitution also altered education legislation, previously dependent on arrangements with the Catholic Church, to be committed to bilingual, ethnically and culturally responsible education (Rodriguez & El Gazi, 2007, p. 450; Ross, 2007, pp. 28-29). The centralist state was modified by the constitution, granting the right for indigenous groups to have their own legislative procedures within their territories, something that has been criticised on occasion by international organizations which deem some of their practices inhumane (Jackson, 2002). Although the 1991 Constitution gave more self-determination rights, contemporary

problems, such as the armed conflict, illegal colonization, land tenure, private economic interests, and corruption processes and their resolutions, still pose a threat to these rights. Despite these dangers, it was this constitution which led to the democratisation of the airwaves and:

For the first time in Colombia's history a genuine public sphere was emerging. The articles in the [1991] Constitution relating to mass communications are an indication that the members of the constituent assembly recognized the role of media in creating democratic spaces. The community radio stations were a direct result of this thinking. (Murillo, 2003, p. 126)

Thus, the 1991 constitution, which included the participation of a guerrilla group that had laid down the weapons, came as a result of various disputes against the previous constitution and forms of government, and implied a weakening of the previous political strongholds.

6. Symbolic status of the language

The relative prestige or status of indigenous and other minority languages has increased thanks to the 1991 Constitution and the recently enacted 'Ley de Lenguas' ("Ley 1381 Protección de Lenguas Nativas de Colombia," 2010). However, the ambiguity of media when discussing indigenous issues has been pointed out consistently (Dangond Peralta, 2008; Hombre Nuevo, 2005). Also, the government determination to have Colombia become a bilingual country only seems to consider English as the possible language for bilingualism, ignoring other languages, be they national or international (Truscott de Mejía, 2006). Therefore, although the regional official status and the 2005 Census question regarding language knowledge represent positive developments regarding the status of

the languages, it cannot be easily said that the overall status of minority languages in Colombia has improved much since 1991.

7. International trends

International conventions and programmes (e.g. UNESCO, 2002, 2003) have been fundamental to the development of the 2010 'Ley de Lenguas'. Similarly, the developments in neighbouring countries, such as the recognition of indigenous languages in the 1999 Bolivarian Constitution of Venezuela⁵², and the 2008 New Political Constitution of the State of Bolivia, both of which declare all indigenous languages as official overall the national territory (Bolivia, 2008; Venezuela, 1999), evidence more ample recognition of linguistic diversity in Latin America. Certainly, recognition of indigenous languages has increased overall in Latin America, although it would be contestable to say that all minority languages are held equally to the official standard. The same can be said for the case of non-indigenous languages (e.g. creole).

Cormack's seven conditions in the Welsh context

1. Number of users of the language

Welsh (Cymraeg) is a Celtic language from the Brythonic family related to Breton (Brezhoneg), and more distantly to the Goidelic family including Irish (Gaeilge) and Scottish Gaelic (Gàidhlig). The Brythonic language, precursor to Welsh and Breton was spoken in Britain before the Roman invasion (ap Dyfrig, et al., 2006, p. 3). The Welsh

⁵² The Venezuelan Constitution can be found translated into Wayuunaiki, and many educational books in the language have been produced by the Venezuelan Ministry of Education. Conversely, according to Pimienta Prieto & Pérez van Leenden (1997), the translation of the 1991 Constitution of Colombia provided quite an anthropological and linguistic challenge.

language stems from a different family of languages than English and is not intelligible by English-speakers.

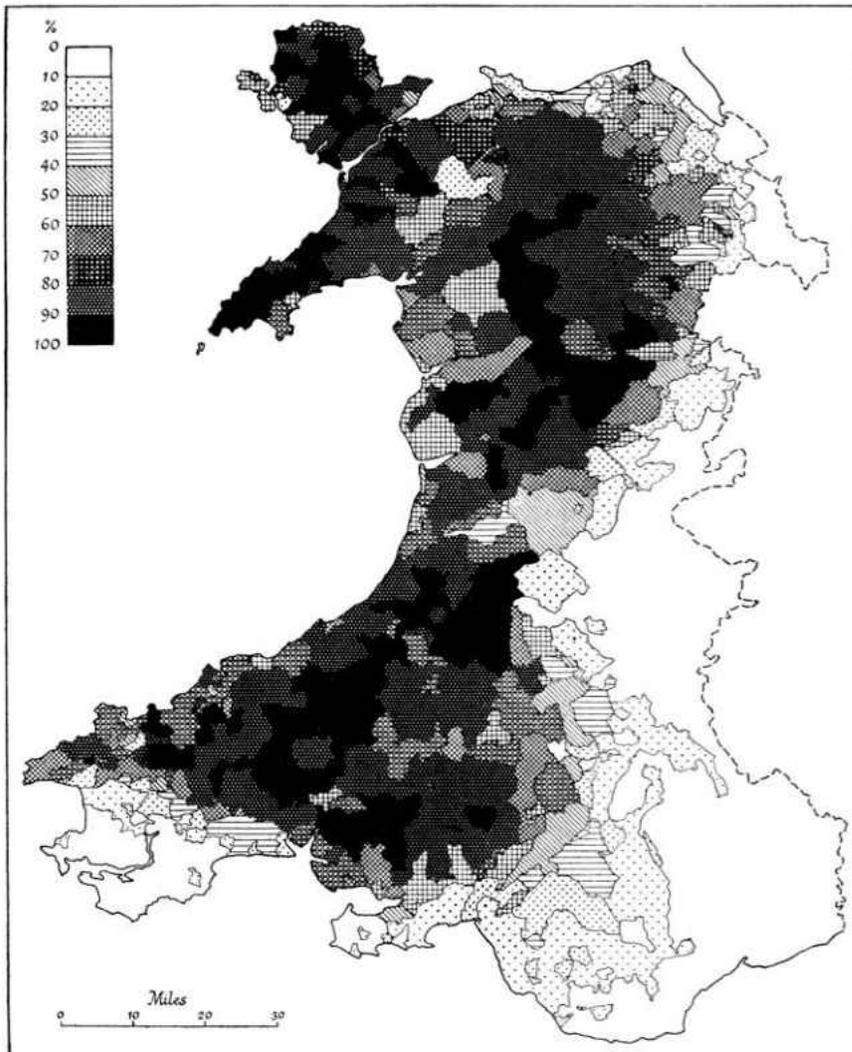


Figure 9: Percentage of Welsh Speakers per council 1961 (Source: Jones & Griffiths, 1963)

According to the 2001 UK national census, Welsh was used in some way (spoken, written or read) by 659,301 people, with 582,400 claiming to speak Welsh, representing 20,8% of the total 2,805,701 population⁵³ of Wales (ONS, 2004, p. 39), and 1% of the total population of the UK. A 2004 survey sets the number of speakers at 611,000, 21,7% of a

⁵³ Notice that all population information on this subchapter uses the numbers for people aged 3 and older, as computed in the UK national Census. The information here comes from the 2001 UK national census.

population of 2,816,000 (Bwrdd yr Iaith Cymraeg - Welsh Language Board, 2006, p. 6)⁵⁴. However, in a further report of a set of three Welsh Language Use Surveys from 2004-2006, the result remains closer to the 2001 UK national census results with 588,000 users, 20,5% of the population, claiming to speak Welsh (Bwrdd yr Iaith Cymraeg - Welsh Language Board, 2008)⁵⁵. Despite their slight differences, these numbers show an increase from the 1991 figures, but also a percentage increase with regards to total population, bucking the declining trend observed from 1931 to 1991: From a number of 909,261 (36,8%) people claiming to speak Welsh in 1931, it went down to 659,022 (26,0%) in 1961 (E. Jones & Griffiths, 1963), and further down to 542,425 (20,7%) in 1971 (Emery & White, 1975), reaching its lowest point at 508,100 (18,7%) by 1991 (Bwrdd yr Iaith Cymraeg - Welsh Language Board, 2010).

Moreover, the concentration and distribution of Welsh speakers has changed considerably. According to the information on the 1961 (see [Figure 9](#)) and 1971 (see [Figure 10](#)) Census, large swaths of east and south east Wales had less than 10% of users (Emery & White, 1975; E. Jones & Griffiths, 1963), whereas according to the 2001 Census, most of those areas exhibit between 10-15% of users (ONS, 2004). Concurrently, areas that used to be predominantly Welsh-speaking (90 to 100%) in the 1961 and 1971 Census had considerably reduced their percentage of Welsh speakers by 2001, with only 54 communities where more than 70% of the population spoke Welsh, down from 92

⁵⁴ This information came from a Language Use Survey carried out in 2004 with 7,500 households in Wales, where Welsh was used by 2,500 individuals who responded (Bwrdd yr Iaith Cymraeg - Welsh Language Board, 2006, p. 7).

⁵⁵ In these surveys a total of 22,674 successful interviews were made, almost a third in each year (Bwrdd yr Iaith Cymraeg - Welsh Language Board, 2008, p. 64).

communities in 1991, and from 115,000 people to 80,000 (Bwrdd yr Iaith Cymraeg - Welsh Language Board, 2010, p. 4).

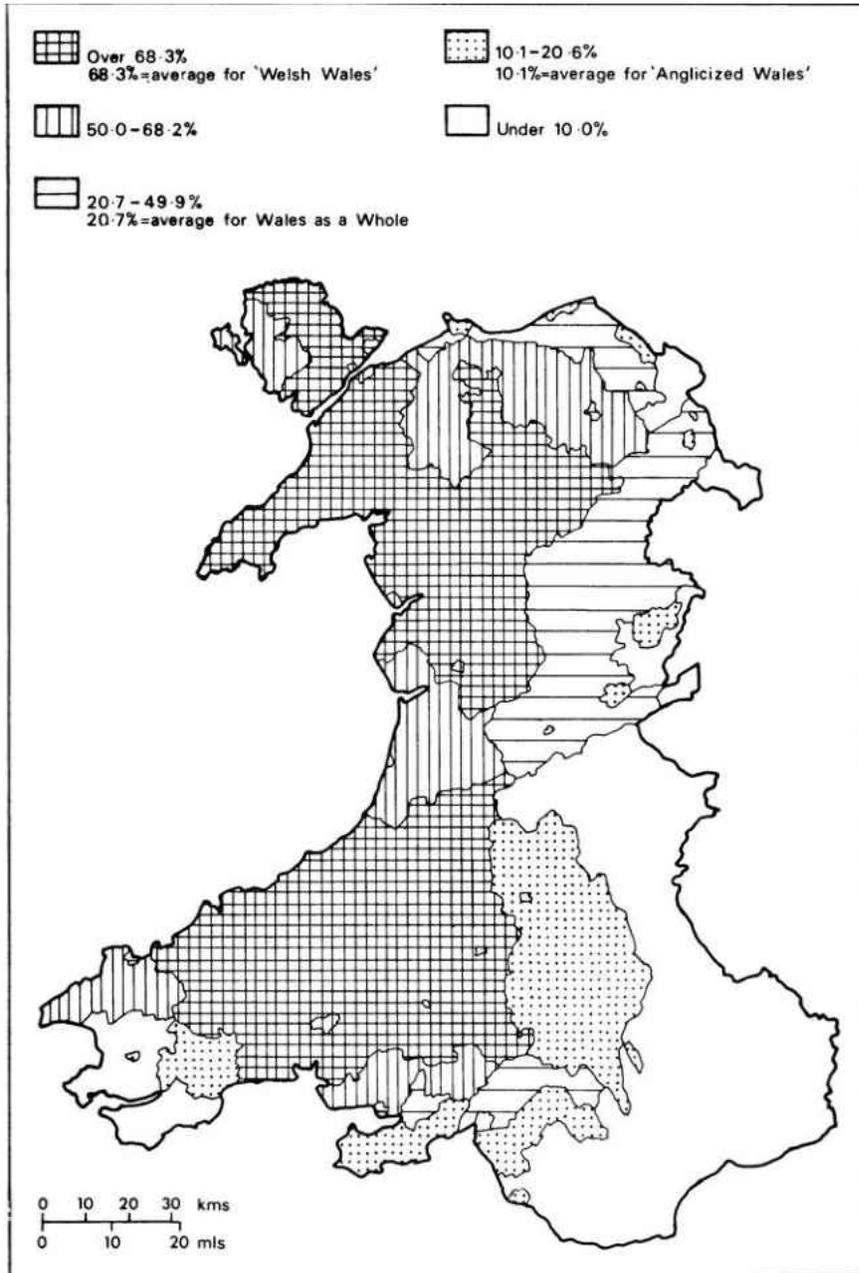


Figure 10: Percentage of Welsh users in Wales in 1971 (Source: Emery & White, 1975)

Another interesting aspect is that comparing the Welsh language surveys of 1992 and 2004, the only area that showed an increase in percentage of people who speak Welsh fluently was the south east, whereas all other areas reported considerable decreases (Bwrdd yr Iaith Cymraeg - Welsh Language Board, 2006). The largest increase of Welsh speakers was recorded for Cardiff which almost doubled the number of speakers from 18,089 in 1991, to 33,504 in 2001, going from 6,6% of the population to 11,0% (Bwrdd yr Iaith Cymraeg - Welsh Language Board, 2003), increased further to 12,5% in 2004 (Bwrdd yr Iaith Cymraeg - Welsh Language Board, 2010, p. 48). All of these issues evidence that Welsh is becoming a language spoken on a more substantial area of Wales than at any other time in the last fifty years, despite the number of users being only slightly higher than the one in 1971.

2. Mass Campaigns

The development Welsh media comes from initiatives that “have largely been instigated by language campaigners rather than provided as routine developments on the part of media institutions themselves” (E. H. G. Jones, 2007, p. 188). By the 1950’s the main concern was for television in the Welsh language, since “radio, which had been the focus of nationalist interest in the 1930s and 1940s had, by the late 1950s, been replaced by television” (Barlow, et al., 2005, p. 134).

In the late sixties, protest demanding an increase of Welsh-language broadcasting summoned over two hundred members of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (Welsh Language Society - WLS) for a rally in May 1968, and WLS later on organized sit-ins at Bangor and

Cardiff (Davies, 1994, pp. 288-289). Following one of those demonstrations, “activists occupied a television studio and damaged a television mast” (Hourigan, 2004a, p. 62).

In the seventies,

as a result [of the seemingly ineffective tactic of indirect action] the movement launched their ‘symbolic acts of damage’ campaign. This involved destroying public property, particularly broadcasting equipment, and then handing oneself in and admitting the crime (...)As a result of these tactics, numerous broadcasting transmitters and TV studios were damaged (Hourigan, 2004a, p. 62)

The strong popular television campaign continued and led all major political parties in the UK to commit to the idea of a separate Welsh language television channel in face of the 1979 general election (ap Dyfrig, et al., 2006, p. 3; Hourigan, 2004a, p. 63). Once the Conservative Party was in power, the government opted to go back on their promise and try to pursue the avenue of more Welsh-language broadcast to be split between the BBC and the ITV commercial channels (Medhurst, 2010, p. 173). The refusal to pay the TV licenses in Wales was one of the many actions undertaken to protest against the breach of the promise (Dressel, 1980). All types of protest escalated, minor violent actions by some movements, and non-violent demonstrations and sit-ins orchestrated by Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg were carried out, and “more than 2,000 Welsh viewers refused to pay their television license fees, and others threw eggs at the Queen and prime minister on state visits to Wales” (Howell, 1992, p. 225).

Increasingly, “local authorities, political parties (especially Plaid Cymru) and other social movements began to respond and change their view of the proposal in response to the success of the WLS [Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg]” (Hourigan, 2004a, p. 63). In May 1980 Plaid Cymru leader, Gwynfor Evans, proclaimed that he would begin a fast on October 6th

the same year if the Conservative party would not follow their pledge to a separate Welsh-language TV channel, and this consequently led to more unrest (Barlow, et al., 2005, p. 138; Davies, 1994, p. 395; Howell, 1992, p. 225; E. H. G. Jones, 2007, p. 189; Yezh, 1986, p. 52). Finally, the government decided to return to its original promise after gauging the risk of civil disobedience in Wales, and in the Broadcasting Act of 1980/1981 the S4C authority and the S4C television channels were established to begin broadcasting in 1982 (ap Dyfrig, et al., 2006, p. 13). Gwynfor Evans did not have to begin his fast, since it was on September 17 1980 that the government decided to give the go-ahead to the Welsh Fourth Channel (Davies, 1994, p. 396).⁵⁶

Hourigan (2004a, pp. 63-64) has defined the campaign for Welsh-language media as cyclical, because it went from a first period of progressive and radical action by WLS (Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg) between 1966 and 1974, followed by a conciliatory approach to the authorities, the return to direct action in 1977 leading to the capitulation of the Conservative government in 1980.

3. Leadership and Organization

According to Hourigan (2004a, p. 61):

Charismatic leadership also played a vital role in this campaign (...) Saunders Lewis furnished the initial catalyst for the establishment of the movement. Journalist and academic Ned Thomas and religious leader Dr. Pennar Davies rejuvenated the protest in 1977 when morale was low amongst campaigners.

⁵⁶ Here it needs to be clarified that there is a myth amongst some people in Wales, and the UK at large, that Gwynfor Evans actually went on a hunger strike. As a case in point, in her book about the linguistic minorities in Britain and France, Judge (2007, p. 172) claims that “the president of *Plaid Cymru*, Gwynfor Evans, went on hunger strike, addressed numerous rallies, and helped create an atmosphere of fear on the part of the British government”, although she presents no reference for her ill-informed statement.

Along with Gwynfor Evans's crucial role described above, and the general involvement of Plaid Cymru, the leadership of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg, although continuously changing, was the driving force behind the campaign.

4. Political structure

The political division of Britain among its constituent nations is certainly an element that influenced the creation of electronic MLM. Cormack (1998, pp. 40-41) explicitly presented it as such, by saying that:

The United Kingdom is traditionally centralistic also, but this overlays the multinational structure of the state, in which Wales and Scotland have a different political significance from the regions of England. This counteracts the centralising force and allows some space, however little, for negotiation.

Complementary to Cormack's claim, Barlow et al. (2005, p. 234) have stated that:

given the way in which the political structures in Wales had, by the end of the twentieth century, adapted to the idea of a distinctive Welsh dimension to UK political structures, the issue of its relation to the media was always going to arise.

All policies regarding the constituent countries of the UK were decided and enacted by the parliament in Westminster, London, and represented a centralised political system, reflected in the also centralised structure of the BBC.

As pointed out above, the 1997 devolution of power to Wales has brought more aspects of the Welsh-language policy to its heart in Wales. Even if broadcasting policy is still defined at Westminster, there is growing influence of the National Assembly for Wales. Furthermore, as discussed above, the 2010 announced budget cuts changed S4C funding considerably, and has prompted new debates about Welsh Assembly control upon broadcasting matters.

5. Temporary weakness of the central state

Van Morgan (2006) argued that although an elected regional government is a recent achievement, decentralisation in Wales can be dated back to the end of the nineteenth century with the establishment of the University of Wales, and “continued in a piecemeal fashion until the founding of the Welsh office in 1964” (p. 463). It is, thus, not surprising that the campaign for Welsh-language media took place in the turbulent times of the end of the 1960s and through the 1970s which “were a period of unprecedented political volatility in Britain with the political process fettered by both a hung parliament and minority governments” (Hourigan, 2004a, p. 59), where the Labour Governments of the period (1974-1979) “relied increasingly on the votes of [the] nationalist parties, Plaid Cymru and the Scottish Nationalists” (Barlow, et al., 2005, p. 135). Hourigan (2004a, p. 63) claimed that “Welsh activists felt they effectively exploited the opportunity provided by [the 1979] election which both political parties were desperate to win”. This political weakening of the central state was then crucial to the development of MLM.

6. Symbolic status of the language

Although, “in Wales, a good proportion (a majority) of the population clearly have been able to feel confident of their Welsh identity without the Welsh language” (Sutherland, 2000, p. 208), the Welsh language is clearly an element that is often related to nationalism, as the name of the political party *Plaid Cymru* seems to evidence.⁵⁷ Still, “Welsh is not

⁵⁷ However, all four major political parties in Wales have included ‘pro-Welsh’ policies in their manifestos. Also, although most Plaid Cymru members (78%) can speak, read and write Welsh, and most of them use Welsh as the main language in conversation, the party does not support openly many of the language activist’s demands, because it ostracises their non-welsh speaking voter base (Van Morgan, 2006).

treated as a 'national' language with all of the moral and emotive implications, but as a language that can be used with some institutions, in some places, at some times, and never outside of Wales" (G. Williams, 2005, p. 67). Notwithstanding, thanks to the creation of new employment by the Welsh revival, young people need not leave Wales, and English speakers seem to be less worried about Welsh, therefore becoming more acceptable for the majority of the population (Judge, 2007, pp. 175-176).

7. International trends

Amongst the most relevant international trends taking place at the same time as the development of Welsh-language media was the MacBride Report (International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, 1980; MacBride, 2006) published originally in 1980 by a commission organised by UNESCO. One of its subchapters is dedicated to the issues of language in mass media and communication, and from it the following two highlighted aspects fit directly with the debates of MLM:

We are thus concerned about language problems for these particular reasons: (a) the development of truly national communication systems covering the entire population cannot be achieved unless more languages are used for information and cultural activities; (b) language policy should be an intrinsic part of communication policies, since the choice and promotion of languages opens up or eliminates possibilities for wider and equal communications... (International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, 1980, p. 51).

Although there is no evidence to back it up, these two points seem to be relevant at the times where Welsh-language campaigners were demanding a separate television provision for their language. Another relevant issue at the time was the expansion of the European Economic Community (EEC). In fact, the original precursor to the EEC, the European Coal and Steel Community set up in 1951 had French as the only working

language, and the first signs of interest on the matter of minority languages appeared in the European Parliament in 1979 (Ó Riagáin, 2001, p. 22). The establishment of the European Community, following the 1981 and 1986 enlargement, prompted further debates on multilingualism in Europe.

Comparative academic international research which takes into account the situation of Welsh vis à vis others in Europe has increased recently (see Browne, 1996; Cormack & Hourigan, 2007; Grin & Vaillancourt, 1999; Hourigan, 2001, 2004a, 2004b; Riggins, 1992c; Wilson & Stewart, 2008a; G. Williams, 2005). Notice, however, that some of these international aspects have all appeared at the same time or after the creation of S4C in 1982, and cannot be considered to be influential to its establishment, as much as to its development. Rather than consequences of international trends, the Welsh case for MLM appears as “the first manifestation of recognition by these minorities that Europe’s cultural and political boundaries are changing” (Hourigan, 2001, p. 95).

Comparison of the factors in the two countries

Although the comparison of two totally different nations may originally seem quite curious, and usually may be disregarded as trying to compare apples and oranges⁵⁸ (Livingstone, 2003, p. 480), here it serves to understand how the variables presented by Cormack (1998) can be applied to expand MLM as an area of studies beyond the Western

⁵⁸ It must be mentioned, however, that apples and oranges can be compared. They may be compared on many different grounds. What cannot be done, however, is for apples to be counted as oranges or vice-versa. The analogy of comparing apples with oranges is quite wrong on this assumption. One can compare very different situations to understand the few elements they may have in common (between zoo-plankton and a whale, for example), or between quite similar elements, to determine their differences (oranges and tangerines, for instance).

European remit. As mentioned in the previous chapter, there are some issues with Cormack's conditions. These issues will be addressed further in the discussion chapter. In spite of those shortcomings, Cormack's seven conditions provides a useful framework to enable comparisons.

The multilingual situation in Colombia is very different from the bilingual debate in Wales. The number of users of each minority language in Colombia is very small, both numerically and in terms of percentage of the population, in comparison with Welsh as the single minority language with about a third of the population able to speak it. However, in the Colombian cases the minority language is spoken by a large number of people within a small territory or political unit. Thus, concentration of users, rather than the sheer number of speakers, seems to be relevant in both cases. In fact, if one looks at the United Kingdom, rather than the constituent nation of Wales, the situation of Welsh is closer to that of indigenous languages in Colombia, representing but 1% of the total population of the UK.

The UK and Colombia are very centralistic in their political nature, and media policies are defined in their respective capitals. Notwithstanding this centralism, the political constitution of 1991 in Colombia granted more powers to regions and indigenous reservations. Similarly, the UK multinational structure of the state "counteracts the centralizing force and allows some space, however little, for negotiation" (Cormack, 1998, p. 41). Thus, in this aspect the two countries can be more easily equated.

The weakening of the state was evident in both cases, and it is closely related with their specific structure. The governments in the United Kingdom and in Colombia, which led to the establishment of MLM, were formed with a need to accommodate minority interests.

Whereas in Colombia the negotiation with a former guerrilla group led to a vote for a constitutional reform, in the UK all parties conceded to the demand for a Welsh channel as part of their manifestos, to ensure they could get the vote of the national minorities.

MLM campaigns were parts of larger political debates in Colombia, rather than independency movements or media-oriented language campaigns. Although the issue of the media was evident for some of those movements, there was no campaign dedicated exclusively to them, as was the case in Wales. In Colombia, support for the creation of indigenous media was spearheaded by the government in a commitment to the new status of indigenous peoples granted by the 1991 constitution. This goes in line with Riggins' (1992b) observation that the state may decide to promote the creation of separate ethnic minority outlets precisely to prevent this becoming one of the arguments for mobilisation against the government.

Leadership has become evident in the form of collective work in both the Nasa and the Wayuu case, both ethnic groups being strongly represented by NGOs and other Grassroots organisations. Especially telling are the manifestations led by Cauca's indigenous organisations, which have had strong impact even on mainstream media. Although none of these compare to the specific media campaigns of Wales, it is also clear that political mobilisation has been fundamental to media participation. The organisations upon whom the media finally rest (i.e. chieftaincies, indigenous councils) evidences the commitment they have in their establishment; especially since they are wholly responsible for the financial upkeep and maintenance of the media outlets. The situation in Wales had a stronger leadership made evident, in the campaign groups and in the heads of the

nationalist party *Plaid Cymru*, but once their goal was achieved, it was the government who created the organisation for the development of the broadcasting authority.

Also similar in the cases mentioned is the change in the symbolic value of the language. The presence of Welsh in education, now found at all levels with an ample reach, and the improvement in prestige can be seen as part and parcel of the increase of Welsh users in Wales. Indigenous languages in Colombia have benefited from the constitutional status, and, from 2010 on, from the new language legislation that translates into more official recognition. Here, the Welsh case can be seen as example. The increase in prestige from the 1960's and 70's led to the establishment of a Welsh language channel and Welsh-medium education leading to bucking the declining trend of usage. In the Colombian case one could imagine a similar situation taking place now, with the constitutional change, the creation of radio stations and the new language law.

International trends that led to the establishment of Welsh language media are very different than those that have affected the Colombian case. In fact, the success of Welsh language television (along ETB in the Basque country and TV3 in Catalonia) has been taken as an example to follow (Cormack, 1998). Further developments the world over, specially in radio, were fundamental to support claims to develop indigenous radio stations in Colombia (Unidad de Radio, 2002). Finally, the old issues mentioned above in the MacBride Report (International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, 1980) remain current. For instance, in the interest of developing a counter-hegemonic discourse opposing mediated stereotyped images of the indigenous peoples, CRIC aims to foster "communication collectivities, especially the indigenous radio project, which

promotes the diffusion of local identities, their life and cohabitation concepts; taking cultural diversity as the most important wealth of Cauca and Colombia” (CRIC, 2012b, p. par. 1).

Concluding remarks

This chapter aimed to give a historical overview and provide a context of the events that lead to the formation and development of MLM in Colombia and Wales, whilst at the same time exploring the applicability of Cormack’s (1998) seven conditions to a setting beyond the Western European contexts.

The structure of media outlets in the two countries is considerably different. In the UK the centralisation of media by the BBC was only altered in the 1970’s, mainly as part of the debates on Television output which also led to opening up radio airwaves to private interests. Community radio appeared much later in the UK than it did in Colombia, as recently as 2004. In Colombia, radio was originally a very open field for the development of private broadcasters, and remains a very open market. Community radio appeared very early on (as early as the late 40’s). Although the TV channels were publicly owned, slots were given to independent television producers and the system only changed with the introduction of privately-owned, regional and local channels in the 1990’s. It could be understood, then, that it was for television, rather than radio, where the most important debates about Welsh media took place. In Colombia, the proliferation of radio stations, catering for smaller communities, seems to be more useful for minority languages than larger national outlets, considering the small numbers of users of minority languages.

Cormack's seven conditions have helped organise the information from both contexts and allowed for the comparison of the cases. It has proven a useful tool to bring together the information relevant to understand the specific developments of MLM (i.e. television in Wales, radio in Colombia) in both parts of the world.

Chapter V: Colombia: Indigenous and Ethnic Minority Radio Production

This chapter presents the results of the fieldwork conducted with MLM producers of three different radio stations in Colombia. It aims at answering the question posed by Cormack (2007b, p. 65) and already discussed in chapter two: *how do specific media interact with local, cultural and national identities*. It tries to find answers to this question by evaluating the identification allegiances present in the discourse elaborated by the media producers in their Community of Practice (CoP). The exploration of their practice, and the relevant importance they assign to the different assets which portray their complex, hybrid and varied identity, provides a map of interconnected relations. This map helps to understand of how their negotiations of identity become reified in their media products. In this way, the fieldwork looks at answering the questions that derive from Cormack's:

1. How do media producers of MLM reflect on their own identifications (ethnic, indigenous, linguistic, or others).
2. How do they prioritize them in their production practices?
3. What is the impact of the prioritization of identifications upon linguistic output?

In order to answer these questions, the fieldwork used a combination of qualitative research practices elucidated in chapter three, in particular interviews and participant observation. Through an analysis of the information compiled, social radar maps were created to visualise the prominence of specific identifications, drawing from the proposal

presented by Hale (2004). The results of the three specific cases studied were then explored in the light of one another, to find possible trends.

The first part of the chapter focuses on the specificities of the context surrounding the producer's work, provides background about the places where these CoPs were located, the structure under which they operate, the specific issues experienced in the gathering of the information, and presents the research participants.

The second part presents the fieldwork undertaken along the lines presented in the methodology chapter, following a three-step approach: first, an Interview to the double (ITTD); second, participant observation; and, finally, a semi-structured interview.⁵⁹ The ITTD provided information on the general routines of the CoP, and drew attention to issues of responsibility and accountability. An exploration of the instances where the ITTD responses dealt with causality or relevance, instead of mere routine, provided evidence of what the participants consider the fundamental part of their work. The information gathered this way sets the base for the participant observation that is integrated with the responses of the semi-structured interviews to present the reflection made by the participants about the motivation for their actions and the choices they made.

⁵⁹ Short excerpts of 20 words or less are presented in the body of the text, with double quotation marks. They are followed by the name and number of the interview in parentheses as they appear in the appendices, and include the page number where the quote can be found in full (e.g. LI Radio Nasa 1, p. 1). Excerpts longer than 20 words are separated from the main texts and include the same reference format. The interviews appear in their original form (Spanish or Creole/English), followed by translation in *italics* when they were not in English. It is worth mentioning that due to the lack of standardised form of written Creole, English was used in its stead, but trying to keep the structure and pronunciation used by the participant. The participants are identified according to their collective identity marker (Wayuu for Jujunula Makuira; Nasa for Radio Nasa; and Raizal for 'La Voz de las Islas') followed by a number in the same way as they will appear in the appendixes. To facilitate the interpretation of the text, the organisational structures presented in the form of graphs will use the same terminology as for the participants and excerpts.

The third part provides a summary and contrast between the three cases studied. It draws attention to the common threads between the cases and provides provisional answers to the questions mentioned above.

Exchange spaces

Three distinctive groups provided an insight into their working practices and took part in the research process. In all three cases, the participants to these groups develop and produce radio shows for their local radio stations. Only one of the groups, the one from the archipelago of San Andrés, has also had a presence in other media outlets (internet and the regional television channel 'Teleislas').

Context of the Communities of Practice

This subchapter provides a brief context of the CoPs presented in the chapter, in order to give a more elaborate picture of the situation under which these media producers undertake their work.

Two of the radio stations covered by this research, Jujunula Makuira and Radio Nasa, were sponsored under the 'Comunidad: Señal de Cultura y Diversidad' programme of the then Ministry of Communications⁶⁰ and the Ministry of Culture. This programme, started in 2000, was aimed at providing infrastructure, equipment and a legal basis to indigenous initiatives to establish their own low-powered local or community radio services. It supported five already established stations, and promoted the development of 61 new ones (Peña Sarmiento, 2012). They are legally defined as 'Public Interest Radio' stations

⁶⁰ In 2009 it changed its name to Ministry of Information and Communication Technologies.

which accrue no direct government funding and cannot generate revenue through commercial advertisement (Rodriguez & El Gazi, 2007, p. 452). They rely mostly on funds from their parent organisation or chieftaincy and on monies from grants or special projects granted by governmental or non-governmental organisations.

The third radio station covered, 'La Voz de las Islas', is a commercial radio station founded in 1972 and broadcasting on AM. It derives its income from advertising and produces its own content. Like most commercial radio stations, it needs to pay license and broadcasting fees, and it has to report to the Ministry of Information and Communication Technologies in order to maintain the license to broadcast on the 1110 Hertz of the AM radio electromagnetic spectrum.

Jujunula Makuira

The CoP in Jujunula Makuira, the FM radio Station in Nazareth, Guajira, in the Northern part of Colombia, is represented in the interviews with all the producers who currently run the organization, production and management of the station. This CoP is limited to two full-time voluntary members and one manager, who are responsible for all tasks and accountable to the community and to the indigenous organization Wayuu Araurayu, who in its turn is the licensed body in charge of the station upkeep (see **Figure 11**). However, although the station's manager was still holding the post, and accompanied us during the observation phase, he did not join the interview process because he was assigned other duties by the organisation in the months previous to the interview dates.

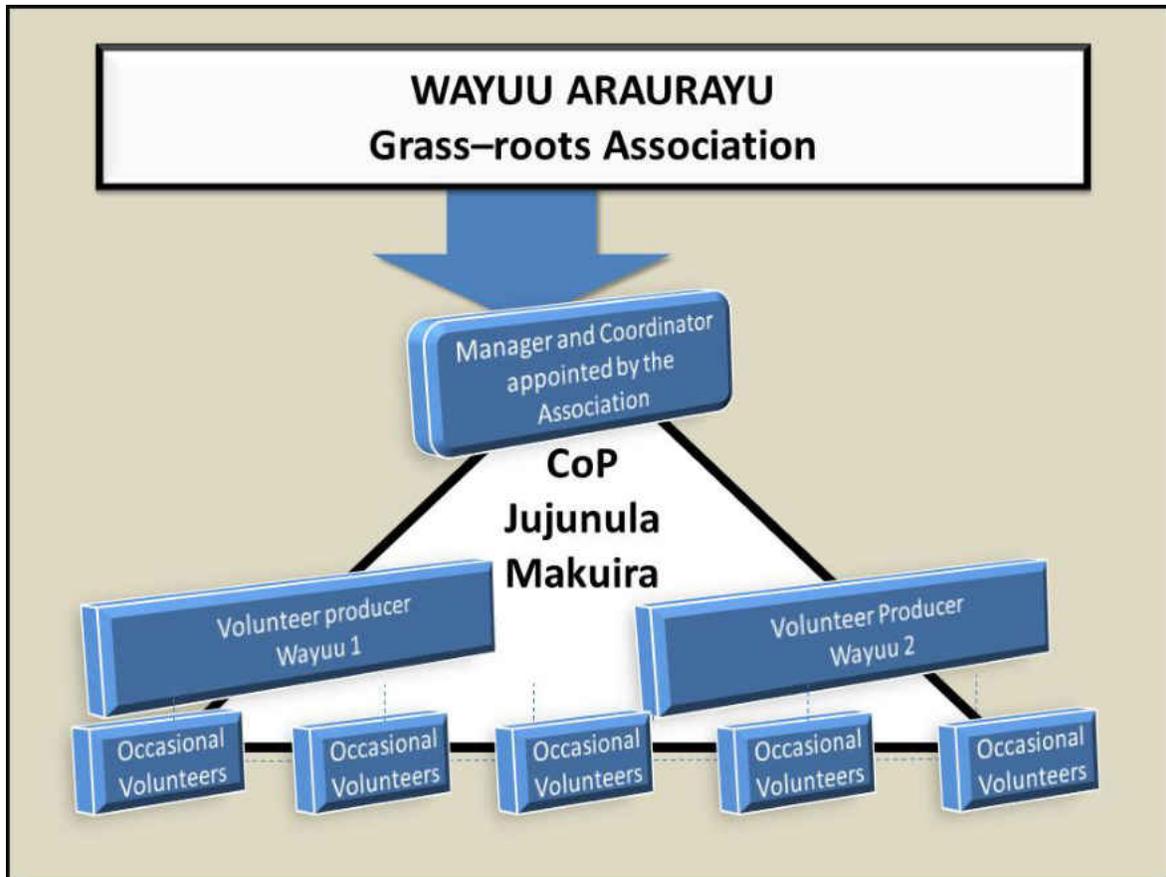


Figure 11: Structure of Jujunula Makuira

Nazareth is located at the heartland of the Wayuu ancestral territorial space near the Makuira mountain range. There are two ways to reach Nazareth, one through the desert, on an eight-hour drive from the administrative municipality of Uribia in central Guajira, or through a six-hour drive along paved roads first, desert pathways later, from the regional capital of Maracaibo in the state of Zulia in Venezuela. Maracaibo is the largest urban centre in the vicinity of Nazareth.

There is only a recent connection to the electrical power grid, specifically to wind farms in northern Guajira, but the connection is still very low in power. The running times of the radio station depend on the supply of electricity provided by a small power station in the hamlet or by the radio station's petrol-powered diesel plant. Due to technical problems

stemming from electricity imbalances produced by lightning strikes or electrical resistance unsuitability, the radio station has been off air for over eight months during the approximately three years it has been running.⁶¹ It usually broadcasts for four hours daily, from 6 pm to 10pm.

Radio Nasa

In the case of Radio Nasa (see Figure 12), la Asociación de Cabildos Juan Tama (Juan Tama Chieftancies Association) and la Asociación de Cabildos Nasa Xhaxha (Nasa Xhaxha Chieftancies Association) in Páez, members of Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca (Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca), are collectively licensed to run Radio Nasa. They have associated partners in a network called AMCIC (Association of Indigenous Media of Cauca), including three more radio stations ascribed to the Nasa indigenous group, and five more ascribed to other indigenous/peasant groups.

⁶¹ Although trial broadcasting started in December 2006, actual broadcasting started only in January 2008.

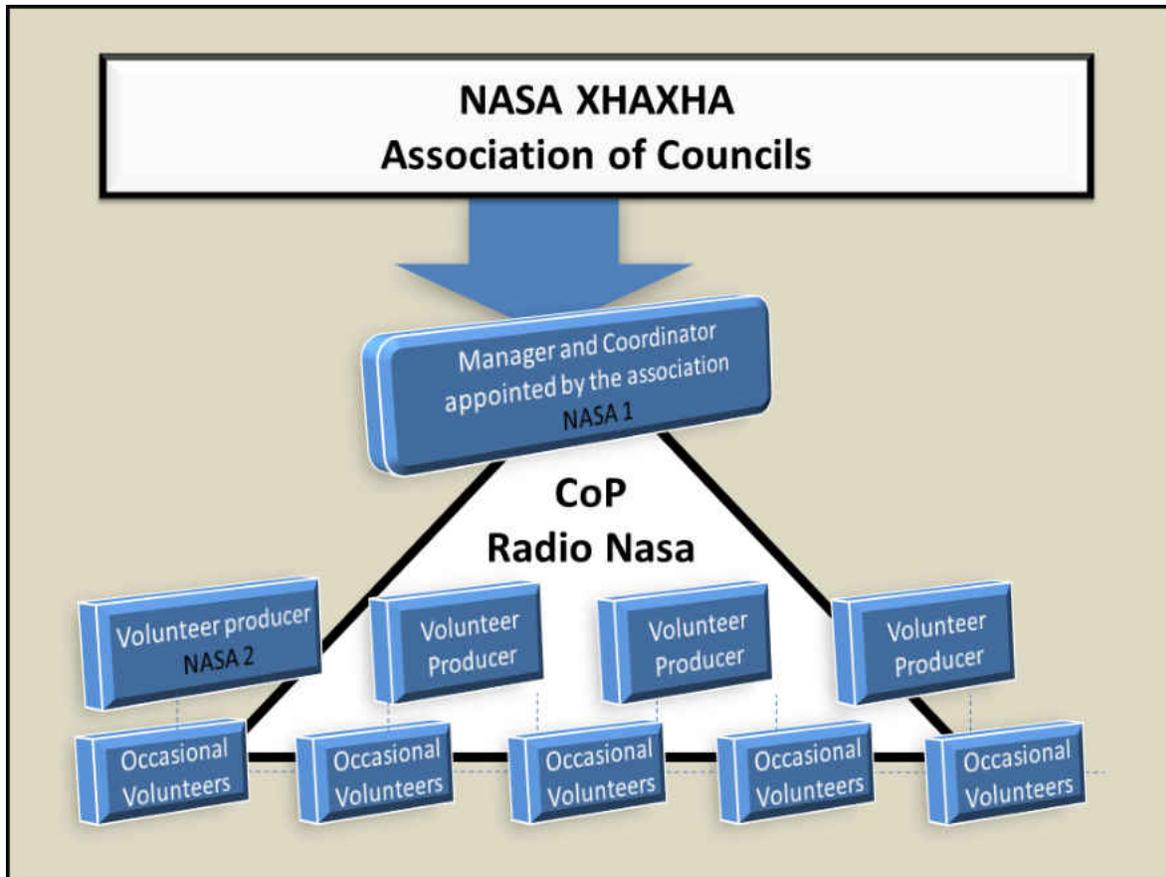


Figure 12: Structure of Radio Nasa

Radio Nasa is housed in a building not far from the central square in the municipality of Belalcazar (also known as Páez) in the department of Cauca. The radio station usually broadcasts 24 hours a day, with live shows and other programming occurring only within the 5 am to 7pm span. The remaining time the radio station broadcasts programmed music. The station is required to keep broadcasting constantly throughout the night, despite elevated costs, in order to ensure the delivery of urgent messages and public alarm for emergencies arising from volcanic activity. It was precisely volcanic activity which kept the station off the air for over eight months in 2009 following the landslides produced by the melting of the neighbouring snow-capped Volcán Nevado del Huila.

Radio Nasa has been running, despite various interruptions due to floods and other emergencies, since December 2001.

The CoP at Radio Nasa consists of one full-time manager/producer and three part-time producers who receive some form of remuneration for their labour, although they may work for longer hours on a volunteering basis. At the time of the fieldwork, Radio Nasa was actively searching for another person to fill a fifth position at the radio station.

La voz de las Islas / The voice of the Islands

The headquarters of this commercial radio station broadcasting in AM are found in the urban centre of the San Andrés Archipelago, in the harbour town of San Andrés. The Archipelago lies 200 kilometres off the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua, and its inclusion as part of the Colombian state has been openly challenged by Nicaragua in International courts.

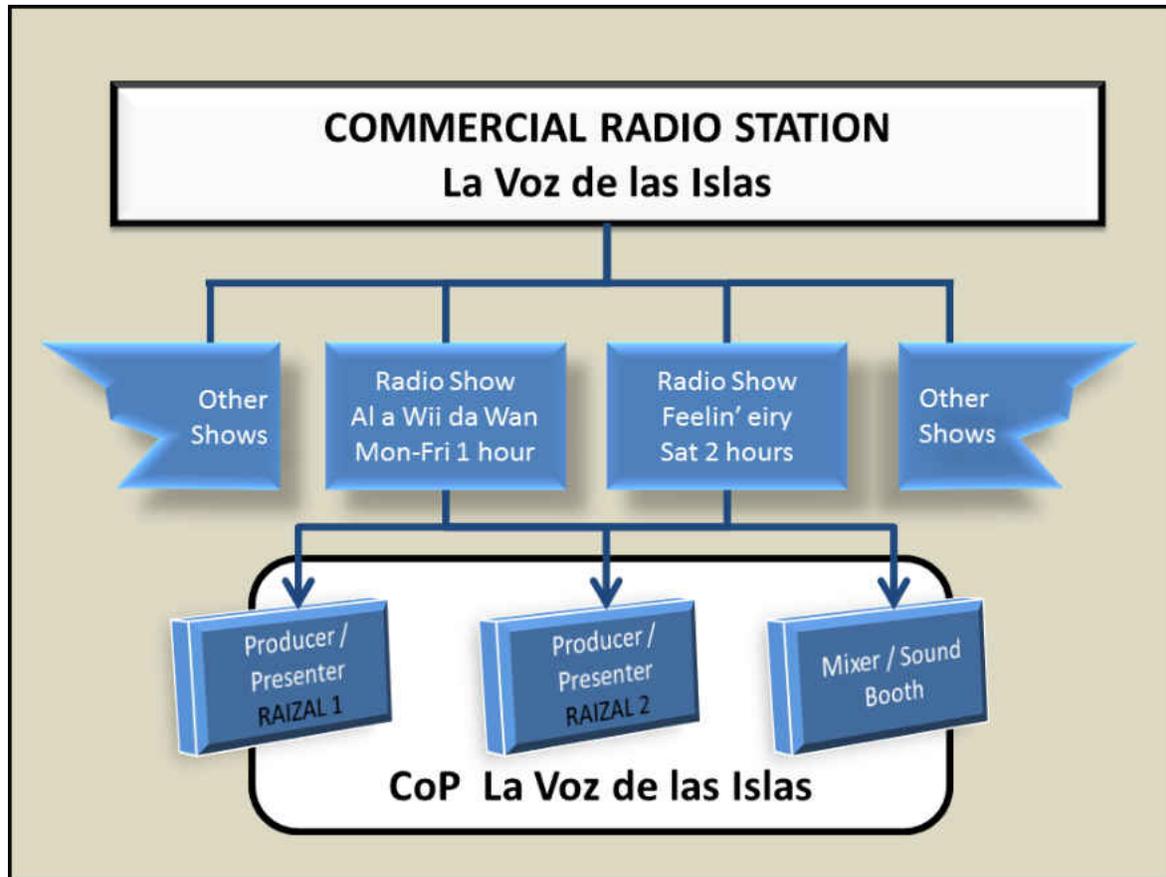


Figure 13: Structure of La Voz de las Islas

'La voz de las Islas' is the only licensed radio station broadcasting in Creole, although it only represents a minimal portion of its broadcasting time, with Spanish as the language of most programming. It is currently experiencing litigation, following a decision that aimed at closing the radio station after its license was revoked in 2009. However, the legal process is active, and the radio station continued broadcasting until June, 2011 when it was finally shut down.

The CoP from the archipelago of San Andrés is comprised of two radio presenters who host two shows in the in 'La Voz de las Islas'. They work as freelance employees, and often work together in each other's show, hosting a one-hour long daily show from Monday to

Friday and a two hour Saturday programme. Apart from another one-hour music radio programme, these are the only shows hosted in Creole (see Figure 13).

Description of settings and procedures

The interviews of the ITTD were made at the radio station premises in all cases, and included both visual and audio recordings that were used for the production of the transcripts. The ITTD led to the observation of production on the same day, and then the semi-structured interview a couple of days later in the case of 'La voz de las Islas', whereas for Radio Nasa and Jujunula Makuira the ITTD was done first, and the observation and interview were done on a different day.

The interviews were done in Spanish, although Creole/English was used by the participants of 'La voz de las Islas' in their ITTD. The extensive interview was done with both participants together in the same place in Jujunula Makuira and 'La voz de las Islas', but they were done separately in Radio Nasa. Although in 'La voz de las Islas' this setting worked very well, and both participants were able to present their points of view and give each other time to answer, at Jujunula Makuira one of the participants was more prominent and the other only added small comments or responded when asked directly. All participants were male, their ages ranging between their twenties and thirties at Jujunula Makuira and Radio Nasa, and forties and fifties at 'La voz de las Islas'. In all cases the participants defined themselves as Wayuu, Nasa and Raizal/Creole respectively.

From Silence to the Word: Findings

This subchapter presents the findings from the three-step process of interviews and observation of the three CoPs. The information is provided case by case, with a first portion dedicated to the ITTD and a second one combining the observation and lengthy interview together. At the end there is a preliminary discussion regarding the findings, which is used as background to the chapter present after the other case study.

Jujunula Makuira

Interview to the double

As expected from the methodology, the ITTD provided a general idea of the routine practices for the CoP at this radio station. The procedural steps of running the station were explained by the participants and are presented here in extensive detail and they comprise the following list of activities:

1. Verify if the town's electricity source has been activated, if not proceed to run the self-contained in-house fuel-powered power plant.
2. Turning on and activating all equipment (transmitter, air conditioning systems, computers, stereo modulators).
3. Five minutes before the start of routine programming (6pm), play the radio station's identification elements.
4. At 6 o'clock, play the Colombian National Anthem.
5. Play another identification to introduce the 'Cultural moment' space.
6. Play a recording of a Wayuu musical instrument.

7. The presenter invites the listeners to tune in.
8. Between 6pm and 7pm they play a recorded tale or story, followed by commentary on it by the presenter; also a Jayechi (sung story) is broadcast and followed by commentary again.
9. From 7pm to 8pm, there is a space for in-house guests, listeners' participation, interviews, and community discussions.
10. From 8pm to 9pm, or sometimes until 9:30pm, contemporary commercial music is played.
11. At any point in time after 9pm, turn off all equipment, including the power plant if it was on.

This much is the typically uncontested schedule described through the interview. However, there are interesting elements brought forth, that I will classify and interweave with the rundown just presented.

First of all is the issue of the National Anthem (see point 4 above), which one of the participants emphasizes as being bilingual saying that at "6 o'clock I have to play the National Anthem and the Departmental Anthem, [which] is in Wayuunaiki and in Castillian [sic]" (ITTD Jujunula Makuira 2, p. 1). Afterwards, they both focus on the ascription of a musical instrument they deem to belong to their culture. They mention "Kashaa, or maybe the Torompa, or Massi" (ITTD Jujunula Makuira 1, p.1), or "I play a kasha beat, which is a Wayuu musical instrument" (ITTD Jujunula Makuira 2, p .1), evidencing a relevant choice in the musical instrument as background on the 6pm to 7pm programme, which they call 'Cultural Moment' (see points 6 to 8 above).

The first greeting after the musical instrument is specifically made in Wayuunaiki:

Hablas en wayuunaiki, saludando, dando la bienvenida. Te expresas a la comunidad, mencionas la emisora, saludas de paso a las comunidades en wayuunaiki. (ITTD Jujunula Makuira 1, p. 1)

You speak in Wayuunaiki, greeting, welcoming. You express yourself to the community, you mention the radio station; you also greet the communities, [everything] in Wayuunaiki.

The relevance of giving a context and interpretation of both the tale played and the Jayechi is emphasized by both participants, one of them prompting that in this space “you always have to keep expressing yourself in Wayuunaiki” (ITTD Jujunula Makuira 1), and clarifying that this is done until 7pm.

During the time after 7pm the main clarification made is that messages from and for the community, or public announcements,

(...) te los hacen llegar en castellano. El mensaje en castellano, tú tienes que traducirlo a wayuunaiki para que algunas personas lo entiendan también. (ITTD Jujunula Makuira 1, p. 1)

[They] are given to you in Castilian. The message in Castilian, you have to translate it into Wayuunaiki, so that some people can also understand it.

And

(...) Más que todo a los avisos sociales tenemos que pasarlos en lengua castellana y luego explicarlos en wayuunaiki para que los oyentes los entiendan más. (ITTD Jujunula Makuira 2, p. 1)

More so the public announcements, we have to broadcast them in Castilian language and then explain them in Wayuunaiki, so that listeners understand them more.

After 8pm, “you may continue with the Castilian [language] variety of music, that is, vallenato, merengue, salsa” (ITTD Jujunula Makuira 1). After the musical programme the radio shuts down for the day.

Long Interview

In the long interview the aspects mentioned above were made part of the discussion as did some of the comments made in the observation.

The first aspect which is consistent is that Wayuunaiki linguistic output is almost fully concentrated in the one hour programme from 6pm to 7pm, despite a commitment to the linguistic identity, and to the maintenance of the language. During the interview, in various occasions the division of the programming schedule was quoted as being contingent to each language, separating linguistic affiliations of both content and language.

Wayuu 1: Prácticamente en las grabaciones que hacemos, que nosotros tenemos ahí, que diga ‘Sintonízate conmigo a través del dial en el 90.2’, ahí también la tenemos en wayuunaiki. Pero esa identificación en wayuunaiki nosotros la pasamos en el espacio que nosotros estamos emitiendo la programación en wayuunaiki. Sería una forma de trabajar de nosotros: de que nosotros emitimos la identificación es en castellano, y la de wayuunaiki nosotros la emitimos en el espacio de wayuunaiki. (LI Jujunula Makuira 1, p. 1)

Wayuu 1: Basically in the recordings we make, the ones we have there, where it says ‘Tune in with me on the 90.2 of the dial’, we also have it in Wayuunaiki. But that identification in Wayuunaiki, we broadcast it in the space where we are broadcasting our programming in Wayuunaiki. It would be the way we work. We broadcast the identification in Castilian, and the one in Wayuunaiki we play it in the space in Wayuunaiki.

This compartmentalising of the linguistic output creates a bound contingency of identification markers. The Wayuunaiki space becomes coterminous of the other cultural

elements. Within the programme they dub as 'cultural moment' they present musical instruments and traditional sung stories (Jayechi) with which they identify. However, it is clear for one of the participants in how far these instruments portray Wayuu identity:

Wayuu 1: Mediante de eso, nosotros emitimos lo que es los instrumentos musicales que eso nos identifica también, más que todo el kashaa, el maasi...

Wayuu 2: Torompa

Wayuu 1: El torompa es un poquito, como digamos occidental, porque eso viene hecho de hierro. El guaguay. Hay dos clases de guaguay, [uno] que uno lo puede hacer con la mano, y otra tiene que ser de una planta; el fruto de una planta [al] que uno le hace unos huequitos. (LI Jujunula Makuira 1, p. 2)

Wayuu 1: Through that, we broadcast what is the musical instruments which also identify us, mainly the kashaa, the massi...

Wayuu 2: Torompa

Wayuu 1: The torompa is a bit, let's say, western, because it is made of iron. The Guaguay; there are two kinds of guaguay, [there is] one you can make with your hand, and another which has to be from a plant; the fruit of a plant on which one makes some small holes.

Defining the Torompa as less representative of Wayuu culture because of the material, of which it is made, sets the Wayuu identifications as temporally bound to the time before the exchange with Western cultures. This seems to signal identifications which are inscribed in a primordialist view of ethnic separations.

A similar case in point is the tales of the elders in the Wayuunaiki section of the programming. The participants adhere to a bound identification of the relevance of the elders' stories, and their importance based on the advice and words of wisdom they provide.

Wayuu 1: (...) El anciano, él te echa, él te cuenta un cuento (y) con unos términos, o sea, hay unos términos (de), que son como un consejo de él. [Donde] él dice que no es bueno robar, que eso es malo robar, y que esto, y entonces, mientras está echando el cuento. (LI Jujunula Makuira 1, p. 4)

Wayuu 1: The elder, he starts telling you, he tells you the tale (and) with some words, that is, there are words (of), that are like advice from him. [Where] he says it is not good to steal, that it's bad to steal, and this, and that, while he is telling the tale.

But since most of the tales are pre-recorded, they select excerpts to summarize or to extract the advice, with a special emphasis, on some tales, for children:

Wayuu 1: (...) O sea que, ellos cuentan que una vez el conejo era una persona que esto, y hacía esto, y por mentiroso quedó así. Entonces, en esa parte es que uno escoge lo que es el consejo, o sea, hace como un pequeño resumen y uno dice que no es bueno decir la mentira. Si, esto es para como llamarle la atención a los niños, más que todo a los niños que están estudiando hoy en día. (LI Jujunula Makuira 1, p. 4)

Wayuu 1: (...) Thus, they tell that once upon a time the rabbit was a person who [was] this, and did that, and because he was a liar, he ended up like that. Then, at that point is when one selects the advice, that is, one makes a summary and one says that it is not good to lie. Yes, this is to (like) raise awareness among children, especially children who are nowadays studying.

They claim this narrative style as an identification of proper behavior and ethics of the group. It is telling, thus, that it is especially the elders themselves who privilege these stories, as pointed out by the participants:

Wayuu 1: (...) Algunos ancianos si han querido, han querido escuchar los cuentos. Ellos, a través de algún nieto ellos envían, ellos dicen 'no, que de parte de mi abuelo, para que pases el cuento del conejo' –digamos así un ejemplo. Entonces nosotros lo pasamos. (LI Jujunula Makuira 1, p. 7)

Wayuu 1: (...) Some elders have wanted, have wanted to hear the stories. They, through one of their grandchildren send [a message], they say 'well, my grandfather says, whether you can play the rabbit's tale' – let's say, as an example. Then we play it.

However, despite the authority of the elders, the appropriateness of the stories told does not go uncontested by the audience. They have made it clear when they disagree with the

type of story being told, challenging the identification of elder wisdom, and evidencing the problem of a linguistic-based division of the broadcasting time:

Wayuu 1: (...) Una vez nos llamaron telefónicamente, una muchacha joven. Ella nos llamó por teléfono porque (...) en el cuento, es que él emitía que su comadre, o sea, estaba muy buena, pues, en el cuento, o sea, pero en wayuunaiki (...) Entonces él aprovechó de que su comadre estaba durmiendo y se acostó con ella. O sea, ahí hay unos términos que son así como...

Wayuu 2: Términos vulgares

Wayuu 1: Si, o sea, como términos vulgares. Entonces la muchacha llamó ese día y dijo 'oye, hay niños que están escuchando ese cuento, por lo tanto no sería, yo creo que no sería muy bueno emitir ese cuento porque tiene unos términos así' (...) Si, y hay otro cuento, hay otro cuento también que es en wayuunaiki (...) Por ese lado también nos llamaron la atención. '¿Por qué emiten cuentos así que estén en términos vulgares?' O sea, la comunidad también nos ha... nos ha llamado la atención por ese lado (LI Jujunula Makuira 1, pp. 8-9)

Wayuu 1: (...) Once we were call over the phone, a young girl⁶², she called us that, because (...) in the tale, [the elder] was broadcasting that his neighbour⁶³, she was a stunner, well, in the tale that is, but in Wayuunaiki (...) Then he took advantage that his neighbour was sleeping and he there bedded with her. That is, there were some words that were, like...

Wayuu 2: Foul language

Wayuu 1: Yes, like foul language. Then the girl called that day and said 'hey, there are kids listening to that tale, so I don't think it would be good to broadcast that tale because it has words like that'. (...) Yes, there is another tale, another tale as well that is in Wayuunaiki (...) Because of that we received complaints. 'Why do you broadcast tales with that foul language?' That means, the community have also... they have also drawn our attention to these issues.

The interest in fostering the Wayuu culture and language, as argued by the participants, is not really evidenced in the actual programming of the station. In fact, there are constant references to popular opposition against the presence of the traditional forms of cultural production. As pointed out above in the case of inappropriate tales, similar reactions take

⁶² The description in Spanish "muchacha joven" can refer to a girl of any age from teenage years up to her late twenties.

⁶³ The word "comadre" refers to a female neighbouring acquaintance, usually of around the same age with whom there may be no kinship ties.

place with the length of jayechi (traditional sung tale) or the length of the speeches of other elders who have air time in the radio schedule. In direct contrast to the elder's interest in the tales, young people tend to prefer the music sections, which are presented after the 'cultural moment' has ended, during the Spanish language programming. This makes it easy to understand why "the students"⁶⁴ always prefer mainly the programming in Castilian" (LI Jujunula Makuira 1, p. 7).

Beyond these challenges to the elder's authority, the personal narrative of the most prominent participant in the radio station may be telling of the approach taken by this

CoP:

Wayuu 1: Muchos jóvenes, muchos niños han accedido a Venezuela que es el país que está más cerca. Y tienen una entrada como de digamos libre. El wayuu apenas tiene 10 años, 14 años ya sale para Maracaibo. En Maracaibo conoce lo que es el trabajar. Hasta los niños trabajan. Trabajan allá y ellos se van amañando y se van acostumbrando a la cultura de allá. Digamos así. Y así va perdiendo lo que es su idioma, lo que es su cultura (...) yo prácticamente no nací aquí en la alta Guajira, yo nací es en Venezuela. A los 8 años llegué aquí, no sabía hablar el wayuunaiki (...) Mi abuelita, que en paz descanse, ella fue la que me enseñó a aprender lo que es el respeto, lo que es la cultura, a hacer lo que tenía que hacer, lo que es en el pastoreo, y todas esas cosas... o sea, lo anterior. (LI Jujunula Makuira 1, p. 2)

Wayuu 1: ... A lot of young people, a lot of children had access to Venezuela which is the closest country. They have a, let's say, free entry. The Wayuu when he is only 10 years-old, 14 years-old, goes to Maracaibo. In Maracaibo he learns to work. Even kids work. They work there and they become used to it and used to the culture there, let's say. And then he starts losing his language, that which is his culture (...) I was not born here in the upper Guajira, I was born in Venezuela, I got here when I was 8 years-old, I didn't know how to speak wayuunaiki (...) My grandma, may she rest in peace, she was the one who taught me respect, culture, to do what I was supposed to do, shepherding and those things, that is, the old ways.

⁶⁴ The word used here in Spanish is "estudiante" that is often used to refer to both school-age children and university-age young adults.

The linguistic-cultural separation in discriminate identifications is part of a personal perspective, which becomes reified in the production process. When asked about the reasons for a lack production in Wayuunaiki, the main responses from the participants were focused mainly on the reduced funding available to travel and collect more information from elders, who reside far from the radio station. This interest can be seen in the following two excerpts:

Wayuu 1: (...) Como le estaba diciendo yo, quisiera hacer los programas así que todo sea en wayuunaiki. Pero para eso yo tengo que salir a investigar (...) Si un anciano muy conocido allá en Siapana, trae un cuento, nos cuenta un cuento, (...) comparando la comunidad de aquí, la comunidad de Siapana con la de acá, comparando los cuentos que cuentan ambos viejos. Yo creo que veríamos una diferencia ahí, habría una diferencia ahí entre esos dos, no muy distintos, pero sí habría una diferencia. (LI Jujunula Makuira 1, p. 7)

(...) Si, como te estaba diciendo, yo quisiera que toda la programación fuera en wayuunaiki, pero uno tendría que salir a trabajar, a investigar para uno poder tener diferentes informaciones, y también tener diferentes informaciones de otras personas, que no sea de una sola persona. (LI Jujunula Makuira 1, p. 7)

Wayuu 1: (..) As I was saying I would like to make all programmes that they may all be in wayuunaiki. But for that I have to go out to do research. (...) if there is a very famous elder there in Siapana, he brings a tale... he tells us a tale (...) comparing the community here, the community in Siapana with the one here, comparing the tales told by both elders. I think we would see a difference there between the two, not a big one, but a difference nonetheless.

(...) Yes, as I was saying, I would like for all programming to be in Wayuunaiki, but one would need to go out to work, to do research to be able to have different information, and also to have different information from people, other than always the same person.

Besides meagre funding, some technical issues include a lack of knowledge of a standardized form of the language, whether spoken or written, cited as an argument to use Spanish rather than Wayuunaiki.

Moreover, the programme between 7 and 8pm used to include a 'health and wellbeing' section prepared by the staff from the local health centre,

Wayuu 1: Pero lo hacían todo en castellano. Entonces la idea de nosotros era de traducirlo también de que ellos lo dijeran en wayuunaiki porque ellos le están mandando el mensaje a una comunidad wayuu no a una comunidad alijuna⁶⁵ sino a una comunidad wayuu. Y ahí siempre nos ponen peros con respecto a eso: 'No, que el wayuunaiki es muy difícil pronunciarlo', 'no, que me equivoco mucho en wayuunaiki. Es mejor así, en castellano'. (LI Jujunula Makuira 1, p. 2)

Wayuu 1: (...) But they would do everything in Castilian. Then, our idea was to translate it, also for them to say in Wayuunaiki because they are sending the message to a Wayuu community, not to an alijuna community, but to a Wayuu community. And then they always had reservations about it. 'No, Wayuunaiki is too hard to pronounce', 'No, I make too many mistakes in Wayuunaiki. It is better as it is, in Castilian'.

This is not surprising since both participants claim their own Wayuunaiki literacy skills are low. One of them claims that he writes mainly in Spanish, although he knows how to pronounce Wayuunaiki, whereas the other participant assures he writes mostly in Spanish because he gets confused writing in Wayuunaiki.

As presented above, they also portray defined in-group/out-group markers distinguishing themselves as Wayuu, and others as Alijuna. But in spite of this difference, they also want to reach the Alijuna as one of the audience of the radio station.

Social Radar for Jujunula Makuira

The information provided and discussed with the CoP at Jujunula Makuira thus evidences a dichotomy of associations of identity, through which the bilingual character of the radio station is rendered unproblematic to begin with (as in the case of the bilingual rendition of

⁶⁵ The word Alijuna (pronounced: Ah-lee-HOO-na) refers to those who are not members of the Wayuu or neighbouring indigenous communities with which the Wayuu have had historic contact (i.e. Arawak, Kogi).

the National Anthem of Colombia), but which shows a strong division between quite clear identifications related to each of the languages. By separating the boundaries of usage of each language and classifying production accordingly, in their own words they are also negotiating identity between a traditional versus modern division in their Wayuunaiki versus Spanish mutual segregation.

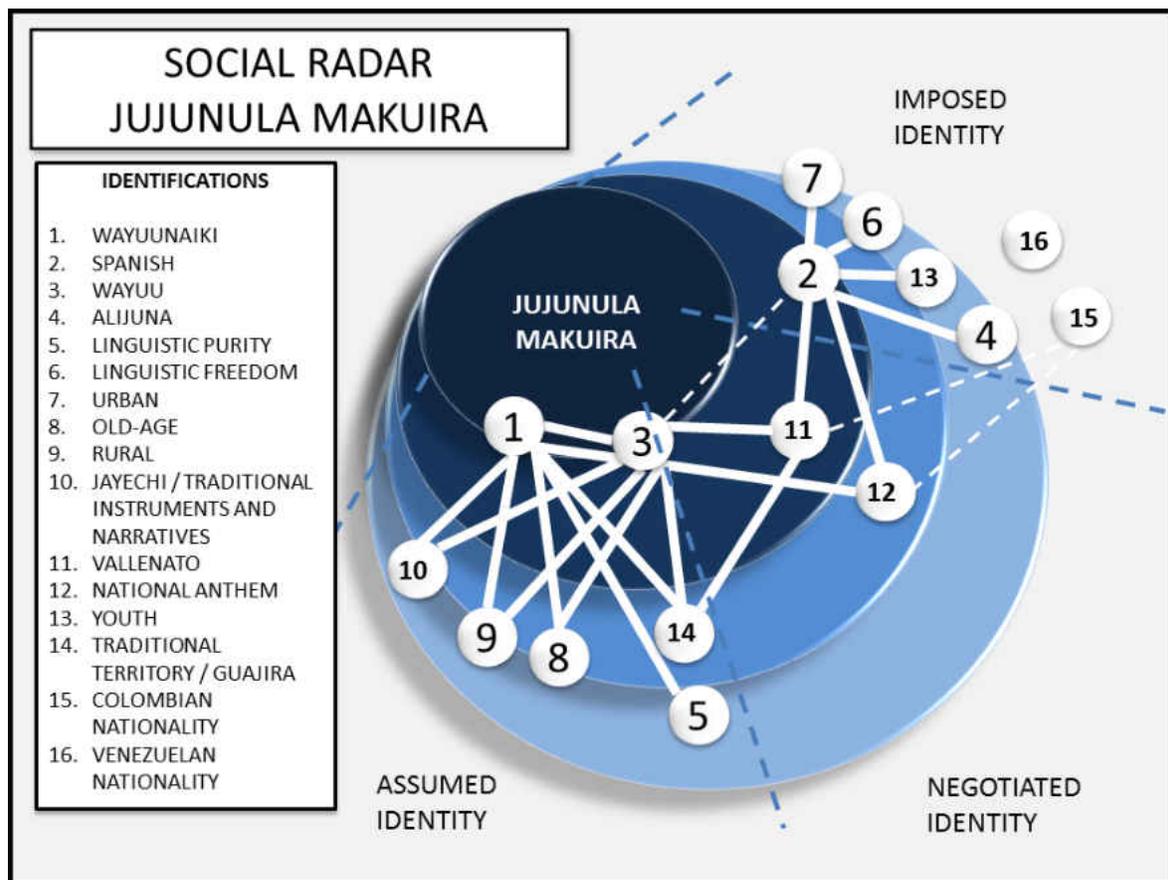


Figure 14: Social radar for Jujunula Makuira

There is, then, a tacit acceptance of Wayuunaiki strongly linked to identifications of old age, tradition, respect, ownership, linguistic purity⁶⁶, and rural livelihoods; whereas

⁶⁶ In the sense that the quality of one's Wayuunaiki is mentioned as important for production purposes, or as a reason to prevent oneself from using it.

Spanish is seen as the language of external music, youth, entertainment, and linguistic freedom. This seems to fit well within the framework of an *Assumed Identity*, where this clear-cut division is in no way challenged by the radio production, but rather accommodated for inside it.

Especially telling is dismissing a musical instrument commonly associated with the Wayuu population as “somewhat Western” because of being made of iron, thus correlating the Wayuu sense of community that predates the Western colonization, and negating hybridity, or even cultural influence. This perception sets Wayuu and Alijuna as clearly separate and bound categories, whose identifications cannot be bridged (and thus, the radio programming reflects this separation).

National identity does not seem especially relevant. It becomes an issue because of Maracaibo as an urban environment where the Wayuu lose touch with their culture, but the location of said city in one country or the other does not seem specifically relevant to the CoP members. In fact, instead of strong allegiances, national citizenship is seen as a nuisance.⁶⁷

Vallenato is an interesting case in point to show how its identification value seems to bridge over various aspects. It is acceptably considered a Wayuu product, despite being a Spanish language product, and considered to be a regional, element of identification.

Entrevistador: ¿Cuál es la música que más escuchan?

Wayuu 1: Aquí, aquí, aquí, el vallenato

Entrevistador: El vallenato. Y el vallenato lo identifican ustedes como una música wayuu?

Wayuu 1: Ehhh... porque estamos en Colombia, sí.

⁶⁷ In other excerpts, the requirements for an ID in each side of the border is seen as a reason that prevents free movement of the Wayuu.

Entrevistador: Y si no, con qué más lo identifican al vallenato?

Wayuu 1: Y también, este, hay vallenatos que son de, o sea, que hablan de la región, que hablan de la Guajira. (...) Ellos hablan de todo, de la belleza de la hermosura de sus mujeres, de la serranía

Wayuu 2: De la riqueza

Wayuu 1: De la riqueza también. Por esa parte, también el vallenato nos identifica. (LI Jujunula Makuira 1, p. 5)

Interviewer: What music do you listen to the most?

Wayuu 1: Here, in this place, vallenato

Interviewer: Vallenato... And you identify vallenato as Wayuu music?

Wayuu 1: Hmmm... since we are in Colombia, yes.

Interviewer: And if not, what else do you identify Vallenato with?

Wayuu 1: Also, well, there are vallenato songs that are, that talk about the region, talk about La Guajira (...) They talk about everything, the beauty of its women, of the mountain range...

Wayuu 2: Of its riches

Wayuu 1: Of the riches too. That way, vallenato identifies us.

Though finances and equipment to allow for field work are mentioned constantly throughout as the main reason that impedes output in Wayuunaiki, other important issues can be seen to arise during the dialogue. One is the lack of confidence in the spoken quality of Wayuunaiki. This is especially telling, for the collective feeling that the language is a treasure whose perfection is often beyond people's real use, is one of the most telling evidences of linguistic attrition and endangerment (Tsunoda, 2001). Another reason for reduced Wayuunaiki output is lack of literacy skills, which make all written work – fundamental in preparing more elaborate radio productions – be undertaken in Spanish.⁶⁸

Also, as pointed out above, there is an association of traditional values and forms of

⁶⁸ On a side note to this point, during a workshop carried out with other members of the community who wanted to participate in the radio station, they were quite happy to do short work, - mainly a story – in Wayuunaiki, but when prompted to come up with an elaborate production, where different roles were to be undertaken and information collected, shared, and organized for production purposes, they resorted to Spanish as the language for the product, due to the ease of writing it down in comparison to Wayuunaiki.

culture and representation with the language, making Wayuunaiki the language of the past, rather than of the future.

The visual rendition of the social radar (see Figure 14) tries to reflect the main identification patterns that can be seen in the *Jujunula Makuira* CoP. On the one hand, the clear division between the linguistic spaces, taking Spanish (2) as the main imposed identification, which is strongly accepted within the programming, and the Wayuunaiki (1) and Wayuu(3) correlation as their strongest accepted identifications. Linguistic freedom (6), urban life (7) and youth (13) are directly associated with Spanish (2), and they seem to support the idea of Wayuunaiki as a dying language, too difficult to use properly (5), attached to old-age (8), rural lifestyles (9) and traditions (10). Hence, the evident contradiction since the radio station aims to promote Wayuunaiki usage, but distances young listeners from the production process. Young kids speaking in Wayuunaiki were not mentioned as something the CoP looked for, and in mentioning that the costs of transport and lodging were high, the reference was always that of recording the elders.

The only real spaces of negotiation presented were the National and Departmental Anthems, where the CoP actively obeys the need to broadcast the anthems, but has created their own versions in their own language, to reify their own identity. Furthermore, the case of Vallenato which, despite being in Spanish, is considered part of the Wayuu culture, admitting to the hybridity this concession implies.

Radio Nasa

ITTD

The ITTD had an interesting twist in the case of Radio Nasa. Although both descriptions were fairly similar in the definition of the daily routines, one included many more references to context not directly related to a chronological order. For the description of the daily labour they used the programming schedule and established important tasks in relation to that schedule, highlighting the following issues:

1. Arriving at the station at 5 a.m. to turn on the equipment
2. Check internet and other sources for relevant information for the programmes
3. Live radio shows taking place in one of the rooms
4. Compilation and editing of programme elements, notes, announcements, received through phone calls, mobile phone texts, or direct visits from those interested
5. Scheduling includes a variety of genres: informational, educational, music and entertainment.
6. Constant reviewing and approval of elements that will be broadcast.

The issue of language is not mentioned at all by the participants, and seems to be seen as unproblematic. More prominence is given to issues of social organisation, mobilisation and political representation. They mention a variety of programmes such as “a programme that goes on until six in the morning called ‘Marching People’ with political-organisational content” (ITTD Radio Nasa 1, p. 1) and “a radio magazine (...) about what is

being done by the organisations in the municipal, departmental and national spheres” (ITTD Radio Nasa 2, p. 1).

They also mention specific interest groups whose communications are fundamental: traditional authorities, chieftaincies, the mayor’s office, the governor’s office and they also address issues relevant to “three sectors: what are the advances in the political-organizational process of the Afro-descendent community, and the same with indigenous communities” (ITTD Radio Nasa 1, p. 2), and peasant farmer’s organizations. Also, they address topics “[about] prevention in the area of health [issues]” (ITTD Radio Nasa 2, p. 2). Furthermore, they emphasize their collaboration in indigenous radio networks in their region, including the production of short, ten to twenty-minute, news-reels to be distributed amongst the affiliated broadcasters.

Long Interview

The aspect of language was not mentioned originally in either of the ITTD of Radio Nasa. The observation showed that there were only two of the live spoken-word programmes which were broadcast mainly in Nasa Yuwe. These included occasional recorded elements in Spanish that were summarized in Nasa Yuwe or lengthier interviews in Nasa Yuwe with a brief summary in Spanish. However, the Spanish-language programming, mostly entertainment and music sections, did not include summaries in Nasa Yuwe. This evidences that Radio Nasa rarely reaches the balance mentioned by the members of the CoP, despite the claimed fact that “the radio station, when it was started, had a fifty-fifty percentage: that is 50% Nasa Yuwe, 50% Spanish” (LI Radio Nasa 1, p. 1).

Talking about the radio show hosted by one of the participants and observed by the researcher, there was a question about the balance between the languages as well,

Nasa 2: Por lo general nosotros manejamos cincuenta-cincuenta. Cincuenta-cincuenta porque a esta hora ya la gente, los campesinos, o sea, toda la gente que labora en el campo ya viene, ya regresa a casa y sobretodo – como te había dicho-, este proyecto es para, para... de los cabildos. Es un proyecto de los cabildos. Igual, el carácter de la emisora es público, entonces manejamos para todos. Ahí está para los Nasas y para los que hablan español, entonces precisamente manejamos los... yo manejo la, los dos idiomas, para que el que habla español, si sólo hablo Nasa Yuwe, pues no me va a en, no me va a entender, entonces si lo hago en dos idiomas, las cosas van a quedar claras. (LI Radio Nasa 2, p. 1)

Nasa 2: Usually we broadcast fifty-fifty. Fifty-fifty because at this time people, farmers, that is, everybody who labours the fields, is already coming, returning home and especially -as I had said to you-, this project is for the chieftaincies. It is a project of the chieftaincies. Anyway, the station has a public service remit, so we broadcast for all. It is there for the Nasa and for those who speak Spanish. Then we use precisely... I speak both languages. If I only speak Nasa Yuwe, the Spanish-speaker is not going to understand, if I use both languages, things are going to be clear.

The participant refers to the Nasa as a category different than those who speak Spanish, although later he claims to speak both languages. However, “in the radio station there are 3 people employed, two speak Nasa Yuwe, I do speak [only] Spanish” (LI Radio Nasa 1, p. 2): Because of this varied linguistic skills of the producers there are either bilingual Spanish-Nasa Yuwe programmes, or Spanish-only shows.

Regarding music, there is a strong stress on regional music, considering the Tierradentro region (Eastern and South-eastern part of the Cauca department) as the central source of music presented through the radio station:

Nasa 2: En el proyecto de comunicación indígena como tal nos identificamos por la música puesto de que en Tierradentro hay mucho talento. Hay muchos músicos, hay hartísimos músicos. Nosotros tenemos un programa especialmente para presentar música, música de la región, o artistas de la región. Que es música de la

región también porque habla de la vida de los pueblos indígenas, habla del tema de la resistencia, habla de la minga, habla de la evolución de los jóvenes, habla de la actualidad, de la modernidad pero desde la ... desde nuestros artistas. (LI Radio Nasa 2, p. 2)

Nasa 2: In the indigenous communication project itself we identify ourselves with music, because there is a lot of talent in Tierradentro. There are many, many musicians [here]. We have a programme dedicated to music, music from the region, or artist from the region. It is music from the region also, because it speaks about the life of indigenous peoples, it talks about resistance, about the Minga, about the evolution of the young people, about current affairs, about modernity, but from our [own] artists.

There is also a small percentage of other music, which is defined by exclusion as not Nasa, and other types of music, especially protest and social-movement songs.

Nasa 1: Después de las seis va, va mucha información pero con mucha música, ya más enfocada a lo occidental, o más enfocada también a otras culturas, como el vallenato, la salsa; en sí, muy variadita ya la programación. Al mediodía también tenemos un programa ya netamente que es, pues enfocado a la cultura, conocer no solamente la cultura de aquí, sino de otros pueblos: lo andino, lo social, música social que nos enseña a convivir y a reflexionar y a vivir más. (LI Radio Nasa 1, p. 2)

Nasa 1: After six, there is a lot of information [broadcast] but with a lot of music, more focused on Western [styles], or more focused on other cultures, such as Vallenato, Salsa, that is, a good variety in programming. At noon as well we have a programme which is solely, well, focused on culture. To get to know not only our culture here, but that of other peoples: Andean [topics or music], social [topics], social [movement's] music that teaches us how to live together and reflect and live longer.

Music is then separated into three categories: Regional music, Social/Andean music, and Western/other. Regional music is directly associated with Radio Nasa on aspects of topic, content, and locality; Social/Andean music is similar in the content and teachings it includes; and Western/other is considered only as entertainment.

Furthermore, the most relevant identification, as already signalled by the ITTDs, is the political, territorial and cultural resistance aspect of the radio station. There are mentions to the importance of Human Rights and territorial control as radio topics:

Nasa 2: (...) manejamos mucho el tema de Derechos Humanos. (...) Hay una problemática sobre el tema de minas, sobre el tema del control territorial, bastante complicado hacia el occidente del departamento del Cauca, más exactamente donde está el resto de compañeros Nasas, hermanos Nasas, para el municipio de Suárez. (...) Entonces, en 15 resguardos son, es mucha la tierra que hay solicitada por la Anglo Chanti, entonces, precisamente por eso se maneja mucho el tema de control territorial, y el tema de derechos humanos. (LI Radio Nasa 2, p. 1)

Nasa 2: (...) we bring up the topic of Human Rights a lot (...) There are many problems about issues that have to do with mining, with territorial control, very difficult, in western Cauca, more precisely where there is the rest of our Nasa comrades, Nasa brothers, in the municipality of Suárez(...)Thus, in 15 reservations, there is a lot of land requested by AngloGold Ashanti. That is why the issue of territorial control and Human Rights is brought up often.

This political identification also includes more information exchange on the works of indigenous authorities, and other indigenous movements and organisations.

Nasa 1: Cuando recién iniciamos no sabíamos ni que era una organización, ni que era el CRIC ni qué era la ONIC. Ahora, ya se tiene conocimiento, y quiénes nos representan. Qué función debe hacer un gobernador. Qué función tiene la asamblea para elegir un gobernador. Se ha dado conciencia para las personas para la comunidad, para aprender a querer y saber elegir a los que nos van a representar. (LI Radio Nasa 1, p. 2)

Nasa 1: When we started we didn't know what an organisation was, what was CRIC [Cauca Regional Indigenous Council], what was ONIC [Colombian National Indigenous Organisation]. Now, there is knowledge [about them], and [about] who is representing us; what is the job of a governor, what is the task of the assembly that appoints a governor. There has been a raised awareness for people in the community, to learn to care for and know how to select those who will represent us.

Thus conveying the idea that the main interest which the radio station identifies with is the political, territorial, aspect of the Nasa culture, and how this is its main ethos:

Nasa 2: Nosotros siempre hemos dicho, la emisora para las comunidades indígenas de la región de Tierradentro ha sido una herramienta fundamental porque ha sido como del silencio a la palabra. Me refiero del silencio a la palabra porque anteriormente, antes de la radio se hacían trabajos importantísimos así como los que se hacen ahorita, reuniones, asambleas, propuestas, proyectos sobre el tema de control territorial, sobre el tema de minas, sobre el tema de aguas, de cómo manejar el tema de la salud propia, la educación propia, la implementación de la educación propia, el fortalecimiento del Nasa Yuwe, toda esa parte (...) entonces ha sido un aporte importante el tema de la concientización, de que sí tenemos tierra, de que nosotros sí valemos, de que nosotros sí tenemos nuestros derechos, de que sí hay leyes que nos defienden. (LI Radio Nasa 2, p. 4).

*Nasa 2: We have always said that the station is a fundamental tool for the indigenous communities of the Tierradentro region because it has been [for us] like going **from silence to the word**. I mean from silence to the word, because formerly, before the radio [station], there were very important developments like the ones undertaken today: meetings, assemblies, proposals, projects about territorial control, about mining, about water issues, about health and our wellbeing, our [own] education, the implementation of self-governed education, the revitalisation of Nasa Yuwe, everything like that (...) [Radio] has provided an important asset for raising awareness [about the fact] that we do have a land, that we are worthy, that we do have our rights, that there are laws that protect us. [Emphasis added]*

Furthermore, this political identification is thickened to include other possible participants beyond the indigenous community, bringing them together as important partners in mobilisation and resistance to mainstream assimilation:

Nasa 1: El caso de las cuatro de la tarde hay un programa que se llama “Voces de identidad y autonomía”. Como el mismo nombre lo dice, es para que las diferentes organizaciones se expresen a través del medio y enseñen, no solamente al indio, o al negro, o al campesino, de su organización solamente ellos, sino conocerlo en general, y tratar de unir esas culturas, no dividirnos, como siempre ha pasado. (LI Radio Nasa 1, p. 2)

Nasa 1: At 4 o’clock there is a programme called ‘Voices of identity and autonomy’. As the name itself highlights, it is for the different organisations to express themselves through the medium and teach, not only to the Indian, or to the Black,

or to the peasant, of their organisation, not only for themselves, but to make it publicly known, and to try to bring those cultures together, not to divided ourselves, as has always happened

Finally, the lack of presence of Nasa Yuwe in the radio station is presented as a problem of resources and available skills. They also mention a natural disaster which kept the station off air for 8-months, and the fact that the fees for broadcasting commercial music are very high. They try to overcome this hurdle by presenting more local bands which thus prevent them from having to pay copyright fees to the national singer/songwriter register.

They also report lack of funds for employing more people, and the departure of one of the members, namely the only female member of the group. One of the participants says:

Nasa 2: Por ese lado, en estos días se nos ha dificultado en buscar la persona que, en conseguir a la persona que necesitamos y prácticamente en este momento necesitamos es una mujer que hable Nasa Yuwe, que escriba Nasa Yuwe, y que lo entienda y que lo lea. Para que se pueda trabajar, como ya le dije, como el Nasa Yuwe ya lo manejamos cincuenta-cincuenta entonces necesitamos un equipo que sea fuerte sobre el tema de Nasa Yuwe. (LI Radio Nasa 2, p. 4)

Nasa 2: (...) It has been quite difficult in the last days to find the person we need. And practically [what] we now need is a woman who speaks Nasa Yuwe, who writes Nasa Yuwe, who can read it and understand it. So that we can work, as I said, as we keep Nasa Yuwe going fifty-fifty, then we need a team with strong [skills] in Nasa Yuwe (...)

This evidences the interest in overcoming the male-only bias of the CoP as well as the lack of sufficient bilingual personnel.

Social Radar for Radio Nasa

Following the same principle used above and outlined in chapter III, each identification is given a number and placed in the Social Radar (see Figure 15).

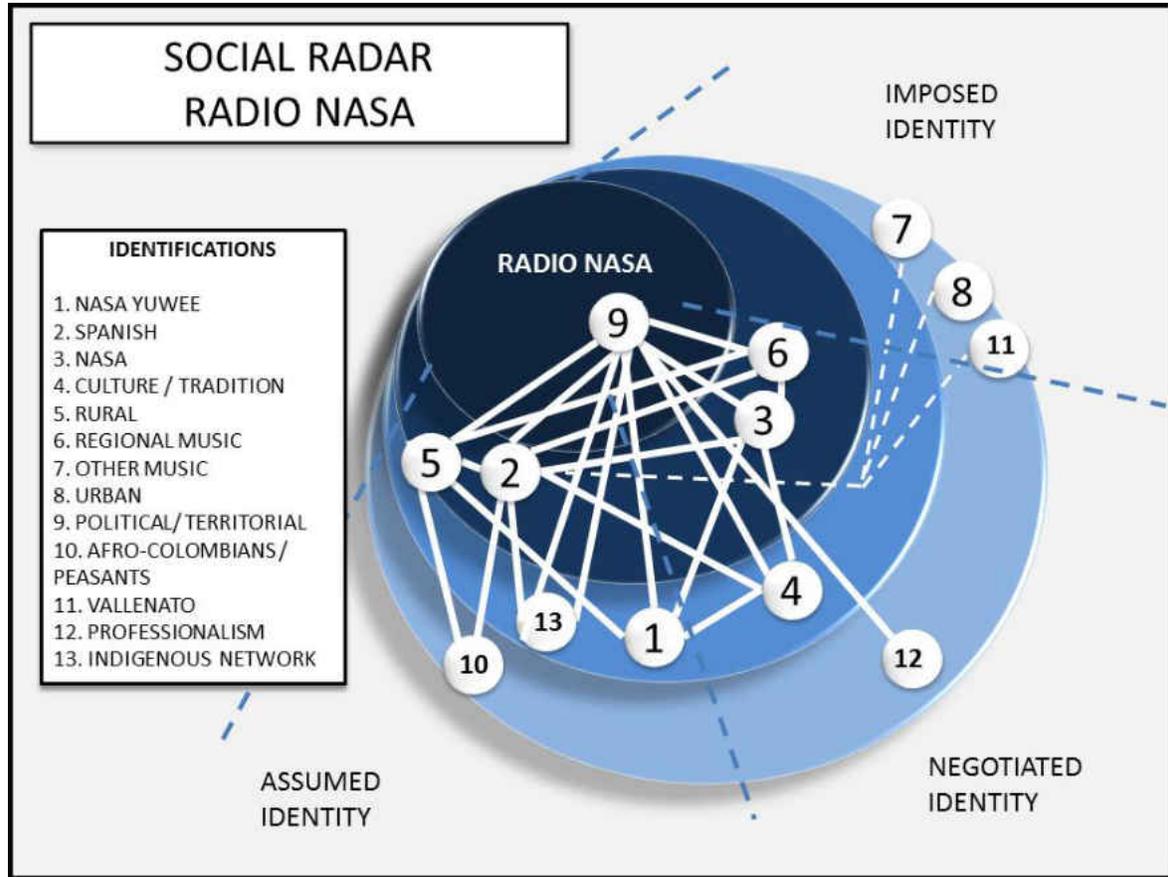


Figure 15: Social Radar for Radio Nasa

According to the information gathered, the thicker and more marked identification is clearly a political one aimed at territorial control, organisation and social action (9). This identification is so strong that it enables for participation of other social groups in the region which are not part of the indigenous community, but whose political goals unite them to the indigenous group (10).

The language appears as symbolically relevant (1), but not strongly, because despite an interest in keeping absolute bilingualism, there is much less Nasa Yuwe used in the programming. The fact that there is a Spanish monolingual member of staff emphasizes the privilege and preponderance of Spanish (2) in the radio output. Shows in Nasa Yuwe include brief translations into Spanish, and all other identifications are bilingual, but some

shows are exclusively in Spanish with no elements in Nasa Yuwe. Furthermore, the interest of constant summarization and translation of excerpts, most predominantly mentioned for the Nasa Yuwe to Spanish case, brings forth the relevance of reaching a larger audience, despite the loss of a monolingual space. As such, then, there is no monolingual Nasa Yuwe programme, although there are monolingual Spanish programmes.

Cultural identity regarding music (6) and other traditions (4) is not set against a concept of modernity, but as an alternative to it. Rather than seeing the cultural traditions, including music, as old or out-dated, they are treated as part of everyday life. Instead of a dismissing stance against technology and modern life, the CoP focuses on an alternative perspective in opposition to the mainstream cultural perspective on the subject. It is illustrative to see one specific comment on this issue:

Nasa 1: Cuando hablamos de cultura no significa, como muchos han dicho, que vamos a dar un paso atrás y nos vamos a poner los anacos, no. Es llevarlo adentro, llevar ese sentimiento, saber de dónde venimos, conocer la historia, e identificarnos con eso. Y eso es lo que se ha hecho y se ha incentivado a través de la emisora, a través de la música también. (LI Radio Nasa 1, p. 1)

Nasa 1: When we speak about culture it doesn't mean, as many have said, that we are going to take a step back [in time] and we are going to wear anacos [traditional ceremonial clothing]. No. It is to internalise this feeling, to know where we come from, learn the history and identify with it. And this is also what has been done and has been encouraged through the radio station, through the music as well.

Rather than looking back, the CoP identifies with a construction of a public sphere and a debate on political issues, which helps their organisation and calls to action. This call to action requires ample support by both monolingual and bilingual Nasa (3), and Spanish monolinguals of other ethnic affiliations. Professionalism (12) here is observed as a need

to document and inform the community of more of their own political and cultural activities. Professionalism is relevant for visibility, and for contrasting mainstream views, rather than creating neutral, balanced, supposedly objective material. Lack of funding and personnel is cited as hampering this process, as is the difficulty to find a female employee who has the language and literacy skills required for the job, especially since said language skills are less available in the urban part of Tierradentro, and costs of transport and accommodation are considered quite high.

La voz de las islas / The voice of the islands

ITTD

The Interviews to the double undertaken with the members of the CoP that works on the production of two radio shows in the commercial radio station 'The voice of the Islands' does not directly provide a clear description of the activities in a chronological order. However, it does underscore some of the basic procedures taken by its members in the production of the show. A summary of the production work of the CoP is:

1. Checking various media (i.e. Internet, national radio stations, and television) for recent national, regional and local news.
2. Contact with the community, via personal exchange, about other news-worthy issues.
3. Participate in the radio programme (usually 10:30 to 11:30, Monday to Friday or from 12pm to 2pm on Saturday).
4. Receive phone calls from people who want to participate in the show.

5. If they cannot be present in the show, phone in from whichever location they are in to take part.
6. The show can be heard in some parts of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and throughout the archipelago of San Andrés.

A first telling element is the decision of both participants to use their Creole as the language for their ITTD. Although one of them also includes a summary in Spanish, they both begin using their own language (Creole), and the first comments made were about Creole and about the role Creole plays in the radio station. This introduction to their description of activities includes a direct assertion of their linguistic interests. Both participants present this case in their own words:

Raizal 1: First of all, our language in this island is our Creole, our second language is English, then now the third language may be the Spanish language also, that the Colombian government come and impose on us native Caribbean people, the afro-Caribbean (...) (ITTD La voz de las islas 1, p. 1).

Raizal 2: Como venía diciéndoles en mi idioma creole en inglés, el programa ‘Al a wii da wan’ (...) es un programa, es un espacio para la comunidad raizal, la comunidad, ehh, que de pronto no tiene la capacidad de manifestar su inconformismo, de manifestar sus inquietudes, o de participar de una forma en los programas normales que hay en el idioma español, ya que el idioma español para nosotros es nuestro segundo idioma y no nuestro primer idioma, nuestro idioma es el creole, el inglés, ese es nuestro primer idioma, nosotros reconocemos el español como nuestro segundo idioma y por estatutos, llámese por ley, llámese por constitución (...) Bueno, el creole es nuestro idioma, y nuestro programa es netamente en creole, para las personas que hablan creole y tengan la oportunidad de interactuar con nosotros. (ITTD La voz de las islas 2, p. 1)

Raizal 2: As I was saying in my Creole language in English, (...) ‘Al a wii da wan’ is a radio show, it’s a space for the Raizal community which may not have the chance to express their disappointment, to present their queries, or to participate normally in the Spanish language programmes, because Spanish is for us a second language and our first language, our first language is Creole, English, that is our first language. We recognise Spanish as a second language and by statutes, namely by

law, namely by constitution (...) Well, Creole is our language, and our programme is exclusively in Creole, for people who speak Creole [to] have the opportunity to interact with us.

They also expressed indignation at news that the license of the radio station could be revoked, seeing this situation as a problem for the audience they serve. They present their case arguing as follows:

Raizal 1: These people that want to close the oldest AM radio station in the whole archipelago, the radio station that make our native people in our archipelago can communicate themselves (...) they don't have no relative in our island, to come and want to close our radio station. They got closing our radio station, you are taking away our language, you are taking away totally the communication between our brothers and sisters also(...) (ITTD La voz de las islas 1. p. 1).

Raizal 2: They are trying to close it, and close our voice, the voice of the creole people, the voice of the raizal people, the voice of the minority in this beautiful archipelago. They want to close it down through political's affairs and grudgeness (ITTD La voz de las islas 2, p. 1).

The ITTD evidenced the linguistic/political conflict under which they feel their CoP rests. This linguistic/political conflict does not rest in linguistic grounds, but on other political regulations regarding commercial radio stations, but the linguistic, and linguistic identity space the radio provides, becomes the main element the radio station has taken at its core to avoid closure.

Long Interview

During the long interview, after participating in their Saturday programme of 'Feelin' Eiry', both participants offered their perspectives on the identity negotiations they have undertaken in the production of the radio show.

The privileged position of the Creole language in their programme is emphasized by the participants, and reflected by both of them in different instances as key element of their identity:

Raizal 2: Bueno, primero que todo, tenemos que basarnos en el idioma. Nosotros tenemos un idioma, que es nuestro primer idioma, que es creole. Y los temas que tratamos tienen que ver con lo que afecta directamente a la población raizal, entonces ya hay una identidad allí. (...) Entonces, refleja en lo cultural, primero que todo, porque, repito, es por el idioma. El idioma explícito se habla bien claro nuestro idioma creole, uno no trata de poner, uno no trata de poner tecnicismos ni nada, es un creole pleno. (LI La voz de las islas 1, p. 1)

Raizal 2: Well, first of all, we have to base everything on our language. We have a language, which is our first language, which is Creole. And the topics we address have to do with what affects directly the Raizal population, then there is an identity there already (...) Therefore, [it] reflects upon cultural aspects, first of all, because, and I repeat, it is due to the language. The proper language is spoken clearly, our Creole language. One does not use any technical jargon, nor anything [like that], it is absolute Creole.

But also on how the use of various languages contributes to show a characteristic element of their Raizal identity:

Raizal 1: Por eso siempre damos gracias a Dios, que nosotros aquí en esta región del Caribe –San Andrés islas- aquí somos bilingües, trilingües, cuatrilingües, hasta cinco seis, siete, ocho. Cuando le queramos poner, y esa es la ventaja que tenemos nosotros, que podemos acercarnos a cualquier persona en su idioma cuando no conoce el nuestro. Pero si esa persona conoce mi idioma, y puede entenderlo y hablarlo, - olvídense -, voy con él en creole hasta que se termine el tema. (LI La voz de las islas 1, p. 2)

Raizal 1: That's why we thank God that we in this Caribbean region –the islands of San Andrés- here we are bilingual, trilingual, quadrilingual, [we speak] even five, six, seven, eight [languages]. When we want to use them, and that is our advantage, we can approach any person in their own language when they do not know ours. But if that person knows my language, and can understand it and speak it, - forget it!-, I will speak in Creole with him until the topic's over.

Raizal 2: Si, referente a la participación de personas de otro idioma, específicamente el español ¿no? Hay personas que viven en la isla que no hablan el creole, se les dificulta ¿no?, por el acento, hablar el creole. Pero entienden el creole. Llamam y cuando se toca un tema y es interesante para ellos, participan. Pero piden disculpas primero, que no pueden dirigirse en creole, pero van a hablar en español. (...) Entonces estas personas participan en su idioma, en su idioma español. Y son bienvenidos. (LI La voz de las islas 1. p. 2)

Raizal 2: Yes, regarding people's participation in other languages, specifically Spanish, there are people who live in the island who do not speak Creole, it is hard for them, isn't it, because of the accent, to speak Creole. But they understand Creole. They call and when there is a topic, and it is interesting for them, they participate. But they apologise first, that they cannot speak in Creole, but they are going to speak in Spanish. (...) Then those people participate in their language, in Spanish. And they are welcome [to do so].

Raizal 1: Muchas personas que ocupan cargos aquí en la isla, referente al turismo – digamos el gerente de alguna agencia de viajes, o algo por el estilo, no hablan el creole, no hablan el inglés. Y son gente que invitamos y hacemos una excepción, presentamos el programa, en español y hacemos un recuento en creole, para que la persona pueda desenvolverse, pueda llegar a que sea entendido por lo que va a anunciar al público presente. (LI La voz de las islas 1, p. 3)

Raizal 1: There are many people who have [relevant] jobs here in the islands, regarding tourism, let's say the head of a travel agency or something like that, and they don't speak Creole, they don't speak English. They are people we invite and we make an exception, we present the programme in Spanish and we summarize it in Creole, for the person to be able to talk, to be understood by the public.

This is the case despite the evident encroachment of the Creole language, and the lack of outlets for it. Since the interest of the programme is not linguistic maintenance, but public affairs, this concession becomes necessary. Yet by summarizing in Creole, Spanish is not seen as a language which would be otherwise understood necessarily by their audience. Thus, the audience is seen as being possibly monolingual. In the opposite case, when Creole is the language of discussion, in the interest of public debate they make a similar

concession. But contrary to a separation of linguistic spaces, they advocate for visibility and clear differentiation rather than full language-based separation.

Raizal 1: Jugamos el papel del bilingüe, pero siempre tratamos de mantener siempre enfocado en nuestra cultura, en nuestro idioma, a la gente al día. ¿Por qué? El 99% de los programas que se pasan en el canal regional son en español, igual dentro de la radio -¿cierto?, y últimamente estamos tratando de que, 'bueno, pues si todos los otros programas son netamente en español, vamos a hacer algo netamente en creole', vamos a dirigirnos específicamente a nuestra gente. Pero nosotros de buen corazón, no podemos ser egoístas de esa manera, siempre omitimos algo, restamos algún porcentaje para que los de habla hispana también puedan por lo menos, 'bueno, yo ya sé por dónde van, por qué hablaban, o qué es lo que decían'. (La voz de las islas 1, p. 3)

Raizal 1: We play the bilingual role, but we try to remain focused in our culture, in our language, for people in the day. Why? [Because] 99% of the programmes in the regional [Television] channel are in Spanish, and it's the same with radio, right? Lately we have tried to, well, 'if all the other shows are solely in Spanish, we will do something solely in Creole'; we will reach specifically our people. But we, of a tender heart, cannot be egotistical like that. We always remove something, we take away a small percentage so that those who speak Spanish to, at least [be able to say], 'well, I know where they are heading now, why were they talking, what was it they were saying'.

Their accommodation of other languages accepts and draws on the multilingual capital of both the members of the CoP and the audience, having a wider understanding of language possibilities, but keeping in mind the higher relevance of Creole. This aspect is highlighted not only in regards to language usage, but also with other cultural postures held by them.

Discussing other identity elements, they responded:

Raizal 1: Que no debemos de ser egoístas en cuanto a cultura, porque ya San Andrés, ya no es una cultura netamente criolla. ¿Me entiendes? Ahora estamos ya, tenemos, no sólo la cultura Colombiana, también tenemos la europea y tenemos también de Suramérica, Centroamérica, se ha vuelto colonias de varios lugares. (La voz de las islas 1, p. 3)

Raizal 1: We should not be egotistical regarding culture, because San Andrés is no longer a solely Creole culture. Do you follow me? We are already... We have already,

not only a Colombian culture, but also European, South and Central American, which have settled here from various places.

Furthermore, they refer to national celebrations and holidays that were not taken to have the fundamental meaning of being cultural impositions and, despite the separatists' claims to have them banned, they associate with mainly appropriated cultural expressions that can be contested:

Raizal 2: A nosotros en los colegios nunca nos enseñaron que vamos a celebrar el día de independencia de Colombia. 'Vamos a celebrar el 20 de julio', pero nunca nos habían dicho que es el día de la independencia que vamos a celebrar, sino que eso se volvió una fiesta ya nuestra. Eso se volvió algo cultural, algo como nuestro, nosotros hemos adoptado como nuestro, pero hay otro movimiento, hay otro movimiento que es el grupo MSD que son muy radicales, entonces que todas esas costumbres que nosotros tenemos de ancestrales, que hemos venido haciendo ancestralmente, ellos quieren de una noche a la mañana borrarlo, borrarlo y que nosotros no participemos en eso. (LI La voz de las islas 1, p. 4)

Raizal 2: At school we were never taught that we were going to celebrate Colombia's Independence Day. 'We will celebrate the 20th of July', but we were never told that it was the Independence Day that we were celebrating, but rather that it became a celebration of our own. It became something cultural, something that belonged to us. [Something] we have adapted to be ours. But there is a movement from the MSD, that is too radical, and [saying] than that all of those customs that we have from our ancestors, that we have been performing for years, they want us to all of a sudden erase them and do away with them, for us not to take part in them.

This also serves to evidence how they position themselves as Raizal, separated from the concept of Colombianness. As seen in the ITTD and through this comment, they distance themselves as Raizal, bringing more relationship with other afro-Caribbean groups, and taking a step back from the Colombian continental perspective, which they see as imposing a culture and language different than their own. Their emphasis, both in their ITTDs and in the long interview, on the links with the Eastern coast of Central America and

other Caribbean Islands is quite telling. Referring to a TV show they also worked on together they say:

Raizal 2: Este programa fue un éxito total, un éxito rotundo. Había muchas expectativas y creo que se cumplieron: las expectativas de ese programa de mostrar al pueblo San Andresano que las costumbres que tenemos nosotros, paralelamente hay esas costumbres en otras regiones del Caribe, donde habitan los descendientes Afro-americanos, podríamos decirlo, afro-americanos por ser el continente, y sobretodo en Jamaica que tenemos una identidad muy estrecha. (LI La voz de las islas 1, p. 5)

Raizal 2: The programme was a total success. There were many expectations and I believe they were [all] fulfilled. The expectations of the programme about portraying [to] the people of San Andrés that the customs we have are also held in other Caribbean regions, where the Afro-descendants... Afro-Americans we could say, Afro-Americans because we refer to the whole continent, and particularly in Jamaica, that we have a very close [closely similar] identity.

Raizal 1: Bueno, la mayoría de las islas en el Caribe y países que tienen ciudades en el Caribe ¿no?, hablamos casi el mismo inglés criollo. Hablamos el mismo inglés criollo, tenemos casi la misma cultura, eh, sobretodo la parte gastronómica. (LI La voz de las islas 1, p. 5)

Raizal 1: Well, most of the islands in the Caribbean and the countries which have cities in the Caribbean, we all speak the same Creole English. We speak almost the same Creole English, we have almost the same culture, especially in gastronomy.

Moreover, other content that appears in their shows, namely music, also takes on their language as the main conveyor. They find identification with afro-Caribbean rhythms, mainly Soca, Calypso and, especially, Reggae. Yet even within a music section they make linguistic concessions:

Raizal 1: Igual como yo también tengo un programa los fines de semana que se llama Feelin' Eiry que es de música, y la música el 99% de la música siempre es entre creole e inglés, pero siempre como yo sé que tenemos audiencia de habla hispana también le ponemos reggae en español que tiene mensajes muy positivos, hacia el amor, hacia la unión, como debemos de tratarnos siempre en una hermandad. (LI La voz de las islas 1, p. 3)

Raizal 1: Anyway, as I also have a radio show on Weekends called 'Feelin' Eiry', which is a music show, and 99% of the music is always in Creole and English, but as I always know there is a Spanish speaking audience as well, we play them reggae in Spanish which has positive messages, about love, about unity, how we should treat ourselves all as brethren.

Another very relevant aspect is that they think of their programme as representing a voice of the community in social and political aspects that affect them. Their programme sees citizenship as active, and defines their job as whistle blowers and awareness raisers, as well as providers of a space for public debates. They make this evident in their description of their jobs in the ITTD but also in the lengthier discussion:

Raizal 2: Lo importante es que no somos dos loros ahí únicamente hablando, sino que participa la comunidad, y la comunidad raizal, que no maneja, sobretodo, aquellos que no manejan bien el español, sobretodo en la audiencia del programa 'Al a wii da wan' que son personas de cuarenta años hacia arriba, que son las amas de casa que están en sus hogares preparando sus alimentos, son aquellas que ya están pensionadas que ya están en su casa. (LI La voz de las islas 1, p. 1)

Raizal 2: What is important is that we are not just two parrots there only talking, but the community participates, and the Raizal community, who doesn't use, mainly, those who do not use Spanish well, especially as the audience of 'Al a wii da Wan' who are people over forty, housewives at their homes preparing food, pensioners who are at home (...).

Raizal 2: ['Al a wii da Wan' is] un programa que va dirigido especialmente a la comunidad nativa, pero igual hay muchos continentales que entienden y hablan nuestro creole y también nos apoyan con los diferentes temas que tenemos en la mañana en el programa, y este programa va dirigido a todo público y los temas en sí, son basados de acuerdo a lo que va pasando y transcurriendo en el día (...). Otra cosa, tampoco estamos con el gobierno y tampoco somos opositores, ¿entiendes? Porque la idea es trabajar en conjunto, o sea y también vistamos los diarios de nuestra isla, y visitamos tanto la oposición como el gobierno, a la gente particular, a la gente privada, todos los que viven dentro de la región, todos. Porque cuando le ocurre algo a uno, le ocurre a todos (LI La voz de las islas 1, p. 1).

Raizal 2: ['Al a wii da Wan' is] a programme mainly aimed at the native community, but there are also many continentals who understand and speak our creole and also join us in some of the different topics we host in the mornings on the show,

and this show is aimed for all publics and the topics themselves, are based on what's going on and happening throughout the day (...) Another thing [is], we are neither with the government nor are we their opposition, you understand? Because the idea is to work together, that is, we also visit the newspapers in our island, and we visit the opposition and those in government, the layman, the private [interests], everyone who is in the region, everyone. Because when something happens to one of us, it happens to all.

Social Radar of La Voz de las Islas

As such, this CoP presents a higher identification with a linguistic aspect (1), but also to a great extent in its multilingual abilities (3). It also acknowledges a regional identification with neighbouring groups (4), and the importance of a political task as supervisors of the public good (8). Their political and cultural openness is also an example of their ability to overcome the *Imposed Identity* of Colombianness (5), and exercise their Raizal (6) identity as a *Negotiated Identity*, where they are not bound by given conventions, and where they can modify and alter the given meaning of cultural representations (as with the case of the celebrations of independence). Furthermore, they see their linguistic diversity as an asset which does not take away from their own affiliation with the Raizal identification, but making it also coterminous to it. (See Figure 16)

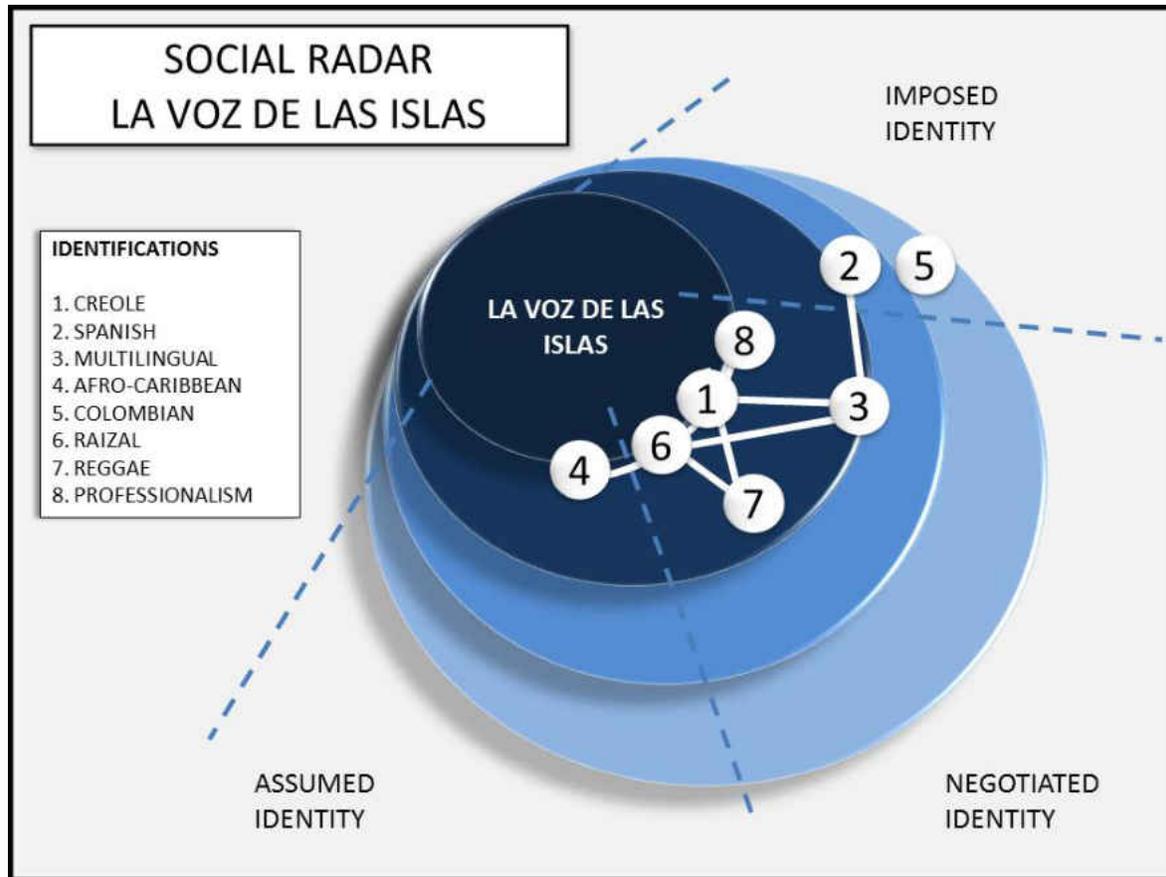


Figure 16: Social Radar for La Voz de las Islas

The identification markers that lead this CoP are considerably linked between a public sphere requirement, as opinion generators, and as cultural activists. They see their language as fundamental to their identity, connecting also with a regional Afro-Caribbean identification. Notice, however, that they do not mention an Afro-descendent connection to Continental Afro-Colombians, an ethnic hyphenated category they do not use, preferring in their participations either Afro-descendent or Afro-Caribbean. Their own scope of Raizal, or Creole, however, arises from a contraposition to the continental Colombianness. They also refer to themselves as natives of the archipelago, though not claiming indigenous status, but rather as settlers previous to the constitution of the Colombian State. Finally,

they see their cultural repertoire including other elements, such as reggae music (7), which bounds them to a Caribbean, rather than Continental, identification.

Preliminary comparison of the Colombian Cases

The three different cases highlighted here evidence the breadth of possibilities in how CoP undertake their work within MLM, and how these different ways allow for aspects to be interconnected and compared. The responses to the research process by the participants answer the overarching question made by Cormack about the interaction of specific media to the different identification elements at their disposal.

The salience of specific identifications in each of the CoPs evidences the variety of contextual forces that are set upon each instance of Minority Language in their access to media outlets. The identifications to which they assign more relevance or ‘thickness’ determine their linguistic output and linguistic tolerance to the multilingual environment in which they work. However a series of factors can be seen to emerge again and again and provide important information to consolidate a theoretical construct of MLM production.

Linguistic exclusion, separation or integration

The cases highlight different ways in which Communities of Practice engage with linguistic issues. Most of them evidence linguistic separation, in which programmes are defined on linguistic grounds as being made in one language or the other, quite similar to what is expected in isolationist models (Kelly-Holmes, et al., 2009). However, each of them sees this linguistic separation from their own perspective. All of them implicitly or explicitly

admit to the multilingualism of their audience, both in the sense of those they classify as members of their group (which seems much more linguistically based in the case of the Raizal community than in the other two groups), and those who they reach outside their core group, be they Alijuna, peasant farmers, Afro-descendant communities, or continental peoples respectively.

But they allow for linguistic participation in their programmes in clearly differentiated ways. *Jujunula Makuira* breaks the programmes into two mutually exclusive identities: on the one hand there is the Wayuunaiki, its traditions, the elders who speak it, the musical instruments they consider part of their history, and their rural practices; on the other hand, the rest of the programming shows another view: urban, Spanish-speaking, young and regional as well as national and international. By breaking the languages along with those identifications, they evidence the conflicting negotiation of their identity on those same concepts.

Radio Nasa sees its role as mainly a political channel to bring together all social groups to coalesce around the defence of territorial, human and cultural rights. Language is symbolically relevant, but it takes a secondary identification position to the political side, which recognizes the need to use Spanish over Nasa Yuwe to reach a larger audience and, as such, create more political momentum. The CoP uses the medium as a contestation of the public sphere, creating an alternate space, where politically relevant issues are brought up and confronted – in a sense very similar to the debates mentioned by Hourigan (2004b) in Ireland. Language links their indigenous identity to the radio, but their constant use of summaries in Spanish, and a lack of them in Nasa Yuwe for their

programming in Spanish, evidences the secondary symbolic valuation of the language. Thus, Spanish monolingualism within the CoP is seen as problematic, yet not unacceptable. The group working on the two programmes at 'La voz de las Islas' shows a more inclusive stance for multilingual participation, privileging Creole over all other output, but not limiting itself to it. This inclusivity is a reflection of their interest to provide a voice to the voiceless, but at the same time, to include those without a voice in the larger public debate. Rather than an alternate public sphere, they aim to include their own views in the public sphere, and they allow for cross participation between those spheres. However, theirs are only two programmes amongst many, and the access of Creole in Spanish language broadcasting is probably not as open.

Imposed, assumed or negotiated identity

In all cases there is also evidence of mixed perceptions regarding the identifications choices available to them. There are clear instances of imposed identities of a mixture of those categories in all three cases.

'La voz de las islas' team presented Colombian national culture as an imposition upon their islander, native culture, especially in the form of assimilationist linguistic rules, but also in the case of the pending removal of the broadcasting license, by considering it as politically motivated from those who have no connection to the island. The *imposed identity* of Colombian-ness is contested through the negotiation of meaning they perform with Independence Day celebrations, appropriating those cultural landmarks and making them theirs. Also, by admitting a poly-ethnic, multilingual and politically open area of debate, they negotiate the identity they hold of themselves. They assume the afro-

Caribbean identity, an identity not created by them, but with which they can relate, distancing them from the Continental Colombian identity demands – as well as from other Afro-Colombian-ness.

Radio Nasa clearly contests the imposed identity of backwardness and traditional dependence. It also contests the imposition of a powerless position, by generating political pressure, and using the radio as a collection of perspectives. They take on the assumed identity of a collective indigenous network, rather than just the Nasa, to use it in their favour, despite the inner differences this collective concept entails. Radio Nasa follows the perspective of Payu'mat Estereo, a sister indigenous radio station of the Cauca region, which evidences that despite governmental support in the construction of the station, political and informational independence that leads to an alternative public sphere is their goal (Murillo, 2008). Furthermore, since their goals include reaching a community and contrasting mainstream media views, they opt for Spanish to reach a wider audience.

Jujunula Makuira, however, seems to rest in the divide imposed upon them. Their cultural and linguistic separation of their programming seems to highlight the impossibility of the two identities existing at the same time, rather than admitting to them. It presents the various identifications as oppositional and contradictory. The compartmentalisation of their language and traditions prevents the negotiation of said identity, imposing it as stable, defined and controlled.

Chapter VI: Wales: Welsh-language Television and Convergent Production

This chapter presents the results of the fieldwork conducted with MLM producers of four independent television production companies in Wales. Like the previous chapter, it aims at answering the question posed by Cormack (2007b, p. 65) and already discussed in Chapter Two: *how do specific media interact with local, cultural and national identities*. It tries to find answers to this question by evaluating the identification allegiances in the discourse of the media producers used in their Community of Practice (CoP). The exploration of their practice, and the importance they assign to the different assets which portray their complex, hybrid and varied identity, provides a map of interconnected relations. This map helps to understand how their negotiations of identity become reified in their media products. The fieldwork sought to answer the following questions:

1. How do media producers of MLM reflect on their own identifications (ethnic, indigenous, linguistic, or others)?
2. How do they prioritize these identifications in their production practices?
3. What is the impact of this prioritization of identifications on linguistic output?

In order to answer these questions the fieldwork used a combination of qualitative research practices as discussed in Chapter Three, in particular interviews and participant observation. Through an analysis of the information compiled, social radar maps were created to visualise the prominence of specific identifications, using the ideas developed

by Hale (2004). The results of the four cases studied are then explored in the light of one another, to find possible trends.

The first part of the chapter focuses on the specificities of the context surrounding the producers' work, provides background about the place where these CoPs were located, the structure under which they operate, the specific issues experienced in the gathering of the information, and presents the participants of the research.

The second part presents the fieldwork undertaken as specified in the methodology Chapter, following a three-step approach: firstly, an Interview to the double (ITTD); second, participant observation; and, finally, a semi-structured interview.⁶⁹ The ITTD provided information on the general routines of the CoP, and drew attention to issues of responsibility and accountability. An exploration of the instances where the ITTD responses dealt with causality or relevance, instead of mere routine, provided evidence of what the participants consider a fundamental part of their work. The information gathered this way lays the foundation for the participant observation that is integrated with the responses of the semi-structured interviews to present an opportunity for the participants to reflect upon the motivation for their actions and the choices they routinely made.

⁶⁹ Short excerpts of 20 words or less are presented in the body of the text, with double quotation marks. They are followed by the name and number of the interview in parentheses as they appear in the appendices, and include the page number where the quote can be found in full (e.g. LI Ceidiog 1, p. 1). Excerpts longer than 20 words are separated from the main texts and include the same reference format. Whenever the transcript was in a language other than English, the original text is followed by the translation into English in *italics*.

The third part provides a summary and contrast between the four cases studied. It draws attention to the common threads between the cases and provides provisional answers to the questions mentioned above. It finally leads on to the discussion in the next chapter.

Exchange spaces

The four groups that took part in the research represent a considerable range of types of television production. They receive commissions from S4C to produce television programmes as well as by other broadcasters, and they also work in other types of products for different outputs. In fact, they evidenced a change towards multimedia production, rather than only television programmes. They included in their production output radio, film and multimedia production beyond their main remit as independent television production groups.

Context of the Communities of Practice

This section provides information on the context within which the CoPs operate, in order to provide a more detailed picture of the conditions under which these producers work.

The four groups which took part in this research belong four separate independent television production companies, all of which received commissions to produce Welsh language medium television programmes for S4C during the period between 2007-2011.

They are well established within the Welsh language television industry.

The first was *Ceidiog*. It was located on the Trefforest industrial state near Pontypridd, in South Wales, less than 30 minutes north of Cardiff, in one of the valleys renowned for the now closed coal mines. According to their own webpage “Ceidiog creates content for all

platforms. We specialise in Children’s, Factual and Entertainment, operating locally and globally with integrity” (Ceidiog, 2011). As a small private company, *Ceidiog* housed a large single-table meeting room, a few editing suites, a small waiting room, and an office. Its staffing numbers fluctuated between 10-15 employees, half of which were employed full-time.

Green Bay and *Boomerang+* were larger producers, with their offices and studios on different locations in Cardiff, the Welsh capital city. They offered a wide array of productions, in television, radio and multimedia outputs. *Green Bay* began working after the turn of the millennium, and moved into Talbot Studios in 2004 (Green Bay, 2011). *Boomerang+* was established in 1994, relocating to new studio and office space in 2002 (Boomerang+, 2011). Both of them have larger facilities than those of *Ceidiog* and employed well over 20 people in 2011.

Finally, *Cwmni Da* is located in the town of Caernarfon, in north western Wales. They have a separate location in Felinheli for studio work, post-production and finalising, whilst the Caernarfon location serves a double purpose as office and pre-production space. *Cwmni Da* was established in 1997 and in 2011 it had well over 20 employees working either full or part time in one of their locations.

Due to the size of some of the companies, a specific CoP within each of them engaged with this research project, save for *Ceidiog* in which the CoP comprised the whole company team.

Ceidiog

The structure of the company was very horizontal. The director is the only visible level of hierarchy, whilst all the other employees seem to work together at the same level, taking a collective office space around a large rectangular table. Producers, researchers, assistants and scriptwriters alike discuss and exchange views around that table. There are also some separate spaces for smaller meetings, editing suites, and a kitchen facility. Some of the directors do not work full-time in the office, but are employed on a programme-to-programme basis.

The members interviewed as a CoP in the research included the head of the company and five of the full-time employees at the time. Due to employment changes that took place within the period of the research, only three out of the six people originally interviewed in the ITTD took part in the lengthier collective interview.

Green Bay

As a larger company, *Green Bay* has an arrangement which is based on areas of expertise and specific programme commitments. It has two creative directors who supervise most of the production work, directing and overseeing the different processes, and a group of people in different positions working, more or less, on the same level. Although there are different roles amongst the employees (e.g. director, researcher, assistant, trainee, editor) all of them engage in collective work together.

One of the creative directors participated in all three activities of the research project (ITTD, observation, long interview), and a total of eight members of the CoP participated in single independent parts of the research project, though not participating in all of them.

Boomerang+

Within the larger production house that is *Boomerang+*, there are specific groups concerned with a specific product. The participants in the research were all members of the production team of a live television show called *Stwnsh Sadwrn*, which broadcast live from the *Boomerang+* studio on Saturday mornings. The group consisted of four producers, including a scriptwriter, who work throughout the week in preparation for the live show. On the day of broadcasting there were five presenters and over ten staff, including camera operators, sound editors, director, and assistants, that participate in the programme.

This specific CoP, rather than the whole *Boomerang+*, took part in the research project. The four members of the production group participated in all three stages of research, and the live show was also part of the observation process.

Cwmni Da

In terms of organisation, *Cwmni Da* had restructured their company just before the research project started. Under this new structure, employees are arranged by role and by area of programmes in which they participate. As such, they are all part of a pool of producers, which are mostly concentrating on one specific programme, but who are also responsible for helping in programmes of a similar nature. *Cwmni Da* organises itself on four different groups of productions: Factual/History, Entertainment/Factual, Entertainment/Drama, and, Cultural.

Those who participated in the research were all part of the Factual/History team. They included one assistant producer, one director and two researchers. Furthermore, one of

the members of the senior management team also participated in the project. All five of them were part of the three-step process.

Description of settings and procedures

The ITTD interviews were made at the offices of the four CoPs, and there was audio recording of both ITTD interviews and of the longer interviews, that were used for the production of the transcripts. The language of the interviews was English, except for one of the *Ceidiog* interviews which was carried out in Spanish. Although there were words and even phrases spoken in Welsh in the conversations, the main language of exchange was English. The age of the respondents ranged from early twenties to sixties, and five of the respondents were male, and fourteen female, with at least one male participant in each of the CoPs.

Because of the variety of commitments of the members of these organisations, it was difficult to arrange the exact same kind of setting for each kind of procedures. Bearing in mind that it was important to ensure that at least one of the members interviewed in the ITTD process participated in the extensive interview, the following were the specific arrangements undertaken with the different CoPs:

In the cases of *Ceidiog* and *Cwmni Da* the lengthier interview was carried out as a group interview. At *Ceidiog*, three of the participants that had been part of the ITTD and observation process took part in the interview. At *Cwmni Da*, four out of the five people who participated in the ITTD took part in the extensive interview.

For *Green Bay* and *Boomerang+* individual interviews were carried out as the last part of the three-step research process. At *Green Bay* only one of the participants who took part

of both ITTD and observation agreed to take part in the extensive interview. At *Boomerang+* all four participants took part in the ITTD, observation and extensive interview process.

From Silence to the Word: Findings

This section presents the findings from the three-step process of interviews and observation of the four CoPs. The information is presented one case at a time, starting with *Ceidiog*, followed by *Green Bay*, *Boomerang+*, and, finally, *Cwmni Da*. The first part of every case is dedicated to the ITTD and a second part provides a combination of the observation of production and the semi-structured interview. At the end there is a preliminary discussion regarding the findings, which is used as support to the discussion chapter which follows this one.

Ceidiog

Interview to the Double (ITTD)

The ITTD served as a way to look into the everyday procedures of the Community of Practice which makes up *Ceidiog*. There was no specific routine described, although there are some common threads of work. The description of the average day to day was consistently defined as very variable. The respondents mentioned this fact several times as the following examples illustrate:

My actual work kind of varies a lot because we are a small company and I am, kind of, spread across quite a few different productions, so my roles on each one vary. (ITTD *Ceidiog* 1, p. 1)

Realmente mi día no está muy segmentado o qué es lo que hago día a día u hora por hora (ITTD Ceidiog 3, p. 1).

Actually, my day is not very segmented, or what is it I do day by day or hour by hour.

With this work in particular that I'm doing at Ceidiog (...) to develop programme ideas if you like, and I think my work therefore doesn't actually mean nine to five (...) So I think in terms of my work, I think it's continuous in my head. (ITTD Ceidiog 6, p. 1)

It's varied, my work, and I wouldn't be able to describe it, from day to day. It's not exactly the same ever. (ITTD Ceidiog 6, p. 2)

I've got quite a wide brief, really, I kind of get involved in all sorts, from... sort of I make sure that we've got keys cut for all the rooms, to making sure we've got a cameraman booked, to making sure we've got the stock in, to making sure the camera is available, that people have schedules, have done risk assessments, all that sort of thing. (ITTD Ceidiog 7, p. 1)

This variability may depend on the stages of production of the different projects they are working on, as attested by their statements:

What I do depends on what emails I've had and what I need to do to chase those up. It will also depend on what sort of stage we are at with each production (ITTD Ceidiog 2, p. 1)

I guess the average day depends on whereabouts you are on the stage of production, whether it is pre-production, production, or post-production. (ITTD Ceidiog 4, p. 1)

Furthermore, they mentioned a series of clerical tasks involving email checking, managing correspondence, phone calls and such general office tasks, across the board of all roles and responsibilities:

First thing I would do is turn on my laptop get onto the Internet and check my mails (ITTD Ceidiog 1, p. 1)

A typical day mainly involves lots of phone calls, lots of planning, quite a bit of organisation and quite a lot of dealing with people, you know, face to face or over the phone (ITTD Ceidiog 4, p. 1)

Depending on what I'm looking for in terms of contributors, obviously email, - check my emails straight off, see if anything has come in since the last time I was at work (ITTD Ceidiog 5, p. 1)

So when I come into the office, it's not just putting on paper maybe some of the ideas I thought of at night or whatever, but it's also picking up the phone, you know, trying to find people; people finding skills, you know, contacts and things (ITTD Ceidiog 6, p. 1)

I'll do that sort of work and catch up with correspondence first, which involves using email (ITTD Ceidiog 8, p. 1)

Regarding the use of specific languages, three of the participants mentioned language issues in this first description of a normal working day:

I might be phoning people, looking for people to take part in one of the productions, which can mean speaking in either Welsh or English, depending on who you come across on the phone. In some instances I find it quite difficult – it can be quite difficult sometimes – if you come across a really strong North Walian accent, and they are kind of unaware that you are not familiar with their language, so they don't adjust (...) so, yeah, it can be quite challenging sometimes (ITTD Ceidiog 1, p. 1)

Yo tengo una desventaja, que yo no hablo galés. Pero lo que yo intento es, con las personas que trabajan en mi equipo en Ceidiog, les pregunto: ¿Tú qué harías? (...) al mismo tiempo les pregunto: si eso pasara, y yo hiciera esto en la página web ¿Tú me responderías de esta forma? ¿Estoy dañando el lenguaje? ¿Las personas del lenguaje me van a entender? (ITTD Ceidiog 3, p. 1)

I have the disadvantage that I do not speak Welsh. What I do try to do is, with the people who work on my team at Ceidiog, ask them: What would you do? (...) at the same time I ask them: if this were to happen, and I did this in the web site, would you respond (to me) this way? Am I damaging the language? The people who speak the language, would they understand me?

One of the participants gave an extensive overview of language usage in the CoP, rendered here in full to allow for further exploration of the information provided:

In terms of how I do that language-wise, it's quite interesting because often editors are non-Welsh-speaking, or, in the case of Gavin, he is able to speak Welsh, but he

and I, we've known each other for quite a long time, and when we met, we spoke English to each other. So we tend to communicate verbally in English, though, obviously, there's a bit of... "well, you know where she says 'dyma fo', well, change that bit to where she says 'dyna hi'" (...) I haven't done anything about, for example, welshifying my email as lots of people do (...) My emails are probably, I suppose, 20 percent in Welsh and 80 percent in other languages, obviously, mainly English (...) Staff meeting is usually bilingual, but I like to think that if people prefer to speak Welsh, that's acceptable to everybody who doesn't completely understand Welsh, and everybody who comes to work here I tell that, you know, well, because Welsh is the language of our programmes, they are likely to be in situations where Welsh is spoken around them (...) We don't translate things directly but we do say things twice very often (...) managerially, because *the person* who shares the managerial responsibility with me is learning Welsh, we always deal with finance in English (...) For the children's documentary we've tried to crew with a Welsh-speaking crew, just to help the children along, really, and to create a Welsh-speaking environment for the work to happen (...) on a day we're in studio, then the language will be mixed because that involves far more people, and some of those people will not be able to speak Welsh. I am quite used to this business about back and forth between Welsh and English (...) (ITTD Ceidiog 8, pp. 1-2)

In their ITTDs, the CoPs seldom presented their professional work in this bilingual setting as problematic, and only on the three instances quoted did the issue of language appear as considerably relevant to their day to day practices.

Observation and Semi-structured Interview

The observation of a day in the office as well as a production shot carried out in Mid-Wales were undertaken some days prior to the lengthier interview.

As expressed in the ITTD and corroborated by the observation, the linguistic environment of the production is bilingual, with the predominance of Welsh, but the occasional use of English. The choice of language depends mainly on the linguistic confidence, or perceived confidence, of the persons engaged in dialogue, although the use of Welsh is always the first language of contact.

Quality of production was one of the main issues of concern for the CoP. Quality is seen broadly in terms of both technical and linguistic output. Their definition of quality as a professional asset was central to their identity as CoP. The following excerpts from the lengthier interview bear witness to this centrality:

Ceidiog 8: Quality is where the production values of the company can be seen on the screen, and that is very challenging in harsh economic times, but, I suppose, because we're... very concerned with quality we would put our budgets on the screen, as opposed to in the companies' coffers.

Ceidiog 6: But it's not only quality technically speaking. Because with the production of *Macaroni* for instance, we... the language was very important to us, as in the Welsh-language, you know, because we are dealing with children, very young children, who would watch... you know, the viewers. So we really worked hard at, sort of, making sure the script was of the highest quality as well, in terms of language, isn't it? So it shows in the speaking as well as the visual, you know. (LI Ceidiog 1, p. 1)

Linguistic quality was described as based on standards. However, the standards were defined as unclear, based on a personal or professional choice. This issue evidenced a lack of one specific standard for linguistic correctness:

Ceidiog 8: It's very challenging to find the guideline, really, because naturally, grammatically correct Welsh is a very, very important issue, and we do have, as you know, the Welsh language has grammatical issues which are difficult for everybody, not just natural Welsh speakers, but also Welsh learners have difficulty with some elements. It's the other way around. Not only is it difficult for learners, it's also very difficult for people who have been brought up with Welsh as their first language. And, you know, there is an issue of how far you go, isn't it really. Because if it is too grammatical it is not natural. And, you know, there's an issue about how you could potentially erase all dialect in TV shows for children. Which, again, isn't acceptable. So, I guess, as well as with all the minority languages, dialect remains a lot purer to area, and those areas get smaller and smaller as minority languages become smaller and smaller. So it's very, very challenging. And what we have been doing is really working on things like *Treigladau* [mutations] making sure that they are as correct as they can be. But you know, we've had experiences of long discussions...

Ceidiog 6: Long discussions during filming, you know, taking up studio time, really. Because a very specific *treigladu* [mutation], you know, and also, you know, the use of English words within the language. And certain dialects use different words. You know, whereas as my dialect from the south-sort of west we use quite a bit... quite a few English words within the dialect and they've been, how to say, made to sound Welsh.

(...)

Ceidiog 6: And then somebody from north, say, the director is from North Wales, would argue that's not the right word, and then he would use another, a different word in his dialect which is something I realise 'I've never used that word either', so he may use 'fflio' for 'hedfan', which is flying, but I'd always say 'hedfan', but then I'd say, you know, 'dansierus' for danger, but he'd say 'perylus', so there's an argument for both sides, as well. (LI Ceidiog 1, p. 2)

During the observation of one of the television productions this issue came to the fore.

The programme observed included children talking to the camera. One girl being interviewed was explaining her interest in playing the harp, but would occasionally drop English words into her speech. In order to get her to reply fully in Welsh, without telling her the words she was missing, the director constantly rephrased the questions in such a way that the answer would come up in Welsh without the need for English borrowings.

The dialogue also evidences that there is some kind of equality between the two dominant dialect clusters (i.e. Northern and Southern Welsh) and their relationship with the standard form.

In order to ensure the appropriateness of the language used, the producers often create restrictions for their potential participants. Such restrictions have an impact upon the production process:

Ceidiog 8: There is, there is a line in terms of just correct use. I mean, we would tend to use 'hoffi' instead of 'lico' for a pre-school programme. But by the time children get to six, I think that things get very blurred again. I think. You know, we

have to watch it as it goes forward as well. Because... the other issue is that children who have been through Welsh-medium schools from non-welsh speaking backgrounds would often have, less-correct syntax, but will have the Welsh words. So, you know, they will understand the terms in Welsh for everything, science, everything. Because they are taught. But the form of the sentence would be something that people would deem to be incorrect.

Interviewer: Does that affect as well when you choose the kids to participate in the shows? Does that have a bearing as well?

Ceidiog 8: You know, I think it does. It shouldn't, but I think it does. For example, if we were doing, if we were looking for a voice for a cartoon or something. It would be less acceptable to take a purely Cardiff accent. I think if we came up with a Cardiff accent somebody somewhere would make a comment on it. And I personally think that's incorrect. But, for children, certainly. But we did something recently and had somebody with a Cardiff accent. That was criticised by our peers very much. ... This idea... there are very critical people in the Welsh language audience, and language and accents are something that they pick up...

Interviewer: Why do you believe they are that picky?

(...)

Ceidiog 8: Because there is a sensitivity about the Welsh language, which is very protective and it makes people extremely defensive.

Ceidiog 6: And it puts people off (definitely) who maybe have had a bit of Welsh in school or have spoken Welsh and who've grown into adults and who don't want to speak it because they are self-conscious of not speaking it properly.

Ceidiog 8: Absolutely, absolutely.

Ceidiog 6: And you want children to... encourage them to speak it, and keep speaking it, 'cause they are put off somehow when they go to the high school, don't they? (LI Ceidiog 1, p. 4)

Finally, there is also the discussion around what constitutes something 'Welsh', and how that can be perceived in the work of the CoP. Although they defined Welsh-ness as something beyond perception, their own description of what is, in their words, 'very Welsh' brings it back to the idea of the *Eisteddfod* and the *Urdd*, the two forms (the

former for adults, the latter for the youth) of the classic event of Welsh-language poetry and arts. It is quite revealing in the contrast between the content of the television programme as potentially universal and the selection of the children who participate not being 'very Welsh'. That is to say, they preferred children who were not the most renowned Welsh speaker in the classrooms, but rather those who spoke more 'common' Welsh.

Interviewer: And with regards to all the other programmes that you also make, those programmes which are not necessarily in the Welsh language, are there specific things that you deem, make them Welsh?

Ceidiog 8: No... I'm thinking about, well, it's interesting. It depends what your perception is. If your perception of Wales and the Welsh is about sheep, then you would say that our programme ['y Mees'] which is about a family of sheep, is Welsh. Yeah, because we have lots of sheep in Wales. But there is no reason other than perception why that programme does not work in any other language, because it does work in any other languages. Because they have sheep everywhere. Our perception is that it is Welsh, because it's about a family of sheep, and all those stories about that come along with that sort of perception of Wales and the Welsh. But you wouldn't be looking to, to sell a programme necessarily about Wales to another broadcaster unless that programme said something about, you know, said something universal.

Ceidiog 8: I think that we select children who are not necessarily the children [of] choice. Because in terms of language, that would be interesting, in terms of language, they would obviously choose the child that does speak the best Welsh, the most correct Welsh...

Ceidiog 6: Or being very Welsh, the one that goes to the *Eisteddfods* all the time, and is the winner of the *Urdd* or something, isn't it?

Ceidiog 8: Yeah, that's it. Whereas we would go mid-way and know that we can work with them to make them able to contribute towards it, and ... because we know what we can do with interview and edit and all that sort of thing. So know that they wouldn't come out sounding poor, but if they've got spark and something interesting... (LI Ceidiog 1, pp. 5-6)

This exchange evidences that linguistic quality is sought after, but it does not imply a sacrifice of other aspects of the production. In fact, as they said in the interview, they prefer not to select the most evident 'children of choice', whose Welsh and Welsh-ness is considered almost self-evident. By preferring children who are selected by their 'spark', they place more interest in the overall quality of the product than exclusively in the linguistic output. Although language remains quite relevant, they choose to negotiate the trade-off of less ideal Welsh output, for the sake of a better element for their production.

Another example of this interest in linguistic uniqueness was mentioned in the following excerpt from the interview:

Ceidiog 8: Interestingly, just how it worked out with the talent and the cast we had, the accents that we concentrated in Welsh, the dialect, is north-east Wales. And you don't have that very often on Welsh television, especially on *Cyw*. It's usually Cardiff accents or the North-West, or the West in general. So to have the North-east Welsh accent/dialect then was an interesting spin as well, wasn't it? (LI Ceidiog 1, p. 2)

Social Radar for Ceidiog

The information provided in the interviews and observation processes is then transferred into a visual representation in the social radar model as explained and presented in Chapter III.

The numbers provided in the figure will be used in the text to understand the visual representation of the Social Radar. The connecting lines are drawn between the topics interpreted as interlinked, and the qualitative markedness, or thickness, of a given identification is determined by its place on the different circles. Although there might be a correlation between the interlinkages and the markedness, this cannot be taken to be always a rule.

The aspects that become the most salient in qualitative terms (see Figure 17) relate to the contrast between the seemingly unproblematic office and procedural work, in which language – whether Welsh/*Cymraeg* (1) or English (2) – did not seem to be a fundamental aspect (for most of the CoP members), and the actual logistics it generated when determining the participation of children in the programmes. Accordingly, excessive linguistic correctness (3) was seen as a burden to the faithfulness of the production and to the natural Welsh (4) of participants. Thus, their professional interest (5) in quality and realism was placed before their linguistic choice. Linguistic correctness appeared to be an identification imposed from the outside, whereas a more open perception upon linguistic output was seen as their own negotiated counterpart.

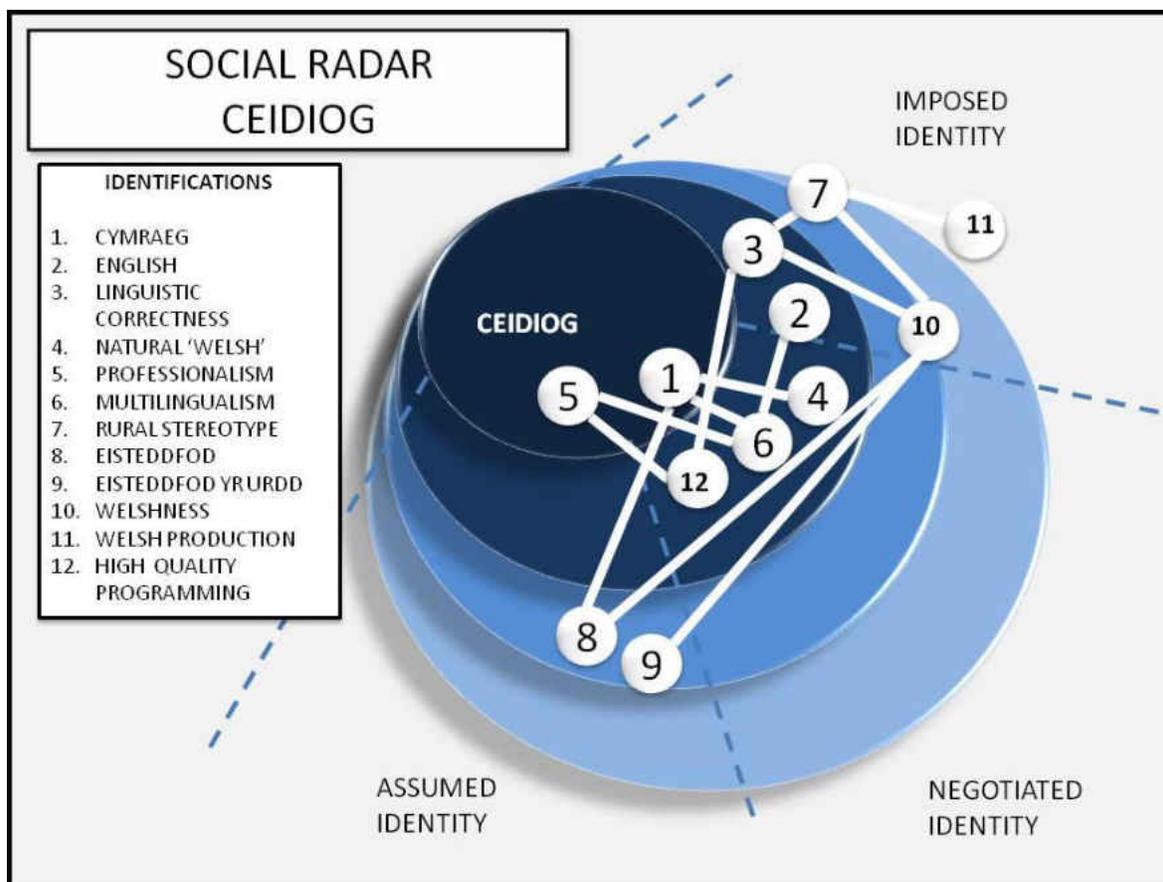


Figure 17: Social Radar Ceidiog

The commitment to a multilingual environment (6) could also be seen from the description of the conformation of the CoP, with the following remark being specially telling:

I do try and make a point in having not just Welsh speakers on the staff. There are two reasons for that: one of them is that I just like to have a broader perspective on everything; and the other is that we have aspirations to continue to coproduce with countries all over the world, and having people from different kinds of backgrounds, I think, facilitates that. (ITTD Ceidiog 8, p. 1)

Multilingualism is thus embraced as an identification that the CoP strives for, and which is reflected in the commitment of the participants. It adds to the commercial and professional outlook of the CoP.

There was a clear emphasis in the quality (12) of programmes, shown as a move away from the imposed identity of Welsh-ness (10), and Welsh language production (11), as both second-tier and as a rural stereotype (7) of sheep-herding community. It also includes the interest to go beyond the imposed identity of Welsh-ness which arises from participating in the symbolic gatherings, such as the Eisteddfod (8) and the Eisteddfod yr Urdd (9).

In fact, the most common evidence seen in *Ceidiog* is a constant interest to overcome the imposed identifications. However, there is a certain acceptance of linguistic purity and of the zealotry upon Welsh language appropriate usage.

Green Bay

Interview to the double (ITTD)

The ITTD provided an insight into the everyday practices of *Green Bay*, and how these practices have both an uncontested component and an openly debatable one. Instead of a direct description of a day of work in terms of activities carried out consistently, the interviewers often referred to one specific day of their work and the kind of activities it entailed.

Bilingualism was a prominent element in the description of the everyday tasks at *Green Bay*, as can be seen in the following excerpts:

Today's been interesting because it's a deadline of radio submission for Radio Wales, the national English language [radio station] of Wales, and I've been getting some proposals which I've researched and written in English. But whilst researching these subjects, I've come across things that would work better on the Welsh language station, which is Radio Cymru (...) I'd start my research in English, because there is more content available on the web and books, and things like that,

in the English language. I wouldn't say I translated them, but I adapted, I would adapt them then into Welsh and to suit the Welsh language audience, because what you find is that the Welsh language audience for Radio Cymru is different than the English language audience for Radio Wales (ITTD Green Bay 1, p. 1)

So, a day as a production manager in a drama situation. The crew and cast, most of the cast would be Welsh speakers, so there is no problem there. I would speak to them in our language, the Welsh language, because they all sort of speak Welsh. But with our crew which is about, sort of, twenty-five people, I would say that, two thirds of the crew didn't speak Welsh. So of course then, you have to speak to them in English and send them a contract in English and also we've got to translate the scripts, which would be in Welsh, we'd have to translate all scripts to English for them to understand. (ITTD Green Bay 2, p. 2)

One of the things I need to do tomorrow is to look at a Welsh-language programme translation that's been done of the English-language script for an international programme which is in the editing suite at the moment (...) And I'm answering a lot of emails, most of which would be in English, some of which would come in in Welsh, and because some of my colleagues here are not Welsh-speakers, I may need to gloss them or to pass them on, people can deal with that, but I may need to put a quick translation in or to have a word with somebody... (ITTD Green Bay 3, p. 1).

There was also considerable amount of clerical work including phoning, contracting and arranging venues or participants. This was seen as a more evident, and unproblematic, part of the job which only deserved a few lines from the interviewees:

I spend my day phoning people for radio programmes, if I've got a radio programme commission then I phone people (ITTD Green Bay 1, p. 1)

That's about it, really, sort of contacting people, contracting them, I contracted them both in Welsh language or in the English language depending on whether they spoke Welsh or not (ITTD Green Bay 2, p.1)

There were two instances where the interviewees described their job for the day with the detail of their everyday practice:

I'm also looking for programme ideas for future business and I'm thinking about ideas that come in to do with the Welsh language radio service and to do with S4C service, many ideas pass across my desk, some of them are more suited for

National Geographic, or for the BBC or Channel 4 in London, some of them might spark thoughts about what we might be doing for Welsh language programmes next year. (ITTD Green Bay 3, p. 1)

On an average day I would say my work starts at 8:30 in the morning and depending on who you are working with, some people join you at 8:30 in the morning and others join you much later. And it can be varied, there is a process within a programme, that if you are working on a documentary for example, you would work more closely with the director at the start than at the end, because you are discussing the selection of the interviews, or construction and order of the documentary. (ITTD Green Bay 4, p. 1)

Another important aspect from the ITTD which fed into the observation and lengthier interview was the description of the adaptation of two specific programmes:

But we now need to adapt [a programme made for National Geographic] for the Welsh audience here in Wales. And we need different emphasis. For instance, in the International script we are dealing with the stories of Christian missionaries coming to Fiji. That story is dealt with very efficiently but quite quickly in the International version. It is of particular interest to the Welsh audience because of our Methodist tradition, so I need to think of how we are going to build that up in the Welsh version. So I'm looking at Welsh language words and I'm thinking about how the English language script is going to be adapted. There is another issue as well. The English language script is in some ways is quite technical and rather formal, it will be spoken as a voice over by a narrator who doesn't appear on the screen, so it has to be formal and neutral and official. It's rather in that sense blend. The Welsh language programme, when we get to it, will be presented by a well-known Rugby player, former Rugby player, who speaks with a very strong local accent and whose Welsh is very informal, and very everyday, and sometimes has English words or English phrases mixed up in it. So I have to adapt a formal English language script for a Welsh speaker whose Welsh is perfectly natural, perfectly engaging, very, very, specific associated with a particular area of Wales to make it sound natural. And that's quite a, a task. (ITTD Green Bay 3, p. 1).

The Methodist/Christian tradition was emphasised, as was the spoken Welsh language used by a renowned Rugby player. There was no doubt about the relevance of both Rugby and the Methodist tradition to the development of output.

Observation and Semi-structured Interview

The bilingual setting and character of the workplace was clearly evidenced during the observation and participation in a day of work. Discussions were carried out mostly in Welsh, but with English making an appearance in specific subjects, with specific people, or whenever the concepts debated seemed to be more commonly addressed in English than in Welsh. Furthermore, since the production was done for a variety of outlets, most of them in English, Welsh language programmes, be they for radio or television, are the special remit of this CoP, but not their only remit of work.

Precisely this aspect came up in the extensive interview:

Interviewer: So, just taking from the first interview that we did, and from the things I've seen today... Is the working environment that you deal with always bilingual?

Green Bay 3: Yes, it is always bilingual, because we always have projects underway in both languages and... also with regard to the Welsh-language projects we have, there is always some element of business done in English, even though it is a Welsh-language programme. I mean, I think there are natural relationships that you have with colleagues, and with certain colleagues who are Welsh-speaking, then normally if I am interacting one to one with them I would speak in Welsh, and if it's in a group where everyone speaks in Welsh, we would normally speak in Welsh but clearly there are people who are monoglot in the company and there are times when, even with a Welsh-speaker, if you are making a programme in English, it is more natural to speak in English about the programme, because you are writing the script in English, or you are dealing with concepts that are happening... you know, you are eventually going to hit the screen in the English language, so it is not always the case that I would speak in Welsh even to Welsh speakers... (LI Green Bay 3, p. 1)

This brings forth an interesting aspect about the output language of a given programme.

The interviewee argued that the language used during the production process depends mainly on the language output of a programme. That is to say, a programme whose output would be in Welsh implies that the production process would mostly consist of

Welsh language exchanges. Then, taking this idea further, we could argue, as has been pointed out before by Cormack (2005, 2007b), that the output language of the product may determine the language used to discuss it after it has been broadcast.

On the description of the production of Welsh-interest products, there were some descriptions that are quite revealing of the identification processes:

Green Bay 3: (...):But, for instance, in one place, where we are dealing with the Easter Orthodox service, in the International version we've said very simple things about Easter, you know, Easter is when Christians believe that Christ rose from the dead, you know, as simple as that. Because we feel, we can't make any assumptions about an international audience and what they might know about the Easter story. In the Welsh version, for S4C, our assumption is that any person who is watching, particularly this type of programme on S4C, will have a basic knowledge of Christianity, because of the cultural background here, and therefore, she won't have to use those exact words. (...)

Interviewer: And what would you think would be special from the Welsh language programming that you think is not usually seen in the other, in any other... if there is something.

Green Bay 3: I think, because it's a smaller community and because there are shared histories and to a certain extent shared values across a good deal of the language community, there is a kind of closeness, a kind of shorthand that you can use. There is a kind of warmth, I think, because of all those things. But there is a danger as well, that it can become very cosy, and sometimes one likes to challenge the assumptions that much of the audience would make. I mean, my own background is from English-speaking south-East Wales, industrial valley, where to all intents and purposes people stopped speaking the language as a community language in my parents' generation. And yet, that is the one area in Wales, which of all the areas in Wales, there is the strongest identification with Welsh-ness. People express their identity as being Welsh much more strongly in the Rhondda valley where I grew up, than even strongly Welsh speaking parts of West-Wales. And I, sometimes like, in the programming we do, to challenge that the heartland of the Welsh language is located in Ceredigion or in Gwynedd and to say that the Welsh language belongs to all of us in Wales and that the experience of the Welsh language of people in the Rhondda valley, and in other industrial mining valleys, is as interesting, and is as valid, and is as much part of what makes up the Welsh nation as people who live in fully Welsh speaking communities. (LI Green Bay 3, p. 4)

According to this member of the CoP, Wales is a close-knit community with a Methodist/Christian background. It evidenced a clear negotiation of identity in the claims of Welsh-ness held by different parts of Wales.

The observation of a day of work, including time spent at the editing suite, evidenced this interest in their output. Both the relevance of the Methodist tradition and the Rugby references of the voice over narration were consciously considered for the Welsh version of a programme originally presented for National Geographic. The Welsh language dialect selected for the programme was also a conscious decision from a member of the CoP.

Interviewer: ... you mentioned with that programme that you were discussing before, for example the feature of a famous Welsh Rugby player, which seems to bring to mind already... Welsh rugby player is always something that comes to mind when thinking about Wales, but also that he uses a special way of talking...hmm. So when you are thinking about choosing the people that participate or the people that you work with which decisions are important that you take on linguistic elements: way of speaking, type of version or register used, and at the same time, if there are any constraints, beyond your doing, that affect the way in which you work.

Green Bay 3: I mean, with the Burton story, Richard Burton would have spoken Welsh to his brother. He did speak Welsh to his brother, and the Welsh he would have spoken, would be a particular dialect of our particular valley. Now, our writer does not come from that valley, he comes from North Wales which is a completely different dialect, though he is used to writing in South Wales dialects as well. And almost certainly our actor would not come from that valley. So, we have to approach that, very carefully and quite rigorously to make sure that it is credible for the audience. That, you know, this really is something that Richard Burton, a way that Richard Burton would have spoken. But we also have to bear in mind that it needs to be intelligible for the entire audience and that in what we write, has Welsh of a certain correctness –it's probably the wrong way of putting it– but, certainly a Welsh that is good and strong which most Welsh speakers would regard as being correct. I think, you are always trying to balance all those elements. These days I think there's a lot, there is a much bigger variety, I think, in the types of Welsh that are spoken, actually, as well as a coming together of a kind of common language. I mean, there are so many people these days who don't have Welsh in

their family backgrounds and yet are Welsh speakers, and some of them speak a very fluent very correct Welsh, and some of them don't really use their Welsh outside of school, in their normal everyday lives. (LI Green Bay 3, p. 3)

This passage evidences the difficulties surrounding the selection of a specific version of the language to be used, in order for it to be simultaneously intelligible and specific from a certain area. The debate between the kind of language to be used, and the correctness or clarity of the language, is portrayed as a constant debate in the production practice.

Social Radar for Green Bay

Bilingualism (6) is key to the identification of *Green Bay* (see Figure 18). English (2) and Welsh/*Cymraeg* (1) coexist and thrive in the company, with English being usually privileged for information searches and communication exchange. The Welsh language was associated with West and North Wales (4), and with the rural stereotype (7). But at *Green Bay* this identification is challenged, by at least one of the members of the CoP, and the industrial heartland (11), which is seen as the central identification of Wales as a whole, is seen as also a *Negotiated identification* for the Welsh language.

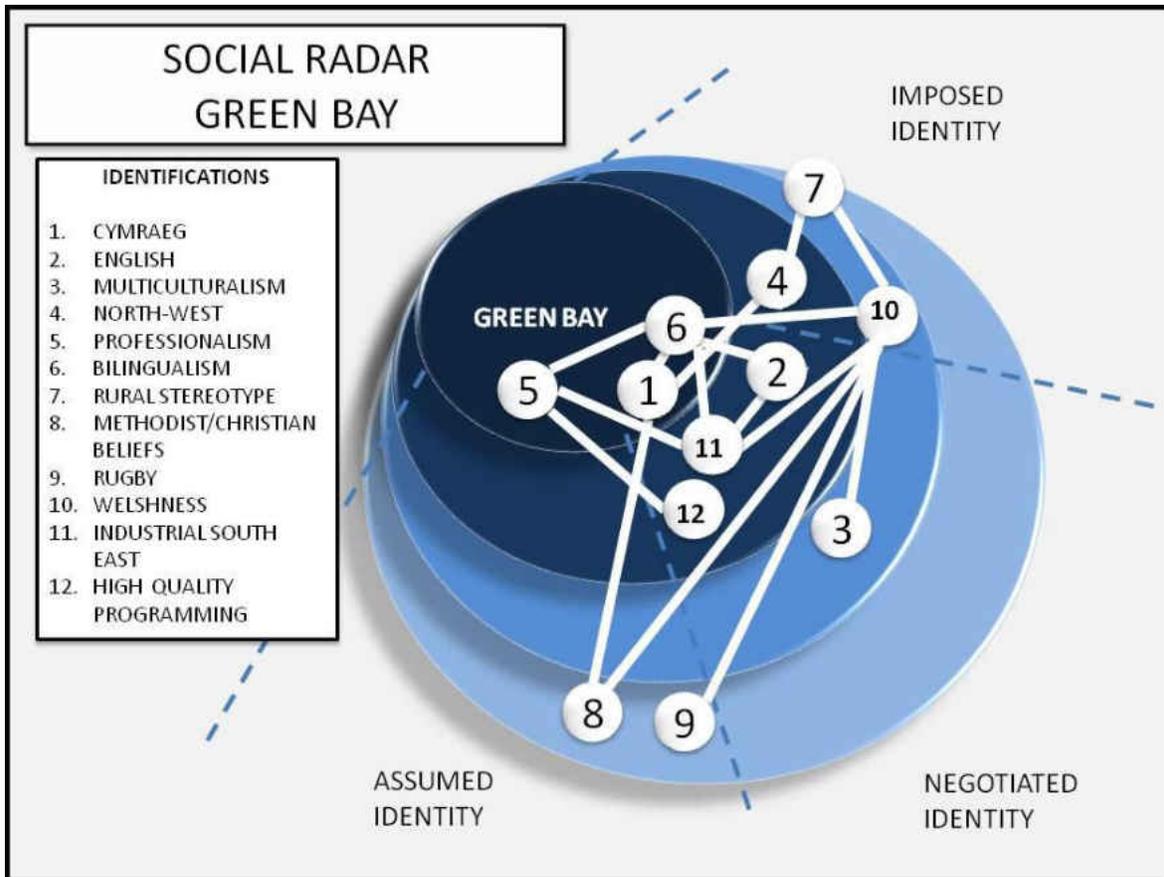


Figure 18: Social Radar Green Bay

Other aspects clearly related to Welsh-ness in *Green Bay* are the Methodist and Christian beliefs (8), as well as rugby (9). However, although these are *Assumed Identifications*, there is a recognition of the changing demographic of the Welsh-speaking audience into a more multicultural one (3), and the fact that these *Assumed identifications* may no longer describe the actual composition of the Welsh public. A telling example of this new outlook can be spotted in the following excerpt:

Green Bay 3: (...) Certainly, you have in mind when you are working in Welsh, that the core audience will share certain values, certain history, certain knowledge, certain forms of education. Now, I think we are also all aware, because we often make programmes with them, that there are many people these days who learnt Welsh, can operate in Welsh, and not necessarily come from a traditionally Welsh background. (...) Certainly we are aware that the Welsh audience is not as monolithic as it may have been even twenty five years ago. (...) I think these days in

particular we are always reminded about issues of diversity and about issues of representation of gender, of class, of ethnic background and so on, you know, here in Wales we have a multicultural society and we need to reflect that in the work we do. (LI Green Bay 3, p. 2)

Especially telling for this CoP is the clear separation between the national identification and Welsh-ness (10) and the linguistic affiliation (i.e. speaking Welsh). The dissociation of the two is quite clear in the following statement:

Green Bay 3: (...) Thirty years ago we were constantly worrying about what Welsh identity is and what it was, and nowadays it is much more taken for granted, I think, and it's much less of a contentious issue than it was thirty years ago. And that is an interesting development. And much less bound up with the language. I mean, there would have been people thirty years ago arguing quite seriously that you can't be Welsh unless you speak Welsh. I don't hear people argue that, certainly, in any mainstream sense anymore. The validity of being Welsh is not dependent on the language, and that frees up the language in certain sorts of ways as well. (LI Green Bay 3, p. 5)

This last excerpt evidenced the CoP is quite happy with the bilingual setting and the bilingual identification of the whole of Wales. Both English and Welsh are areas of negotiation, not definitely constructed spaces defined from the outside.

Boomerang +

Interview to the Double (ITTD)

The four participants who worked⁷⁰ together undertook the Interview to the Double with one of their working days in mind, to describe their scheduled tasks.

⁷⁰ It is important here to mention that the ITTD was undertaken while all members of the group were working on the programme together, and the lengthier interview was carried out right after the whole group were reassigned to a different programme. Although they worked as a CoP for the *Stwnsh Sadwrn* programme, they were already otherwise engaged by the time of the final interview. Hence, they referred to their experience with *Stwnsh Sadwrn* in the past tense.

Their normal description of events was always a lead on to Saturday, the day when they did their live show. “We don’t work on Mondays, because we work on a Saturday” (ITTD Stwnsh Sadwrn 3, p. 1), beginning at half-nine on Tuesday, where they gather “travel receipts, travel information on how much we’ve paid the children that come to the programme” (ITTD Stwnsh Sadwrn 4) in order to finish the accounts of the previous programme. Then they get together to define the topics for the next programme. All the members of the team engaged in brainstorming. On a Thursday the scriptwriter/producer would meet with the director and the assistant producer to prepare the live show and the outside broadcasts; “so there is three of us talking there, just that we are sure that all our content matches and that we follow a certain schedule of dissemination of information so that we don’t repeat things” (ITTD Stwnsh Sadwrn 1, p. 1), whilst the other members “have to find the facts for each theme; then we email them to the producer, he then translates them and picks the ones he wants” (ITTD Stwnsh Sadwrn 4, p. 1). Another member of the team is in charge of live broadcasting from outside the studio. She stated, “I actually organise what we call outside broadcasting –OB– it is when we come live from family’s homes; so it’s all over Wales” (ITTD Stwnsh Sadwrn 2, p. 1).

On the issues of language, there were two important remarks. Firstly, as quoted above, it was mentioned that information for the ‘fun’ facts of the show was researched in English, and then translated for the programme. The other issue mentioned regards contracting the kids that appear on the show. One of the members said: “we always send the letters, and all the paperwork bilingual, but most parents will sign everything in Welsh, but we’ve got to give them the option, everything has to be bilingual” (ITTD Stwnsh Sadwrn 2, p. 1).

Furthermore, there are some things carried out exclusively in English: “Actually, the risk assessment, that is the only thing I do in English. All other paperwork is in Welsh” (ITTD Stwnsh Sadwrn 2, p. 1).

Observation and Semi-structured interview

During the observation, exchanges within the larger complex where Boomerang is located were always in Welsh. The dedication to the different aspects of the work was evident, and the use of English was limited to some staff members, most of whom seemed to understand Welsh, but made their contributions in English. This was true for some of the technical staff during the rehearsal of the programme, as well as some of the personnel in the main control room (known as ‘The Gallery’). Furthermore, the participation of children on the TV programme included the occasional use of English in a word or a short expression. The use of different varieties of Welsh in the TV programme was also evident when one of the presenters was asked about the meaning of a word he used. All of these issues were brought up in the lengthier interview.

With regards to the use of English (or lack of use of Welsh) by some of the personnel, these were their answers:

Interviewer: Some people were not speaking in Welsh [in the gallery], or there was some information going on in English.

Stwnsh Sadwrn 2: There was some English... the switcher speaks English, so she speaks English. And the VT OP operator speaks English, as well. Sometimes they sub, so we have a Welsh one and an English one (LI Stwnsh Sadwrn 2, p. 2).

Stwnsh Sadwrn 3: I would think, from the gallery point of view, sometimes, I mean, for example, we’ve got one, a couple of people who work in the gallery who are not fluent Welsh-speakers. I mean, they understand it, but not enough to sort of deal with it on a two-hour live programme (...) I might be wrong saying this, but I

think it is true mostly in any Welsh TV Programme. Especially things like the countdown before we go into break, it's always "ten, nine, eight..." rather than "deg, naw, wyth..." (...) And I think, script-wise, things like the running order are usually in English... (LI Stwnsh Sadwrn 3, p. 3).

Interviewer: Why are [the running order and other information] in English?

Stwnsh Sadwrn 1: Because some of the cameramen or people who work on the set (...) are non-Welsh speakers, and perhaps also some of the people who work in the gallery, perhaps the person who is the engineer in the gallery, may not speak Welsh, so that is why it's there some of the... I think it's more the technical details that are there, so that people can look at the running order and if they are only involved with the technical side they can look at which item we are on and they don't need to know the content, almost. (...) Ideally, you'd do it all in Welsh, and I could, I could easily do it. But people would ask you, what does this mean, what does this mean, what does this mean (...) that is purely from a staff point of view, that a lot of technical staff, even at S4C, don't speak Welsh. (LI Stwnsh Sadwrn 1, p. 1).

English was also used for the purpose of research, based on the fact that it is quicker to find information that way, as was already pointed out in the ITTD:

Interviewer: Looking for the information (...) do you search for those [facts] through the medium of Welsh, or through the medium of English?

Stwnsh Sadwrn 3: I would say probably about 98% of the time through the medium of English and then translate it, because it's far easier [than finding it through Welsh] (LI Stwnsh Sadwrn 3, p. 3).

The programme tried to make sure they had a representation of the whole of Wales, in terms of the different varieties of the language, different locations for their outside broadcasts, and in the participation of Welsh-speaking guests. They also described that one of the reasons they targeted the whole of Wales was to follow S4C's interest in making the programmes fully Welsh:

Stwnsh Sadwrn 1: We've got the same response from all areas of Wales, really, there hasn't been any area that we haven't targeted. Because it's part of our, you know, it's part of S4C's policy that it has to be inclusive and cover all areas, any

programme like ours which is two hours a week for 35 weeks of the year has to concentrate on all areas of Wales. (LI Stwnsh Sadwrn 1, p. 3).

Stwnsh Sadwrn 3: I think, with guests and the kids it depends where they're from, and what we usually try to do as well, because when we've got a programme, when we've got studio and then half of it is on location, we try to sort of juggle that, make sure that, say if we're in North Wales [on the OB], we'd try to get kids from South Wales in the studio. Then, so that we sort of cover the whole of Wales... (LI Stwnsh Sadwrn 3, p. 2).

Stwnsh Sadwrn 2: Well, it's focused for the Welsh, because we've got Welsh celebrities, we talk about Welsh current affairs, talk about Welsh events, and things that are happening in Wales, and we target it to that. (LI Stwnsh Sadwrn 2, p. 2).

Stwnsh Sadwrn 1: Well, that's there every week, because the guests, whoever the guest is, wherever the school is from, if we are on an OB... For example, today, we had two guests, one was from Cardiff, one was from Neath, the school was from the Rhymney valley, and we were in a place near Aberystwyth, plus we got Northwalian presenters and one Westwalian presenter, so you've always had a variety of accents. (LI Stwnsh Sadwrn 1, p. 4).

Stwnsh Sadwrn 3: the presenters (...) try to be quite neutral in the way they speak. But say, if they use certain words that some parts of Wales wouldn't understand, we do try, you know, then try to get somebody to explain "that word means whatever" and they have a bit of a banter about it. (LI Stwnsh Sadwrn 3, p. 2).

Interviewer: What other things do you try to balance?

Stwnsh Sadwrn 4: The different accents, because it's really important. As we said... so Geraint, the presenter, is from South Wales and Tudur is from Mid-Wales (...) because North-walians sound really different from South-walians and Mid-walians, it's really important to get the accents properly. Not to get them properly, but that the children can understand you. (LI Stwnsh Sadwrn 4, p. 3)

Another important issue was the use of the occasional English word in the Welsh speech, and the appropriateness of the Welsh spoken, despite the fact that there was a lot of debate about the correct or appropriate Welsh, and the lack of specific guidelines to that effect.

Stwnsh Sadwrn 1: In terms of what you can say, what you can't say, what themes you can talk about, what you can't talk about, obviously we have guidelines to follow from S4C and OfCom about what we are allowed to talk about and what we are not allowed to talk about. (LI Stwnsh Sadwrn 1, p. 2).

Stwnsh Sadwrn 3: (...) as far as the kids are concerned, it's quite difficult, because obviously they are not scripted, they just turn up on the day, and you can't [script them], you know, even though you try to brief them before they go on air. They can come... especially, one thing they tend to do is use a lot of English, because they are used to using a lot of English. You cannot really monitor that, because it just happens. It's natural for them. (LI Stwnsh Sadwrn 3, p. 2)

Interviewer: In regards to the Welsh language (...) what are the guidelines that are used for the way the presenters speak, or the way people speak in the show?

Stwnsh Sadwrn 4: Well, they've got to *treiglo*. Their Welsh has to be correct, because, obviously, the children at home are watching them (...) so their Welsh has to be quite perfect. (LI Stwnsh Sadwrn 4, p 2-3).

Correctness is then only expected from the presenters, who have to ensure they keep the standard, whereas participants are allowed to use the language as they commonly perform it. This response does correspond with the emphasis seen in S4C's language guidelines.⁷¹

Social Radar for Boomerang

For the Boomerang CoP the programme in which they worked together aimed at portraying the whole of Wales (8) through Welsh/*Cymraeg* (1) (see Figure 19). In order to achieve this, they ensured that Welsh is represented both spatially and linguistically, engaging presenters from different areas and with different accents. The show itself creates a sense of Wales as a Welsh-speaking country, by bringing Welsh celebrities, and by ensuring that they find Welsh-speaking participants from any corner of Wales, showing

⁷¹ Treiglo is a Welsh verb, which means to mutate or modify the phonetics of the beginning of a word according to its syntactic position or conjugation.

Welsh as a contemporary language (9). Thus, Welsh as the language of *Assumed Identity* of the whole of Wales became preeminent in their work.

The quality of Welsh was mentioned as an evident sign of professionalism (5) and high quality programming (11) demanded from the presenters, and expected from the Welsh celebrities, but overlooked in the case of the participating children. Also linked to that professionalism is their own dedication to translate material found in other languages and keeping the highest standard. The interest in maintaining the *Imposed identification* of a correct Welsh (3), at the same time that the programme aimed to portray natural Welsh (4), shows the element of negotiation within the linguistic identification.

However, English (2) appeared as the main way for accessing information, and there are references to translating information found in English. Although basically seen as an element to help speed up the production (in searches and in the communication with certain staff) English cannot be erased from the production space. There was an identification of English as a more widely used, and available language, which evidenced how the bilingual skills (6) of those involved remains active, despite the programme and the location being extremely zealous with the use of Welsh.

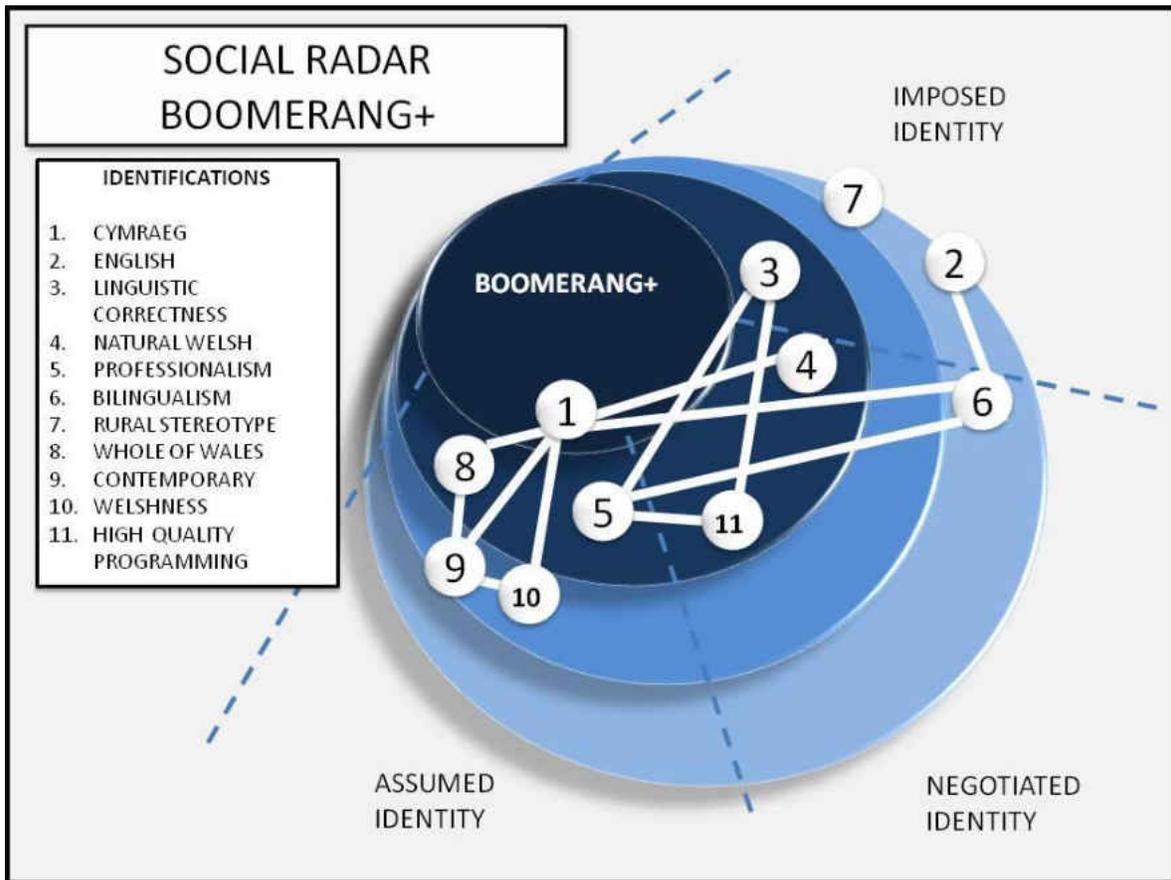


Figure 19: Social Radar Boomerang+

Cwmni Da

Interview to the Double (ITTD)

Within the larger production company, the interviews here focused on the general manager and one specific group who works together for the factual/historical programmes. The interview to the double made evident most of their work as office tasks in the research process, as well as meetings to organise, debate and prepare a shooting. Since there was more need for researchers than for directors, even those who worked in

directing engaged with research doing the pre-production. Common office tasks described were:

My main job is finding contributors for the programme and locations, and organising, it's a one-day shoot at a specific location, so I phone people up to organise that (ITTD Cwmni Da 1, p. 1)

So really my work is to phone around, contact people, arrange venues, arrange accommodation for the crew. General arranging work, that's what it is. (ITTD Cwmni Da 2, p. 1)

So there's two aspects, I suppose: you've got the office-based work, where you do preparation work before you go out on location and, I suppose, the challenge there... if you found different contributors, you want to make sure that you are able to communicate well with them. (ITTD Cwmni Da 3, p. 1)

Anyone coming in to be me would need to... probably the main thing would be, to be able to multitask. I end up doing a lot of things at the same time. I could be looking for information for scripts, so facts and figures; I could be looking for where to source materials, where to source archive pictures or footage for inclusion, that includes negotiating prices and rights, and doing the paperwork for that. (ITTD Cwmni Da 4, p. 1)

After this meeting, again, - it looks like I do nothing but meetings – but there are things that crop up. After this meeting, probably check my email again, make phone calls as required. (ITTD Cwmni Da 6, p. 1)

In general, the office work was described in detail and as clearly unproblematic. The issue of language was only mentioned by one of the participants:

Skills, well, I need linguistic skills on the phone, most of my work is carried out through the medium of Welsh, because I am trying to get Welsh people to come to be part of an audience for a Welsh programme, so obviously most of the skills I would need are: the use of the Welsh language. Very fortunate, really, to be able to work, more or less, throughout the time through the medium of Welsh, which is brilliant. Skills, well, I need to be fluent in Welsh, I need to be confident on the phone in Welsh, I need to be confident as well in literary skills, as well. I need to be confident in writing the language for press releases in both English and Welsh. We try to get information out on the Internet, and obviously in the local papers, so those are very pertinent in the current work. (ITTD Cwmni Da 2, p. 1)

It is quite telling that language was not seen as problematic by most of the participating CoP. It evidenced that they see their job as a professional endeavour, rather than a linguistic one, at least in their more routinely perspective.

Observation and Semi-structured interview

During the observation, there was the possibility to see the use of Welsh in phone conversations, as well as the use of English. English was mostly used in web searches, whereas Welsh was the common language of meetings, discussions and general exchange between the participants at Cwmni Da.

In the lengthier interview, there were a few aspects that stood out as quite relevant. One of them was the main goal described by the CoP regarding their work. They defined their main task as providing good quality programmes for the Welsh-language service:

Interviewer: what is the main goal of what you do?

Cwmni Da 2: To maintain the good Welsh-language service for the people of Wales.
Interviewer: Ok, what does that imply when you are producing a show?

Cwmni Da 2: Programmes that people are going to look at, basically, because that is an ongoing battle, really, to keep hold of the audience.

Cwmni Da 4: Yeah, to keep hold of the audience, but to make sure that the output is of a standard, that it is not just going to keep the audience, but hopefully to attract as well.

Cwmni Da 6: Part and parcel of Cwmni Da's reputation is that we provide high quality broadcast programmes. (LI Cwmni Da 1, p. 1)

The debate on the quality of a certain programme was very illustrative. The CoP commented that there had been a programme that the audience watched and said "the programme is so good, it should be presented on the BBC or Channel 4 [the English

language outlets]”. This perception of the audience evidences the higher prestige of English language media as a place for worthy audiovisual production:

Cwmni Da 6: (...) One of our recent programmes was *y Fenai*, it was completely in Welsh. It was about 4 seasons on *y Fenai*, and I think that the positive response from that was so overwhelming that... because of the graphic element of it, so many people have asked me, personally, I am not sure about yourselves, that, you know, “you need to do it in English”. But, why do you need to do it in English? It’s something pertinent to us people here in North Wales. We’re proud of it, and it worked, and it must have worked well, because it has affected people in such a way that they feel it should be done in a different language. (LI Cwmni Da, p. 1)

The issue of finding contributors who speak Welsh was seen as a challenge, and a necessary requirement for the programmes, but also as a matter of perseverance which could also bear its fruit:

Cwmni Da 4: Probably one of the biggest [challenges] we come across over and over again is finding contributors that speak Welsh, that, you know, it is often very easy to find somebody who is a specialist in a subject, but to find a specialist in a subject that speaks Welsh is a smaller field to pick from, so that is probably one of the main things we’ve come across. (...)

Cwmni Da 2: I think that although we’ve got many, many, many famous Welsh people, not all of them speak the language. (...) That’s it, it’s a restriction, because they don’t all speak Welsh.

Cwmni Da 6: (...) It’s a restriction. But I think it’s only a slight restriction, because the majority of the programmes that we do are Welsh-based, and about Welsh items, articles, themes, and some of them capture people who are well-known throughout the Welsh-medium, we’ve got a programme about Harry Parry, who is an author and everybody throughout Wales who’s anything to do with Wales would have some inkling who he is.

Cwmni Da 3: (...) But what I think you need to do is, obviously, there’s just more work, maybe, finding those people. And you know you need to ask more people so that you find the right person. But I would also say, maybe you find a fantastic [contributor] but that person doesn’t speak Welsh, well, what we also do as a company, we could pitch it anyway, for example, to the BBC (...) the company doesn’t necessarily have to pitch things which are only relevant to Welsh-speaking people. (LI Cwmni Da, pp. 2-3)

This evidenced the necessary dedication and commitment to MLM production, especially in the case of production groups that could easily swing back to the majority language, where more contributors would be easier to find.

Correctness of the Welsh language is also brought up as a relevant issue in the production process:

Cwmni Da 6. (...) There is a lot of onus on the producers then, far more than in English, and it's because the language is different, I think that people can talk – some people talk English incredibly fluently, others not so well. But with the Welsh language, there's so many different elements to it that, if the programme requires Welsh to be perfect, then there will be onus – you asked about the comparison to the BBC –, there will be onus on the producer to that particular type to make sure that that script is correct and that the person that delivers the script, delivers it correctly. (LI Cwmni Da, pp. 7-8)

The issue of correctness, however, always returned to a lack of a specific standard defined for the production, mainly because the dialectal differences were considered to be a positive add-on to the audiovisual product, and the standardisation process was seen as something that goes against the natural speech community. Not only is the language correctness important, but it is at the top of the administrative and creative management that issues of language are discussed. This shows the high status of the language in the production process.

Finally, there is also an interest in portraying a different Wales, one that goes beyond the stereotyped concepts of Wales but which remains “natural”:

Cwmni Da 2: I think that I saw something once, I think it was a Health and Safety video and it was quite clear it had been made by the BBC – “and now we are going to Wales”, and they showed something that was very – oh, cringe, cringe-worthy sort of Welsh. Whereas I don't think that any of that, if it would have been done by us, it would have been subtle Welsh.

Cwmni Da 4: Not stereotyped Welsh, more natural Welsh. (LI Cwmni Da, p. 7)

Social Radar for Cwmni Da

The *Cwmni Da* CoP (see Figure 20) evidenced a commitment to an *Assumed Identification* of professionalism (5), making a clear emphasis on quality (12) as their key issue –even though they found themselves at odds when they were expected to explain it in detail–. They related this quality to the dedication and work required by the research team, the linguistic purity of Welsh, the amount of time needed to find appropriate contributors who can speak Welsh, and, finally, the necessary evidence that Welsh-ness (10) was portrayed in a non-stereotypical, more natural fashion. Of these aspects, only the latter seem like evidence of a *Negotiated Identification*, on the grounds that they wanted to offer a perspective of being Welsh that went beyond the expected stereotypes already present in the media.

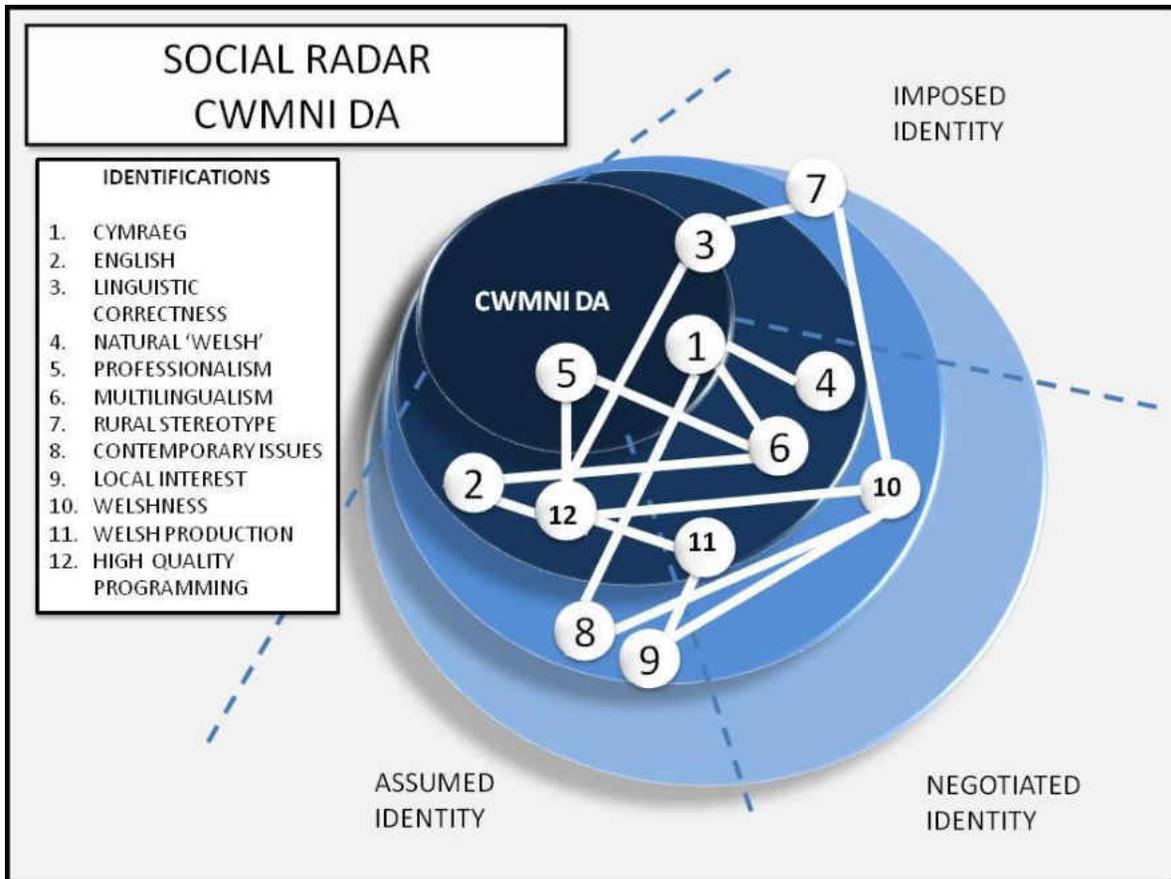


Figure 20: Social Radar Cwmni Da

The clearest category that remains an *Imposed Identity* is the expected correctness of the Welsh language (3), even superior to that expected of the English language (2). The lower prestige of Welsh/*Cymraeg* (1) as a broadcasting language in Welsh productions (11) was something they actively challenge, but the *Assumed Identification* of English as a more established and appropriate broadcasting language remains clear.

Furthermore, their *Assumed Identification* around the Welsh-based interest of their shows led them to place more emphasis on portraying more elements of Wales, contemporary stories (8) and local interest programming (9), despite the topic requirements to drag them outside of Wales for the appropriate venue or location.

Preliminary discussion of the Welsh Communities of Practice

It becomes quite clear that the four television production companies in Wales share more in common with one another than the Colombian cases presented in the previous chapter. In all the CoPs there was a constant discussion about the standard of language to be used, and how that standard was to be determined and measured, and how it could be demanded of certain participants. The standard is not taken as a comparable form they all agree with, but rather a very personal matter which relies on the knowledge base of those engaged in the production process. Thus, the standard was some form of short-hand, or an informal agreement of usage. The linguistic output, both in terms of dialect and regional variety, and in the sense of linguistic borrowings, remained an important area of debate according to the representation of Wales as a whole. Curiously enough, the linguistic correctness was seen as a particular demand they consider part of the professionalism they exhibit, but they place it against the relative openness of English in mainstream media.

There was also evidence of an interest in challenging stereotypes about Wales and the Welsh (e.g. the contrast between the Welsh-speaking rural sheep-herding places in West and North Wales, set against the urban, industrialised and anglicised South East). They contested these views and endeavoured to elaborate a different sense of identity. The emphasis they place on producing high quality programmes also evidenced their identification with professionalism. This emphasis had an impact in the selection of the participants for their programmes. They admitted to the predicament of having to work harder, or give up, when they needed specific knowledge from their contributors, and the

fact that they are limited by the amount of Welsh speakers. But they also see this commitment as evidence of their professionalism.

Furthermore, all the CoPs, except for *Boomerang*, made products both in English and Welsh, having the local market of S4C, while at the same time looking out to other markets for their products in English. As such, despite being Minority Language Media producers, they were also majority language media producers. This aspect of their professional commitment sees them exploiting their bilingual skills and admitting to their own professional interests, well beyond a unique advocacy for the language.

In a sense, the more homogenous Welsh CoPs also evidence the different approach taken by S4C. As a national channel, it conforms to the hegemonic structure of media seen elsewhere in the UK –particularly on the BBC structure. Thus it also homogenises products, and production processes, within the channel to suit those of the majority media.

Chapter VII: Discussion

This chapter brings together the discussion from the results gathered in the two previous chapters. It begins with a section that reflects upon the methodology applied, and its positive and negative aspects and outcomes. The second section presents the response to three of the questions raised in the literary review. It presents the questions regarding identity negotiations and linguistic output again, and it answers them with the information presented in chapters V and VI.

Finally, there is a section dedicated to answer the fourth question, concerning the European focus of MLM. This section evaluates the applicability of MLM studies beyond Europe and presents Communication for Social Change as an approach which has also proven useful for the study of Minority Language Media in cases different than those addressed in the European context.

Methods to madness

In any process which involves human beings, procedures that might be considered quite simple and straightforward may lead to outcomes other than those expected. However, instead of being a flaw of the methodological approach undertaken, these 'failures' help understand even further the relationship that the participants have had, not only with the research, but with the concept of engaging in research itself. Since this project aimed for a more interpretative evaluation, which tried to be dialogical as well, the way in which participants engaged with their roles as participants of an inquiry provides us also with information not usually found previous to the research.

In order to elucidate some of the pertinent issues that were noticeable throughout the process, the following sections address important observations about the process of conducting research, related to the methodological approach itself. Some aspects may be considered outright flaws, or, perhaps, excessive licenses that may thwart the outcome of the research process. This could be the interpretation, if one is to believe there is one attainable truth that hides from plain sight to which all people relate equally. Notwithstanding, this researcher firmly believes that there is no such thing as one single undeniable truth, because of the different levels of codification in which the cultural/research encounters are set. One can but only aim at understanding perspectives towards, rather than absolute, truths.

The different ways in which the participants reacted, and responded, to the research process tell us something about both their positioning towards academic knowledge, and about the way in which they see such knowledge (and those who produce it) as part of a certain social structure.

Let us review the different steps taken in the research process and the way in which the participants engaged with it.

Cormack's seven factors revisited

In Chapter II, as part of the methodology, Cormack's (1998) seven factors for the establishment of MLM were presented and explored. They were debated and the modified version of the seven factors was finally applied to the Colombian and Welsh contexts. The main clarifications presented there regarded the first and the last factor debated by Cormack. The following table (see Table 2) takes into account those

modifications to present a revised version of the seven factors, which may be more applicable to further studies in MLM.⁷²

Factor	Description
<i>Density of users</i>	<i>The relation of users to the overall population of a place or area is a considerable factor to determine the appearance of MLM. A higher percentage of users in a political unit are more likely to lead to media being established.</i>
Mass Campaign for Media	This is necessary “because [MLM access] is a political matter and without clear demonstration of political pressure no changes will be made” (Cormack, 1998, p. 40).
Leadership and Organisation	Strong leaders and organized collectivities exert influence and garner attention to promote their grass-root efforts.
Political Culture of the Relevant State	Centralist states are less likely to concede MLM provisions than federal states or those with autonomous regions.
Political Weakness of the Central Government	Willingness of central government to concede power to regions or communities is higher when parties need to strike political deals.
Symbolic Status of the Language	Whether the language serves as support for nationalistic discourses, even for those who do not speak the language.
International trends	<i>Recent developments in neighbouring countries; international covenants or conventions from overarching organizations (i.e. UNESCO, OAS, Arab League)</i>

Table 2: Cormack's (1998) seven factors revisited

The two basic expansions to Cormack’s seven factors are as follows:

Density of users in a specific area is more relevant than the total number of speakers of a given language. The increasing number of minority language users in urban centres has sparked the creation of minority language schools and, as is the case for immigrant languages as well, the development of new media outlets (see Extra & Yagmur, 2008). The

⁷² Italics are used to evidence the modifications inserted.

Colombian cases bear witness to this relevance. In a country where the minority language population is less than 2%, it might seem somewhat absurd to enable people to have their own national media in a different language than that of the majority. However, when specific regions, such as La Guajira or Cauca, show a great percentage of population of users of a minority language (sometimes even monolinguals in it), the relevance and validity of a claim to media increases considerably. This also applies to Wales, where the population movements and the increase in Welsh-language education have modified the distribution and percentages of Welsh language speakers country-wide. This includes the increasingly urban linguistic minorities, which may also stem from other countries the world over.

The international trends considered as the seventh factor need to go beyond the European legislation and policies and include other forms of international policy, such as conventions and covenants developed by organisations and networks. UNESCO's (2003, 2005) conventions on cultural diversity and intangible heritage, and the UN (2008) Declaration on Indigenous Peoples have quite an impact upon most nations' interest in promoting or supporting MLM.

This revision and expansion of Cormack's seven factors makes it a better tool for assessing the conditions that have led, or may lead, to the appearance of new MLM outlets worldwide.

Interview to the double: Alternative views

Although the intended purpose of the interview to the double was merely to get a grasp of what the common tasks of the given Community of Practice were like, and how

relatively unproblematic those processes were, the responses varied quite clearly from an hour-to-hour description of actions, to an elaborated speech about their perspective on all sorts of issues.

This highlights two facts: firstly, the instruction (i.e. What would someone do, if they were to come and be you for a day?) is only seen as a directive, which quite easily becomes overshadowed by other interests related to what the person wants to say about the topic at hand; secondly, there is a given expectation of what the researcher may want to hear, dictating the information that the interviewee decides to bring up and how he/she decides to do so.

When prompted to describe their average day, to someone who would come to take their place pretending to be them for a day, respondents were faced with an introspection of what it is they do, and what is it about it that they deem important to be conveyed to others. However, this sudden description does not arise from a vacuum. All participants were informed about the interest of the research, as stated in the informed consent forms, and they were clearly aware that language was an important issue of debate. Besides that, the researcher had clearly remarked an interest for the language of each community interviewed. Furthermore, the presence of recording devices (i.e. a digital audio recorder and/or a video recorder) made people more aware of the fact that this information had the possibility to reach wider audiences.

The responses then varied considerably. Although one would think that it might have proven useful to stop the recording and ask the question again, trying to ensure a response closer to the intended description of unproblematic activities, I thought it was

much better to let them express their idea of their everyday job within their terms, even if they went off topic. The result was far richer, since they included information which would have been otherwise difficult to understand. The passionate comments of some of the participants, as well as their evident self-awareness of their act of being interviewed, provided much material to understand how they position themselves towards the information they are providing. From clear advocacy towards the language, or against the problems faced by their linguistic or professional community, to the idea of providing “useful” information for the research, their sudden self-awareness during the interview to the double positioned them towards the research as a social process.

Although one could argue that research subjects seldom carry that self-reflective identity formation when undertaking their everyday activities in their CoP (Husband, 2005), they do know that the research process is taking place and that some information gathered from them would be considered of importance. It was common to hear the expression “What else can I tell you?” or “Am I talking too much?” amongst other comments. This type of “*sticky moment*” (far more present in the Welsh cases), evidences an interest from the part of participant to provide accurate and useful information to the research process, thus evidencing how they assume some of the information to be relevant, whilst some other to be pointless to research. Rather than letting the researcher decide upon the information they provide, they set themselves as a first point of entry that determines the validity, importance and usefulness of their very own comments. Because of this, they also tried to provide cases, quite evident in the *Green Bay 1,2 and 3*, and *Ceidiog 8* ITTDs, beyond the remit of their average or standard day. Whilst off the point in the description

of their normal, unproblematic daily tasks, they went on to describe problematic situations they have faced, including some self-reflection upon their current endeavours.

Another aspect worth noting of the ITTD was the space it gave for some of them to describe and define their own position regarding the state of affairs of their own media. In the ITTDs of *La voz de las islas*, the fact that the radio station was closing down became an important part of the description of their day, since it may lead to the problematic situation of losing their space for debate. This emotional response includes more information about the position that the members of the CoP have to their role and clearly sets their mood towards the issue.

In conclusion, the lack of straightforwardness in the responses is more of an asset than a flaw of the ITTD research tool. Although in cases where the only interest is to define routines not easily grasped any other way (for example, in the impossibility of conducting observation for some dangerous or unreachable jobs) this kind of results may be of little use, in the present research their divergence from the topic brings up more information, and allows for more self-reflection, making the research process not only a tool of inquiry, but also a tool for helping with inner debate and discussion. This was, in fact, something that was remarked by some of the participants after the interview, the usefulness of granting them with a space to reflect about their job. In fact, even one of the participants made a positive comment about this self-reflection instilled by the researcher in the ITTD itself (see ITTD *Ceidiog 6*).

Observation: Being there not being invisible

There is much debate in the literature concerning participant observation as was already mentioned in Chapter III. Even more so, on how observation can be difficult to undertake when it is not possible to conceal your otherness. Although it is granted that taking the observer role is an evident act, in some procedures, especially when the subjects of observation have been already made aware of it, it does allow for another space of debate and cross-reference. Since the observation here served more as a contrasting element than a description in its own right, lengthier observations were not considered useful, but instead observations of one single day of work, as previously described. This allowed for corroboration or contradiction of the subject-presented “normal day”. As such, it was the best way to develop the questions for the lengthier interview that would follow.

Arranging for the observation was considerably different in the two countries and with the various CoPs interviewed. Whereas in the Colombian case the trip itself implied staying in the area and having the visits immediately after the first interviews, in the Welsh cases time had to be put in between the first interview and the observation, in such a way that it would not interfere other scheduling compromises. In that sense, whereas in the former cases the observation was taken as unproblematic, and the CoPs interviewed had no problem letting the researcher follow their actions the next day, in the Welsh cases, the observer was clearly seen as someone who would have an effect upon their natural working processes, and as such, the observation instances were clearly scheduled for moments when they would not disrupt major undertakings. This predisposition by the Welsh CoPs had, again, a double interest: that of having the chance to allow for the

observer to experience something “significantly useful” and also “least intrusive”, according to their perception. Since the participation of the CoPs was voluntary, as was their information, and the level of trust was relevant for the responses, there was no interest in trying to go against these decisions and perceptions. In fact, allowing for them to provide these spaces was also useful to comprehend the way they understand research, and the role of the observer. They were keen on trying to let me experience something particularly interesting, according to them, while ensuring it was not an instance where I would be in their way. This attitude reinforces their identification with professionalism in their practice, as will be addressed further on in this chapter.

The long interview: All together now... or not

Precisely because the interest of this research project was to allow the CoPs as much freedom as possible, so that they would engage in the research process instead of just reacting to it, the methodology was designed to accommodate for it. All of the CoPs underwent a second, lengthier interview. This interview was very open-ended, although it had a guiding principle. The interviews were never the same, and even though certain topics were similar in every case, they were addressed differently, following the entry points given in the ITTD and during observation. The interviews were carried out, either one-on-one or as group interviews. In the case of *Jujunula Makuira*, the decision to make it a group interview certainly led one of the participants to become less engaged in the process, and his voice was all but lost. However, this structured debate proved quite useful in the other cases. In *La voz de las islas*, *Ceidiog*, and *Cwmni Da*, the group interview allowed for a collaborative debate and even contrasting views which led to even further

reflection by the collective engaged in the research process. Common statements including – “I don’t know if the others will agree, but I think that...” – evidence how perceptions about the collective work may be shared, but may also be considered to be unacceptable by some members of the group.

Beyond the anecdotal, the group interview seemed to flow much better because it really set the CoP as a collective. However, the possibility to undertake this collective debate or a single-person interview depended on the requirements of the CoP. Not all of the CoPs members were available at once, and some times it was impossible to met with all of them together within their very busy schedules. What became quite clear is that, for the purpose of this research, group interviews worked much better, and should become the staple way of undertaking similar research endeavours.

Trying to pin down identity markers: the Social Radar tool

Turning Hale’s (2004) theoretical model into a graph, and complementing it with Pavlenko & Blackledge’s (2003) idea of *Imposed*, *Assumed*, and *Negotiated* identities was doubly rewarding. On the one hand, it allowed for a different way of making discussions about identity visible and, thus, easier to read. On the other hand, it was an interesting interpretative tool that allowed for an assessment of the responses of CoP participants. Although the level of interpretation could be criticised by other social researchers as subjective, it does stem from the comments given in the interviews, and it could be argued that an alternate reading of the results is much easier to perform with the visual tool than it is with the raw data. Classifying the level of markedness was no easy task, for it involved reading, re-reading and trying to understand the connections between the

various identifications provided by the interviewees. Exactly as presented by Hale (2004) when discussing social psychology, the positioning of the identification markers has to do with who is the person interviewing, and how those interviewed feel the need to position themselves. Hence, all the information gathered here has to be read with an understanding of the positioning of otherness of the researcher, and how that could have geared the interviewees to respond in a certain way.

The process was presented as transparent as possible to allow for the debate to ensue and contestations to arise from the elements portrayed in the analysis. The graphs enable an easier way to convey the information obtained, and also help prompt debates which are less evident in written-only material. Once the graphs are constructed and their respective interlinks organised, there is a more holistic view upon identity at the CoP level. Despite the discussion that may arise from the actual results, the graphs work very well as a way of disseminating the information and highlighting the identification aspects found.

Final remarks on methodology

There is no single error-free way of gathering information. In the specific case of trying to understand identity allegiances, the tools used here seemed to work well enough to garner data to answer the questions developed in the literature research (see Chapter II). As presented by Tracy (2010) and already debated in the methodology (see Chapter III), qualitative research is all about evidencing the positioning of the researcher, and ensuring there is openness and clarity in the processes undertaken. Self-awareness and reflexivity have been an integral part of the process, and highlighting the positive, as well as the

negative, outcomes of the methodological tools used is not only good research practice, but an evidence of an ethical commitment to ensure the validity of the information.

Therefore, this final reflective account of the methodological tools is as much part of the research as the information gathered through them. When Browne (1996) and Cormack (2007a) pointed at the lack of empirical information on the positive effects of media for language maintenance, they also explained the difficulty of finding a way to get this information. Both Cormack (2007b) and, more recently, O'Connell (2012) have presented a set of possible questions, mainly concerned with the production groups themselves, but some of them geared for the audiences. This research has worked alongside the former, admitting that the latter should also be addressed. However, the methodological tools to study MLM audiences may require something very different than what was used for the CoPs, despite the fact that the distance between producers and consumers might be blurred in the case of many MLM (see Meadows, 2009, 2010).

Interactions, identifications and linguistic output

The main research questions were already presented in Chapter II, with a reformulation of Cormack's question about *how do specific media interact with local, cultural and national identities*. The basic questions that this research project wanted to answer were:

1. How do media producers of MLM reflect on their own identifications (ethnic, indigenous, linguistic, or others)?
2. How do they prioritise these identifications in their production practices?
3. What is the impact of the prioritisation of identifications upon linguistic output?

4. What does a study of different cases of MLM production practices between Europe and the rest of the world add to the developing field of MLM studies?

The following pages aim to provide answers to these questions and begin a discussion prompted by the results of the seven cases presented in the previous chapters. Bearing in mind that the cases are not sufficient for any generalisation, and that they serve only as examples of situations in two different countries, their correlation is presented for debate on the prominent issues of MLM studies.

The first three questions are dealt with one after the other, followed by an analysis of how their outcomes may help organise areas of interest for the development of MLM studies.

The fourth question, concerned with the comparison of the two areas of the world studied, comes at the end of the chapter creating a closing argument for the thesis.

How do media producers of MLM reflect on their own identifications (ethnic, indigenous, linguistic, or others)?

As expected from the literature review, the CoPs studied seldom conformed to the overarching identity of either ethnic, indigenous or linguistic minority. Although they did at times agree with some of the identification markers usually related to each of these concepts, they also evidenced some distance from some of them. The interest in reconfiguring stereotypes proves that they do not see their collective identity as a bound category, but rather as a work in progress.

The cases presented proved Hale's (2004) argument against 'ethnicity' as an acceptable and bound category to which people ascribe. The case of the CoP *Jujunula Makuira* is quite interesting to evidence it. The radio programming is actively divided along the two

lines that seem to separate the two contrasting aspects of their identity. On the one hand, they have their traditional music and instruments, their language Wayuunaiki, their storytelling, and the rural outlook. On the other, they have Vallenato music, Spanish as the language of the urban Wayuu, and as the language of literacy. Their radio programming evidences the dichotomy in their identity allegiance, and the difficulty they experience in subscribing to the traditional 'indigenous' view of their identity. National identity is seen as either a nuisance or a mere formality. Quite clearly they are Wayuu before being Colombians (or Venezuelans).

The *Radio Nasa* CoP evidenced a different perspective. They challenge the traditionalist view, quite openly saying that their communication quilt⁷³ – a structure of communication practices – and their political interest does not imply they are backwards in any way, but rather that they want to evidence their own views and overcome stereotypes. Thus, they actively challenge the *imposed identity* they have been given by the government and mainstream media as uncivilised, disorganised and ignorant. Their identification with a political struggle unites them with other groups that, although not part of their ethnic group, share the same struggles. Even their musical choices tend to go along the lines of protest music and social ballads, instead of concentrating exclusively with traditional music styles. Furthermore, the fact that one of their staff is a Spanish language monolingual evidences that, although they value their language, they accept that one may be a Nasa without being able to speak the language.

⁷³ See Murillo (2008) for a description of the communication quilt.

In *La voz de las Islas*, we find a distance from the national identity of the 'mainland' and a stronger tie to what could be classified as an ethnic group of the Afro-Caribbean. The relationship between the raizal and other Afro-descendent groups of the Caribbean was made evident, and supported both by music (reggae), and the language (creole), rather than just by common ancestry. They did not relate to the Afro-Colombians as they did with their fellow Afro-Caribbeans. They emphasised on their linguistic skills, considering themselves a multilingual group, who value their languages as an asset.

The cases in Wales were more closely related with one another. They all contested a stereotyped version of their identity as externally defined. National identity is accepted as separate from the linguistic identity. The North-West/South-East divide is also challenged, as are the notions of Wales as rural and traditional. The new, multicultural identity is seen as dynamic, although many aspects are accepted as part of the background of Welsh-ness. Producers clearly see these changes and reflect upon them for their production practices.

How do they prioritise these identifications in their production practices?

The cases studied provided information on this aspect. In each of the cases, the way their production practices reflected the identifications of the CoP were considerably different.

The situation for the Colombian groups varies according to each of the contexts. As described above, *Jujunula Makuira* divide their programming along their two opposite identifications: the traditional and the contemporary. In their interest to have more of the traditional storytelling from the groups elders, the CoP at *Jujunula Makuira*, they invite them to participate and occasionally travel to record them. Radio *Nasa* places considerable attention to the political aspects of their programming. Their schedule

emphasises debate and discussion, and offers an alternate view to those of commercial radio stations. The CoP at *La voz de las islas* develops a programme which enables them to use the various languages in their repertoire. Their own language takes centre stage, but they allow other languages to appear.

In the Welsh cases, there are a series of strands: there is an interest of overcoming stereotypes which leads the CoPs to strive to find contributors or participants which do not necessarily represent the most evident cases of Welsh-ness, or who have the best Welsh. Both *Ceidiog* and *Boomerang+* mentioned that the ‘spark’ of the children they were selecting for the show was more relevant than language ability. This spark would then be a creative or performance quality that would ensure the quality of the programme, thus placing professionalism before linguistic demands in their programmes. A similar issue was described by *Cwmni Da*. They mentioned how they would look for a place to shoot a programme and they would consciously try to find a location in Wales, but if it was not possible to find something that would meet their content needs, they would go outside of Wales to a suitable place.

The challenge of finding appropriate contributors is also a common element discussed by the CoPs in Wales. In the same way as the spark and specificity of location sought for children and places respectively, there is also the need to find specific knowledge in a given field. All the CoPs evidenced their use of English in web searches, and for some of the processes of getting information. Furthermore, if they are looking for participants to their programmes, the pool of expertise to draw from is more reduced, and their interest in both professionalism and linguistic quality implies more dedication.

What is the impact of the prioritisation of identifications upon linguistic output?

There are various ways in which the prioritisation done by each of the CoPs influences their linguistic output.

In the case of *Jujunula Makuira*, the division between the traditional and the contemporary becomes the linguistic line separating their programming. The Wayuunaiki part of their scheduling includes traditional instruments and a story told by an elder. Due to the difficult terrain and the lack of affordable transportation, *Jujunula Makuira* does not travel often to record the stories by the elders. They use some recordings they made when the radio station was established, and they invite elders to come by the facilities to record their stories when possible. They also use material given to them by other Wayuu radio stations. Thus, most of the Wayuunaiki heard in *Jujunula Makuira* comes from the voices of the elders.

Radio Nasa broadcasts mainly in Spanish. They do so because of their identification with a political, rather than a linguistic, mission. When they broadcast programmes in Nasa Yuwe, they offer brief translations into Spanish. However, Spanish programmes do not have translation into Nasa Yuwe. Furthermore, the CoP includes one Spanish monolingual, exemplifying that their interest is not to generate a space for the language, as much as a space for political discussion. Their music selection included social and protest songs, mainly in Spanish, emphasising their political interests. They also present regional bands and traditional music, mostly in Spanish.

The members of the CoP at *La voz de las islas*, evidenced an interest for using the language and having exchanges through it. However, they recognise that their audience

might feel more confident in other languages, and accept the occasional use of other languages, taking advantage of their multilingual background. They also dedicate considerable time to music they identify with, namely reggae, which is also in their language. Their identification with other Afro-Caribbean islanders is thus evidenced in their choices of music and language.

In the Welsh cases, the interest of overcoming stereotypes and producing high quality programmes at times seem like contradictory goals. Firstly, because finding Welsh-speaking contributors is more difficult, when not impossible, compared with those who can speak English. Secondly, because there is more concern about the quality of the language in the production. Finally, because they actively try to represent the whole of Wales through their production, trying to move away from the traditionalist view. They find themselves in a quandary. On the one hand, they strive to produce programmes where people speak the way they normally do, including dialects and English borrowings. On the other hand, they have to follow strict guidelines for the correctness of the language used in the programme. They try to ensure that the language spoken reflects the reality of Welsh as is spoken in the whole country. *Ceidiog* did this by having a dialect not commonly heard used in an animation programme (i.e. North-East Wales). Both *Ceidiog* and *Boomerang+* mentioned that they try to keep a balanced use of dialects and accents, finding participants from different areas of Wales. This was also important for *Green Bay* in the selection of the voice-over narration by a renowned former Rugby player, and for the specific dialect in which a documentary about Richard Burton should be written.

Quite evidently, the prioritisation of the traditional, a political perspective, and even professionalism, had a bearing on the linguistic output. Trade-offs and sacrifices are common in the cases of MLM explored. Since the role of media is not exclusively a linguistic one, having the conditions for minority language broadcast is not enough to support the language (Cormack, 2005).

However, as the *Green Bay* case illustrated, the language used when addressing issues concerning the production of a programme seemed to depend on the output language. If this much can be considered true for the audience, and the language of the programme had an influence upon the language choice for its discussion, then MLM would be directly responsible for generating language maintenance. This link cannot be established with the research undertaken here, but it opens up the possibilities for research on MLM audience studies.

Minority Language Media Revisited

The next step is to bring together the information gathered here with the research discussed in the literature review. There were five issues which appeared in the seven cases studied and which appear to be variables worth pinpointing to further the theoretical development of MLM studies: multilingualism, overcoming negative stereotypes, professionalism, linguistic correctness, and the degree of control.

Multilingualism

In all the cases the production setting was bilingual, to say the least. This was considered as an asset in many different ways, from an information gathering advantage to an extra

possibility for production and output. This result confirmed a “shift from multilingualism, as conceived in official policy as a type of parallel monolingualism, to an understanding of multilingualism as lived heteroglossia” (Kelly-Holmes, et al., 2009, p. 239). **Multilingualism** is clearly at the centre of all the MLMs explored. In fact, it was seen as such an asset that, as presented in the specific case of *Ceidiog*, it became intentional to have multilingual staff members as part of the CoP. There was only one CoP in which a member was monolingual in the majority language. One of the radio producers at *Radio Nasa* was a Spanish language monolingual. It needs to be noted that this was also the only case in which the CoP privileged political identification instead of the linguistic one in their broadcast. Thus, when the political identification of the CoP was superior to a linguistic interest, the minority language is limited in the output, to enable the use of the majority language, which reaches a wider audience. This result presents the opposite situation of the Sami journalists described by Pietikäinen (2008a), thus confirming her observation about this trade-off.

The issue of **multilingualism** has already been addressed by Kelly-Holmes et al. (2009) as a challenge to MLM policy in the European case. As seen from the Colombian cases, this hybrid mixture and intermingling of languages might be working better at maintaining the language than the separate monolingual spaces created in *Jujunula Makuira*. Hence, this aspect of how different languages coexist in media practices and products needs to be studied in further detail because the question of how much multilingualism may help promote any given language remains unanswered.

Overcoming negative stereotypes

The interest of the CoPs to **overcome negative stereotypes**, held by the majority through their media production, was a fundamental identification of all groups. Save for the case of *Jujunula Makuira*, in which their own assumed identification seems to continue the division linking the traditional past and rural ways of living with the language, the other CoPs evidenced an interest to overcome these stereotypes by trying to portray their language and culture as contemporary and dynamic. The CoPs seemed to agree that media production by, and about, themselves was the best way to achieve this.

Overcoming negative stereotypes might serve as a way to deal with the general ‘suspicion’ (see the heading by the same name in Browne & Uribe-Jongbloed, 2012) generated by media output in minority languages. This is not an exclusively linguistic issue, because even media producers broadcasting in the majority language have felt a similar exclusion based on other identifications (such as ethnic barriers). Hence, this is one of the points where studies in ethnic and/or indigenous media provide examples even in those cases where they are not in a minority language. These aspects have been mentioned previously in Riggins (1992b), and Browne (1996, 2005), and remain fundamental to the study of MLM. To explore this variable, it would be important to see which actions do MLM develop in order to modify or alter those stereotypes.

Professionalism

Professionalism also becomes an important issue here. It restricts the topics and linguistic output in Welsh language production, since the concern for quality includes the highest

possible standards of linguistic correctness. However, there is also the flipside to that coin, because in certain situations or places, realism in linguistic use demands for the appearance of certain English words or idioms, or for presenters that have them embedded in their speech (as was mentioned in the long interviews at *Green Bay* and *Cwmni Da*). In the Colombian cases, professionalism is occasionally redefined (as in *La voz de las islas*) but it mainly concerns a comparison with mainstream media.

Professionalism is a complex debate which goes hand in hand with the idea of **high quality production**. The interest to provide **high quality content** leads to a constant comparison with the majority media. Both these concepts, professionalism and quality, are culturally defined and usually have the majority media as the measuring rod for their definition in more than one sense: 1. because majority media, with their larger markets, are more prosperous spaces for economic development of the individual journalist/media producer; and, 2. because majority media have reached all those communities for much longer, and the way the community has been accustomed to experience media has a direct effect upon their MLM. Browne (Browne & Uribe-Jongbloed, 2012) has mentioned that minority language producers used to be more willing to define professionalism by their own community standards instead of mainstream definitions they seem to adopt more willingly now. This implies that the increasing hybridity of MLM also leads to a cultural imposition coming from the already established media outlets which have created 'ways of experiencing and producing' media. Ginsburg's (1991) 'Faustian bargain' becomes evident here. Despite the interest of the communities to develop their own media

expression, the media themselves, and the forms these communities are expected to use them, or to participate with them, have already been defined by the majority media. The debate on professionalism, how it is defined and by whom, becomes fundamental to understand MLM. This is exactly the same perspective presented by Husband (2005). He claimed that ethnic/minority language groups have the difficulty of defining professionalism, not only from the perspective of quality, but from the perspective of advocacy of their own position and language because “for media workers within minority ethnic media the defensive carapace of ‘professionalism’ may be fractured by other strong and possibly contradictory claims; namely, a personal identity politics that commands an allegiance to an ethnic community” (p. 462).

Linguistic correctness

Another similarity found across the cases was the problematic identification between a proper, **correct form of the language** to be broadcast, and how this was seen as an imposition which made it more difficult to produce the programmes. All the cases studied mentioned the difficulty in finding participants for their media products, especially concerning the language quality. In Colombia, there was a discussion of the difficulty of finding a female Nasa Yuwe-speaker for *Radio Nasa*. In *Jujunula Makuira*, the two radio producers were quite self-conscious about the limitation of their spoken, –or worse, their written–, Wayuunaiki. This result is similar to the one presented by Castelló (2007). Catalan scriptwriters complained about the difficulty of following strict Catalan normalisation guidelines for Catalan television (TVC), arguing they reduced realism and

disabled the possibility to crack inter-language jokes. However, despite the difficulty and complexity that this issue brings into the production process, the CoPs also admitted to the degree of negotiation they had with portraying the 'natural' language.

An interest in both **linguistic correctness** and a natural language implies a contradiction. Even though there is a desire to present a correct Welsh, at the same time there is an interest in showing regional varieties of the language. This can be seen in the consistent interest of Welsh-language producers to showcase the whole of Wales, rather than concentrating on the areas where Welsh is most spoken. It evidences a conscious effort to make the Welsh language artificially coterminous with the national space of Wales. It prompts media producers to distance themselves from the images of the rural, Welsh-speaking, north and west, to a more inclusive urban, south and east. In doing so, reinventing Welsh-ness, they are also making Welsh the language of Wales and creating, one could argue, the imagined nation. The evidence of the whole of Wales has already been presented in content analysis of S4C's output (E. H. G. Jones, 2007), but here it is interesting to remark how the effort of doing so is an active and conscious choice of the CoPs. This does not mean that this change in representation of the stereotype is an easy task to accomplish, however. The CoPs were quite adamant on stating how they received a variety of complaints when less-acceptable accents or dialects were used in some programmes. The *Ceidiog* CoP, for instance, mentioned how a Cardiff accent for a cartoon character received complaints from various language gurus. In the case of *Boomerang*, the

CoP agreed that having presenters from different parts on Wales with their own peculiar accent was part of the strategy to avoid giving one variety a higher value.

The fact remains that they intend to challenge and negotiate these identifications. This negotiation implies allowing for various forms and registers, different level of competency, and even occasionally accepting words in the majority language or evident borrowings. As mentioned above, multilingualism is silently accepted, despite efforts to make the products monolingual. Some of the cases studied here evidenced that guidelines which define correctness are still very unclear – in the cases where there are any –, and sometimes the lack of a clear set of rules leads to over-zealousness. Linguistic policy, regardless of whether official or just informal, is key to the CoPs' linguistic output.

Understanding who defines the linguistic policy, the criteria used and the person or persons in charge of overseeing its use, would give us a glimpse into how each CoP understands their job in maintaining the language. O'Connell (2012) proposes a questionnaire to find out both the in-house practice of the producers and the kind of language actually used for specific genres and outputs. This would help understand how linguistic policy takes shape in media production. Policies might depend directly on the mission or guidelines established by the broadcaster, or, as seen in the Colombian cases, by their absence. They show the direct interest they have in linguistic impact.

Degree of control

Another aspect worth mentioning is how the case studies in the two countries seem to fit right into the discussion presented by Evans (2002, p. 324):

At the heart of the difference is the locus of control. If full control – not only for video creation but also for dissemination and broadcast – lies in indigenous hands, then new and culturally grounded perspectives can result. But if the cameras are available while the training, budget, editorial decision-making, etc. are left in outside hands, then it is essentially impossible to produce materials that lack a reflection of the dominant society that remains in control.

In both the Welsh and the Colombian cases a certain **degree of control** is kept at the hands of those producing the work, despite the quality imperative and the comparison to BBC standards for the Welsh cases. There is no doubt that the minority has its own control of production practices and that their creative production serves a counter-hegemonic narrative. However, the Welsh case is less counter-hegemonic, concerning the involvement of the BBC in producing programmes for S4C, and the debate started in 2010 about its source of financing, if the previous financing is removed from the Department of Culture, Media and Sports (S4C, 2012a). Conversely, the independence of indigenous radio in Colombia, despite initial government support for their establishment, has been amply presented in the study of one of such outlets, Radio Payu'mat (Murillo, 2008). In fact, the lack of government interest in those media outlets might be seen as an advantage that allows for more independent broadcasting. Government intervention, just like its absence, might prove detrimental to MLM. While government negligence has helped keeping *Jujunula Makuira* off the air for considerable time (over three years, at the time this thesis went to press), political intervention from government bodies revoked the broadcasting

license of *La voz de las islas*, and hence, it brought to an end to the only legal broadcast available in Creole.

Riggins (1992b) had already mentioned that governments or other associations may be willing to support ethnic media in order to prevent social upheaval or to further religious perspectives. Evans (2002) also considered this aspect fundamental to understand the influence those media might have upon the minority community. As long as their impact is low, mainstream media and government bodies do not care about their development. But once ethnic or linguistic minority media threaten the status quo of mainstream media, or expose uncomfortable truths about government procedures, they exert their power in order to avoid losing control of the public sphere. Therefore, determining the degree of control the community itself, or other overarching state institutions, have upon MLM serves to identify their power and legitimacy. Each specific case might be different, as the Colombian cases show, but the fact remains that the degree of control is a fundamental variable to determine linguistic output.

Concluding remarks

Thus, as can be gathered from the cases studied and from the debates presented above, the hypothesis constructed in chapter II, stating that *specific identifications determine the presence, absence and scope of linguistic output*, holds true. The identification with a political cause in *Radio Nasa* leads them to sacrifice linguistic output for the sake of stronger political support. Linguistic correctness and excessive traditionalism in *Jujunula Makuira* makes them split their programming across linguistic lines. A more encompassing identification with other Caribbean groups, prompts *La voz de las islas* to reconfigure their

identity away from the national dimension of Colombian-ness. In the Welsh cases, professionalism demanded of the staff leads them to equate their production standards with those in the majority language, whilst at the same time being more zealous of portraying the Welsh language in the best possible form, both linguistically, and in reflecting, and challenging, the social idea of Welsh-ness. This also evidences that language seems to be the only identification which clearly sets them apart from other media production groups.

Though generalisations would be out of place here, the hypothesis could be tested in further cases the world over to see if it continues to hold true, and if it could then be taken as a fundamental part of MLM studies. Furthermore, the characteristics highlighted above (i.e. multilingualism, overcoming negative stereotypes, professionalism, linguistic correctness, and degree of control), may serve as specific variables to be studied in each MLM.

The cases studied provided evidence of the relevance of these aspects, and similar studies have also mentioned them as important for further research on the field. Left aside, however, is the issue of audience participation and input. Most MLM are concerned with maintaining the language, but their job is only part of the language ecology (see Cormack, 2007b) and the other aspect would be how the audience uses the output of the media to further their use of the language. To determine the actual impact of the media in language maintenance, audiences need to be taken into account as well.

Meadows (2009, 2010) has emphasised that studying ethnic or indigenous media audiences is considerably different than studying mainstream media audiences. It involves

going beyond surveys to more ethnographic approaches; especially since these media are usually closer to the audiences than mainstream mass media. The experience in the Colombian part of this research agrees with his observation. Community media have a closer intake from the audience, and involve themselves in more interactive processes with them, although they may not imply a very high participation. In the Welsh cases, participation of the audience is quite similar to mainstream participation. This is due to the fact that S4C in Wales works under very similar premises to the BBC and, hence, uses a very similar approach to their audience participation. However, as already mentioned, those producers making programmes for S4C have the idea of making their products reflect the whole of Wales and, as such, involve themselves much closer with local audiences and interest groups.

These strands of study open up new avenues for research. Identifications may not be limited to the ones mentioned in these pages, and new cases from other parts of the globe would serve to widen the scope of MLM studies. The aspects highlighted in the previous pages could be used as frames of reference for research on other outlets, and their results would confirm or modify the premises mentioned. Furthermore, audience research also opens up possibilities. Now that we have a better understanding of how media producers engage with their work, audiences can provide their own perspective and help us get the whole picture of their situation.

MLM studies beyond the European stronghold

Addressing the fourth research question and its derived objective, the information gathered through the research process allows for a new series of recommendations for the further development of MLM studies. Cormack (1998, 2004, 2007a) has consistently advocated for the field, and has argued its importance and relevance in the increase of research being undertaken. Similarly, Browne and Uribe-Jongbloed (2012) have presented a list, albeit non-comprehensive, which shows an increase in published books on the subject as evidence of its growing importance. Although their remit includes indigenous and ethnic media, the texts they discuss are those in which language also plays a role within these distinctive media expressions.

The question at hand is, firstly, whether MLM studies can have their own space, simultaneously, parallel, or intermingled with ethnic and indigenous minority media studies. Chapter II gave evidence on how these categories (i.e. ethnicity, indigeneity, and linguistic minority) are all considerably blurry. It also seems that only in the case of Europe can we be certain that language as the main identification appears as sufficiently significant for the development of separate media provisions. Moreover, as argued in chapter III, the European case is the anomaly, rather than the norm worldwide. Europe has a very reduced quantity of autochthonous languages compared with any other continent, or even just the archipelago of Papua/New Guinea, for instance. As such, and despite the great amount of information already gathered, we need to look beyond Europe to assess whether this area of studies is worth pursuing in its own right.

The evidence provided by the different cases studied in this work does show a certain degree of commonality in many of the aspects debated within the CoPs despite their location. Although professionalism shines as more relevant to Welsh production groups – and one could argue, to European MLM –, other aspects such as stereotyping, linguistic correctness and local involvement are found across the board, thus ensuring that MLM studies have enough space to explore in all continents.

Furthermore, as explored in Chapter IV and revisited at the beginning of this chapter, Cormack's (1998) seven conditions for the establishment of MLM outlets seems to be applicable beyond Europe. The factors studied need to be modified to make them a better tool for comparing international situations. As recommended above, the first condition should be changed from 'total number of speakers' to a relational number of users in given areas. It is the density and tightness of the linguistic groups in certain areas of a country, or its spread across various regions in relation to the overall population, which provide us with a more consistent claim for the creation of MLM outlets.

The other categories were easily enough found to be suitable for the Colombian cases outlined, and could therefore continue to be applied in other settings which may help rendering them more specific and useful as tenets of analysis. In the case of international trends, there needs to be further exploration of the issues taking place in other continents and international conventions and covenants which have a bearing upon minority language production.

Another important debate that can be brought to the fore here is the disciplinary axis from which most studies have come to provide information into MLM studies. Though

Cormack (2004, 2007a) originally mentioned linguistics, sociolinguistics and media studies as the basic supporting disciplines involved with MLM studies, their expansion to other corners of the world needs to incorporate other disciplines and areas of studies which have engaged with minority language communities in aspects besides their media output. Anthropology, Sociology and Communication for Social Change have been of utmost importance in the studies of MLM in Australia, Canada and Latin America, just to name the most evident cases. Thus, it should not strike us as surprising that a good amount of articles on MLM studies outwith Europe have been published in Journals that deal with Communication and Development (see van de Fliert & Hien, 2009) or in texts that are classified as anthropology (see Wilson & Stewart, 2008b), rather than journals on sociolinguistics or media studies.

This does not only demand an openness to interdisciplinary work, but an understanding that other spaces of debate have already been established, and complex ways of engaging dialogue need to be put to the test. It also goes in line with the various calls to include more non-Western perspectives in communication and social sciences research (see Curran & Park, 2000; Gunaratne, 2010). Meadows (2009, 2010) presented this issue of interdisciplinary work from two angles: firstly, the understanding that closely-knit communities and their respective media tend to blur quite naturally the borders between media production and reception, on the grounds that media are closely integrated to the community as a whole, and they are not mass-media; secondly, he also debates whether our own institutional biases – University defined procedures and timeframes – also constrain our possibility to develop more inclusive methodologies that foster reciprocity.

Research is, in the end, a process of making society aware of constants of our common reality. As such, researchers carry responsibilities with the research subjects that, although they do not demand advocacy for their cause, at least imply fair portrayal and retribution for their willingness to participate.

Some academics on the field have demanded that research in communication takes a more participative approach (see Arnst, 1996; Gumucio-Dagron, 2007; Gumucio Dagron, 2004; Servaes, 1996a). In Communication for Social Change (CfSC), where actors are relevant, and the ability to empower them and grant them a voice is an intrinsic expectation of any research, not only are outcomes less relevant than processes, but the fact that people get involved defining their own media in their own terms becomes paramount. The Faustian contract debate (Ginsburg, 1991) on whether media equipment allow for indigenous and ethnic peoples to express their own views, or is just another way of imposing Western control, remains contested. For instance, the Colombian government's efforts with indigenous groups to see if they were interested in establishing their own media outlets was quite revealing, because some groups rejected the offer as Western imposition whilst others accepted it precisely to counterbalance the mainstream media representation of them (Rodriguez & El Gazi, 2007). Also, in a world with growing disparities, where the digital gap makes the 'digital age' motto become nothing but a fallacy (Ginsburg, 2008), every group's engagement with media needs to be explored with a delicate contempt for context – something recommended by Cormack (2004, 2007a) – an issue which is paramount to CfSC.

The cases presented in this work render an account to that effect. Arranging visits and fieldwork whilst working for a Colombian University and studying at a British one was no easy task to accomplish. The timeframe of Universities does not fit in very well with regions of the world where control over means of transportation and displacement are quite low. In order to comply with the ethical contract of information exchange (Meadows, 2010), workshops were developed for one of the indigenous communities, as a way to ensure there was reciprocity, as should be expected of this kind of work.

Moreover, this research heeded the call to de-Westernise communication studies from a two-fold perspective. Firstly, it brought into the discussion a variety of texts and articles found in minority languages – albeit limited to those the researcher could understand –, and, secondly, from regions of the world beyond the global North. A lot of attention was given to Latin American authors and journals with the specific interest of bringing their knowledge closer to an English language readership.

Finally, the research project will provide feedback into the minority communities even after the PhD is finished. Agreements go beyond academic norms and calendars (Meadows, 2010), and further studies with those communities would greatly benefit from the already established rapport. The research process never truly ends, although physically bound works, such as a thesis or a book, may make it seem like it does.

As such, the final words of this thesis go back to them, to all of those communities who willingly allowed me to enter a dialogue with them about what they do and how they do it. It is in their interest that this research project was undertaken, and it is their dedication and perseverance which has made it all worth it.

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