

The struggles for ancestral territories in the indigenous media. The case of FM La Voz Indígena*

Las luchas por territorios ancestrales en los medios indígenas. El caso de FM La Voz Indígena

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Abstract

The article analyzes the experience of La Voz Indígena radio, station located in Tartagal (Salta, Argentina) where communicators/as of five indigenous peoples work. Its history goes back to the beginning of the last decade, when a group of caciques, mburuvichas and other indigenous women and young indigenous people decided to train in radio production, in order to reverse the historical invisibilization of their peoples. Progressively, the radio became a political space of reference for the struggles for the territories, in which the indigenous communities of the zone are protagonists. And, simultaneously, it was also a field from which to visualize and legitimize, in the local mediated public space, the memories, languages, ways and times of speech of the communities. Recovering that experience, the article addresses the articulations between the struggles for indigenous ancestral territories and the struggles for participation in the territory of mediated public communication.

Keywords

Indigenous, radio, territorial struggles, public space mediated, La Voz Indígena.

Resumen

El artículo analiza la experiencia de la radio *La Voz Indígena*, emisora ubicada en Tartagal (Salta, Argentina) donde trabajan comunicadores/as de cinco pueblos indígenas. Su historia se remonta a inicios de la década pasada, cuando un grupo de caciques, *mburuvichas* y otras mujeres y jóvenes indígenas definieron capacitarse en producción radiofónica, en pos de revertir la histórica invisibilización de sus pueblos. Progresivamente, la radio se convirtió en un espacio político de referencia para las luchas por territorios que protagonizan las comunidades indígenas de la zona. Y, simultáneamente, se constituyó en un ámbito desde el cual visibilizar y legitimar, en el espacio público mediatizado local, las memorias, idiomas, modos y tiempos de habla de las comunidades. Recuperando esa experiencia, el artículo aborda las articulaciones entre las luchas por los territorios ancestrales indígenas y las luchas por la participación en el territorio de la comunicación pública mediatizada.

Palabras clave

Indígenas, radio, luchas territoriales, espacio público mediatizado, *La Voz Indígena*.

Recibido: 24/07/2018 - Aceptado: 26/10/2018 - Publicado: 31/12/2018
DOI: 10.5354/0719-1529.2018.50650

*The article arises from our research for a Doctoral thesis in Anthropology at the Universidad de Buenos Aires, presented in June 2017.

1. Introduction

During the last three decades, the efforts of the indigenous to change the conditions of discursive dominance that stigmatize and exclude their voices in the system of communication media, have gained substantial ground in the struggle for rights led by these populations, particularly so, in the disputes for the right to collective property of their territory.

We are referring to the movement throughout Latin America, since the mid-80s, when many organizations and communities of indigenous peoples began to propose strategies for their emergence in national, and international media public space locally, nationally, and internationally and more specifically in the media systems of each region¹ (Mercado, 2015; Magallanes-Blanco & Ramos-Rodríguez, 2016; Salazar, 2016; Doyle, 2015, 2017). Strategies that involved, for example, the creation of communication areas inside the organizations; the development of communicational products for mass circulation; the creation of their own communication media; and, since the 90s, the generation of indigenous gatherings in which began to incite the dispute for the architecture of the media systems and for the recognition of the indigenous rights in the regulations that, in each country and in international declarations, regulate said systems.

These strategies began, generally, as part of the struggles for rights that the different populations led in the context of their registration in the contemporary national States: struggles for the right to own communal property of their territory; for political and legal autonomy; for a voice in decisions made about the natural resources in the areas they inhabit; the official recognition of their own languages; the recognition of the pluricultural character of the States; the right to health, to potable water and housing, among others (Bello, 2004; Bengoa, 2009).

In this context of progressive articulation between the indigenous struggles and the efforts of these peoples to dispute their presence in

the mediatized public space, we find the analysis of the FM *La Voz Indígena* (LVI) experience. It is a radio station location in the city of Tartagal, in the province of Salta, that began at the beginning of the last decade and in which over 20 people participate (mainly young and adult women but also some adult men) belonging largely to the Wichí and Guaraní Indian communities, as well as the Qom, Chorote and Chulupí populations.

In its over 15 years on air, the radio became a political space of reference for the local indigenous communities, for their struggles, mainly those fighting for their territories. On the other hand, the focus of the women on the radio worked to reverse their silence and secondary role in these struggles, becoming in many cases key players in the disputes for territory. At the same time, in that movement, the group that worked for the radio went through a process of politicization in regards to the territory of mediatized public communication. This is to say that they recognized the limits imposed by hegemonic logics of that territory on the possibility of being part of those that have a part in it; of recognizing the barriers that it brings in respect to the possibility of success in other struggles; and initiating practices aimed at reverting those limits.

2. Theoretical Framework

This convergence between struggles for territories and disputes surrounding the logics of being seen in the mediatized public space is inscribed in the development of what some authors call "mediatized societies" (Mata, 1999; Valdetaro & Neto, 2010; Córdoba, 2013). In other words, these are societies that have gone increasing "the areas of the existence of the individuals that carry out -or promise to carry out -via the media and technology that, in consequence, constitute guarantees of the possibility of being and doing" (Mata, 1999: 87).

This configurating ability of the real acquired by the media has a performative effect on di-

verse social practices. And especially in relation to the political practices of collective and individual subjects. More and more, trust in that configurating ability of the real on behalf of the media operates as basis for the design of political practices linked to the setting of meanings that are intended to be inserted in the public agenda (Cordoba, 2013). And it is not limited to the political environment (that is, governors and political parties) but also involves civil rights movements (Martín-Barbero & Berkin, 2017).

At the same time, based on the hegemonic logics of the production routines of the mass media, and particularly of commercial value that guide the decisions of the majority in relation to subjects and sources that are prioritized, often times, they silence and/or manipulate the complaints that arise from situations of inequality. In this sense, Martín-Barbero (2002) state that, in Latin America, the societies and groups that that comprise them experience more and more that the achievements and failures of the populations in the struggles for defending their right to exist materially and maintain their cultures, are linked to the dynamics of and limiting by mass communication.

In this scenario, mainly during the 80's, many indigenous communities and organizations began to develop their own communication media. These indigenous media, say authors from Latin American Studies on Communication and Culture (Lizondo, 2015; Magallanes-Blanco & Ramos-Rodríguez, 2016; Ramos-Martín, 2018) and from the Ethnography of the Media in the field of Sociocultural Anthropology (Ginsburg, Abu-lughod & Larkin, 2002; Salazar, 2003, 2016), are profoundly political spaces given that, in the large majority of the cases, technology is comprised of forms of collective self-production from which you can dispute the recognition and reparation of human rights. In this sense, they are not spheres of "reflection" of identities or pre-existing traditions but rather spaces from which cultural practices, knowledge and self-perceptions of each population are re-configuring. And also, as we will

see in the case of *LVI*, their forms of struggles for territory.

3. Methodology

Starting with this recognition, the investigation analyzes the mode in which the emergence of indigenous media becomes part of the struggles of these pueblos for their territories. These struggles originate in situations of domination, of subordination that is simultaneously economic, political and cultural within the state formations. For that, said struggles and their articulation with the recognition and practices surrounding the possibilities of expression in the mediatized public space must be understood in relation to the state contexts in which they are developed, as well as the political logics of each population, organization, and community. In this sense it is fundamental, according to Turner (2002), to address the particular experiences of indigenous communication, in order to give theoretical attention to the meanings built from and around them, and in articulation with the analysis of the conditions in which they are configured.

In accordance with the proposal, the analysis that we present is the result of an ethnographically focus address (Guber, 2012), that involved instances of participative observation on the radio at festivals and gatherings, at a time of struggle for territory led by indigenous communities and that members of the radio station team covered, as well as in-depth interviews of members of *LVI*. Said field work took place from 2011 to 2016.

4. Analysis

Salta is considered one of the most diverse provinces in terms of indigenous populations in Argentina. At least 9 different peoples inhabit its various regions (Buliubasich & González, 2009). According to the last population

census (INDEC, 2015), there are 79,204 people who refer to themselves as belonging to an indigenous people in Salta (6.5% of the province's total population). Some 24.9% are Wichí, 21.6% Kolla, 13.7% Guaraní and 13.5% Ava Guaraní. There are also people that recognize themselves as Diaguita Calchaquí, Qom, Chané, Chulupí, Tapiete and Chorote.

The radio station is in Tartagal, located 360 kilometers (223 miles) from the capital of Salta, in the San Martín Department -area called Chaco Salteño-. Eight indigenous peoples live here: Guaraní, Tapiete, Chané, Wichí, Chorote, Chulupí, Qom and Kolla².

Similar to the rest of the country, since the mid 80's, Salta experienced a gradual visualization of the indigenous population, with changes in laws which supposedly meant advances in terms of recognizing their rights³. However, the provincial identity story to recognize those people as "other provincial internals" (Lanusse & Lazzari, 2005: 224), given that "the Indians are identified in the past [it is understood that], as such, they only survive in the present in the Chaco Region" (249). At the same time, in this story, the "Indians of the Chaco" constitute "the most irreducible internal difference of the Salta identity" (249).

On the other hand, an indicator of the contradiction between the legal recognition of rights and the guarantee of these same rights by the State is the socio-economic situation experienced by the indigenous in Salta. For example, according to 2011 data, 54.7% of that population has unsatisfied basic needs (Anaya, 2012).

This is related, largely, to the growing impossibility of the indigenous to have territories in which they can carry out agriculture or fishing activities⁴. Added to the historic dispossessions of land to which they were subject in the 19th century during the Conquista del Chaco (beginning in 1870) is the deterioration of the environment and the loss of territory control at the turn of the 20th century caused by medium and large-scale extraction activity that

caused a crisis in the margin of reproduction and relative autonomy that the indigenous communities had (Trincheró, 2000).

Conscious of this relationship between their living conditions and the access to territory, the indigenous of Salta have been struggling for years to maintain the few lands on which they live and recover those that were taken from them (Van Dam, 2007). The situation of the indigenous of the San Martín Department is not an exception. The communities have more and more limited access to their territory to carry out hunting, gathering, and planting activities. In the best of all situations, they have small plots of land dedicated almost exclusively to housing. The property titles of some 83.6% of the lots on which these communities inhabit are in the hands of third parties (companies, churches or landowners⁵) (Buliubasich & González, 2008).

Therefore, as a Wichí announcer said on *LVI*⁶, "the struggle for land is the most important for us. Because without land, I have no future, I can't think ahead. Because I wake up every day thinking about tomorrow I may not be here [in the community where I live]"⁷. Also, the Wichí chief of the El Cevilar⁸ community expressed his concern for being unable to roam the hills and carry out activities that used to contribute to the productive life and culture of his people:

And later a little of the aborigine culture has been lost. You have always seen that people have been dedicated to the task of hunting and fishing, which is what supports country life, the work of harvesting, and... it's like it is something that is being lost in part. And the idea is to try to keep part of this activity alive... because if they same society gives us a benefit but at the same time is taking away the natural resources, because these days I cannot climb a hill because I am stopped by a fence. So, if I work in artisanry it is going to be very difficult for me because I cannot go get wood to produce these goods (interview: El Cevilar, 06/2011)

Simultaneously, another dispute of the indigenous has to do with the State satisfying its obligation to guarantee them access to basic services: potable water, construction and operation of schools and hospitals near the communities, and housing.

The struggle for these rights is led by each community, represented by their chief. And that communities struggle gains the support of other communities, particularly those belonging to the same people. There are also joint-community organizations that have presence in Tartagal, like the Assembly of the Guaraní People, the Wichí Communities Council, Routes 34 and 86 Wichí Chiefs Council, and the Indigenous Peoples of Salta Coordination Council, as well as the Chiefs Councils present in some municipalities (Buliubasich & González, 2009). And another space of political participation is the Provincial Institute of Indigenous Peoples of Salta (IPPIS, acronym in Spanish): during the period of fieldwork of this investigation, the president of the Instituto was a Wichí leader whose honesty and representation were questioned by the people of the communities. It was suggested, among other things, that he was working for the interests of the provincial government.

Both the IPPIS and organizations mentioned are comprised almost exclusively of men, with little participation of women or children. Some women even commented that “Mr. Calermo [the then president of IPPIS] discriminated against us, saying that women need to stay at home, taking care of children” (interview with Guaraní announcer, 9 de Julio Community⁹, 06/2011).

This limit on political participation concerned some indigenous women. They understand that carry out daily struggles for the rights of their families and communities but that there is a lack of recognition of roles that they fulfill in these environments. This is shown, for example, in these difficulties that they face entering political spheres within the communities and organizations (Hirsch, 2008). This is how a Guaraní announcer explained it:

...before her [the mother of the interviewee] would say that her mom wouldn't go out, that she stayed on the farm and planted, they lived isolated from the fire, and it was the men... the women stayed at home, and it was the men that would go out. So... it was like the women were afraid to go out, she says, like the men (...). Yes, the men would go out before, before it was the chief that would go out to fight so they would give him the title to the land, and the chief died and was left with nothing, and like that... (interview, 9 de Julio Community, 06/2011)

4.1. The rise of LVI, a radio where “you can be free”

In the midst of this scenario of rights violations and political exclusion of women and adolescents that, in the mid 90s, people began to work in some areas, later founding the NGO Regional Association of Workers in Development (ARETEDE, acronym in Spanish) in 2002. The mission of this ONG is to support production start-ups in the communities of the Department of San Martín; spreading awareness of indigenous people's rights and particularly those of women; and the valuing of indigenous wisdom and traditions.

In 2002, ARETEDE together with the faculty of Universidad Nacional de Salta (Tartagal Campus) organized a workshop on “Information Needs of the Indigenous Sector”. This workshop was attended by chiefs, *mburuvichas*¹⁰ and especially women from 13 communities in the area. Just as it was coordinate by those who organized the workshop, “the objective was to find out, directly from the source, to what degree they felt included in the discourse of local media. The answer, although known, is no less overwhelming, they do not feel represented in any way.” (AAVV, 2006: s/p).

As a result of that workshop, the participants suggested that they wanted to learn to “make radio”. So, those who had organized this activity planned a radio training course for indigenous people held between August and No-

vember 2002. Later, around 20 people began to produce a weekly radio program broadcast on a local state radio channel. In 2008, via the National Presidential Award "Solidary Educative Practices in Higher Education", they could purchase the equipment to found their own radio station, FM LVI. Since the announcer was Guaraní,

So, it was just our luck... we being from the north, that President Nestor Kirchner awarded us the prize. So, when we received it "And what are you going to do with that money?", he says... he asked us. "We want our radio channel, where we can be free", I told him... (interview, 9 de Julio Community, 06/2011).

4.2. The struggles for territory: the mission of LVI programming

There is 10 to 12 hours of radio programming daily, from Monday to Friday. In the morning, there are informative programs and at night programs that have as a central theme some musical genre but that also recovers reflections on indigenous memories of the area. During the afternoon, there are opinion programs with presence of stories on ethnic memory and segments where they teach listeners an indigenous language, traditional food recipes (for example, how to eat *doca*¹¹ or make *aloja*¹²) or reflections on indigenous medicine. In general, young people produce news programs in the morning and music programs at night, and older women, the programs in the afternoon.

The mission of the radio has always been 2 part: impart information and the memory and wisdom of the area's indigenous peoples. In terms of news, the priority is the situation of the indigenous communities. It mainly provides information on territorial conflicts.

During the period of our field work, for example, a conflict took place in the Guaraní Yari-guarenda Community¹³ (2012) and another in the Wichí El Quebracho Community (2014)¹⁴. In both cases, the communities have lived in

these areas for many, many years. Later, local businessmen bought these lands as if they had been government owned and began to take them. With legal support, they successfully sought police intervention, who then tried to violently evict the communities. In both situations, the communities resisted for around 4 months, and finally managed to stay on the land, although with the constant threat of new attempts of eviction.

During these conflicts, at each meeting, each march on the municipality or each attempt at eviction, the radio was present via its reporters. Plus, during the period of conflict, several times a week a member of the communities participated in the morning news broadcast to tell of advances and setbacks experienced.

Some announcers even remember it being a success to have been able to get other media to include a conflict on their agenda:

...once in Tonono¹⁵ also, there had been problems with a company and the countrymen wanted to steal the truck in order to negotiate. And well, the owner went, reported them and... the judge ordered them to go and repress them and that was when an old man died, there were guys hurt by the tear gas. Well, that was not covered by any media and but we did. And like that...information not reported on other radios, no one knew. And well, I believe it came out in the newspaper also (interview with Guaraní announcer, Yari-guarenda Community, 06/2011)

Thus, the radio gradually became a political space of reference for indigenous struggles for territory. Every time there is conflict in some community, the chiefs go to the radio (which sometimes takes hours of walking) to tell about it. This is how a member of ARETEDE remembers it:

...one time, when there was repression in Tonono on Route 86, the only program where the countrymen could go to talk freely was that one, and it was that Saturday when nobody showed up, and a truck full of upset people arrived to talk on the program and

for me it was a real memorable experience because I to this day do not speak any indigenous language, and they came to speak in their language, because they expected to find their announcers, also because they already knew about them in their communities. The Wichí communities knew that Carmelo, Berta were there, and they could be their speakers, to establish a real dialogue in their languages and when they arrived and none were there and I was the only one there together with the technician... and the leader of the group who arrived told me "but we are going to talk in Wichí"... I'll never forget that because the people did not want to leave, they wanted to talk, use the radio space, and we agreed that that would be it, that they would lead the show, I was going to open the show, introduce the issues and accompany them. (...). I never knew what they said on that program, but just to see them talk, see them crying in front of the microphone and the frustration I felt unable to ask them any questions, and at moments when they were silent, Wichí silence as we call it, I could more or less propose a question to give some structure to the listener that didn't speak Wichí, and they tried to reply in Spanish, but you could tell they didn't want to speak in Spanish (interview, Tartagal, 06/2011).

At the same time other problems of the communities were voiced on the radio: when a doctor who was supposed to attend patients in a community and did not fulfill his responsibility; when they did not let the Wesnayekk people participate in the elections for delegates to the IPPIS delegation elections because they were not recognized by the State and when a community blocks transit on a route demanding that the State build housing.

In this sense, the announcers understand that the radio is "a weapon" to defend the communities¹⁶: The ability to make discriminatory and violent acts against the indigenous public contributes to doctors, teachers, and police more respectful of them.

To address each issue, live interviews with representatives of the communities are broad-

cast in the news program and later whoever hosts the show adds information and gives his or her opinion. Because informing was never just mentioning the issue but rather going in-depth, as to its causes, and those affected by it:

People like a lot of information... what is happening in this community, or if there is a road block. But the radio you have in the center [from Tartagal]... there are many radios that mention it, but you can only mention the indigenous topic a little bit and it's on to a new subject. But being an indigenous radio, it doesn't matter is the problem is small, they know they can go in-depth on what happened, what caused it and not just mention it. (...) For example, the topic of malnutrition. Many radios do not go in depth on this topic, years before they would go into those types of problems, many cases happened. But now when they problem is even larger, when the State, the province itself finds out, the media are just arriving, this being a long-term problem. (...) But those of us on air we never stopped broadcasting these issues (interview with Wichí announcer, El Carpintero Community¹⁷, 06/11)

At the same time, the radio seeks to promote initiatives that communities carry out: soccer tournaments, parties and fundraisers. It also gives information on other topics of interest like vaccine campaigns or the arrival of temporary offices to register and get national identification documents.

In relation to the information, the challenge was always to make its own agenda and break with ways of organizing news performed by other local media. At *LVI*, the focus and the sources are the indigenous themselves:

...we would sit in front of the microphone and what we always... put in front of us: we are not the protagonists, we are not a medium, I as an announcer cannot just say anything, like others do, I cannot imitate another announcer, I take a newspaper or a webpage and I say what the newspaper says, I say what it says there... no, not us,

we were travelling announcers, we got involved... as we are from here, and we talked to our neighbors, we would sit down with them, drink a tea or glass of water, we felt what they were saying, or we listened to what they thought, what they think, when we sat in front of the microphone we said what it is, what we see, what we feel. Because we are from here, we are indigenous... (interview with Wichí announcer, El Carpintero Community, 06/2011)

The other mission of LVI programming is on the areas indigenous memories and knowledge. Addressment of these topics is linked to 2 objectives. On one hand, it is to build legitimacy of these knowledge and memories inside the communities, that always suffered due to discrimination and were even forced by different churches to deny their cultural beliefs (Castelnuovo, 2015). The reversal of the self-denial of the cultural beliefs associated to the indigenusness is an objective of the radio, especially the women. And they believed, from the first radio workshop, that the presence of their knowledge and memories in the media public space would contribute to that objective. It is for the young people in the communities, they explain, so that they know about their culture and are proud of it:

On the radio I speak about history, on my program I tell about the history because it is... the main foundation, the history we have experienced has been buried. I believe that young people today do not know how much we have fought to survive ... because struggle is life...we are alive today as an indigenous people because our ancestors knew how to appreciate, how to fight for us to continue living. So, on my program I do that, tell history so that our children know, because school teaches us about history... of warriors like San Martín (...) that has fought... but we as an aborigine people also have our fighters that have experienced war, all the struggles. We have heroes! And those heroes are who we want to remember... (Presentation by Wichí announcer, 11/2011¹⁸)¹⁹

The other objective is to share these knowledge and memories with the rest of Tartagal society, to contribute to the respect and appreciation of the indigenous cultural identities and beliefs. A Guaraní announcer, for example, proudly told that many "criollos" of Tartagal listened to her program, and one day one told her that he had a notebook where he wrote down all the Guaraní words that she translated on air.

The topic of territory is another main focus of the radio programming. On one hand, it seeks to show the long history of indigenous people being forced off their own territory, based on stories about the history of the Conquista del Chaco as the start of the eviction; but also with stories about indigenous leaders that fought for those territories. A Guaraní announcer told it like this, talking about a radio drama that was performed on the story of Chief Cambá (1860-1884), belonging to the Qom people:

We did it with our own strength, wanting the history of the Qom people to be known, because radio drama comes from a real document from 1884, when the country of Argentina was already founded. Until now, until 2011, 128 years have passed... but the things that happened are still in the memory of our grandparents. the atrocities, the raping of women, the selling of children, the selling off of prisoners of war that were taken to Martín García Island. And the ideal of this radio drama warrior, the main character, of wanting to defend his people from slavery and eviction (...). And that fills us with pride, we can say that the fight has not been in vain, the blood spilled. If it weren't for that fight we wouldn't be alive either, telling about it... (interview, 06/2011)

They also tell about how the ways and life cycles of the indigenous have always been intrinsically linked to the periods of time found in nature, and how it affects life in the communities. One example of this is talking about the cycle of pregnancy related to the growth of certain plants and what you should eat different times during the gestation cycle, or

encouraging indigenous and non-indigenous people to return to eating local fruits, understand that historically it allowed them "to grow better and get fewer illnesses" (interview with Wichí chief: El Cevilar, 06/2011).

In this way, on the "air" of the radio, meanings are built surrounding the articulation between the indigenous identifications and the territories in which those people live. This articulation is built on a political-cultural basis of the indigenous disputes for said territories. And like a Wichí announcer at *LVI* commented in a workshop that took place in Cordoba in 2016²⁰,

...territory is the place where our grandparents have walked the path and lived, have gone to gather and camp. Before there were no borders, we could go where we wanted (...). It is not only where you live, but also where your grandparents walked and lived. To me all that is my territory, this land belongs to us. Where they have passed and left footprints, where they have known, been born, and walked. We walked into the mountains and we know where the way out, we know where they were before. The territory is where there is struggle, continuing the fight is an important place where we can offer sacrifice.

Territory is where there is struggle. They are ancestral places, of grandmother and grandfathers, and at the same time those of the people that today fight for them. And territory is also the public space, place where currently se libra a large part of the disputes for indigenous rights. It is the space from which and in which "the tiger roams" that crouches, chases and kills:

...for me this is all very important, because when there was eviction in El Quebracho (...) and we communicated, the chiefs rose up, and then when all of us rise up, the eviction stops. My father used to tell a story. He would say that the community was walking together and out came a tiger. Some wanted to run. But there was an old man who said "no one move, and the men get ready

and surround the tiger. The danger was there, in the tiger". Then, as everyone began to make noise, the tiger fled. I think that is what we have to do (presentation of Wichí announcer, 04/2016).

5. Conclusions

LVI was founded to service the informative and expressive needs of the indigenous. Many announcers propose, using a spatial metaphor, that the radio came to break up all the hegemonic modes of information circulation between the communities and the "outside". In other words, it was built as a place from where you can "take out" the information from the communities and "bring in" the information that is socially necessary (Schiller, 1996) to them, surpassing language barriers and news agendas that have blocked this information circulation in the past.

From here, the radio gradually became a political reference for the communities. Especially in relation to the struggle for territory. Not only as a space of expression but also creation of collective meaning and organization. So much so that in 2015, after the conflict in El Quebracho, the Area Land Council began to establish itself and meet at the radio station, comprised of the members of *LVI* and 30 community authorities. The objective is to show the common problems of land that each community has and support them in their struggles. Likewise, not only the radio was built in a space of reference but also its announcers, particularly the women. In the cases we mentioned, Yariaguarenda and El Quebracho, there are 2 women of these respective places that are radio announcers. Throughout the conflicts, they became spokeswomen for their communities and key players together with the chiefs. In various meetings we saw them take the floor, analyze the conflicts and propose actions. Thus, participation on the radio for women, marginalized inside a marginalized group, means a possibility to position themselves as political subjects in the struggles of their people.

In summary, the *LVI* experience and its insertion in territory conflicts allows us to recognize that the indigenous presence in the public media space involves both a search for voicing the demands of these people and a process of resignification of the present and the social memory in their own terms (Salazar, 2003; Magallanes-Blanco and others, 2013). Simultaneously, in the case of this radio station, that presence also generated transformations in the disputes for territory based on re-signifying the role women play in them. In other words, that experience shows to what degree the indigenous media, far from being just tools of dissemination of demands, are profoundly political spaces of collective self-production for communities that dispute the recognition of their rights.

Notes

1. We speak of mediatized public space because we understand that, although from its origins public space has been filled by the dominant technical forms at each time, in mediatized societies mass media went transforming into their main architects (Caletti, 2000), making visible and legitimizing issues, speakers and interpretations. In this sense, although public space integra numerous environments and modes of organization, mass media and information networks acquire focus as environment of reference and privileged scene of exchanges (Córdoba, 2013).

2. In the context of complex processes of ethnogenesis (Bartolomé, 2003) some communities that until a short while ago were asumidas as part of the Wichí peoples began to reclaim their belonging to a different ethnic group (although they belong to the same linguistic group): Weenhayek People.

3. Law 6373/86 of Promotion and Development of the Aborigene and Law 7121/00 of Development of the Salta Indigenous People.

4. It is the hunting and gathering of the animal and plant species in the mountains and rivers.

5. Way which non-indigenous people are referred to locally.

6. We use the category "communicator" because it is the way the members of the radio introduce themselves publicly.

7. In a presentation of women on the situation in their communities. Participative Workshop "Cultural Diversity, Interculturality, Gender and Communication", Tartagal, 10/2011. Field register.

8. Community with Wichí and Chorote population, located 4 kilometers from Tartagal on Provincial Route 86.

9. Community whose population is largely Guaraní. Located northeast of Tartagal.

10. Term used in Guaraníes communities to name their traditional leaders.

11. *Carpobrotus aequiliterus*. Local fruit.

12. Alcoholic beverage prepared using the fruit of the algarrobo tree (*prosopis alba* o *prosopis nigra*).

13. Guaraní community located on National Route 34, 10 kilometers from Tartagal.

14. Wichí community located on Provincial Route 86, 5 kilometers from Tartagal.

15. Town located 35 kilometers from Tartagal.

16. Expression used on various opportunities by radio announcers.

17. Wichí Community located on Route 86, 4 kilometers from Tartagal.

18. Exposition in the Participative Workshop "Cultural Diversity, Interculturality, Gender and Communication".

19. At different moments the members of *LVI* used alternatively and, in general, indistinctly the notions of indigenous people, aborigene or originary group alluding to a identity category that transcends the differences between the people of the area. When we investigate the meanings given to these categories we find the answer is that each term "has come into fashion" at different times during insertion (especially

from the state) and self-reference by the peoples. At the same time, they value the political potential of the originary category to refer to their preexistence on the territory they inhabit.

coordinated by Boaventura de Souza Santos and promoted by the Secretary of Extension of the UNC. 04/2016, Córdoba. Workshop record, in which we participated as the organizing group.

20. Workshop of Intercultural Translation of Social Movements, Popular University of Social Movements,

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▾ ¿Cómo citar?

Doyle, M. (2018). Las luchas por territorios ancestrales en los medios indígenas. El caso de FM La Voz Indígena. *Comunicación y Medios*, (38), 177-189.