Feminista Frequencies: Tuning In to Chicana Radio Activism in the Pacific Northwest, 1975-1990

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Abstract

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My study fashions an innovative theoretical and methodological approach to the first study of farmworker women, technology, and media within community radio institutions. Radio KDNA in Granger, Washington—the nation's first full-time Spanish-language noncommercial radio station—serves as a case study of Chicana/o-controlled Spanish-language community radio. Thematically, my research examines community radio broadcasting as a site of strategic intervention and political mobilization for Chicana/o producers and audiences. Noncommercial radio served as a cultural force in the late 1970s and through the 1980s to communicate with and mobilize local migrant farmworkers through culturally relevant Spanish-language programming. Chicana/o movement activists in rural central and eastern Washington used community radio as a tool for community building and social justice work. A study of KDNA provides a platform for

analyzing the political possibility of noncommercial radio, in Spanish, for immigrant communities today. My research methods utilize oral history, textual analysis, digital media tools, and archival research. As one of the first in-depth studies of Spanish-language radio programming produced by and directed to farmworker women of Mexican descent, this dissertation brings together oral histories I conducted with Chicana/o community media activists and cultural texts informally archived at community radio stations and in personal archives (artifacts include photographs, founding documents, and program guides).

As the first in-depth study of KDNA, I situate the emergence of Chicana/o-controlled community radio in the 1970s when social movements inspired a reimagining of public broadcasting as a free-form format that was communal and activist-driven. In this research, I demonstrate that Chicanas, specifically farmworker women both U.S. born and immigrant, were early adopters and innovators of community radio technologies through a process I call *Chicana radio activism.* Chicana radio activists radically deployed community radio technologies by occupying positions of leadership within the radio station, training women as radio producers, creating content and radio programming unique to the Chicana experience, and implementing anti-sexist practices within the radio station. Recording feminist activism within community radio stations is of particular importance to Chicano movement historiography because it uncovers new evidence of Chicana grassroots leadership. Chicana radio activism was a political movement manifested through the act of producing aural cultural representations within the broadcast platforms Chicana radio producers helped create. Through an integration of feminist policies and woman-centered programming, Chicana broadcasters ruptured predominantly male-dominated media spaces while countering the cultural nationalism that centered male experiences.

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My Chicana studies journey began at the University of California, Davis in the Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies alongside scholars and students who continue to impact my work, including Sergio de la Mora, Yvette Flores, Angie Chabram, Lisceth Brazil-Cruz, and Gibran Guido. I continued this journey at California State University, Northridge in the Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies where I learned the importance of *our* scholarship in creating *un mundo donde quepan muchos mundos.* Gracias to my CSUN *familia*.

To my amigas hermanas Connie Estrada and Lisa Coto (and honorary member Mario Tabares) for the love, laughs, and warm blankets. To my fellow radio lover Scott Borton, *gracias* for your unwavering support. Thank you a toda la familia de la Torre y Venegas, en especial a Araceli Caldera y Roxanna García. I have the privilege of having amazing siblings who make my life rich with love, support, and adventure: Ana and Jonathan, los quiero mucho.

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DEDICATION

A todas las hociconas, malcriadas y chismosas, especially to all past, present, and future Chicana radio producers.

May our wild tongues never be tamed so that our voices continue to powerfully talk back.

INTRODUCTION: RADIO BORDERLANDS: UNDERGROUND FEMINIST COMMUNITY RADIO PRODUCTION

Before turning our eyes "forward" let's cast a look at the roads that led us here.
Gloria E. Anzaldúa[1]

Feminist traditions are oral and aural.
Angela Y. Davis[2]

KDNA founders and volunteers building the radio tower on Ahtanum Ridge, 1978-79. Photograph courtesy of Rosa Ramón.

Sitting on top of a yellow Ford Chevy pick-up truck, founders and volunteers of Radio KDNA—the nation's first noncommercial full-time Spanish-language radio station—proudly point up to the radio tower they are constructing, realizing their dream of bringing community media to the Yakima Valley.[3] Their gaze directly engages the viewer, inviting us to bear witness

[1] Gloria Anzaldúa and Cherríe Moraga, eds., *This Bridge Called My Back, Fourth Edition: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, 4th edition (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2015).

[2] Angela Davis, *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism: Gertrude "Ma" Rainey, Bessie Smith, and Billie Holiday*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1998.

[3] The founders of Radio KDNA (pronounced *cadena,* meaning chain) include Ricardo García, Julio Cesar Guerrero, Rosa Ramón, and Daniel Roble. Primary sources also identify KDNA as "Cadena" when referring to the station prior to the designation of their radio call letters (KDNA).

to past, present, and future histories of struggle and activism in the region. The fields in the background serve as a visual marker of the sociopolitical conditions of the Valley, which flourished as a result of low-wage migrant Mexican and Tejana/o labor.[4] The radio tower was built on Ahtanum Ridge, on land belonging to the Yakama Nation, signaling to a coalition among Chicanos and the Yakamas.[5] Lastly, the people depicted in the image demonstrate that both men and women participated in Pacific Northwest social movement activism, with women playing a central role in the founding and day-to-day activity of Radio KDNA. Indeed, Radio KDNA's model of community radio production cultivated a leadership style I term "Chicana radio activism," a concept I advance here in order to identify and explore an emergent gender consciousness in Chicano movement activism in the Pacific Northwest during the mid- to late-1970s.

Feminista Frequencies: Tuning In to Chicana Radio Activism in the Pacific Northwest, 1975-1990 is an interdisciplinary inquiry into the unacknowledged feminist praxis rural Mexican and Tejana/o farmworkers developed at Chicana/o community radio station Radio KDNA from 1975 to 1990.[6] My study fashions an innovative theoretical and methodological approach to the first study of farmworker women, technology, and media within community radio institutions. Thematically, my research examines community radio broadcasting as a site of strategic

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[4] For more on the labor migration circuit from Mexico and Texas see Erasmo Gamboa, *Mexican Labor and World War II: Braceros in the Pacific Northwest, 1942-1947* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2000) and Jerry García and Gilberto García, *Mexican Migration and Labor in the Pacific Northwest* (Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 2005).

[5] During my interview with Rosa Ramón, she discussed the process of obtaining a reasonable lease on land where the tower would be built. Ahtanum Ridge is located on the Yakama Reservation, which was created when Yakama leaders were forced to sign the Treaty of 1855 that ceded 90 percent of Yakama homeland to the US government. The Yakama Nation, which is comprised of descendants from fourteen distinct tribes and bands and who speak the Ichishkíin language, continue to resist settler-colonial violence through the recovery of traditional cultural practices. For more on Yakama cultural revitalization projects see: Michelle M. Jacob, *Yakama Rising: Indigenous Cultural Revitalization, Activism, and Healing* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2013).

[6] The title "Feminista Frequencies" is a riff on Anita Sarkeesian's own work as a feminist media activist and critic. Her website www.feministfrequency.com inspired the title.

intervention and political mobilization for Chicana/o producers and audiences.[7] As a tool for community building and social justice work, noncommercial radio served as a cultural force for Chicana/o movement activists in rural central and eastern Washington to communicate with and mobilize local migrant farmworkers through culturally relevant Spanish-language programming. A study of KDNA provides a platform for analyzing the political possibility of noncommercial radio, in Spanish, for immigrant communities today.

By centering the emergence of Spanish-language community radio in the Pacific Northwest, Radio KDNA indexes a more expansive narrative of radio histories in the United States. While this project attends to the regional dynamics of the Pacific Northwest, I place it in a larger national and transnational context. I bracket my study within 1975 to 1990 not simply to limit my study to this specific time period, but to call attention to an important historical moment. Just as my project is not just a regional history, it is also not just about the past. The lessons gleaned from understanding the historical emergence of Chicana/o community radio broadcasting in the United States can be implemented in today's media landscape that, unfortunately, continues to underrepresent women and people of color.

Current statistics show that nationally people of color hold just over 7 percent of radio licenses while women hold less than 7 percent of all TV and radio station licenses.[8] Given that these statistics are not much different than those from 1975 or 1978, this dissertation is a call for us to learn from and implement these tactics today if we are to increase the participation of women, feminists, and other radical people in community radio. This introductory chapter

[7] A note on terminology: I use Chicana/o for gender inclusivity. The terms "migrant" and "immigrant" are both deployed to add necessary nuance to communities of Mexican descent. The term "migrant" denotes persons traveling within the United States in search of labor, in this case farm work. Within this study, many migrants of Mexican-descent were U.S. citizens and should not be conflated with the term "immigrant," which is reserved for persons emigrating to the United States.

[8] Free Press, 2014.

provides the theoretical and methodological overview of my project and discusses the importance of approaching community radio production from a Chicana feminist perspective. The current numbers in the employment and representation of women and communities of color in radio have not improved in the past forty years. The current decline in Latina/o media representations shows that Latina/os fared better in the 1970s than they do today. In 2015, *The Latino Media Gap: A Report on the State of Latinos in U.S. Media* found that despite Latino population growth "the rate of media participation—behind and in front of the camera, and across all genres and formats—stayed stagnant or grew only slightly, at times proportionally declining."[9] In creating a full-time Spanish-language noncommercial radio station in Eastern Washington, Radio KDNA critiqued commercial media that was not speaking to the growing Chicana/o and Mexicano community in Eastern Washington, tactics which can be applied to today's media landscape.

An Interdisciplinary Study of Community Radio and Social Movement

Community radio broadcasting in the United States is a rich site to explore how marginalized people move from silence to speech, which is "a gesture of defiance that heals, that makes new life and new growth possible."[10] Feminist scholar bell hooks explains, "It is that act of speech, of 'talking back,' that is no mere gesture of empty words, that is the expression of our movement from object to subject – the liberated voice."[11] During the 1970s, U.S. women of color activists, scholars, and cultural workers were talking back to power and hegemony across

[9] Negrón-Muntaner, Frances, Chelsea Abbas, Luis Figueroa, and Samuel Robson. *The Latino Media Gap: A Report on the State of Latinos in U.S. Media*. Commissioned by: National Association of Latino Independent Producers, The Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race Columbia University, and National Hispanic Foundation for the Arts.

[10] bell hooks, *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black*, 1st edition (Toronto, Ont., Canada: Between the Lines, 1989), 9.

[11] Ibid.

platforms by harnessing a common language and identifying "common grounds on which to make coalitions across their own profound cultural, racial, class, sex, gender, and power differences."[12] Chicana feminist scholar Chela Sandoval argues,

> The insights gained during this period reinforced a common culture across difference comprised of the skills, values, and ethics generated by a subordinated citizenry compelled to live within similar realms of marginality. The common border culture was reidentified and claimed by a particular cohort of U.S. feminists of color who came to recognize one another as countrywomen—and men—of the same psychic terrain.[13]

The common border culture Sandoval references is the ideological frame from which Chicana/o community radio production emerges.

This dissertation reconsiders the emergence and decline of social movement history that renders activism as "waves." Radio KDNA demonstrates a different manifestation of activism that sees political action as dynamic, fluid, and in constant flux. Social movements in the 1960s and 1970s, U.S. media policies, and the material realities of Chicana/o communities profoundly impacted the history and development of the Chicana/o public radio industry in the United States. In the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, Chicano movement activists and organizations worked to gain access to media institutions and to challenge the stereotypical representations of Mexicans in the media.[14] In the 1980s, KDNA took on immigration and focused on community health and well-being through health programming. Through print (fotonovelas) and sound (radionovelas), raised awareness about topics such as breastfeeding, asthma, and HIV/AIDS, among others. The shifting political, social and economic climates of the 1980s required different strategies. The more radical tactics of the 1960s and 1970s needed to shape shift in the more conservative political climate of the 1980s. This study explores the

[12] Chela Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed*, 1st ed. (University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 53.
[13] Ibid.
[14] For more on the Chicano media movement see: Francisco Lewels, Chon Noriega and Dolores Ines Casillas.

emergence of Chicana/o community radio in the United States from 1975 to 1990 with a focus on the production of community radio. I analyze not only the production of the media, but also use production as a framework to analyze the social, political, and economic conditions that led a growing movement of community radio for Chicana/o and Latina/o communities. The rise of alternative broadcasting networks in the 1970s and 1980s is a direct result of social justice activism that brought to sight and sound the institutional structures that actively excluded communities of color—education, politics, and media.

The media activism at Radio KDNA interrupts second wave movement historiography, Chicano movement historiography, and histories of women and technology. KDNA emerged as a result of the work by Chicana/o media activists in a region that is not often recognized as a locus of Chicana/o cultural production. Along with marching, boycotting and striking, Chicana/o activists and audiences turned radio production and listening into a political act. Therefore, a Chicana feminist lens is necessary, not just in this project, but to make visible the kinds of activism, labor, and political interventions Chicanas were involved in. Without this theoretical lens, we risk continuing to obscure Chicanas who were integral to this community while elevating the work of men who were part of Chicana/o community radio. The patriarchal male-centered logics of documenting media histories replicates the erasure of Chicana feminist activism in other movement struggles, which have been critiqued and correct by Chicana feminist scholars.[15] Studying a male-dominated media sphere from a feminist lens imagines different ways women were active in the community radio movements that casts leadership not just to those who were front and center (which they were) but in other spaces of activism—behind the microphone producing radio programming. This approach renders a different

[15] For more see: Maylei Blackwell, Vicki Ruiz, Antonia Castañeda, and Emma Pérez.

understanding of the gender politics in Chicana/o community radio movement and Chicana/o activism more broadly.

The existing literature on Spanish language radio—both commercial and noncommercial—risks casting this media movement as male dominated when we only recognize the work of male radio broadcasters and journalist like Rubén Salazar, Raúl Cortez, Rodolfo Hoyos, Hugo Morales, and Ricardo García. A striking example is the story of Herminia Méndez who hosted the first Spanish-language program that aired in the Pacific Northwest in 1951 on KREW in Sunnyside, Washington. Méndez travelled with her family as migrant farmworkers from Eagle Pass, Texas, and settled in the Pacific Northwest in 1948. Herminia Méndez soon recognized the need for Spanish radio programming and with no prior radio experience boldly approached KREW's station manager to air Mexican music.[16]

My study returns to the founding of these stations in order to unpack the tactics, policies, organizations, and people involved in some of the first Chicana/o owned and operated community radio stations. While I focus on Radio KDNA, I situate it within a larger context of Chicana/o community radio in the United States from 1975 to 1990. It is important to identify and name the other stations that emerged in this time period because it provides grounding in a larger broader movement in different geographic landscapes in the United States that also saw the rise of alternative broadcasting networks. The emergence of Radio KDNA was not an isolated incident, but rather a node in a network of community radio activism in the United States.

[16] Carlos Maldonado, *An Overview of The Chicano Experience in the Northwest in The Chicano Experience in the Northwest*, 12-13.

RADIO AND MEDIA STUDIES

Radio, both historical and contemporary, is a dynamic aural landscape of popular culture where we can listen to struggles for and against power. As Chicana feminist scholar Michelle Habell-Pallán states, "popular culture constitutes a terrain where not only are ethnic and racialized, as well as gender, identity contested, reproduced but also the struggle for and against social equality is engaged."[17] My project is situated at an under-researched juncture within popular culture studies, intersecting the fields of feminist media activism, Chicana/o cultural production, and community media production. My research on media is informed by a feminist analysis of radio. To that end, I specifically address a gap in the literature on both feminist media and Latina/o, Chicana/o media studies, which has not explored the role of radio in Chicana feminist organizing. My study analyzes various categories of subjectivity—race, ethnicity, class, gender, citizenship—within an alternative or radical media system that is also multivalent in its uses, sites of production, and historical contexts. Chicana radio activism is the theoretical intervention that pulls these specific categories and histories together.

Radio is a more accessible medium because of its low cost and accessibility.[18] I situate radio within a media landscape that includes television and film, other popular mediums that have more significant barriers for entry, particularly for minoritized groups. A study of radio, and in particular community radio, requires a nuanced articulation of the various components of radio. Radio is a technology. Radio is sound. Radio is the organizations or groups behind its production. Radio is also about listeners, and in this study communities of reception. Radio is also about policy and the structures or entities that regulate its production. Radio is also a

[17] Michelle Habell-Pallán, *Loca Motion: The Travels of Chicana and Latina Popular Culture* (New York: New York University, 2005), 5.

[18] Gatua, Patton, and Brown, 2010. Hendy, 2000.

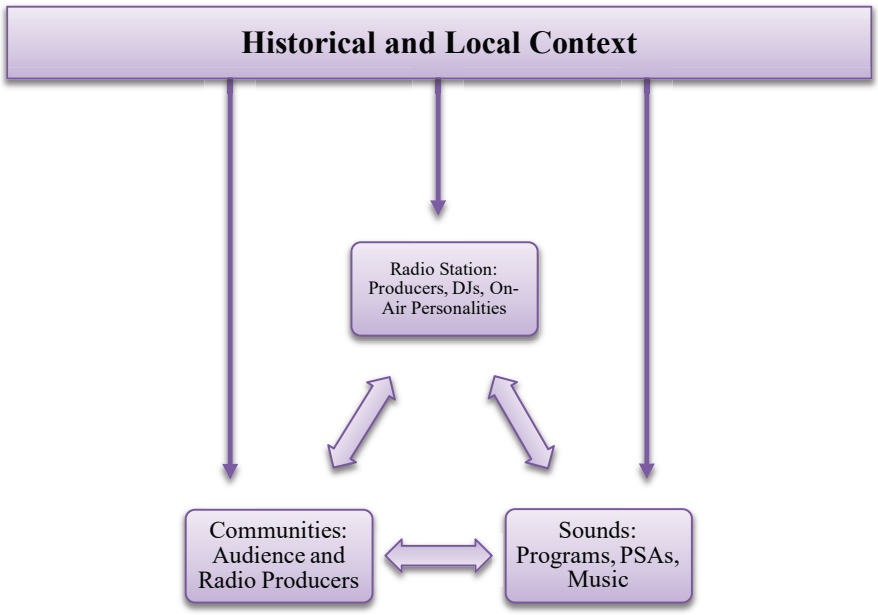
strategic choice in communication technology that brings various constituencies together on one platform. KDNA's founders recognized the resources outside the community—namely government sponsored programs for migrant farmworkers—and the wealth of resources within the community—experts from the community.

In *Sounds of Belonging: U.S. Spanish-Language Radio and Public Advocacy* (2014), Dolores Inés Casillas turns up the volume on the sonic and the political dynamics of the Latino immigrant experience in the United States. She characterizes Spanish-language radio as both on-air dialogues and conversations between callers and radio hosts. This approach provides an intersectional analysis comparing radio listeners to those working in production.

While the field of Spanish-language and bilingual radio studies has been jumpstarted by the depth and breadth of Dolores Inés Casillas's scholarship on commercial Spanish-language radio, there has not been an in-depth study of Chicana/o community radio in the United States.

As an interdisciplinary study of community radio, radio and its production is system that engages multiple actors through a feedback loop process that I describe in the chart below. Always framed by the historical and local context, community radio production is a system of media production by which the radio station, communities of producers and audiences, and the sounds they produce are continually informing one another.

This feedback loop of community radio production is less about financial gains or commercial success, and more about the political and cultural stakes of community based production for, by, and about the local community. I do not treat listeners as consumers of community radio, but rather, as an important and necessary component (along with the producers and radio programs) in community radio production.



Community Radio Production Feedback Loop. Graphic by Monica De La Torre.

My project's historical sensibility reaches back and claims voices excluded from official archives and histories that map radio as a deeply American tradition of participating in the public sphere. Radio scholarship celebrates the rise and presumed fall of radio, echoed in the nostalgia for radio's "Golden Age." A Chicana feminist approach to media studies centers the historical conditions of Latina/os in the United States not as foreigners or outsiders, but as a group with deep roots extending back to before the formation of the current nation state. Therefore, the production and use of radio by Chicana/o and Latina/o communities, is both constitutive of U.S. radio histories and affirms that radio continues to thrive today.

Latina/o Media Studies

The fact that Latina/os are a heterogeneous population presents an interesting challenge in the exploration of Latina/o Media production. Communication scholar Angharad N. Valdivia (2010) eloquently illustrates this issue in the chapter entitled "Production" in the book *Latina/os and the Media.* Valdivia identifies five components of Latina/o media production including: (1)

media produced within the United States that is intended to circulate first in the U.S. and then globally, (2) transnationally produced and marketed media, (3) media productions aimed at a Latin American and Spanish audience, (4) Latina/o media that target the Latina/o market, and (5) mainstream media that tries to attract a Latina/o audience through "subtle signifiers of latinidad."[19]

This project sounds out issues of production, political economy, and politics by reclaiming a genealogy of community media producers and technological innovators. It seeks to demonstrate how and why Chicanas who harnessed the power of community radio to create culturally relevant media and effect change in their communities. I center the lives of these media producers because it is here that we find why they produced the media they did. Currently, Latina/o media producers are denied complete control of their productions evidenced in the fact that "'Latinos owned a mere 2.9 percent of all commercial TV stations and only 2.7 percent of FM radio outlets. Latin@s didn't fare much better in AM radio, once thought to be a key entry point for people of color, owning 172 AM radio stations out of 3,830, or 4.5 percent.'"[20] Latina/o media studies needs "to go behind the scenes, and look at issues of production, political economy, and politics."[21]

Sound studies is instructive to my project because a critical sound studies insists that we listen to sonic constructions of race, class, gender, and sexuality. I approach sound studies from a Chicana feminist listening point (or lens) in order to guide my analysis of radio "to bring attention to the ways modalities of social difference, such race, gender, class, and ability, structure the practices of making and listening to recordings as well as the manners in which we

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[19] Angharad Valdivia, *Latina/os and the Media* (Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 2010), 32-33.
[20] Arlene Davila and Yeidy M. Rivero, *Contemporary Latina/o Media: Production, Circulation, Politics* (NYU Press, 2014), 9.
[21] Ibid, 11.

think about those practices."[22] Ethnomusicologist Deborah Wong defines the interdisciplinary field sound studies as scholarship that works on sound rather than music by decentering music as the type of "cultural noise." Wong continues, "So, I am leaving music behind. I will follow the trail of sound, noise, and silence, which makes powerfully audible the questions I find most important."[23] Like Wong, I am invested in the cultural noise produced by community radio. I riff on Angela M. Blake's keen theorizing on race, technology and CB radio in African American communities in the 1970s through an intersectional Chicana feminist analysis of sound and community radio. Chicana and Chicano community radio broadcasters "created a technologically mediated community based on perceived audible racial identity."[24]

By approaching sound studies through a Chicana feminist framework, I argue that radio, sound, and listening offer rarely tapped archives of sonic expressions of Chicana/o subjectivities and their everyday lived experiences. That is, by listening to Chicana/os' negotiations of gender, race, class, citizenship, and sexuality on the airwaves, Chicana/o community radio formations in the United States are revealed. This project takes up pop culture critic and scholar George Lipsitz's call to tune into popular culture as "a terrain of struggle, contestation, dynamic social history, and marginalized voices "put critical listening to previously unheard sounds at the center of its [American studies] political and intellectual project."[25] Moreover, Lipsitz calls for American studies to approach sound from spaces that exist outside of theory:

> These sounds cannot be summoned up by theoretical expertise alone. They cannot be constructed out of idealized subject positions emanating from reforms in discursive practices. They are to be found within the concrete contests of everyday life. Accessible by listening to what is already being said (and sung and shouted) by ordinary Americans,

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[22] Gustavus Stadler, "Introduction: Breaking Sound Barriers." *Social Text Spring 2010 28(1 102):* 1-12.

[23] Deborah Wong, "Sound, Silence, Music: Power," *Ethnomusicology* 58, no. 2 (May 19, 2014): 347–53.

[24] Angela M Blake, "Audible Citizenship and Audiomobility: Race, Technology, and CB Radio," *AQ American Quarterly* 63, no. 3 (2011), 532.

[25] George Lipsitz, "Listening to Learn and Learning to Listen: Popular Culture, Cultural Theory, and American Studies," *American Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (1990), 633.

> these sounds hold the key toward understanding the zoot suit and the Lindy-hop, and so much more. To paraphrase Ellison's narrator in *Invisible Man* who knows; perhaps they speak for you.[26]

Aural public spheres are created through the listening publics of Radio KDNA in Granger, Washington. Spanish-language community programming did not have to be limited to one-hour time slots during unfavorable hours of late night and early morning. It did not have to adhere to the pressures of corporate programming and advertising. This radio had the potential of reflecting the lives of a community whose marginal status and invisibility to corporate and commercial media meant that there was no programming in the Yakima Valley for them, much less by them. Radio KDNA changed this. And they do so imperfectly, and with the financial, bureaucratic, and human struggles that come with community organizing for subjects that the neoliberal project would prefer to keep silent and ignore on a daily basis. Thus, my intention is not to create a utopic narrative of a community radio stations that was literally built brink by brick from the ground up, but to explore the conditions that enabled the production of a Chicana/o sound in the Pacific Northwest in starting in the 1970s.

Theoretical Framework: Chicana Feminist Theory

At Radio KDNA "the personal is political" was heard on the airwaves. The theoretical insights and alternative epistemological practices enacted in and through Chicana feminisms—borderlands theories, embodied knowledge, and creative expression—present Chicana scholars with fruitful grounds to intervene in radio studies. My contribution augments Chicana feminist theorizing by *listening* for epistemologies in "non-sanctioned sites of theory: in the prefaces of anthologies, in the interstices of autobiographies, and in the cultural artifacts themselves, the

[26] Ibid.

cuentos (stories)" and in community radio stations, including its programming.[27] Taking a Chicana feminist approach to community radio research privileges the stories and experiential knowledge of women who were foundational in the movement to access the airwaves.

Uncovering alternative sites of knowledge production, as well as producing scholarship in and through different modes of engagement, is part of a long tradition Chicana and women of color feminist scholars. For instance, studies by Habell-Pallán and Deborah Vargas center sonic cultural texts such as music and performance as alternative sites of Chicana knowledge production. Indeed, like the Chicana/Tejana singers and musicians in Vargas's rich analysis, Chicana radio producers also "create new spatialities of belonging and modes of being Chicana that offer us an alternative understanding of borderlands social identities."[28] Angela Davis's groundbreaking study of blues singers Gertrude "Ma" Rainey, Bessie Smith, and Billie Holiday excavates the multiplicity of black feminist traditions, particularly those that are oral rather than written. The threads I intend to weave throughout this dissertation is that Chicana/o media praxis—including the processes, products, and acts of media-making—create new modes of Chicana feminism providing rich grounds to excavate how these media practices are not only part of Chicana/o experiences, but also showcase Chicana/os technological competency and innovation.

Gloria Anzaldúa's theoretical contributions like borderlands theory and mestiza consciousness have not been applied to a study of community radio production. Anzaldúa, like many of Radio KDNA's founders and community radio broadcasters, grew up in the Rio Grande Valley of South Texas. According to Anzaldúa, "Her early education was sporadic because her

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[27] Sonia Saldívar-Hull, *Feminisms on the Border: Chicana Gender Politics and Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 161.

[28] Deborah Vargas, *Dissonant Divas in Chicana Music: The Limits of La Onda* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), ix.

family worked as farm workers requiring them to migrate between Texas and the Midwest. To ensure a better education for his children, Anzaldúa's father chose to move the family to Hargill, a very small town near Anzaldúa's birthplace."[29] More than a coincidence, Anzaldúa's theorization sprouted from her experiences as a Chicana living in the South Valley, which are also palpable in Radio KDNA, particularly in the programming.

By utilizing a borderlands theoretical framework in the study of Chicana/o community radio in the Pacific Northwest, my project nuances Anzaldúa's theorizing. Certainly, "*Borderlands* lay the groundwork for critical interventions in the development of a Chicana Third Space Feminist approach in literary criticism as well as in popular culture and other disciplines."[30] My work builds upon the concept of the borderlands as more than a physical geographic border—primarily situated along the U.S. Mexico border—but as a psychological, spiritual, sexual, and now aural and sonic. Indeed, Anzaldúa notes, "Borderlands are physically present wherever two or more cultures edge each other, where people of different races occupy the same territory, where under, lower, middle, and upper classes touch, where the space between two individuals shrinks with intimacy."[31] The borderlands emerged in the Pacific Northwest with the arrival of migrant farmworkers of Mexican descent—braceros, Chicano enganchados, and migrant family units traveling on traditional migratory routes across the Southwest, into the Midwest, and the northernmost reaches of the Pacific Northwest only to return to the Southwest to prepare for the journey once more. Because Anzaldúa's concepts of the borderlands and mestiza consciousness are rooted in creative processes in addition to its

[29] Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera*, 9
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.

theoretical orientations—which are not mutually exclusive—a study of community radio is a rich site to expand the borderlands into sonic territories.

Women played an important in Chicana/o community broadcasting through the sonic medium of radio. By engaging in a feminist analysis of community radio production, my project amplifies Radio KDNA's legacy of crafting a voice for newly politicized Chicanas and Chicanos on the airwaves. The women at KDNA who embodied producer, writer, creator, and voice on the public airwaves articulated an oppositional Chicana feminist consciousness that reverberates throughout women-centered organizing in the Chicano movement. Again, their emergent concerns that placed women on equal footing as men were neither singular nor exclusive to the region. Las Chicanas of the Pacific Northwest encountered similar patriarchal cultural nationalism that policed their participation at the radio station, especially for women with more public roles such as station managers, producers, and on-air personalities. Yet, these negotiations played out in the programming, where women insisted on their voices being carried on the airwaves, not just as volunteers performing secretarial tasks, but as producers of content. I argue the reason this happened at KDNA was because of the leadership, particularly of Rosa Ramón, whose vision for the radio station was holistic.

This project extends the historiographic interventions by scholars of Chicana feminism who excavate women's activism in *El Movimiento*. Maylei Blackwell, for example, proposes an "alternative historiographic framework for understanding women's social movements"[32] that is less concerned with documenting the emergence and decline of social movements, which has often erased the participation of women in these movements. The Pacific Northwest continues to be an understudied site of inquiry as it relates to the Chicana/o and Latina/o experience in the

[32] Maylei Blackwell, *Chicana Power!: Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano movement* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 17.

United States. Radio KDNA's founding is not only silenced in media histories, its importance as a means of labor and Chicano organizing in the Pacific Northwest has received minimal treatment at best.

I extend feminist traditions of reclaiming, capturing, and circulating voices silenced within dominant narratives of community media histories by revealing the feminist praxis within Chicana/o community radio production. I theorize cultural production within mediated spaces by taking up Jody Berland's (2009) definition of "cultural technology," which "shifts away from theorizing culture in the abstract and moves to investigate the trajectory of specific cultural technologies as they mediate and alter relations between human bodies, technology, space, and empire."[33] A historical study of Chicana/o community radio adds to our understanding of how Chicana/o broadcasters built and sustained radio stations, and in turn, their communities. By deploying an understanding of radio as a cultural technology, KDNA is interpreted not just as a community radio station, but also as a space mediating various interpersonal relations (particularly in regards to gender), intergenerational relationships (with regard to social reproduction as feminist have long theorized), and with structural entities (state financing, agricultural organizations, and private growers). My project challenges at the same time it builds upon largely male-centered bracero and migrant farmworker scholarship (Gamboa; 1990; García and García, 2005; and Holmes, 2013) by adding a gender analytic to this research and expanding this research to include farm workers' cultural practices as underground feminist practices. In doing so, I open up a line of inquiry that places Chicana/o cultural production in the Pacific Northwest at the intersections of a historical analysis of farmworkers and social activists, media studies, and Chicano movement scholarship.

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[33] Jody Berland, *North of Empire: Essays on the Cultural Technologies of Space* (Duke University Press, 2009), 11.

This dissertation presents an alternative history of media production and its relationship to community building by working at the conjunction of public media policy and Chicano movement activism with an emphasis on the woman-centered tactics that produced *Chicana* radio. This process created a community of Mexican farmworkers who for the first time were constituted as listeners by producers that "acknowledged that the audience was not monolithic…but made up of individuals with their own particular autobiographies."[34] These women producers and their audience demonstrate the transformative power of community radio production and the role of women in a movement that often downplays their contributions. The lived experiences of this audience (farmworkers, men, women and children) that informed community radio production make my study a rich site of analysis for women's studies, feminist media studies, Latina/o media studies, Chicana/o studies, and radio studies.

METHODOLOGY

My research methods are informed by a Chicana feminist lens, and are interwoven with my theoretical framework. My use of oral history interviews, textual analysis, digital media tools, and archival research do not just function as methodological tools. They function as theoretical interventions that are critical to my project, which is also a form of praxis. As one of the first in-depth studies of Spanish-language radio programming produced by and directed to farmworker women, this dissertation brings together oral histories I conducted with Chicana/o community media activists from 2012 to 2015, and cultural texts informally archived at community radio stations and in personal archives. These cultural texts include audio and video

[34] Susan J. Douglas, *Listening In: Radio And The American Imagination*, (Minneapolis: University Of Minnesota Press, 2004), 231.

recordings, program guides, photographs, founding documents, program guides and other station ephemera. I situate KDNA's founding and mediated productions alongside the historical developments of 1960s and 1970s social movement activism in the Pacific Northwest. I listen to the ways a show is produced, the music, the pitch and volume shifts in vocal utterances, and the volume (i.e. high and low), along with the topics or themes covered, the content, and the creativity behind these media productions.

Oral history. Methodologically, oral history interviews and archival research become crucial tools in capturing and preserving the stories of these innovative community radio producers because they "provide a special opportunity to learn the unique perceptions and interpretations of individuals, particularly those from groups whose history had been traditionally excluded or distorted."[35] Oral history methods are crucial tools for Chicana feminist interventions in Chicano movement historiography and have served to challenge narratives claiming Chicana feminism emerged after El Movimiento.[36] Oral history is a method that is concerned with historical knowledge and intervenes in the traditional, western hegemonic framework of conducting research driven by "a faith in communities of color as sites of knowledge production."[37] Indeed, "For Chicanos in the Pacific Northwest, oral history provides a valuable tool that can offer a panoramic view of ethnic communities that would otherwise not be seen…they enable us to understand the relationship between the economic system of agriculture and community, political, familial, and cultural life."[38]

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[35] Dolores Delgado Bernal, "Grassroots Leadership Reconceptualized: Chicana Oral Histories and the 1968 East Los Angeles School Blowouts," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 19, no. 2 (1998), 115.

[36] Scholars who utilize oral history methods in Chicana feminist Movement scholarship include Maylei Blackwell, Dolores Delgado Bernal, and Dionne Espinoza.

[37] Noriega and Barnett, Introduction Oral History and Communities of Color, 2.

[38] García, Jerry, and Dora Sánchez Treviño. "A Chicana in Northern Aztlán: An Oral History of Dora Sánchez Treviño." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 19, no. 2 (1998): 16–52.

Rosa Ramón is a scholar's dream collaborator. As a Chicana radio activist, she modeled feminist collaboration and understands the importance of documenting one's history. In her five years as station manager, Ramón kept meticulous records of KDNA's activity. She used her own camera and film to document the process of getting the stations off the ground—literally with images of building the tower—and of the people and building that first housed KDNA. These images are a powerful trace, evidence of the people involved in the early days of the station. This is of particular significance for a medium that is mostly aural and oral and with few audio archives; these images offer me the opportunity to seeing what I cannot hear.

In the absence of sonic evidence, I turn to visual evidence to mine the rich archive Rosa Ramón collected during her tenure at Radio KDNA. Missing aural artifacts such as recorded programs offers exciting opportunities to enact feminist methodologies that remind us to look at what's not said, what is missing, and what is silenced in the third spaces of knowledge production. I turn to the visual—program guides, correspondence, to hear the sonic—program titles, music played, what's discussed in air. The title of radio program—while devoid of any acoustic texture—provides evidence so that we can reimagine and reconstruct for ourselves how Radio KDNA sounded and continues to *sound.* We interpret the historical record and simultaneously create new epistemologies when we enact feminist methodological tactics. For example, the 1980 spring program guide provides a wealth of information, particularly in the absence of sonic evidence. In this dissertation, I use the contents of the program guide—including program titles, time schedules, advertisements, and drawings—as evidence and as guides or glimpses into both how radio informs us about the everyday lives of Chicana/os in Washington, as well as their political actions vis-a-vis radio, that is the broadcasters and listeners (often they were one in the same) of Radio KDNA.

My experiences with the Women Who Rock Oral History Archive inform my methodological praxis, particularly by working from an archivista praxis framework. Members of the Women Who Rock Collective theorize "archivista" as a fusion of "archivist and activist practices to rethink the collective possibilities of the archive, deliberately employing the networked archive as a tool to document and create the conditions of possibility for social change. Here we use the term "networked" to highlight the human relationships that connect people and communities working on related projects with similar aims."[39] The photographs and artifacts allow me to weave together or remix an imaginary of what Chicana/o community radio sounded like in those early days. Currently, there is no institutional archive that preserves the rich legacies of Chicana/o community radio in particular, or Spanish-language radio in general. The sense of urgency to find, scan, and digitally store and preserve artifacts I have come across in my research continues to be a methodological challenge. I am doing the memory work in my intimate relationship with the archive and creating an archive in relation to one of the founders, my interlocutor, Rosa Ramón. Together, we are building an online archive with the materials we have collected and digitized. The archive can be found at www.chicanaradioarchive.wordpress.com.

My search for artifacts from the radio station is an interesting investigative journey of building rapport and relationships with former radio producers. I have hit walls and dead ends in the bureaucratic and institutional hunt for anything relating to Radio KDNA. As part of my public scholarship and commitment to the preservation of this history, I have digitized and archived many of the rare documents from KDNA's history. Building relationships with

[39] De La Torre, Monica, Michelle Habell-Pallán, Angelica Macklin, Sonnet Retman. (Forthcoming). "Women Who Rock: Making Scenes, Building Communities: Convivencia and Archivista Praxis for a Digital Era." In Routledge Companion to Media Studies and Digital Humanities edited by Jentery Sayers. London and New York: Routledge.

KDNA's founders has afforded me access to stories and materials that I am certain I would not have gotten if I were only interested in the interview. I created a digital archive because of the lack of already existing archive on Chicana/o community radio. Engaging with archivista praxis from a Chicana feminist grounding activates archiving practice from an act that is only about preservation and exists in opposition to state controlled archives that only seek to cement a hegemonic historical narrative. The fact that Radio KDNA continues to broadcast out of Granger and can now be heard around the world with the development of digital technologies that allows anyone to stream KDNA's programming at anytime is a sonic reminder that the work, impact, and legacy of Chicana/o activism continues today.

Chapter Outline

The emergence of Radio KDNA needs to be understood in the context of two histories: First, Radio KDNA exists because of migration to Eastern Washington and social movement organizing of Chicanas/os in the Pacific Northwest, many with familial and cultural roots in South Texas. Their activism fueled regional social movements that fought against the plight of working class communities. Chicano and women's activism in the Yakima Valley also coincides with the rise of community-based public broadcasting, which is the second historical context that frames this study. As such, chapters one and two provide sociohistorical context and serve to frame this dissertation as a cultural history of community radio in the United States. *Chapter One: Radio in the Fields: Farmworker Organizing and the Chicano movement Roots of Radio KDNA* traces the migration of Texas Mexican farmworkers to the Pacific Northwest who served as the labor backbone for agribusinesses. This newly formed Chicana/o community, desperate for Spanish-language media, inspired activists to create a community-based broadcasting system through which the Valley's Chicana/os could circulate culturally relevant news and music as

well as provide tools to combat institutional barriers and discriminatory practices in the region. At the same time that Chicano movement activists in the Yakima Valley decried poor working conditions, discriminatory educational practices, and the general lack of resources for Spanish-speaking communities, a new model of community broadcasting was developing across the United States. *Chapter Two: Mapping Chicana/o Community Radio in the United States, 1973-1990* examines the emergence of community radio broadcasting in Chicana/o communities who harnessed this medium for its potential to inform, educate, and politicize listeners. Chicana and Chicano community activists crossed over into the realm of community radio production with the political consciousness they cultivated in Chicano and women's movement organizing.

In chapters three, four, and five I listen to Radio KDNA's formation, programming, and the development of Chicana radio activism in order to track the central role of community radio broadcasting in sonically shaping Chicana/o communities in the Pacific Northwest. *Chapter Three: Radio KDNA: La Voz del Campesino's Impact in the Pacific Northwest* discusses Radio KDNA's founding and provides key information on how la voz del campesino became nation's first full-time Spanish-language noncommercial radio station. In *Chapter Four: Radio Condón: Tres Hombres Sin Fronteras and the Politics of Sexuality on the Spanish-Language Airwaves* I explore KDNA's programming through an analysis of *Tres Hombres Sin Fronteras* (1989) a nationally syndicated Spanish-language HIV/AIDS prevention radio drama. Here, I explore how the rising cases of HIV/AIDS among migrant farmworkers prompted Radio KDNA to educate the Latino community about this epidemic by producing a culturally relevant radionovelas. *Chapter Five: Feminista Frequencies: Chicana Radio Activism in the Pacific Northwest* offers an in-depth analysis of Chicana radio activism and highlights the work of four Chicana radio activists.

CHAPTER ONE: RADIO IN THE FIELDS: FARMWORKER ORGANIZING AND THE CHICANO MOVEMENT ROOTS OF RADIO KDNA

Radio KDNA Program Guide, 1980.

The sun shines bright behind a family piled in a station wagon with their belongings strapped to the top of the car in a KDNA 91.9 FM branded crate. The license plate visually gestures to the migration of Tejana/os from South Texas's Rio Grande Valley to Washington's Yakima Valley. The family could very well be in the midst of toiling and traveling in traditional migratory routes through Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, Iowa, and Montana.[40] A Spanish bienvenidos (welcome) sign welcomes the Texas natives in a familiar language. Radio KDNA acts as the sun illuminating the path and assisting migrants in their navigation of new spaces across the Pacific Northwest. Lastly, the young girl in the backseat whose gaze directly engages

[40] Jerry García, and Dora Sánchez Treviño. "A Chicana in Northern Aztlán: An Oral History of Dora Sánchez Treviño." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 19, no. 2 (1998): 16–52.

the viewer also signals that KDNA's listeners include men, women, and children tuning in to broadcasts such as *Noticias Radio Cadena* (Radio Cadena News), *Mujer* (Woman), and *El Jardín de los Niños* (Kindergarten).

In few words, but through important visual cues, Chicana/o activists turned community radio broadcasters used the program guide cover as a calling card to Spanish-dominant listeners, inviting them to sonically build community through and with Radio KDNA. In turn, Tejana/o farmworkers harnessed the airwaves as a dialogic community building space where the Yakima Valley's emergent Chicana/o community tuned in to broadcasts to learn about migrant education programs, get the latest on *Noticias del Cine Mexicano* (Mexican Cinema News), and groove to *Caravana Musical* (Musical Caravan). The 1980 program guide *Ondas en Español de Primavera* (Springtime Spanish Waves) visually cements many of KDNA's unique characteristics as an emergent Chicana/o-controlled community radio station that served as an "acoustic ally" for the Yakima Valley's Spanish-dominant migrant farmworkers. According to Spanish-language radio expert Dolores Inés Casillas, Spanish-language radio broadcasts function as "acoustic allies" for Latino communities in the United States by "airing advocacy-oriented announcements, popular music, and sounds of Latina America to Spanish-dominant listeners."[41] Chicana/o activists in the Valley were mindful of radio's accessibility and its ability to cross communication barriers by aurally reaching newly formed Chicana/o communities across Washington. These activists created a community-based broadcasting system through which the Valley's Chicana/os could circulate culturally relevant news and music as well as resources that would provide them tools to combat institutional barriers and discriminatory practices in the region.

[41] Dolores Inés Casillas, *Sounds of Belonging: U.S. Spanish-Language Radio and Public Advocacy*. New York: NYU Press, 2014, 24.

In this chapter, I argue that an examination of Chicana/o community formations in the Pacific Northwest requires an understanding of the existing systems of power and oppression within which Chicana/os labored. Chicana/o community activists created a radio station that addressed the needs of rural Chicana/o and Tejana/o communities who were mainly farmworkers within a pro-agribusiness structure.[42] By serving as a sounding board and public voice for farmworkers—they came to be known as *la voz del campesino* or the voice of the farmworker—Radio KDNA's pro-labor and pro-worker orientation fueled an existing tension between farmworkers and agribusiness. Indeed, KDNA served as a media strategy that changed the physical and aural landscape for Chicana/os in the Yakima Valley through the production of community media aimed at rural farmworkers. Moreover, KDNA is a sonic record of the historic conditions of agribusiness's—such as Crewport and Tandem—exploitative labor practices in the Yakima Valley, as well as Chicana/os social movement activism in the region that worked to end this exploitation.

By centering community radio, two interconnected phenomena are revealed, which are crucial to understanding the foundation of activism in this region that are revealed by centering community radio: First, the viability of broadcasting Spanish-language radio content 18-hours a day seven days a week was facilitated by the presence of migrant farmworker families of Mexican descent who began settling in the Pacific Northwest as early as the late 1940s and 1950s.[43] Second, innovators of community radio technologies were rooted in a population of Tejana/o migrant farmworkers who were U.S. citizens in the process of honing an emergent Chicana/o political identity and whose activism fueled Chicano movement activism in the Pacific

[42] Ramón Chávez, "Emerging Media: A History and Analysis of Chicano Communication Efforts in Washington State" 1979.

[43] For more on the settlement and migration of Chicanos to the Pacific Northwest see: Antonia Castañeda, Erasmo Gamboa, and Jerry García.

Northwest. Radio KDNA marks a shift in the Valley's labor force from primarily male bracero and migrant seasonal workers to Chicano families planting roots in places like Granger, Sunnyside, and Quincy, to name a few. As such, Radio KDNA enables us to excavate and understand the relationship between the political economic agribusiness systems that called many Texas Mexican farmworkers to the Yakima Valley fields and the subsequent community formations that hinged upon Chicana/o political, familial, and cultural life.

The young girl in the car on the 1980 program guide cover recalls migration as a gendered phenomenon by visually indexing a historical moment when the migration of male braceros and Chicanos shifted to include more women and children into the migrant stream. Historian Erasmo Gamboa's scholarship on the development of the Bracero Program in the Pacific Northwest delineates how male braceros and Chicano laborers constituted the backbone of labor in the region's expanding and lucrative agribusiness. Yet, the nuances of the gendered shifts in the migration of people of Mexican descent to the Pacific Northwest has received minimal treatment. I utilize gender as an analytic to critically examine structural inequalities and community formations in the Yakima Valley. I uncover community radio as a political strategy by Chicana/o community organizers to combat systems of inequality at macro institutional levels (agribusinesses, media institutions) and micro levels (interpersonal relations amongst women and men) by interweaving histories of migration, Chicano movement activism, and the history of Radio KDNA's emergence. My historical contextualization in this chapter centers the political, economic, and labor conditions that framed migrant workers' lived experiences in the Yakima Valley. I ask: What might we learn from studying community radio stations in marginalized communities such as Chicana/o communities in the Pacific Northwest? Indeed, Radio KDNA engaged political and social issues, labor and community struggles while providing Chicana/o

activists and farmworkers a platform to claim a voice and place amidst noncommercial radio airwaves.

THE TEXAS DIASPORA: CHICANA/O MIGRATION TO THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

> The first Mexican-descent workers to migrate internally within the United States as mobile seasonal laborers were neither foreigners nor Mexican immigrants. They were Californianos, Tejanos, Nuevo Mexicanos, and native-born U.S. citizens made exiles, aliens, and foreigners in their native land.
>
> Antonia Castañeda[44]

The presence of Chicana/os in the Pacific Northwest grows from a larger historical contextualization within larger national and transnational narratives of migration, class, gender, race, and sexuality. I begin with renowned Chicana historian Antonia Castañeda's finely tuned reminder of critically remembering that the internal migration of Mexican-descent peoples within the United States was not willful travel, but forced displacement that turned Chicana/o U.S. citizens into exiles and eradicating any claims they had to land or rights in a now foreign territory to them. Indeed, her Chicana feminist historicization of Chicana migration to the Pacific Northwest is a key intervention into existing literature that privileges male narratives of migration and labor. A focus on community radio in the Yakima Valley amplifies Castañeda's important Chicana feminist intervention by uncovering how farmworker women mitigated and sonically represented this displacement through the creation of community-based broadcasts.

While the presence of Chicana and Chicano communities in the Pacific Northwest is often forgotten within a Southwest-dominant borderlands imaginary, their internal migration to the Pacific Northwest and Midwest is documented in scholarly works by Erasmo Gamboa (1981; 2000), Jerry Garcia and Gilberto Garcia (2005), Yolanda Alaniz and Megan Cornish (2008), and

[44] Antonia I. Castañeda, "'Que Se Pudieran Defender (So You Could Defend Yourselves)': Chicanas, Regional History, and National Discourses." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 22, no. 3 (2001): 120.

Theresa Delgadillo (2015) among others. Scholarship on the migration of Chicana/o and Mexican communities to the Pacific Northwest during the late nineteenth and throughout the twentieth century has been categorized into three main phases bracketed by labor and agriculture. The presence of Mexican and Chicano communities in the Pacific Northwest—comprised of Idaho, Oregon, and Washington—dates back to the 1800s. This first phase of migration to the region resulted from cattle ranching, trade transportation, mining, and other activities pertaining to the development and settlement of the Northwest.[45] During World War II, braceros and Chicano laborers from the Southwest were actively recruited to the Pacific Northwest due to increased labor shortages in areas like the agricultural sector. Irrigation projects in the Yakima Valley during this time period also increased the viability and availability of land for the cultivation of non-mechanized crops like hops, asparagus, apples, and sugar beets. While growers relied on braceros to quell labor shortages during and after World War II, Gamboa argues that farmers preferred Chicano migrant families, with clear migratory streams from Texas, Colorado, and Wyoming.[46] As Gamboa illustrates, the rise of Mexican and Tejana/o migration to the Pacific Northwest increased after 1948 because "northwestern farms used fewer braceros as they stepped up the recruitment of Mexican Americans from the Southwest."[47] Gamboa explains, "It was not by chance that farmers sought Chicano laborers. These migrants, mostly families, had clear advantages over braceros…they offered farmers the security of a

[45] Scholars have also documented the Spanish presence in the Pacific Northwest dating back to the mid 1700s, which predates the Lewis and Clark Expeditions to the region. For a more nuanced account of the various periods of Mexican and Chicano migration to the Pacific Northwest see: Carlos S. Maldonado and Gilberto García, *The Chicano Experience in the Northwest*; Jerry García and Gilberto García, eds. *Memory, Community, and Activism: Mexican Migration and Labor in the Pacific Northwest.* 1st Edition edition. Julian Samora Research Institute, 2005; and Erasmo Gamboa, *Mexican Labor & World War II: Braceros in the Pacific Northwest, 1942-1947*. Washington: University of Washington Press, 2000.

[46] Erasmo Gamboa, "Mexican Migration into Washington State: A History, 1940-1950," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 72, no. 3 (1981).

[47] Erasmo Gamboa, *Mexican labor and World War II: Braceros in the Pacific Northwest, 1942-1947,* 123.

stable labor force and freed them from the troublesome annual practice of contracting Mexican nationals."[48] Growers in the Pacific Northwest realized that the costs to recruit, transport, house, and feed braceros–even in the poor housing and working conditions they found themselves in—could be dramatically lowered if they shifted from Mexican nationals to Mexican American migrant workers.[49] Indeed, companies and agribusiness wanted to hire families in order to sustain a more permanent workforce.

Interviews with KDNA founders confirmed that the pattern of migration from Texas to the Pacific Northwest applied to both Rosa Ramón and Ricardo García, who came from Texas to the Yakima Valley. KDNA co-founder and station manager Ramón recalls her family's migration from Texas to Washington, revealing the process by which many Mexican-American, and specifically tejano families migrated from the Southwest to the Northwest in search of jobs, many ending up in the Yakima Valley to cultivate hops, apples, asparagus, and other crops. Migrant farmworker families were referred to as enganchados, which translates to "hooked ones," a term used for Mexican nationals and Mexican American migrant laborers typically contracted for stoop labor.[50] Although a chain migration pattern occurred from other states in the Southwest, including California and Arizona to the Northwest, a unique pattern of migration developed from the Rio Grande Valley in South Texas to the Yakima Valley of Central and Eastern Washington. Texas license plates on the 1980 program guide visually motions to the migration of Chicana/o families from Texas to the Pacific Northwest, most likely making the trek as enganchados (contract laborers) from South Texas's Rio Grande Valley to the Yakima Valley. Although Ramón was born in Arizona, her Mexican mother and tejano father decided to

[48] Gamboa, *Mexican labor and World War II: Braceros in the Pacific Northwest, 1942-1947,* 127.
[49] Gamboa*, Mexican labor and World War II: Braceros in the Pacific Northwest, 1942-1947,* 123.
[50] Stoop labor involves back-breaking work. For more on enganchados see Castañeda, 2001.

migrate north, stopping in Arizona and California before settling down in Eastern Washington, where her family purchased a small farm in 1951. The Yakima and Rio Grande rivers cut through the region in similar patterns. While the landscape may have resembled South Texas, for many Chicana/os, the cultural familiarities of the Southwest would be missing in the colder climates of the Northwest. Radio KDNA was a valuable source of information for migrating families as they faced new and unique challenges of a new environment.

In the early decades of the twentieth century, the Yakima Valley produced highly specialized and labor-intensive crops that demanded seasonal labor. As the vehicle's license plate indicates, many of the families that came to labor in Pacific Northwest began their migration in Texas. As Jerry Garcia notes,

> Oral interviews conducted by the author in Quincy have revealed that the Chicano pioneers of the community were not recent immigrants from México, but U.S. citizens of Mexican descent who followed long established migratory routes north out of the Southwest. The majority of Chicanos arriving in Quincy during the late 1940s and early 1950s originated from Texas, in particular the Río Grande Valley in South Texas.[51]

Throughout the 1950s, families worked the fields of Eastern Washington for five to six months picking asparagus and then returned to Texas by way of California where they also picked up seasonal work.[52] Farmers and public entities strategically recruited workers to Eastern Washington by implementing advertising campaigns in places like Texas and California. Ads aired on Spanish-language radio programs, newspapers, and appeared in print in posters at communal spaces like dance halls and stores.[53] Many enganchados traveled as family units, necessitated by the need for the entire family, including children, to work in order to earn enough wages for survival. For instance, "the Pérez family, like all migrant farmworker families, was an

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[51] Jerry Garcia, "A Chicana in Northern Aztlán: An Oral History of Dora Sánchez Treviño", 17.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Gamboa, Erasmo. "Mexican Migration into Washington State: A History, 1940-1950." *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 72, no. 3 (1981): 121–31.

economic unit" Antonia Castañeda writes, "No matter how big or how little, everyone's labor, including that of pregnant women and nursing mothers, was necessary to the family's survival."[54]

In the Pacific Northwest, companies such as the Amalgamated Sugar Company and the Utah and Idaho Sugar Company offered paid labor opportunities to a mostly Mexican immigrant male population.[55] By 1948, agribusinesses ended bracero contract labor because of its focus on family recruitment and heightened its recruitment of Chicano/a laborers that included women. These gendered shifts in migration to the Pacific Northwest intensified when the benefit of recruiting braceros to the Pacific Northwest proved too costly. Under the Bracero Program farmers were responsible for providing transportation, housing, food, and paying for work permits. In the Pacific Northwest, agricultural fields and packing warehouses staged differing gendered experiences for men and women laborers. As the bodies of labor changed from predominantly male Mexican migrants to family units, men, women and children labored alongside one another performing the same type of stoop labor. In an oral history interview with his mother Dora Sánchez Treviño, Pacific Northwest scholar and historian Jerry Garcia documents these gendered shifts:

> During the late 1940s her family followed traditional migratory routes through Illinois, Michigan, and Indiana. In 1951the Puente family migrated to Sunnyside, Washington, to pick asparagus. After working in the fields for five or six month, they returned to Texas by following the crops through California. This became the migration process for Rita and her family until the early 1960s when they eventually made Quincy their permanent home.[56]

[54] Castañeda, "Que Se Pudieran Defender (So You Could Defend Yourselves)", 126.
[55] Ibid.
[56] García, Jerry, and Dora Sánchez Treviño. "A Chicana in Northern Aztlán: An Oral History of Dora Sánchez Treviño." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 19, no. 2 (1998): 18.

Farmers turned to a more cost effective labor force through the recruitment of families to provide stability during harvest, after which these families were expected to go back "home." Ricardo Garcia recalls, "after the final apple harvest the agricultural industry made sure that these Texas farmworkers would go back to their state. They (agribusinesses) would throw big parties and would say 'thank you for helping us with the harvest, we'll see you next year. Goodbye.'"[57] It is in this context that women figured into the equation as paid and unpaid workers.

The migration of Chicanas in the Pacific Northwest, while not comparable to the number of Chicanos in the region, has been documented in oral histories. For example, Chicanas in Idaho were part of a project called *Voces Hispanas*, an Idaho Hispanic Oral History Project, which documented their lived experiences in the Pacific Northwest.[58] Jerry García (1998), Antonia Castañeda (2001), Jerry García and Gilberto García (2005), and Yolanda Alaniz (2008) have used familial migration narratives to uncover the histories of Chicana/o communities in the Pacific Northwest. Castañeda recuperates histories of Chicana/o migration to the Pacific Northwest through her family's personal migration narrative, centering "gendered, racialized, sexualized and historicized working-class Chicana bodies and the transregional migration of farmworkers from Texas to Washington State during the mid-twentieth century."[59] The internal migration of Chicanas from Texas to Washington "is an outgrowth of the consolidation of U.S. military conquest, of capitalist development, and of state and national politics in the western half of the United Stats and must be understood within that context. It cannot be understood within a

[57] Ricardo Garcia, interview with author, April, 11, 2014.
[58] http://www.idahohumanities.org/?p=voces_hispanas
[59] Antonia Castañeda, "'Que Se Pudieran Defender (So You Could Defend Yourselves)': Chicanas, Regional History, and National Discourses." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 22, no. 3 (2001).

strictly regional context."[60] Once in the Northwest, Chicana and Chicano workers were instrumental in the economic development of the region. As Dora Treviño explains,

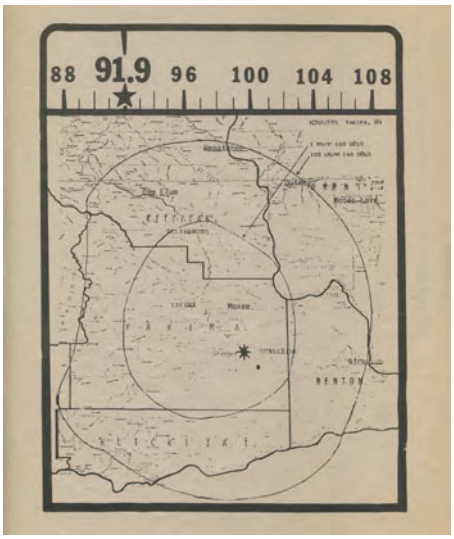
> Beginning in the late 1940s, the Chicano labor force contributed significantly to the development of Columbia Basin, with Chicanas composing a large proportion of the workforce…When Dora was growing up and migrating from state to state with her extended family, she indicated that men and women worked side by side doing the same type of work. It appears that while women worked in the fields with men, women did the same work as men and were paid on an equal basis, resulting in an environment with little tension between workers. However, in the more structured environment of the warehouses, where positions were filled based on gender, foremen exhibited a number of unfair practices, and Chicanas were relegated to the lowest-paying work.[61]

Treviño highlights the gender segmentation and discrimination in the paid labor force. Women were not getting paid the same wages as men in warehouses and packing sheds: "In the potato sheds the women were always put on the conveyor belts to sort the potatoes, and it was constant and rapid work. And the men never worked on the belts but would be paid between ten and twenty-five cents more an hour…Women rarely received any breaks during the day and the less pay was what bothered me."[62]

Richard W. Slatta and Maxine P. Atkinson mined the 1980 census to craft a profile of Latinos in the Pacific Northwest. In the decade of KDNA's founding between 1970 and 1980, the presence of Chicana/os residents in Yakima County rose 74.9% from 14,556 (1970) to 25,455 (1980).[63] They recorded the growing presence of Chicana/os in rural towns in Washington included areas with the highest concentration of these communities in Mabton (65.4% of the population), Granger (54.3%), Wapato (47%), Toppenish (43%), Sunnyside (36%), and Pasco (20%)— all towns within KDNA's range of transmission. The image below is

[60] Ibid, 117.
[61] Garcia and Treviño, 46-47.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Richard W. Slatta and Maxine P. Atkinson. "Chicanos in the Pacific Northwest: A Demographic and Socioeconomic Portrait." *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 70, no. 4 (1979): 155–62.

from the same 1980 program guide I referenced at the beginning of this chapter and shows KDNA's broadcast range.



Map of Radio KDNA range of transmission. Radio KDNA Program Guide, 1980.

The 20,000-watt tower—as I discuss in chapter three—transformed the landscape and soundscape of the Yakima Valley while appropriating physical spaces (radio station in Granger) and aural spaces (vis-a-vis the radio airwaves). Many Chicana/o migrant farmworkers had resided long enough in Texas to create a distinctive Tejana/o identity that was different from those coming directly from other parts of the United States and Mexico. In the music. Border culture. The *American Sabor* travelling and online exhibits showcase how the Rio Grande Valley "is a border region famous for rural musical styles like the story-telling corrido and the conjunto…Migrant workers took Tejano music to many regions of the U.S. and returned home with new musical ideas."[64] Indeed, Tejana/os coming to the Valley would add to KDNA's borderlands soundscape that carried Spanish-language voices, corridos and conjunto music, and voices of advocacy and information for Chicana/o residents.

[64] *American Sabor* website: http://americansabor.org/story/san-antonio/the-journey

The settlement of Tejana and Tejano migrants in the Yakima Valley parallels the context in which to understand how institutional racism, discrimination and oppression functioned in the region. Slatta and Atkinson indexed the socioeconomic conditions of the region's Chicana/os as characterized by income disparity, living at or below the poverty line in tighter accommodations, and for farmworkers in particular, living in poor housing conditions in migrant camps. By the early 1960s, families quit the migratory circuit and began settling in places like Sunnyside, Granger, Quincy, among other cities in central and eastern Washington. One of the reasons migrants began to settle was not only because of higher wages in the region compared to those in the Southwest, but also because parents wanted their children to access educational opportunities. Rather than being on the migrant trail where students would sometimes attend multiple schools, they could get a better education if they stayed in one place. "One of the main reasons we stopped migrating was because my mother wanted us to finish high school, and when my parents eventually moved to Quincy in late 1963 it was a great help."[65] Radio KDNA also urged families to settle in the region so that their children could have more consistent schooling. Migrant programs also helped make the transition from the fields to the classroom. As Rosa recalls, however, many families were not aware of the resources at their disposal, which is why Radio KDNA would make it its mission to disseminate this information. Many children within these migrant circuits—like Rosa Ramón—would grow up and identify with an emergent Chicana/o political identity and would work to bring communications technologies to the Yakima Valley.

Racism and discrimination in schools. Students' experiences with racism and discrimination at schools. Some students felt like they had to assimilate to the point of denying

[65] Garcia and Treviño, 26.

their Mexican background (Dora tells this story in her oral history). But these schools would often be places where migrant children experienced discrimination. Racial discrimination was alive and well for Mexican students in the Pacific Northwest were often looked down on by white students.[66] Racial tensions between white and Mexican students are highlighted in the quote below:

> The assumption was made that any new Mexican student was here for the harvest. I remember one of my Anglo teachers telling me, 'Oh, you are here for the harvest and the weeding.' At that time, I had no idea what she was talking about, and I looked at her puzzled. I though that maybe I should answer yes. From that time on I began to get the feeling that maybe I should answer yes to the things they wanted to hear.[67]

For newly formed Chicana/o community in a predominantly white region, discriminatory experiences such as the one described by Treviño above served as a catalyst for the type of activism they would engage in Chicano movement of the Pacific Northwest.

Migrant camps proved dangerous for many migrant children who either toiled in the fields alongside their parents or waited in the car while parents are out working the fields. Rosa harvested asparagus alongside her family at an early age. Rosa and her family's migratory trajectory provides insight into the region's need for migrant labor, while also creating a community that needed and greatly benefitted from a radio station that addressed the needs of this community, both in content and language. Although the small community in which Rosa grew up was mostly comprised of Tejano families, she experienced and witnessed racism and discrimination, especially at school where she was reprimanded for speaking Spanish and mocked for eating tacos instead of bologna sandwiches. Rosa was only one of four Latinos to graduate from Grandview High School. Rosa recalls,

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[66] García, Jerry, and Dora Sánchez Treviño. "A Chicana in Northern Aztlán: An Oral History of Dora Sánchez Treviño." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 19, no. 2 (1998): 16–52.

[67] Ibid, 25.

> There were some experiences that were a little bit painful that you don't forget like playing in the school ground and getting so excited that you start speaking Spanish and then having a teacher grab you by the arm and hit you with a book and telling you to stop speaking that gibberish because that's not the language that you should be speaking.[68]

Still image of Rosa Ramón from oral history interview with Monica De La Torre.

Rosa's experiences are one example of the way institutional racism operated in the Yakima Valley. While Mexican-American students may have predominated, they were economically and culturally relegated to a subordinate status. These early experiences of marginalization served as an impetus for Rosa's emergent gender consciousness that she brought with her to work in non-profits that benefitted her community, such as Northwest Rural Opportunities (NRO), a community based organization set up in 1968 to provide services to seasonal and migrant farm workers in Washington state. Here she met Ricardo García, who at the time was the Director of Northwest Rural Opportunities.

Ricardo García also gained similar insights from his life experiences that aligned with Radio KDNA's goal of being *la voz del campesino* (the voice of the farmworker). Born in San Diego, Texas, Ricardo Romano García was raised by his mother after the early death of his father from tuberculosis when Ricardo was only two and a half years old, leaving his mother to care for him on her own through low wage labor. Relegated to what he describes as "second-

[68] Ramón, interview by author, March 9, 2012.

class citizen status," Ricardo witnessed the structural inequities and discrimination Texas-Mexicans were forced to contend with on a daily basis.[69] His mother worked day and night for meager wages that continued the cycle of poverty and food scarcity in their household. I quote Ricardo at length because his testimonio provides the grounds for a strategic and intentional inclusion of women in Radio KDNA's founding and operations. Ricardo recalls his gender consciousness stems from his sensitivity to his mother, and perhaps also based upon observing gender roles as a child:

> The whole root of it comes from sensitivity to my mother and aunts who were brilliant women in their own way, but never had a chance to develop. They didn't go to school. My grandmother also raised them after her husband Manuel Romano died from tuberculosis. My father died of tuberculosis. My grandmother had to raise a family of eight. They were picking cotton all over the area and that was very hard work. They missed out unfairly. They also had husbands who drank and treated them harsh, to say the least. They were good men. They were providers, but they would go to San Diego to the cantinas and drink. It was a hard life for them. Women raised me and that's where my sensitivity comes from.[70]

What García refers to as "sensitivity" is an awareness of the intersectional conditions that created different challenges for Mexican women. He is not equating sensitivity as necessarily an exclusively feminine trait.

Ricardo García. Still image from oral history interview.

[69] Castañeda describes the second class citizenship of Mexican Americans
[70] Ricardo García, interview by author, April 11, 2014.

García's early childhood experiences with poverty and social injustice would no doubt prove influential to his community activism in the Pacific Northwest. After graduating from high school, Ricardo joined the Army, a journey that took him to California, South Korea, Fort Lewis in Tacoma, Washington, and finally, the Yakima Valley, where he settled down and began his activism in the Chicano movement. Garcia became aware of this trend when he moved to Eastern Washington:

> All that moved me and I started to think about those conditions of poverty that I grew up under when I was in Texas and it coincides with these observations I was making about a group of workers that were from my home state. They (Tejanos) were treated as second-class citizens and it was present everyday, then I started to understand why that was happening because this realization coincides with the movement of César Chávez trying to organize farmworkers for the same reasons: better wages, better health care, day care for their children, and better housing.[71]

García's consciousness about this migration pattern led to a growth of Chicano movement in the Pacific Northwest, which I turn to in the next section.

RADIO IN THE FIELDS: FARMWORKER ORGANIZING AND CHICANO MOVEMENT

ROOTS OF RADIO KDNA

It is a dream that is realized as one of the plans of the Chicano movement in the Northwest. Activists groups working with farmworkers from three different states met and decided that these communities needed something that would allow them to connect.
Ricardo Garcia, Radio KDNA Co-Founder[72]

We must not automatically take any sound in its own terms, but rather interrogate the terms upon which it is built.
Jonathan Stern[73]

The dream of having an accessible system of communication in the Pacific Northwest between Chicano movement activists, farmworkers, and community media producers began as a

[71] Ricardo Garcia, interview with author, April 11, 2014.
[72] Ricardo Garcia, Radio KDNA 20th anniversary video.
[73] Sterne, Jonathan. 2012. "Sonic Imaginations" in *The Sound Studies Reader* edited by Jonathan Sterne, 1-17. New York, NY: Routledge.

tristate initiative in Oregon, Washington, and Iowa. Organized and incorporated as a non-profit entity in April of 1976, the Northwest Chicano Radio Network (NCRN) planned to "gather, collect, and disseminate information and data on all affairs pertaining to this regional Chicano community to Spanish-speaking individuals and/or groups, organizations and programs in the Northwest via radio programming and media conferences."[74] The designated acronym for NCRN would be Radio Cadena, which translates into English as chain or link, and signals how activists imagined radio technologies as a mechanism for linking Chicana/o organizers and farmworker communities across these three states in the Pacific Northwest. While the tri-state radio model first proposed by various community-based organizations did not come to fruition, organizers in Washington would realize the dream of community radio in the Yakima Valley on December 19, 1979—the day Radio KDNA went live on air. At noon, the voice of Julio Cesar Guerrero, KDNA co-founder and program manager welcomed audiences to KDNA stating, "Buenos días, Radio KDNA esta en el aire" (Good morning, Radio KDNA is on air). The sounds emanating from Radio KDNA's airwaves carried the political impulses and grassroots activism originating in a collective agreement that Mexican and Chicana/o farmworkers in the region would benefit from a system of communication. I take sound scholar Jonathan Stern's call to interrogate the terms upon which Radio KDNA's sound was built to argue that this sound was produced by that the synergism between farmworker organizing, community radio broadcasting, and the Chicano movement in the Pacific Northwest.

CHICANO MOVEMENT ACTIVISM IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

> We were right there from the very beginning. And when I say "we" there was a group of leadership that emerged that understood why it was important to organize. We understood why it was important to seek political power and representation, which would

[74] Northwest Chicano Radio Network Articles of Incorporation, April 27, 1976.

> enhance the efforts of the farmworkers movement. We knew each other from Yakima City to Prosser to Grandview to the Yakima Valley. Many of us were in contact organizing boycotts for César Chávez in front of Safeway stores, we were taught by César Chávez the importance of non-violence.
>
> Ricardo García[75]

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Eastern Washington was buzzing with Chicano/a Movement activity, reflecting the social, political and economic life of a newly established community of Mexican American families who planted roots throughout the Yakima Valley rather than continuing lives on a well-worn migrant trail. Resisting a "narrative of emerging" after the Chicano movement was well established in the Southwest. Chicano movement organizing in the Pacific Northwest maps onto timelines from organizing in the Southwest, but also brings another dimension to our understanding of Chicana/o activism. As a case study, Radio KDNA tracks a different narrative about the Chicano movement that elucidates the organizing in the region while grounding larger movement discourses to a rural setting outside of the Southwest. Chicana/o activists, many of whom had been migrant farmworkers themselves, began to organize through various community-based organizations funded through President Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty.

The War on Poverty programs were a catalyst for many Yakima Valley Chicana/os to get involved in political organizing and community-based organizations. Chicanas in Quincy, Washington, for instance, "benefited from the Great Society programs implemented by the Johnson administration in the 1960s. Programs such as the Migrant Day Care Center, the Quincy Community Center, the Grant County Community Action Council, and Northwest Rural Opportunities were all funded by the War on Poverty programs. Dora, Jovita, and May, along with many others, received valuable training and leadership experience during this time

[75] Ricardo García, interview by author, April 11, 2014.

period."[76] Many of the organizations that emerged in Washington during this time sought ways to inform workers of their rights and create better working conditions for the back-breaking stoop labor in the Yakima Valley.

With most of the migrant Chicana/o and Mexicano population settling in the eastern part of Washington State during the 1950s and 1960s, the Chicano movement in the Pacific Northwest coalesced around rural farmworker activism. Indeed, the migration of Chicana/o communities to the Pacific Northwest and the dismal working conditions they were subjected to fueled the Chicano movement in this region. A sampling of the community organizations emerged during the late 1960s through the 1970s sounds out the focus on farm worker and labor organizing like United Farm Workers Co-operative (1967); Northwest Rural Opportunities (1968); and Commission on Mexican American Affairs (1971), among others. Tomas Villanueva, who volunteered at Radio KDNA in the early days, established the United Farm Workers Co-operative in Toppenish in 1967: "The Co-op sold food at reduced prices and was a center of the Chicana/o movement in the Valley for several years. It pressed for enforcement of health regulations in labor camps, pushed for farmworker coverage under industrial insurance, and with other groups, forced the state to drop its English literacy requirements for voters."[77] Social movements in the Yakima Valley provided a rich foundation for the founding of Radio KDNA.

Like much of the Chicano movement activism across the U.S. borderlands, organizations that emerged from the Chicano movement in Washington rarely focused on singular issues, rather they were multidimensional and played various political, economic, social and cultural roles. The emergence of student groups and organizations demonstrate that the Chicano/a

[76] Garcia and Treviño, 46.
[77] Alaniz and Cornish, 296.

Movement in the Pacific Northwest maps onto timelines in the Southwest. The movement did not come after or later than the activism in places like Texas, New Mexico or California. Chicana and Chicano students began entering institutions of higher education in Washington, with a trend of students leaving rural Eastern Washington to attend the University of Washington in Seattle. In 1968, the Brown Berets were established at University of Washington in Seattle and year later in 1969 in the Yakima Valley. Students were recruited to the University of Washington from Central and Eastern Washington and "in 1969, a second wave of about 40 Chicana/os, including Yolanda Alaniz, were recruited to the UW."[78] By 1970, the University of Washington had implemented a Chicano Studies program. In 1970 Chicana student activism was organizationally anchored through a subgroup within MEChA (Moviemiento Estudiantil Chicana/o de Aztlán) called 'Las Chicanas' forms at UW and Women form 'Chicanas de Aztlan' at Washington State University

Educational Programs and Cultural Production. There were also cultural and educational programs and organizations including La Sociedad Mutualista (The Mutualist Society) is founded in Granger, Washington. The group focuses on self-help for its members and sponsorship of social and cultural events. In 1969, La Escuelita began in Granger, Washington with the goal of serving as a cultural center and developed classes in Chicano history, culture, and theater. El Teatro del Piojo was established at the University of Washington in 1970 and performed throughout the Pacific Northwest.

Organizations like Northwest Rural Opportunities (NRO), United Farm Workers Cooperative (UW Co-op), and the Washington State Commission on Mexican American Affairs

[78] Ibid.

provided community services to Chicanos throughout Washington.[79] Two organizations directly tied to KDNA's founding: Northwest Rural Opportunities and the Commission on Mexican American Affairs, with Radio KDNA co-founder Ricardo Garcia involved in both, saw the need and potential of media to disseminate information and as an organizational tool for the Chicana/o community. "That's my first experience with radio" García recalls, "We paid for a half hour program out of KARY out of Prosser and this was a weekly Spanish language programming, weekend programming. And we would talk about César Chávez and we would talk about scabs and we would talk about farm workers that were being manipulated by their employers and that word got to the governor and next time he appointed commissioners, he made sure that he appointed some that were conservative and that were willing to come back and terminate my employment and that happened and we kept going."[80]

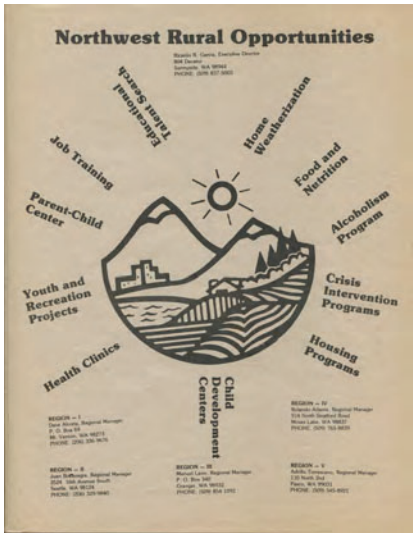
The Washington State Legislature approved the creation of the Commission on Mexican American Affairs in 1971 through an executive order by Governor Dan Evans as a result of a strong grassroots movement led by Chicana/o activists in the state. The Commission started "to improve the conditions for Hispanics in the state of Washington. Substantial community action leading to the creation of the Commission, which rose out of the Yakima Valley, as well as other areas with high farmworker populations. During this time, a group of Hispanic community advocates saw the need to take its concerns to the state in order to advocate for community improvement."[81] After training for a week in California with César Chávez, Ricardo García worked with the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee in Washington with the goal of teaching farmworkers about their right to unionize to combat low wages and poor working

[79] The Commission now goes by the name Commission on Hispanic Affairs (CHA). CHA's hosts a radio program *Conozca su Gobierno con Uriel Iñiguez*

[80] Ricardo García, interview by author, April 11, 2014.

[81] http://cha.wa.gov/

conditions.[82] García served as the first Executive Director for the Washington State Commission on Mexican American Affairs, to improve public policy development and access to government services for the Mexican American community. García's tenure as Executive Director for the Commission ended in 1974 when the Commission's Board of Directors, who felt that his Chicano farmworker activism was too radical, fired him.



Northwest Rural Opportunities Advertisement in Radio KDNA Program Guide, 1980.

Garcia's tenure with the Commission on Mexican American Affairs overlapped with his work as executive director of NRO, a position he began in 1972. Founded in 1968, NRO was a community based organization providing statewide social services to the Latino community in Washington. Ricardo Garcia, along with other more "radical" Chicano activists in the Valley, felt it was necessary to leverage federal funding for community-based organizations that would be staffed and "controlled by the people they were supposed to serve and this of course was the farm worker community, the low income disadvantaged community."[83] NRO's state-wide programs were funded through Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty initiatives. Garcia recalls,

[82] Jean Guerrero, "KDNA Founder Plan an Active Retirement," *Yakima Herald-Republic* (Yakima, Washington), June 28, 2009.

[83] Ricardo García, interview by author, April 11, 2014.

> One of the most important contributions by NRO was the establishment of pre-school and day care centers throughout the state. Throughout the Yakima Valley, the Columbia basin area, the Walla Walla area and all the way to Mount Vernon they were, it was a string of centers addressing the needs of children and their parents and one of their ideas was to keep the schools in a learning environment instead of being out there by themselves in cars.[84]

Pre-school and daycare centers were established throughout the state, which was an important move by Chicana/o movement activists in the region. These program would place the children in a learning environment rather that in the cars or in the dangers out in the fields.

In 1974, Rosa Ramón became Assistant Director of the Parent and Child Center that formed part of NRO's community social services programs. Ramón's life experiences as a farmworker, her successful completion from high school, and community organizing work would prove invaluable to her practice of Chicana radio activism as KDNA's first station manager, and possibly as the first Chicana to ever hold such a position. As station manager, Ramón selected a team of producers, engineers, and staff who supported her decisions to create programming and content for the local community—a program for farmworker women (*Mujer*) and a children's program (*El Jardín de los Niños*). This gender consciousness is tied to her lived experiences as a migrant farmworker, whose family traveled from Texas, through Arizona and California before settling in Washington's Yakima Valley. Ramón's experiences were crucial to her later activism with the founding of Radio KDNA.

KDNA's founders and volunteers tapped into institutional resources and established activist networks throughout Washington State and speaks to the interconnectedness of Chicana/o organizing in the region. Ricardo García, director of NRO, met with other directors of farmworker programs in Idaho and Oregon and was tasked with forming a radio station. He leveraged organizational resources to find training monies to train youth in broadcasting skills.

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[84] Ibid.

During a talk he gave at Western Washington University, García met Daniel Roble and Julio Cesar Guerrero, who had travelled to Washington from Michigan where they had been training farmworkers to produce radio. Guerrero and Roble traveled to Linden, Washington to train farm worker youth. They began broadcasting at KRAB and producing news for a national Spanish language news distribution. In the Northwest in particular, political organizing was linked to media activism in the region made possible through emergence of noncommercial community-based radio broadcasting that grew out of the passing of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967.

CHAPTER TWO: MAPPING CHICANA/O COMMUNITY RADIO IN THE UNITED STATES, 1973-1990

Radio KDNA station manager Rosa Ramón discussing KDNA's first year anniversary on *Reflexíon*, December 1980.

Poised and confident in her blazer and tie, Radio KDNA station manager Rosa Ramón appeared on *Reflexión,* a public access television program, in December of 1980, the eve of the station's one-year anniversary of producing community-based Spanish-language broadcasts. The sole woman on the panel, Ramón appears as the public face of KDNA, skillfully sharing with Spanish-speaking audiences the station's important work in bringing communication technologies to the Yakima Valley. Panelist Professor Juan Pérez shares with Rosa the joys of turning on the radio, tuning to Radio KDNA, and listening to music and programming free of commercials. As a newer form of public broadcasting, Ramón explained how a noncommercial community radio station works and how they were able to attain such a classification to air commercial-free programming:

> Radio KDNA tiene su licencia para ser una estación sin comerciales o una estación publico y la razón que somos una estación publico son tres: una era porque era mas fácil conseguir permiso para construir una estación de comunicaciones publicas. La segunda es por que Radio KDNA quería poner sus esfuerzos en producir programas que la comunidad merecía como programas de educación, programas de cultura, programas de

> información. Y la tercera es por que queremos que Radio KDNA siga teniendo programas de entrenamiento para nuestra gente en la área de radio comunicaciones. [85]
>
> *KDNA is licensed to be a station without commercials or a public station and there are three reasons we are a public station: One is because it was easier to get a permit to build a public broadcast station. The second is that KDNA wanted to place their efforts in producing programs that the community deserves such as education programs, cultural programs, and information programs. And the third is that we want KDNA to continue to have radio communications training programs for our people.*

This televised moment marks a significant shift in radio broadcasting: First, community radio broadcasting offered an alternative to profit-driven commercial radio and educational public radio on the AM dial. Second, a Chicana—perhaps the first *Chicana* station manager in the United States—is the public face and voice of a community radio station owned and created for, by, and about Chicanas and Chicanos. By December 1980, Radio KDNA was one of several Chicano-controlled community radio station in the United States. These radio stations developed as a result of Chicana/o media activism of the late 1960s and 1970s as well as the passing of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. In this chapter, I examine how Radio KDNA harnessed public media policy (Public Broadcasting Act of 1967), funding resources (Corporation for Public Broadcasting and Catholic Church's Campaign for Human Development), and their own activist networks (community based organizations like Northwest Rural Opportunities) to create a unique translocal model of community radio production.

This chapter reframes social movement historiography to include the rise of alternative broadcasting networks as constitutive of Chicana/o and feminist activism of the time. Civil Rights Era activism ushered unprecedented shifts in media landscapes. Most relevant for this study was the increase of ethnic and linguistic cultural production, including television, print

[85] *Reflexión*. 1980. Courtesy of Rosa Ramón.

media, and radio broadcasting. In this chapter, I situate KDNA within a larger matrix of Spanish-language, bilingual, and Chicana/o-owned community radio stations.

LITERATURE REVIEW: UNEARTHING CHICANA/O COMMUNITY RADIO IN THE U.S.

The conditions of possibility for community radio production took root during the civil rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s. In this historic moment, media activists took legal recourse through lawsuits, arguing that media industries were not representative of diverse audiences, particularly for Black and Latino communities. Latina/o media scholar Arlene Davila explains,

> Chicanos and Nuyoricans fought for equal time on the airwaves and for policies and funding to create TV and radio programs and films that would help counter their negative portrayal in mainstream media. The rise of Chicano cinema and of Latino-specific ethnic media and media activism and advocacy in the 1970s is part and parcel of struggles for federal legislation and funding opportunities to increase Black people's and Latin@s access to media.[86]

The movement to create radically different non-stereotypical representations of Chicanas and Chicanos across media platforms dubbed the "Chicano Media Movement" has been documented by Francisco J. Lewels (1974), Chon Noriega (2000), and Dolores Inés Casillas (2014) among others. In particular, the 1974 publication of *The Uses of the Media by the Chicano movement* by scholar and media activist Francisco J. Lewels clearly lays claim to the role of media within the Chicana/o led social movements. "Armed with the knowledge provided them by the public-interest law groups," Lewels elaborates, "Chicanos began looking toward the electronic media in the late 1960s as a primary objective in their civil rights movement."[87]

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[86] Dávila*, Contemporary Latina/o Media*, 10-11.

[87] Francisco J. Lewels, The Uses of the Media by the Chicano movement: A Study in Minority Access (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974), 108.

The media reforms stemming from legislative action during the civil rights movement opened up possibilities for Chicana/o-controlled *community* radio broadcasting. Alternative media broadcasting provided spaces "in which Mexican Americans could go from being cultural *consumers* to cultural *producers*."[88] Chicano movement scholar Randy J. Ontiveros explains this phenomenon:

> Mindful of the culture industry's growing power, activists responded with the creation of an independent Chicano/a media that used mimeograph machines, offset printing, and other available media technologies to circulate alternative images and narratives of Mexican America. The Chicano/a media took many different expressions, including film, television, radio, and other forms of communication.[89]

While there is no doubt that print media was a vital component of Chicano movement organizing, I disagree with Ontiveros's argument that "the printed word was its most vital instrument because print was accessible, and because print allowed creator and audiences to imagine themselves as part of a Chicano/a nation."[90] It demonstrates disciplinary habit of valuing the visual over the sonic. In farmworker rural communities, print media was not as effective or accessible as radio. Illiteracy, along with long work hours, meant that farmworkers were unlikely to come home to read a newspaper. Thus, Chicana/o activists in rural areas opted for radio. Radio KDNA's producers harnessed the potential of community radio to reach audiences that commercial radio often forgot or excluded.

The kind of radio broadcasts KDNA produced took community radio airwaves into distinct linguistic, cultural, and sonic territories. Chicana/o broadcasters were using their rights as citizens to access the airwaves. Chicana/o radio activists and cultural workers in the Pacific Northwest were able to voice their belonging and presence in U.S. culture. When we speak of the

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[88] Randy J. Ontiveros, *In the Spirit of a New People: The Cultural Politics of the Chicano movement*, 81.
[89] Ibid, 39.
[90] Ibid.

histories of community radio in the United States, we must recognize that it begins with the subaltern, marginalized communities who are continually denied the privileges of citizenship, but who nevertheless find tactics to subvert, organize, and be heard. Radio scholar Michael C. Keith characterizes the emergence of alternative socially conscious radio of the 1960s as a marker of the social upheavals of the era. KDNA broadcast 18 hours seven days a week of Spanish-language programming for, by and about Chicana/os.

Community versus Commercial Radio

A cornerstone to this project is the analysis of community radio as opposed to commercial radio. Whereas commercial radio necessitates the creation of an audience as consumers to purchase goods and services from broadcast sponsors, community radio constructs an audience of listeners as media producers. Commercial radio creates consumers, but community radio relies on listeners to also be producer whose volunteer work created 18 hours of programming seven days a week. Community radio, by definition, facilitates a diversity of voices on air, which functions from this production structure. Cultural studies scholar Jody Berland notes, "In commercial radio, the pleasures of location and identity, of specific recognitions or discoveries, are sacrificed to the (real) pleasure of the media's 'boundless hospitality,' which defends itself against anarchy by being totalitarian in its mode of address and in its structuring of program, genre, and rhythm."[91]

My study contributes to the dimension of Spanish-language Chicana/o radio that is community based as opposed to commercial. There is a gap in the literature in the historicizing of Spanish-language and bilingual community radio during the Chicano movement that attends

[91] Jody Berland, *Sound Studies Reader*, 42.

categories of difference such as to gender, race, class, sexuality, and migration from a Chicana feminist lens. Barlow (1988) states, "community radio…is at the forefront of a larger movement to democratize accessible segments of American mass media by heightening the level of citizen participation in their operations, and broadening the range of viewpoints in their program formats."[92]

Recent literature on Spanish-language radio appears to fast-forward through the Chicano movement era, and focuses almost exclusively on commercial radio stations.[93] My work extends into new epistemic territories of radio by centering community-based broadcasting. The distinction between commercial and community radio is an important one to make, particularly in order to understand the reasons why Chicanas and Chicanas were able to access this medium. Radio scholar Dolores Inés Casillas provides a nuanced understanding of the key differences between commercial, community, and public radio:

> The practice of 'community radio' arose in the 1970s and brought attention to an innovative collective form of operation radio 'that values independence, irreverence, and creative, risk-taking, [and] volunteer-based programming.' The term was coined as a third mode of English-language broadcasting, different yet overlapping with commercial and public radio. Commercial radio had long aligned itself with the business side of radio, with its scientific use of audience research and focus on financial revenues through the sale of airtime to advertisers…Meanwhile public radio had acquired an affluent musical taste and was seen as catering to middle and highbrow listeners. Unlike either of these formats, community radio became underground, free-form radio and represented a communal and activist approach to reclaiming the 'public' in public broadcasting.[94]

By pivoting the analytic lens to Chicana/o community radio, non-English language broadcasting is cast not as "foreign", but as constitutive of U.S. media and its related histories and genealogies. Studies of community radio ignore Spanish-language and Chicana/o-controlled

[92] William Barlow, 81.
[93] (cite Paredes, Casillas, check in Contemporary Latina/o Media book)
[94] Dolores Inés Casillas, *Sounds of Belonging,* 61.

stations thereby complicating "monolingual and binary black/white cultural approaches to radio studies."[95]

Chicana/o Community Radio Aesthetics

My aesthetic analysis is guided by a spirited lineage of Chicana feminist cultural critique that "looks at the vital role of culture in the formation of social identities on the borderlands"[96] that takes up social identities not as fixed categories, but as subjectivities in constant flux and formation. By aesthetics I am referring to the characteristics of Radio KDNA's cultural productions; that is, the elements of sonic expression such as music, vocal speech, and other sound/noise as well as the visual elements in the program guides, photographs, and videos. I utilize Chicana art scholar Laura E. Pérez's conceptualization of Chicana art aesthetics to amplify my definition of Chicana/o aesthetics within community radio production. "Chicana artists' development of culturally hybrid aesthetics and spiritual idioms," Pérez explains, exists outside of "culturally and historically specific elitist European and Euroamerican values in narrowly defined notions of taste or beauty but, more generally, to the conceptual and formal systems governing the material expression of the activity within societies that we refer to as artmaking."[97] The locally produced programs invoked influences of Mexican and Chicana/o cultural practices rooted in oral traditions, sounds, and music making producers and listeners audible to one another because producers crafted a Chicana/o community radio aesthetic. Indeed, Radio KDNA's aesthetics were rooted in Mexican working class cultural traditions such as corridos, rancheras, and radionovelas (radio dramas).

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[95] Casillas, *Sounds of Belonging,* 13.
[96] Rosa Linda Fregoso, *MeXicana Encounters*
[97] Pérez, Laura. *Chicana Art: The Politics of Spiritual and Aesthetic Altarities*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007, 7.

Chicana feminist theory frames the work of community radio with a ear toward understanding the narratives within Chicana cultural products:

> As artists and activists sought to push beyond the limits of the nation form, their struggles gave rise to a ferment of aesthetic and cultural innovation. By retrieving the suppressed histories of border peoples, Mexican and Mexican-American authors revealed that the nation is itself a kind of narrative. As a *narrative,* the story of the nation could be changed so that new subjects could enter the terrain of politics and culture as historical agents.[98]

Schmidt-Camacho's eloquent analysis that reveals Chicana/o narrative as a site agency takes on new valences within community radio production. Community radio sounds out rural farmworker Chicana/o aesthetic sensibilities that produced sonic cultural innovations on the public airwaves.

Community radio is free from corporate sponsorship and capitalist investment. This allows radio stations to air diverse programming that is not typically heard in mainstream radio, such as interviews, political commentary, dramatic sketches, audio documentaries, poetry, satire, and listener call-ins.[99] This "free-form" programming style allows for a more fluid dialogue between announcers and listeners. In many instances, the announcer has the opportunity to be the listener and vice versa. That is, community radio and the people involved in creating these radio programs are representative of a particular community—communities of feminists, queers, and people of color, to name a few. Community radio station announcers and hosts are typically not professionals; they are members of communities that are either not represented or misrepresented in mainstream radio.

> However, as "format" radio became dominant by the late 1950s, some linguistic minority programming risked being sidelined. Most format stations sought to maintain uniformity

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[98] Alicia R Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries: Latino Cultural Politics in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 26.

[99] William Barlow, "Rebel Airways: Radio and Revolution in Latin America," *Howard Journal of Communications* 2, no. 2 (1990): 123, doi:10.1080/10646179009359708.

> of program type throughout their schedules, making it awkward to insert 15-, 30-, or 60-minute program in "foreign" languages that often had very different content.[100]

The free form format of noncommercial or community radio catered programming to Spanish-speaking, farmworker audiences. In fact, programmers changed the start time of programming in the spring to accommodate farmworkers' shifting schedule during the harvest season. Radio scholar Bob Lochte reminds us, "The format is the programming strategy designed to deliver the target audience, and only the target audience, throughout the program day."[101] The community radio format allowed for an exploration of new ways to make media and introduced programming never before heard on the airwaves. A *Radio Cadena Fact Sheet* delineates KDNA's understanding of community radio.

> Community radio is commercial free and listener-supported. Since the sponsors of community radio are the listeners, programming is determined by listener's needs and not only by advertisers' dollars. Therefore, community radio is able to offer a wide variety of musical, cultural, informational and educational programs. Community radio also provides access to groups that traditionally do not have access to the media such as other minorities, farm workers, women or any other non-profit organizations. Talk shows, call-in-shows, and local news programs will deal with issues of importance to these groups and allow for community input.[102]

What makes this radio format unique is that it opens the doors to anyone who wants to produce radio.

In the *Reflexión* segment, Ramón describes a process of radio production that did not foreclose its production simply because of a lack of training. She outlines a rasquache way of making radio:

> Profesor Juan Pérez: Rosa, ¿como es que ustedes recibieron entrenamiento para trabajar como personal de una radiodifusora? Muchas veces en muchas estaciones se necesita cierta preparación pero entiendo que ustedes son muy únicos en ese aspecto.

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[100] Donald Browne, *Radio Cultures,* 30.
[101] Bob Lochte, *More Than a Music Box*, 40.
[102] Radio Cadena Fact Sheet

> Rosa Ramón: Si, toda la experiencia que tenemos, Juan, a sido en trabajar con el proyecto de Radio KDNA. Desde el principio en como cumplir una aplicación a la Comisión Federal de Comunicaciones, aprender como hacer programaciones todo lo hemos aprendido de la radio, hemos aprendido con el proyecto de Radio KDNA.[103]
>
> *Professor Juan Pérez: Rosa, how is it that you received training staff to work as a broadcaster? Many times you need some preparation or expertise to work at a radio station, but I understand that you are very unique in that aspect.*
>
> *Rosa Ramón: Yes, all the experience we have, Juan, is a result of our work with the Radio KDNA project. From the start, we learned how to complete an application to the Federal Communications Commission, we learned how to do programming, everything we learned from the radio, we have learned with the Radio KDNA project.*

Grounded in rasquache aesthetics, I extend Habell-Pallán's theorizing of Chicano cultural production from one sonic space (music) to another (radio). "In fact, both punk and Chicano aesthetics share a similar spirit of making do with what's at hand, with limited resources, of expressing ideas and emotions that aren't necessarily 'marketable' and of cutting and mixing cultural references and sounds to make something new."[104] KDNA producers made do with the resources at hand (like using second-hand equipment) to create radio content that was not necessarily marketable, by airing cross cultural and intergenerational music and sounds that created Chicana/o soundscapes throughout Yakima Valley.

Locally Produced Programming. What characterized radio programming and community radio production at KDNA? It was locally-produced:

> That's one decision we made from the beginning is that Radio KDNA would produce locally its programming so that it really addressed the issues of the community. This is pretty amazing, about 95% of our programming was locally produced so you can imagine the hours of production that that involved interviews and production We did about 95% of the programming. We were a lot younger (laughs) then so you have more energy to work much longer days, but so production was very key. And we had to develop our volunteer group, we developed an advisory committee, and we developed relationships with local organizations.[105]

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[103] *Reflexión*. 1980. Courtesy of Rosa Ramón.
[104] Habell-Pallán, 49.
[105] Rosa Ramón, interview with author, March 9, 2012.

Radio KDNA not only aired locally produced programming, they also broadcast shows from other Chicana/o-controlled station, which sonically connected Chicana/o community radio programming across geographic locations. These programs included *California Revista*, *Elecciones '84, Latin American News Service.* Produced by San Diego based radio station KPBS from 1978-1988, *Enfoque Nacional* was cancelled by NPR in March of 1988, but Latinos were vocal in critiquing NPR for this move.[106]

CHICANA/O CONTROLLED COMMUNITY RADIO

Chicana/o Controlled Radio Station Call Letters:

Radio KDNA: *Cadena* (Chain or Link)

KUVO: *Q'Vo* (What's Happening?)

KRZA: *Raza* (People)

Many Chicana/o controlled radio stations used call letters that signified Spanish-language words or slang that signaled a deeper connection rooted in Spanish, Spanglish and Chicana/o subcultures. The Chicana/o community activists in the Yakima Valley who applied for a community radio broadcasting license is one example of a trend we hear across the country with other Latinos gaining access to noncommercial airwaves. The fashioning of a station's identity included logos, call letters, and slogans that recalled Chicana/o coded language, speech, and slang popular at the time with phrases such as *q'vo* (what's up). KDNA were the former call-letters of a listener-supported station in St. Louis, Missouri at 102.5 MHz from 1968 to 1973. While the Midwest radio station's the call letters may have signaled something different, the Chicana/o community radio context transforms the call letters to echo the social and cultural

[106] The Los Angeles Times covered this story in on March 3, 1988. Reactions from NPR's Latin File: brought Latinos to work at NPR.

aspects in these spaces of production. Indeed, these stations cultivated a community radio practice inflected with the intersectional social and political activism Chicanas and Chicanos engaged with at the time. The call letters represent one manifestation of the station's effort to aesthetically create its own identity as a Chicana/o community radio station.

On December 19, 1979, Radio KDNA became the first Chicana/o-controlled community radio station to broadcast full-time in Spanish. KDNA's activists were inspired and guided by the work of Sonoma State University students, professor, community activists, and farmworkers who in 1973 launched the first Chicana/o-controlled community radio station, KBBF-FM 89.1 in the agricultural hub of Santa Rosa, California. While KDNA did broadcast English language programs—*Sketches of Blues and Jazz* aired weekdays at 10:00 pm—the majority of their programming was in Spanish. The passing of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 marked a new phase in the national movement for media reform and created the conditions of possibility for Chicano community radio stations to emerge in the 1970s—including KBBF-FM, Radio KDNA, and Radio Bilingüe, among other bilingual and Spanish-language noncommercial radio stations. The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 was instrumental in creating a funding mechanism for community-based media via the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) as a public subsidy for the development and expansion of educational broadcasting. "In many ways, the establishment of the CPB made it possible for community groups to hold a government-sponsored entity accountable for issues of employment and representation within public broadcasting."[107] CPB gave radio stations monies for training program, which I discuss in further detail in chapter five. "Radio made its presence known in another way in the 1960s" Keith

[107] Casillas, *Sounds of Belonging*, 63.

argues, "through the signals of stations standing in opposition to the status quo in the radio industry itself as well as in society."[108]

In opposition to the status quo were radio stations like KBBF-FM, KDNA, KUVO, and KRZA among others and represented a "new generation of alternative noncommercial stations more diverse in character, often serving smaller and more sharply defined communities across the nation."[109] Rosa Ramón describes KDNA's community ethos in the following way:

> The staff and volunteers who were on the air came from the same communities that we wanted to serve. A warm relationship was created. It was like a family. And that's the way it should be. Community radio is about people. If there isn't an open door, then community radio isn't doing what it's suppose to be doing. Radio waves were supposed to belong to the people; and, I think that's the whole philosophy of community radio. It's part of the community and they take care of, support, and trust what's theirs. The very special bond that can exist between community radio and its listeners, I believe, is very difficult to achieve with other mediums.[110]

As Ramón explains, alternative noncommercial stations fostered a special bond engendered by a model of media production that cast producers as listeners and listeners as producers. KBBF-FM also followed this producer-listener model and is exemplified in María Martin's tenure at this station. Martin remembers how listening to KBBF's bilingual airwaves was a welcomed surprise:

> One day in the mid-70s, in the wine country of northern California, I was absent-mindedly turning the radio dial when I heard something I'd never, *ever* heard before: it was in English *and* in Spanish. The station played reggae, rancheras, and *dedicas* (dedications) on the oldies show, and covered public affairs. For the first time in my life, I heard media that reflected my reality as a bilingual and bicultural person of Mexican *and* American heritage…I was hooked on this pioneering little radio station and on making radio that cut across cultural lines.[111]

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[108] Radio Cultures, 2.
[109] Engelman 1996, 67.
[110] Rosa Ramón, Interview by author, March 9, 2012.
[111] Crossing Borders, 158, 2010.

Martin recalls the awe of hearing for the first time radio programming that could reflect her bilingual and bicultural experience. KBBF's bilingual and bicultural programming included shows like *Hora Medica* (Health Hour), *Chicano Youth and the Law,* NPR news in English, and *Women's Spaces*. KDNA's programming consisted of shows like *Jardin de los Niños* (Children's Garden or Kindergarten), *Raíces Culturales* (Cultural Roots), and *Oportunidades de Trabajo* (Job Opportunities). The community radio activists and broadcasters at KDNA and KBBF-FM were committed to transforming the airwaves to sound out locally produced programming that addressed the needs of Chicana/o and farmworker communities in Santa Rosa, California, and Granger, Washington. This resulted in KDNA being referred to as *la voz del campesino* (the voice of the farmworker) and KBBF-FM as *la voz del pueblo* (the voice of the people). These monikers were constitutive of an emergent "Chicano Public Radio," a term utilized by station managers that "characterize[d] their early station identity, indicative of the political moment's focus on taking back the public airways as well as invoking the Mexican American population as Chicanos."[112]

Chicana/o controlled community radio stations sprouted within Chicana and Chicano community activist networks who turned to broadcasting as activism and to amplify their activism, while constituting a listening public that demanded programming never before heard on the airwaves. While Spanish-language radio brokers in the 1920s – 1930s purchased airtime on commercial radio from 30 minutes to 2-hour time slots[113], the community radio format

[112] Casillas, 2014, 52-53.

[113] In the 1920s-30s, Latino brokers purchased blocks of airtime for Spanish-language programming to at predominantly commercial English-language radio stations. The first successful brokers included Sr. Lozano, who began a brokered program in San Antonio in 1928, and Rodolfo Hoyos who was on the air in Los Angeles from 1932-1974. In 1946, radio broker Raul Cortez, a Spanish-language radio broker, became the first Chicano to own and operate the first full-time Spanish language radio station, KCOR in San Antonio, Texas. For more on the history of radio brokers and Spanish-language radio commercial in the United States see: Gutierrez and Schement, Rosa Linda Fregoso, and Dolores Inés Casillas.

allowed for an entire programming day specifically dedicated Chicana/o broadcasting. Casillas notes, "the development of bilingual community radio in rural areas should encourage scholars to recast the era's Chicano media movement beyond urban centers to include the media activity of bilingual radio in rural settings."[114]

Call Letters	Dial	Slogan	Location	First Broadcast
KBBF-FM	89.1 FM	La Voz del Pueblo	Santa Rosa, CA	1973
KDNA-FM	91.9 FM	La Voz del Campesino	Granger, WA	December 19, 1979
KSJV-FM	91.5 FM	Radio Bilingüe	Fresno, CA	1980
KRZA	88.7 FM	KRZA Community Radio	Alamosa, CO	October 1985
KUVO	89.3 FM	Community Culture Music	Denver, CO	August 29, 1985
KUFW Radio Campesina Network	90.5 FM	La Campesina Network	Tulare, CA	May 1983

Chicana/o community radio station on the FM dial of the radio stations are on the FM dial. As Michael C. Keith argues, "Indeed, as underground radio sought to reflect deeper social issues, educational stations on the lower end of the FM band attempted to address civil inequities through programs for marginalized groups."[115]

For example, when KUVO in Denver, Colorado went on the air on August 29, 1985 the programmers dedicated their first broadcast to iconic journalist Ruben Salazar who fifteen years earlier had been murdered by a Los Angeles County Sheriff's deputy while reporting on the Chicano Moratorium against the Vietnam war.[116] By broadcasting on the anniversary of Ruben Salazar's murder, KUVO aligned its mission and ethos to a lineage of media activism. KDNA also attempted a similar strategy of aligning their first broadcast to a significant event in Chicano history. However, technical issues delayed completion of the radio tower, and therefore was not ready on September 16 (Mexican Independence), October 12 (El Dia de la Raza), or December 12 (Day of the Virgin of Guadalupe).

[114] Casillas, *Sounds of Belonging*, 16.
[115] Michael C. Keith, *Radio Cultures*, 3.
[116] See Noriega and Casillas.

Chicana/o Community Radio as Aesthetics of Resistance

KDNA is deeply rooted in the visual and sonic traditions of Chicana/o cultural production in the United States, which has produced a rich archive of visual art, murals, music, film, and radio. KDNA links up to other forms of Chicana/o "aesthetics of resistance" found across Chicana/o cultural productions including work in Theater (Broyles-Gonzalez, Teatro Chicana edited collection; De La Torre, 2009), Chicana/o punk scenes (Habell-Pallán), Son Jarocho scenes (Gonzalez), and print culture (Blackwell), among others. Michelle Habell-Pallán describes these "aesthetics of resistance" as grounded in popular culture and music in her analysis of the Chicano performer El Vez:

> Enacted on the accessible terrain of popular music, El Vez's aesthetics of resistance is double-edged, for it transforms the dominant culture's imposition of social codes that attempt to define "Mexican immigrant" or "Mexican American" identity and place in society, as well as subaltern demands to reduce Chicana and Chicano identity to an essentialized, fixed form. His aesthetics of resistance disrupts both the dominant and the subaltern dictates for strict, unyielding definitions of identity, sexuality, and citizenship and suggests that breaking with Chicano nationalism does not signify a break with Chicano politics.[117]

Community radio stations are a rich repository of Chicana/o cultural production precisely because Chicana and Chicano lived experiences informed community radio's radical cultural aesthetics. Radio KDNA's community radio aesthetics spoke to Chicana/o and Tejana/o migrant audiences who were establishing roots, building community, and making the Yakima Valley their home. With its first broadcast in 1979, KDNA's work proved foundational to Chicana/o community formations in the Yakima Valley by creating and disseminating a distinct Spanish-language Chicana/o sound that cultivated a public politicized voice for the Valley's Chicanas/os. Radio KDNA ushered in a new era of community public broadcasting in the Pacific Northwest

[117] Habell-Pallán, *Loca Motion,* 189.

that centered Chicana/o voices, musical sensibilities, and cultural practices, a process I identify as Chicana/o community radio aesthetics.

Radio KDNA's Chicana/o community radio aesthetics spoke to a Mexican and tejana/o migrant audience who were in the process of making the Yakima Valley "home." Community radio built community, which is evident in the pages of the program guide. The pages in the program guides are visual and sonic evidence of an active community. On Saturday and Sunday, the programming schedule is loud with musical programs linking listeners back to their homelands as well as other places in Latin America. Programs such as *Musica Variada*, *Arriba El Telon*, and Latin American focused programming like *Revista Latina, Selecciones Interamericanas*, and *Que Tal America.* To be able to turn the dial and tune in to broadcasts in *your* language and that the music, programs, and radio personalities sounded out your language and culture meant that indeed a budding Chicana/o community existed in the Yakima Valley. The Chicana/o community radio archive that includes radio programs, program guides, videos, photographs, among other station ephemera confirms this community in formation.

Radio fills a void in our knowledge of the everyday life of Chicanas/os in Eastern Washington. KDNA sheds light, opens ears, and amplifies community radio as a place where we can listen to a distinct form of radio that is informed by the broadcasters, listeners, and community members of an emergent Pacific Northwest Chicana/o public. Everyday life appears in the pages of program guide, in the programming, and in the gatherings at the radio station for music on Saturday or Sunday afternoons. These materials breathe life into the archive by reminding us of the intimate, everyday and perhaps even mundane lives of Chicanas/os in Eastern Washington.

For instance, local Latino-owned businesses appear throughout the pages of the 1980 program guide. The advertising for "La Rosita Bakery" reads:

> La Rosita bakery: menudo y barbacoa, tamales, Mexican imports, records and tapes, tostadas, tortillas, tacos, enchiladas, Mexican pastry (sic), plus a recreation room, pool tables and music box.

These materials also serve as a record of daily life that was not only about struggle and exploitation, but of cultural pleasures of food and music and dancing, and singing and living. What Radio KDNA reveals is that this audience listened to rancheras early in the weekday mornings as they toiled the fields and found reprieve from work by dancing to cumbias on Saturday and Sunday afternoons. Cultural traditions and celebrations mark the established presence of Mexicano and Chicana/o communities in the Pacific Northwest, including fiestas Mexicanas, baptisms and other religious ceremonies, and businesses catering to a new clientele.

The fashioning of a station's identity included call letters, and logos that called on Chicana/o visual aesthetics of civil rights era branding grounded in activism. The image of the farmworker toiling under the sun signals the migrant rural farmworkers, UFW activism, and Chicano movement all at once. The lived experiences of Chicana and Chicano working class farmworkers informed the content of Radio KDNA's sound. The experiences of Chicana/o communities in Eastern Washington influenced the programming decisions. KDNA broadcasters defined the radio station as *la voz del campesino* (the voice of the farmworker) because campesinos/as were content creators. The historical context discussed in chapter one and the media landscape I outlined in this chapter are important to understanding that KDNA emerged out of a larger political movement national and transnational and now this chapter excavate the or places KDNA within larger activism and debates of alternative radical media. This context frames my discussion of Radio KDNA's founding, which I turn to in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: RADIO KDNA: LA VOZ DEL CAMPESINO'S IMPACT IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

With Rosa's efforts there was a balancing of the staff at KDNA. We had as many men as well as women. It all comes about from the efforts to reach and empower women from our community. Besides being subjected to poverty and the farmworker experience, women were also delegated a third citizen status. Women could not go to school. There was a machismo factor. There were many issues confronting women, and how do you address it? Radio. Radio became the instrument.

Ricardo García, Radio KDNA Co-founder[118]

We were fortunate enough that the news director was a woman, the station manager was a woman, and the main producer was a woman. We decided that it was important to have a woman's program that addressed women's issues, that focused on music by women, and that's what we did. We covered all aspects of a woman's life and focused it on Latinas, and in particular farmworker women. We opened the mic to women to come in and be interviewed. Women were really a part of Radio KDNA in those early days and still are.

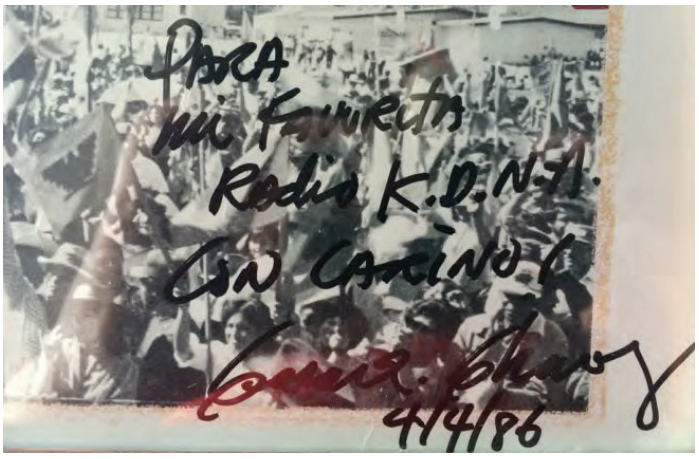
Rosa Ramón, Radio KDNA Co-founder and Station Manager[119]

Previously, I argued that KDNA emerged as a political project with direct ties to the migration of Tejana/o farmworkers to the Pacific Northwest. I situated the emergence of Radio KDNA within larger sociopolitical contexts of migration and civil rights activism. I traced the migration of mostly Tejana/o farmworkers to the Pacific Northwest and how their experiences cemented the need to create a system of communication for marginalized migrant farmworkers settling in the PNW. The gendered patterns of migration shifted in the 1950s as Mexican American men, women, and children replaced a largely male-dominated workforce in the Pacific Northwest. This turning point established a larger Spanish-speaking and bilingual Chicana/o community that becomes KDNA's primary audience. In this chapter, I draw on the oral histories of two of Radio KDNA's founders, Rosa Ramón and Ricardo García once more, to excavate a

[118] Ricardo García, interview by author, April 11, 2014.
[119] Rosa Ramón, interview by author, March 9, 2012.

narrative of Radio KDNA's founding, and the early formative years of a Chicana/o-run community radio station. Their knowledge of the station's development is amplified by radio station archival documents I have collected in my research with Rosa Ramón at Radio KDNA and through personal archives.

Our search for archival materials led us to Ricardo García's personal archive: a portioned off segment of the garage behind his Wapato home. I found myself in García's garage amidst filing cabinets, living room furniture turned storage units, and boxes labeled "do not throw away, please!" The contents under the lids revealed withered yellowing newspapers, pamphlets, and reports. My eyes darted back and forth around the room as I attempted to take in every picture, plaque, awards and newspaper clipping covering the walls. A personalized mural to Ricardo García by Pacific Northwest muralist Daniel De Siga takes up almost the entire left wall in the small cramped quarters. Mesmerized by all the rich visuals, I was transported to my first interview with García. In particular, the large portraits of Cesar Chávez and Cantinflas[120] displayed side by side above the desk are visual indicators of Garcia's personality and life's work.



Close-up of poster César Chavez signed with:

Para mi favorita Radio KDNA. Con cariño, César Chávez.

To my favorite Radio KDNA. Warm regards, César Chávez.

Dated 4/4/1986

[120] Cantinflas is the stage name for Mexican comedian, actor, producer, and screenwriter Mario Moreno. A beloved icon in Mexican and Chicano popular culture, Cantinflas' humor centers working class subjectivities.

The Yakima Valley's media landscape was English dominant and often silenced or ignored the presence of Spanish-speaking Latinos in the region. Prior to 1979, farmworkers in the Yakima Valley did not have many options for Spanish-language media. Media outlets for and about Chicana/o communities in Eastern Washington were practically non-existent and media coverage typically favored agribusinesses and growers associations in the region. The major newspapers in the Valley that were pro agribusiness included the Yakima Herald and the Yakima Daily Republic. [121]

In attempting to fill the void of Spanish content, Chicana/o activists turned to a variety of mediated resources including newsletters, magazines, television, and commercial radio. Early evidence of the convergence of radio production and farmworker activism occurred during the Great Hop strike of 1970 sponsored by the UFW in the Yakima Valley. Chicanas were at the forefront of the great hop strike of 1970, which included the use of "a Spanish-language radio program to educate about the union and discuss racism and discrimination in the Valley."[122]

The Concilio (Council) for the Spanish Speaking was established in Seattle in 1975. Its purpose was to unite charitable, health, and welfare organizations and groups that served Spanish-speaking communities. They published a news magazine, where an article written by Julio Cesar Guerrero and Rosa Ramón titled "Mujeres in Public Radio" appeared. Organizations across the Valley sought access to the televised airwaves, including Northwest Rural Opportunities where Ricardo García and Rosa Ramón were employed at the time. *La Raza Habla*, a thirty-minute talk show focused on Chicano issues, aired for 12-15 weeks on the KIMA television network in Yakima.[123] A program titled "Chicano '73" aired on KNDO. However, the

[121] Ramón Chávez, "Emerging Media: A History and Analysis of Chicano Communication Efforts in Washington State," 1979.
[122] Alaniz and Cornish, 303.
[123] Ramón Chávez, *Emerging Media.*

high cost of producing television programming prohibited a sustained endeavor to create televised programming for Chicanos in the Valley.

Ricardo García used early in his activism when he took to the media to keep the farmworker community informed. The Catholic Church published a newspaper called "Our Times" in which García authored articles, with a focus on farmworker issues. The short-lived newspaper, active only from 1968 to 1969, ceased publication because of pressure from growers who were opposed to García's coverage of farmworkers.[124] Garcia attempted once more to publish stories relevant to Chicana/os in the Yakima Valley via print media when he approached editor Ed Lucas at the Yakima Herald Republic. When this plan did not materialize, Garcia and other activists turned to purchasing airtime at a radio station in Prosser. Indeed, newspapers presented unique challenges, not least of which was farmworkers low literacy rates. KBBF in Santa Rosa attempted to publish a newspaper but then changed to radio for this reason. Coupled with their community activism, García's and Ramón's early involvements in journalism primed them for knowing the importance of establishing a viable system to communicate with farmworkers throughout Eastern Washington.

Activists searching for a means to reach farmworkers in the Yakima Valley through the radio airwaves implemented a tactic familiar in Spanish-language broadcasting: the purchasing of airtime to broadcast specific content. Ricardo García recalls his early experiences as a radio broker:

> That's my first experience with radio that we paid for a half hour program out of KARY out of Prosser and this was a weekly Spanish language programming, weekend programming. And we would talk about Cesar Chavez and we would talk about scabs and we would talk about farm workers that were being manipulated by their employers and that word got to the governor and next time he appointed commissioners, he made

[124] Ramón Chávez, "Emerging Media: A History and Analysis of Chicano Communication Efforts in Washington State," 1979.

> sure that he appointed some that were conservative and that were willing to come back and terminate my employment and that happened and we kept going.[125]

EARLY SOUNDS: THE NORTHWEST CHICANO RADIO NETWORK

In 1975, Daniel Robleski (also known as Daniel Roble) and Julio Cesar Guerrero came to Washington seeking to replicate a model of radio production they implemented in Lansing, Michigan: training migrant farmworker youth to produce radio. Ricardo García met Roble and Guerrero after a talk he gave to Chicano students at Western Washington University and learned that they shared the belief in the need for a radio station to communicate with farmworkers. The station's only woman co-founder Rosa Ramón explains the origins of farmworker-centered radio:

> There was a group that was interested in trying to come up with a way to provide more information to the Latino community, and specifically the farmworker community in the Yakima Valley. I got involved as a volunteer and it so happened that there were two gentlemen that moved from the state of Michigan. They came from Lansing where they had worked on a radio project with farmworkers. They arrived to Washington and were looking to find someone that would have an interest to continue to do that same kind of work here.[126]

Prior to establishing the brick and mortar station in Granger, Radio Cadena worked with Northwest Rural Opportunities to train ten farmworker youth in radio production in Lynden, Washington. When community radio producers Guerrero and Roble arrived to Washington in the mid-seventies, Chicana/o activists in the region were already working towards accessing communication technologies.

As the director of NRO, Garcia's leveraged organizational resources to find monies to train youth in broadcasting skills. Guerrero and Roble traveled to Linden, Washington to train farm worker youth. Begin broadcasting at KRAB and producing news for a national Spanish

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[125] Ricardo García, interview by author, April 11, 2014.
[126] Rosa Ramón, interview by author, March 9, 2012.

language news distribution. The group formed called themselves the Northwest Chicano Radio Network. Estella Del Villar began working for this new radio venture as a secretary as soon unexpectedly moved form behind the desk to behind the microphone when staff was fired and there was no one to produce the show. She did all the production and made sure it was on the air.

Through the efforts of founders García, Roble, Guerrero, and Ramón, Radio Cadena first went on the air on July 1, 1976 made possible through the use of Seattle community radio station KRAB-FM's Subsidiary Communications Authorization (SCA) signal.[127] Approximately 150 receivers were purchased and were placed in restaurants and local businesses across Seattle. While KDNA founders were preparing the application to the FCC for a licensing and construction permit, they also began broadcasting Spanish-language radio programming. KDNA engineered a cutting-edge Spanish-language news production system whereby reporters from across the nation would call in and record news stories, KDNA producers would edit these stories, and then feed them back to participating stations, which included commercial and noncommercial stations.[128] Known as the Spanish-Language News Network or Radio Cadena News Network, this system aurally connected the Pacific Northwest to regions across the United States including California, Texas, Minneapolis, Michigan, Illinois, Colorado and New Mexico.[129] Rosa Ramón explains, "We also started one of the first Spanish language news networks. It was a very simple set-up: reel to reel and a telephone where news reporters from different commercial stations throughout the country would call in and give us radio reports and

[127] A Subsidiary Communications Authorization (SCA) is a subcarrier on a radio station allowing the station to broadcast additional services as part of its signal. KRAB-FM was the fourth noncommercial station in the United States. For a rich online archive of KRAB's history see: http://krab.fm/

[128] Susan Marionneaux, "KDNA Radio's Estella Del Villar Breaks Gender Barriers With a Strong Voice," *Yakima Herald-Republic* (Yakima, WA), June 22, 2000.

[129] Ramón Chávez. "Emerging Media: A History and Analysis of Chicano Communication Efforts in Washington State," (master's thesis, University of Washington, 1979).

then we would produce them into one concise segment and then feed them back to the radio stations."[130]

As the map below illustrates, the Spanish-Language News Network facilitated a dialogue between Radio Cadena and other Chicano movement activity between the west coast and the Midwestern regions of the United States.

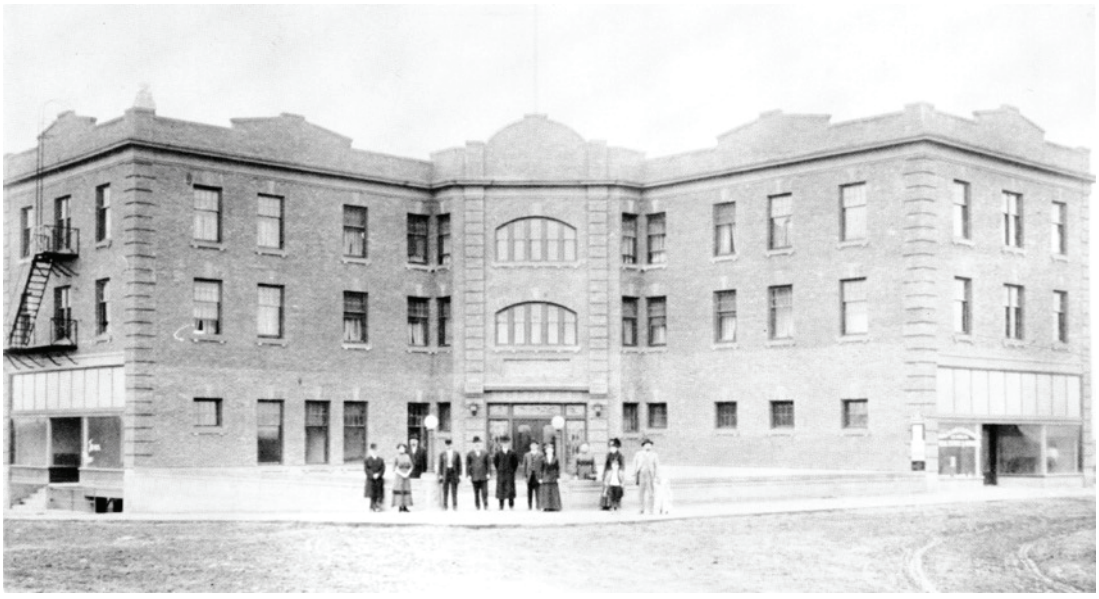
Radio stations that participated in the Radio Cadena News Network.

Broadcasting on KRAB's SCA signal limited Cadena's impact and reach in Seattle and throughout Washington because audiences needed a special receiver to tune in. The founders first attempted to collaborate with already existing radio stations in Eastern Washington, who were hesitant to allow this type of programming on the air. Although no formal reason was given, Ramón believes that the undercurrents of farmworker unionization made stations wary of allowing pro-farmworker radio producers onto their airwaves. With other media outlets supported by growers and agribusiness, we can assume that the region's radio stations were also linked to these industries. KRAB's station manager Chuck Reinsch suggested that Cadena should apply for a broadcasting license. The founders met a retired FCC judge, Ernest Nash, who agreed to help the founders with the FCC license application and construction permit. Judge

[130] Ramón, interview by author, March 9, 2012.

Nash stipulated he would help the group free of charge in exchange for meeting renowned labor organizer César Chávez. Ramón, Daniel Roble, and Ricardo García traveled to Delano, California with Judge Nash holding up their end of the bargain.

Unfortunately, the tri-state radio model did not materialize as planned, but KDNA moved forward with creating a radio station in the Yakima Valley. The five years leading up KDNA's entry into the community radio airwaves was a period of learning and traversing various institutional and systemic barriers or hoops from applying to the FCC for a broadcasting license. On December 19, 1977 the FCC granted the application to begin construction of radio tower. After a year of talks and negotiations with the Yakama Nation, construction of the radio tower on Ahtanum Ridge began on April 6, 1978. The brick and mortar building was first housed in the old Highline Hotel in Granger. Spatially, the radio station served as a community center where the community could turn to for information, entertainment, and convivencia.



Highline Hotel. YEAR. Photograph Courtesy of the Granger Historical Society.

The old Highline Hotel in Granger, known as The Academy from its days as a Seventh-day Adventist academy, became a training center that offered courses in radio announcing,

upholstery, mechanics and clerical work under the sponsorship of Northwest Rural Opportunities, managed by Ricardo Garcia. Finally, in the late ‘70s, Cadena moved to the old Granger hotel after receiving an FCC license as a noncommercial public radio station Working with the Chicano Education Foundation on leasing the building, which was leased to KDNA by the Foundation for Chicano Education (CHE) for $1 per year.

Former Radio KDNA Studios

Northwest Communities Education Center, Radio KDNA Studios. Photograph courtesy of Scott Borton.

RADIO KDNA: LA VOZ DEL CAMPESINO

While the financial obstacles and bureaucratic hoops Radio KDNA's founders had to navigate could have kept the station a dream as opposed to a reality, Ramón explained that their motivation was the farmworkers and what it would mean for this community to have a system of communication and dialogue at their disposal. "We never gave up." Ramón recalls, "We just knew that it could be so valuable and so important to a community that had been pretty much at the fringes of the Yakima Valley for so long to be able to have a voice. And eventually that's the nickname that you know stuck with Radio KDNA is la voz del campesino, the voice of the farm worker." Radio KDNA community radio producers "illustrated the ways in which changes in political economy necessitated new forms of cultural practice."[131] Although there were migrant workers present in the Pacific Northwest prior to the 1960s and 1970s, during this time we have many more families planting roots in the Yakima Valley and not returning to Texas or California at the end of the harvest. Amplified by KDNA's airwaves, la voz del campesino grew louder in the Yakima Valley.

The founders of Radio KDNA believed radio was an accessible tool for farmworkers who had little access to other media, while the design of the station fostered a dialectical model of media-making: producers as listeners and listeners as producers. With a growing population of Spanish-speaking communities resulting from an increased need for migrant labor in the region, Radio KDNA used its Spanish-language radio platform to express the sociopolitical needs of this shifting demographic. The development of portable transistor radios changed when and where people accessed the airwaves. As radio scholar Susan Douglas demonstrates, *"*as radio became

[131] George Lipsitz, "Listening to Learn and Learning to Listen: Popular Culture, Cultural Theory, and American Studies," 625.

more portable—and between 1949 and 1960 the number of portable sets made by U.S. companies quadrupled, while the number of imported Japanese transistor sets increased sevenfold—it accompanied people everywhere, to the beach, to work, in the backyard and on buses, cars, and subways."[132] For farmworkers, this meant that they could now bring radios with them on the field while at work. "Many of the workers take small radios with them into the fields" said Tomas Cerna, a Toppenish resident and member of the Commission on Mexican-American Affairs. "It's the main thing that keeps them informed. Some of the workers come from Mexico and can't read."[133]

The programming schedule also shifted during the spring to begin a 4 a.m. during the weekdays to accommodate farm workers. Not surprisingly, Radio KDNA's audience increased during the harvest months and KDNA's staff were well aware of this trend. In a program guide from approximately 1980, station manager Rosa Ramón's letter to the audience reminds farm workers that broadcasting will begin earlier to accommodate farmworkers' schedules. Producers at Radio KDNA were tuned into this reality, many because they had been farm workers themselves. In her letter of KDNA's listeners, Ramón inform audiences, "During the Spring and as a special service to the farm worker, KDNA will begin its program broadcasting at 4 am. Monday thru (*sic*) Friday and at 6 a.m. Saturdays and Sundays."[134]

The *design* of Radio KDNA—from building the tower to locally producing it programming—reveals how KDNA was able to attain its goal of engaging the Valley's Chicano community as active participants in noncommercial media making. The design also benefited from the emergent gender consciousness of the station's founders and volunteers. As co-founders

[132] Susan Douglas, *Listening In,* 17.
[133] Yakima Herald-Republic, December 17, 1984.
[134] Radio KDNA Program Guide (1980).

Rosa Ramón and Ricardo García state in the epigraph, from its inception, KDNA worked toward including women as active participants in community radio production with many Chicanas at the helm of leadership roles as station managers, producers, and news directors. This rich genealogy of Chicana/o public radio practitioners, positioned women as key players in the community radio movement of the Pacific Northwest. It is the particularities of KDNA's audience—Mexican and tejano migrants, Chicanos, farmworkers, working-class, men, women and children—that offer an alternative understating of Chicana/o activism when set in a rural setting in the Pacific Northwest. Radio KDNA is interpreted not just as a community radio station, but also as a space mediating interpersonal relations (particularly in regards to gender), intergenerational relationships, and with structural entities (for instance, state financing, agricultural organizations, and private growers).

Being la voz del campesino meant being a voice against anti-immigrant rhetoric prevalent in the Yakima Valley throughout the 1980s. The radio station's biggest critics in KDNA's early years were Immigration and Naturalization Service (currently the U.S. Department of homeland Security Immigration and Customs Enforcement or ICE).

> But the station is not without its critics. Immigration agents have repeatedly complained about alleged broadcasts alerting illegal aliens when the Border Patrol is operating in the area. No charges have been filed, but the agency's information was reviewed by the U.S. attorney's office, said Kenneth Langford, chief patrol officer with the Spokane INS office. 'It appears there were some infractions' in federal communications law, Langford said. 'We've had residents living in that area who have heard the same things and notified us. Of course, it's hard to prove those things unless you have a recording.' Ramone (*sic*) said she knows of no official complaints filed against KDNA by the INS. However, the station manager acknowledges relations have been tense between the agencies in recent years, and that immigration officials have refused to talk with KDNA reporters on more than one occasion.[135]

[135] Yakima Herald-Republic, December 17, 1984.

Rosa Ramón was aware that "Immigration wasn't very happy with us at times because we covered stories about immigration and we knew that we were being monitored, right. Because everyone was worried that we were a front for the union and for Cesar Chavez so we're pretty sure we had a lot of lawyers and immigration people and others monitoring the station in those early days. But of course we were very familiar with FCC rules and regulations.[136] As "la voz del campesino" the migrant farmworker experience became the anchor for Radio KDNA's audience, programming, and community formation more broadly.

Impact

KDNA's impact cannot and should not be measured by its monetary gains, but rather by the impact it had on the community it brought in and helped form through its airwaves. As Dolores Inés Casillas points out, bilingual and Spanish-language community radio stations operate on shoestring budgets and lack of funding poses a challenge to the operations of these stations, but a station's impact cannot be measured by monetary gains alone. A project like Radio KDNA was never about making a profit, but about being community resource and giving community access to media. Even on shoestring budgets, Radio KDNA was able to provide its employees with benefits:

> You had a community that started to participate. You had a community that started to settle down, establish roots. That was a big accomplishment of Radio KDNA convincing our Texas migrant and seasonal farmers to establish roots. You had children going to school listening to Jardin de los Niños, but also graduating and going to college, the universities. And several years later coming back and that's what you have right not you have a lot of the offspring of the first generation of Tex-Mex and later on the immigrant families of the 80s coming back and they're the teachers, they're the lawyers, they're the doctors, they're the dentists, there's a core of professional skilled, experienced work force in the Valley thanks to the development of a community that was listening to Radio KDNA.[137]

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[136] Rosa Ramón, interview by author, March 9, 2012.
[137] Ricardo García, interview by author, April 11, 2014.

A letter from Heritage College notes KDNA's impact:

> Your station is the *only* Spanish-format station in our area that makes such a concerted effort to *serve* our large Spanish-speaking community as well as to entertain. As you are surely aware, the area you serve has the largest number of monolingual Spanish speakers in the state, and without the invaluable services you provide, much of our community would be, in fact, totally isolated from the world, national, and state events that ultimately, profoundly shape their lives [emphasis in the original letter].

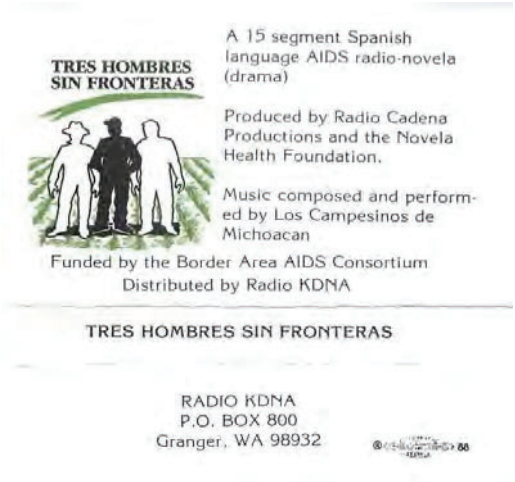
"I don't think a lot of agencies realize the benefits of this station," said Carlos Diaz, director of the Washington State Migrant Council. A health service covering Eastern Washington, the migrant council logs an average of two hours of airtimes on KDNA weekly."[138] The Washington State Migrant Council health agency wrote KDNA into many funding grants. In turn, KDNA produced public service announcements in collaboration with Washington State Migrant Council that instructed the Mexican community on where to find health services and offered preventative health information. KDNA never turned anyone away. "A farm worker came into the station with tears rolling down his face. Humiliated, the man said his employers had decided to get rid of him because he was getting older. The radio station did not have the resources to help, but Ricardo Garcia connected him with legal services that dealt with age discrimination. '(Garcia) never let anybody get away without giving them some information or at least listening to them to see if he could find someone else who could possible help,' Ramon said."[139]

Thus, community radio was not only a medium that provided entertainment, but also a technology that propelled Chicana/o activism. Staging Radio KDNA's broadcasting roots in Seattle's community radio movement, as well as in the social movements throughout the Yakima Valley, amplifies the narratives of Chicana/o radio activists and the tactics deployed by Chicana radio producers who created a decolonial rupture over the airwaves and within the organizational

[138] Yakima Herald-Republic, December 17, 1984.
[139] Jean Guerrero, *KDNA founder plans an active retirement* Yakima Herald Republic 29 June 2008.

dynamics in order to run a non-profit community based radio station that practiced Chicana radio activism. A result of this activism is the production of *Tres Hombres Sin Fronteras* and an extension of Chicana/o activism that moves beyond the current historicizing of the Chicano movement that brackets this activism from the late 1960s through the 1970s. In the 1980s, Chicana/o activism took a different form and needed to respond to the demographic shifts in the Chicano and Latino communities. The historical significance of Radio KDNA recasts Chicana/os as technologically adept and as active participants in the development of community radio.

CHAPTER FOUR: RADIO CONDÓN: *TRES HOMBRES SIN FRONTERAS* (1989) AIRS GENDER AND SEXUALITY ON THE SPANISH-LANGUAGE AIRWAVES



Cassette Cover of *Tres Hombres Sin Fronteras*

Tres Hombres Sin Fronteras. Una radionovela de amor, aventura y descuido.

Three Men Without Borders. A radio drama about love, adventure, and carelessness.

Narrator, *Tres Hombres Sin Fronteras*[140]

The voice of the male narrator floats over the corrido-inspired theme song welcoming listeners to a radio drama about love, adventure, and carelessness.[141] The program begins with Sergio bidding farewell to his wife, Ana María, and his mother. Both women are concerned about Sergio's safety and Ana María is particularly saddened by the fact that Sergio will not be present for the birth of their child. Sergio assures Ana María that his mother will care for her to which his mother replies, "Nosotras las mujeres siempre nos cuidamos unas a las otras. En este

[140] *Tres Hombres Sin Fronteras.* 1989. Produced by Novela Health Foundation and Radio KDNA.

[141] The narrator describes the series as a radionovela or radio drama about "amor, aventura, y descuido," which translates to love, adventure, and carelessness. The subtleties of the word descuido cannot be easily translated to English because descuido has other implied references. For example, when a person "no se cuida" (does not care for themselves) the implication is that they do not practice any method of birth control.

pueblo la mayoría de los hombres se van al norte" (As women we always take care of one another. In this town, the majority of the men leave to the North).[142] In this brief remark, Sergio's mother is recalling past experiences of family separation caused by migration. She invokes a familiar narrative for those families separated due to sociopolitical and economic forces. Sergio's mother is also recalling a cross-border ethics of care that Mexicanas and Chicanas have enacted in the face of family separation, poverty, and violence caused by political and economic state policies by U.S. and Mexican governments (such as Mexican and Mexican-American Repatriation in the 1930s, the Bracero Program, and Operation Wetback). With the first notes, the song and use of Spanish instantly ruptures AIDS/HIV discourse from one that is white, gay, and male to one that is Spanish, Mexican and not always queer. *Tres Hombres* producers attempted to tackle a difficult and taboo topic through the comfort and familiarity of Spanish and in the sonic musical spaces of the corrido. Through language and in song, migrants are reminded that they are connected to and never really leave home.

Produced in 1989, *Tres Hombres Sin Fronteras* was a collaborative production between Radio KDNA and the Novela Health Foundation, a non-profit organization that brought together health professionals, Latino artists and educators to produce innovative, creative, and culturally relevant health education materials. *Tres Hombres* sought to address the rising cases of HIV/AIDS among Latinos with a targeted focus on migrant farmworkers throughout the United States. This project included a Spanish-language radionovela (sequential radio drama) and a fotonovela (zine) project, both with national distribution. The radio series aired on both commercial and noncommercial radio stations, focusing primarily along the U.S. Mexico border.

[142] *Tres Hombres Sin Fronteras.* 1989. Produced by Novela Health Foundation and Radio KDNA.

Tres Hombres filled the void of culturally sensitive materials that were of an appropriate reading level in Spanish (fotonovela) and the poor dissemination of available materials (radionovela).[143]

Grounding my analysis in *Tres Hombres Sin Fronteras* this chapter analyzes community radio programming as a site of strategic intervention and political mobilization for Chicana/o and Latina/o listeners in the Yakima Valley and beyond. I argue that a critical Chicana feminist listening of *Tres Hombres* demonstrates that sound (in distinction to print) and community radio programming are sonic registers of structural and personal miseries and survival experienced by migrant Mexican farmworker communities. Moreover, the program does more than document these miseries, it is also a form of resistance. While the show centers a male narrative of migration and health with women appearing at the periphery of the story, a Chicana feminist listening of the program renders a more complex understanding of the negotiation of health, gender, and sexuality by Latinos on both sides of the border. *Tres Hombres* amplifies stories of difference within AIDS/HIV discourses that had been dominated by a white gay male narrative. Indeed, by making the lived experiences of migrant Mexicans communities audible, *Tres Hombres* pivoted AIDS discourses from the visual to the sonic while highlighting the intersection of AIDS with other personal and structural miseries such as migration and labor exploitation. I offer three vignettes from the series to discuss how community radio programming and sound articulate personal and structural miseries experienced by migrant workers collectively. Moreover, Chicana feminist listening practices also uncover counter narratives of resistance to each of these miseries.

[143] A study by Singer found that most AIDS/HIV prevention materials for Latinos were lacking in cultural sensitivity and were not the appropriate reading level in Spanish. Materials that did exist were often poorly disseminated (Singer et al, p. 86).

I attend to the multiple layers of work *Tres Hombres* does in the following ways: (1) Through an analysis of content via three of the program's core themes—Immigration, AIDS/HIV in the Latino community, and gender and sexuality; (2) I analyze the structure of the series as a sequential radio drama (radionovela) and it's use of Chicana/o and Mexicana/o cultural touchstones in the use of corridos and other musical forms; and (3) By analyzing the cultural and political work of the series that grounds this discussion in the unique platform of community radio programming that offers new insights of the political work of cultural production for Chicana/o and Latina/o communities across the borderlands.

Tres Hombres Sin Fronteras, a 15-segment radio and fotonovela about AIDS and migrant farm workers was "found to significantly increase migrant workers' knowledge about AIDS, change their attitudes about unprotected sex, and change some men's condom-using behavior." Furthermore, a study by Bernadette Lalonde, Peter Rabinowitz, Mary Lou Shefsky, and Kathleen Washienko report that "fotonovelas are read time and again by the same person, have a greater effect, and are shared with a greater number of people than other traditional brochures."[144] KDNA and Novela Foundation knew that they had to address HIV/AIDS through various textual platforms, and while the fotonovela provides rich data for analysis, I focus my analysis on the radionovela.

In this section, I discuss how community radio programming, and *Tres Hombres Sin Fronteras* in particular, offered a critical sonic counter narrative of migrant farmworkers' experiences with HIV/AIDS circumventing institutional barriers that prevented this community from getting the assistance they needed to confront this epidemic. Ricardo García learned that

[144] Lalonde, Bernadette, Peter Rabinowitz, Mary Lou Shefsky, and Kathleen Washienko. "La Esperanza Del Valle: Alcohol Prevention Novelas for Hispanic Youth and Their Families." *Health Education & Behavior* 24, no. 5 (1997): 587–602.

the Border Area AIDS Consortium was looking for a community radio station that could produce a series on AIDS/HIV targeting Latinos. The consortium originally sought an LA community radio station, but when they could not find one, KDNA stepped in and agreed to produce the series. Radio KDNA producers accessed sonic imaginaries in order to produce radio programming that reflected the experiences of their audiences and as a method to "understand larger historical scenes."[145]

Following a practice of producing programming relevant to the Mexican migrant farm worker community in the Yakima Valley, Radio KDNA took on the topic HIV/AIDS for personal reasons as well. The son of one of the farm workers, who voices one of the characters on the radionovela, had succumbed to AIDS. Another farm worker and a member of KDNA's board of directors also passed away from AIDS in Mexico, isolated from his community. Ricardo García recalls learning about his passing:

> We learned that one of our Board of Directors, a farmworker, had gone back to Mexico. Later we found out from his relatives that he had died of AIDS in Mexico. He died alone without knowing how to deal with this new sexually transmitted disease. Out of compassion for the communities that were being subjected to contracting HIV/AIDS, we applied and received some grants to do that type of education. I would say that throughout the country we were the very first Spanish-language community radio to do that type of education. And from that we came into support and understand the gay community and we started to talk about gay issues on the radio. And we started to talk about condoms on the air and it concerned some of our listeners. They started to call us Radio Condón (Condom Radio) instead of KDNA. But we had to introduce that vocabulary of HIV education, you had to talk about sex, sexually transmitted disease, not only HIV/AIDS, but other sexually transmitted diseases."[146]

While KDNA knew this programming informed communities of this deadly virus and could potentially saved lives, the explicit language upset some listeners. The tone of reactions at the times of its original airing is demonstrated in this quote, "The reaction among staffers, and my

[145] Jonathan Sterne, *The Sound Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 6.
[146] Ricardo García, interview by author, April 11, 2014.

own reaction, is it was done in somewhat poor taste," said Ernesto Portillo, station manager of KQTL-AM in Tucson, which aired the program in December of 1990.[147] "It's a somewhat taboo subject and it's using raw language." Another station manager, Ken Wolt of KTNQ, was also concerned that the content might be offensive to listeners, so he planned on airing *Tres Hombres* weekday evenings at 9:55 p.m. KDNA producer Estella Del Villar recalls the resistance from some listeners who did not believe radio was an appropriate place to discuss sexuality. "You don't talk about sex and condoms in the traditional Mexican family," Del Villar states, "And when you put it on the radio, they are really aghast and angry."[148]

This type of programming was produced by a community radio station not only because the free-form format permited this kind of programming, but community radio stations typically are driven by the ethos of creating programming that responds to the needs of the community. Radio was an effective way of transmitting this information because, as Casillas argues, on-air radio programs provide a form of anonymity. She states, "The public, yet unarchived, nature of Spanish-language radio, together with its anonymity, makes it possible for radio programs to swiftly accommodate fluctuations in immigration law and politics. Often aired live, these dialogues carry elements of an oral tradition long familiar to Mexican and Chicano communities."[149]

[147] Scott Maier. 1991. "Soap Operas Help in Fight Against AIDS" *Seattle Post-Intelligencer,* January 7.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Dolores Inés Casillas, *Sounds of Belonging, 5*

Thematic Analysis

The narrative themes in *Tres Hombres Sin Fronteras* demonstrate the series' intersectional approach, which included immigration, labor, and family separation, among others.[150] In this section, I discuss three themes that I argue uncover the political work of *Tres Hombres* as a multipronged approach to HIV/AIDS prevention. Notably, this approach to prevention had not been present in other prevention materials for Latino communities. While the themes of "Immigration, Border Crossings, and Migrant Labor"; "The AIDS/HIV Epidemic in the Latino Community"; and "Gender and Sexuality" overlap and intersect within the series, I analyze each theme separately in the following sections.

Theme 1: Immigration, Border Crossings, and Migrant Labor

In the inaugural episode, audiences are introduced to Sergio, Victor, and Marco, migrant workers who leave their town in Mexico for the United States in search of job opportunities. Sergio and Victor, who have migrated to the United States before, are married and leave behind their pregnant wives. First-time border crosser Marco is a young and energetic man who is single and looking for romantic adventures on the other side of the border. Marco's youth is conveyed in the tenor and excitement in his voice. His voice transmits a naiveté about the immigrant experience. He is excited and ready to go. Having made the long and difficult journey back and forth several times, Victor's voice conveys exhaustion and weariness. Sergio's carelessness is conveyed in his assuring Marco that he will show him how to have a good time with the *güeritas* (white girls) on the other side of the border.

[150] Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1241–99.

Sergio, Victor, and Marco voice the experiences of a predominant demographic of migrant Mexican laborers who traveled to the United States alone or with other men, often leaving families behind in Mexico. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, males comprised approximately 89% of migrants of whom 84% were between the ages of 15 to 34 and the average being approximately 26 years old.[151] According to x, "In addition, 58.3 percent are single and of those who are married, the majority travel without their wives."

Throughout the series, we travel with the men as they migrate from one job site to another. The first job is harvesting oranges. In the series, labor is often sonically rendered through background sound effects. The sound of a tractor in the background alerts listeners to the type of migrants labored in. Audiences listen to the sonic spaces of labor through background sound effects like a tractor and sounds of nature when they are outside. Disease is sonically rendered as coughing and the characters describing the poor working conditions in the fields.

Radio KDNA sonically extends the migration of Chicana/os and Mexicanos outside the U.S. Southwest, and by leaving the location ambiguous, listeners are free to imagine their own narrative (location). The ambiguity of place means that it can be any place. This opens up the notion that Chicana/os can live and work in places besides the Southwest. The fact that the problem would air nationally meant that the producers imagined Chicana/o Mexicano communities beyond the usual suspects of Texas, California to the colder places like Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, Washington, Oregon and Idaho.

AIDS/HIV discourse centered a white, male subject. At the same time, the immigration narrative was shifting from Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 to anti-immigrant sentiment with the passing of anti-immigrant legislation like California's Proposition 187. Radio

[151] Shiraz I. Mishra, Ross F. Conner, and J. Raul Magana, eds., *AIDS Crossing Borders: The Spread of HIV Among Migrant Latinos* (Boulder, Colo: Westview Pr, 1996), 50.

KDNA and *Tres Hombres* lies at the intersection of these two historical moments. As such, it serves as a case study in the conjuncture of AIDS/HIV activism and immigration activism within the Latino community.

Theme 2: The AIDS/HIV Epidemic in the Latino Community

The goal of *Tres Hombres* to inform and educate the Spanish-speaking migrant population about HIV/AIDS including demystifying assumptions about how the disease was contracted and who was susceptible to the virus. It advocated for the use of condoms for any sexual activity amongst all partners. The series became a platform for the negotiation of cultural norms, gender, and sexuality. As one of the first mediated Spanish-language representations of the HIV/AIDS at the height of the epidemic in the 1980s, *Tres Hombres* was developed for Spanish-speaking migrant populations along the U.S. Mexican border. At the time *Tres Hombres* production, the AIDS/HIV epidemic was rampant among the Latino community in the United States. By the late 1980s and early 1990s, Latinos were contracting AIDS at disproportionate rates (Singer et al 1990). For instance, by 1988 Latinos accounted for 15% of AIDS cases reported to the Centers for Disease Control although nationally they constituted only about 8% of the population (Singer et al, 1990). And by 1993 this number rose to approximately 29 percent or almost one-third of all cases reported to the CDC. While these statistics do not account for the number of undocumented immigrants with HIV/AIDS, there is no denying the severity of the epidemic in the Latino community. For Latinos, and undocumented populations specifically, many factors contributed to that increase, including a lack of basic knowledge or awareness of AIDS/HIV, including how the virus gets transmitted, how to prevent transmission, among others. Particularly for migrant and undocumented communities, access to health care and other medical

resources posed a challenge. There was also prevailing discourse and ideology of AIDS being a white gay disease.

Sergio. Audiences become intimate with the effects of AIDS through Sergio's character, a prototypical macho Mexicano who understands sex as power and exerts that power with men and women alike. If he does not get sex on his terms he finds it elsewhere—be it with other women, prostitutes, and men. Sergio is the stand-in for the myths surrounding AIDS discourse of the time: that it's a gay disease, it doesn't affect Mexican or Latino communities, and that using condoms confirms that one is diseased rather than simply protecting oneself from disease. Sergio brings to the fore many issues migrant male workers face in their journeys to and from Mexico.

Through Sergio's character, *Tres Hombres* takes listeners through the journey of migration, sickness, disease, border crossings, and death. Sergio drinks alcohol, goes to bars, and has sex with men and women, including sex workers. Sergio also highlights the intersectional challenges of undocumented migrant farmworkers. Sergio is denied entry across the border into the United States not only because of his undocumented legal status, but he has contracted AIDS, his son is diseased, go back to your country and ask them to help you. He sees a curandero. Audiences never learn how he contracted AIDS, which means that he did not necessarily contract the disease through a same sex encounter. This ambiguity opens up a broader discussion of AIDS/HIV and shatters the myth AIDS is a white gay disease.

Theme 3: Patriarchy / Gender Roles / Sexuality

In advancing the discussion of HIV/AIDS, condom use, and sex among various sexual partners (including same-sex relationships), *Tres Hombres* reveals sound as a platform for an emergent Chicana feminist consciousness. In particular, Karla a sex worker who does not engage

in sexual activity without the use of a condom and Sylvia who refuses to have sex until marriage, emerge as strong feminist characters in the series. Through this we listen to how gender roles and sexuality are negotiated. The women in the series are minor characters that do not appear to be important to the series, but are there to advance the story line of the male characters.

Karla: The Astute Prostitute. Audiences first meet Karla in episode nine "Una Mujer Que Se Protege" (A woman who protects herself) when the men attend a dance. Karla approaches the men and asks who wants to go outside with her and have a good time. Sergio is the first to volunteer, but to his surprise she demands that he use a condom before they engage in any sexual activity. Sergio angrily returns to the dance. When Sergio goes to complain to the men about her, they side with Karla and say that she is probably healthy because she insists on using condoms versus someone like Lucy who didn't require the men to use on condoms.

Sylvia: The Underground Chicana Feminist. Sylvia is Rosa's younger sister—Sergio's partner in the Unites States with whom he has a daughter, first appears in episode 6 of the series. We first meet Sylvia when Sergio, Marco, and Victor arrive at another location in the United States to look for work. While one can argue that Sylvia is a minor character in the series and her speaking parts are minimal, her role is an important one, especially in terms of hearing a woman advocate for herself about the terms of her sexual encounters. Sylvia's choices and actions as understood through her speech can appear at first to be rather conservative and adhering to stringent gender and sexual roles as prescribed to Chicanas or Mexicanas. In one scene, Marco asks her if she can help him make the bed, the tone of his voice implies a sexual innuendo. Sylvia is not fooled by his request and quickly replies, "Creo que ustedes dos pueden tender sus propias camas. Ay los miro después."[152] Within Mexican gendered codes of conduct, Sylvia

[152] *Tres Hombres Sin Fronteras.* 1989. Produced by Novela Health Foundation and Radio KDNA.

should not have hesitated to make their bed, in spite of the sexual innuendo. Here I can cite Moraga when she discusses her brother and the male privilege he has to not have to do any housework or chores. Especially with someone she's never met, Mexican cultural codes would say that Sylvia should have assisted Marco with the bed, even if she was aware of the sexual innuendo implied in Marco's comment. However, Sylvia says no and leaves the situation.

In *A Long Line of Vendidas,* Moraga discusses her experiences of having to serve her brother, do the things he asked so as not to upset her mother. She talks about how this behavior is something her mother also conformed to from a very young age when typically, after a long and exhausting day of working in the fields, the women would have to cook and serve the men. And how even after having grown up and moved out of her mother's home, she will still wait on the men: "I do this now out of respect for my mother and her wishes…the only thing that earned my brother my servitude was his maleness."[153] In her refusal to help Marco "make the bed" Sylvia is stopping the chain of serving or waiting on men simply based on the fact that they are men. When listening to Sylvia's refusal through a Chicana feminist listening practice, this is a feminist action.

By episode eleven, we learn that Marco and Sylvia have been spending time together. This is a pivotal scene in Marco and Sylvia's relationship because it is here that we learn that Sylvia will not have sex with Marco, or anyone, until she is married. What can be heard as conforming to gender norms, especially within the strict code of Marianismo prevalent in Mexican/Chicano culture, that values no sex until after marriage, piety and purity from women exclusively whereas men do not have to conform to any sexual codes. Sylvia's clear speech conveys a sense of strength and certainty. She sounds young, but not naïve. Her voice conveys

[153] Moraga, *Loving in the War Years*, 82.

conviction and certainty about her decisions to abstain from sex until she is married. By this point in the series, Marco has received education about safe sex practices and his views about Sylvia knowing about condoms and safe sex is indicative of this knowledge. Also progressive in his view of what women should know. Marco's own progressive views that it's good Sylvia knows about condom use. Rather than holding to patriarchal views on women engaging in premarital sex or having any knowledge about sex and sex for pleasure. Again, a Chicana feminist listening practice is useful in this scene.

While Sylvia's choice to have sex only after she is married may appear as an adherence to patriarchal codes of conduct, Sylvia's reason for not engaging in premarital is more complex and is revealed by a Chicana feminist listening of her speech. Sylvia is making a conscious choice about not having sex based on witnessing her sister's struggles with Sergio and Rosa, what she names as "puros problemas" (only problems). A key insight we gain in listening exclusively to Sylvia's speech is the clarity with which she speaks about her choice not to engage in sex before marriage. Sylvia is practicing autonomy over her body, something that Chicanas do not always have the luxury of doing, especially state sanctions over female body by way of sterilization, lack of access to reproductive healthcare, other examples. For Sylvia to practice autonomy over her body and have a clear choice as to when and how she will engage in sexual activities. For Sylvia, it's not religion or cultural norms that influence her decision to not engage in sexual activity before marriage, but her sister's lived experiences. What could have been read/sounded out as her abiding by normative cultural codes are now re-listened to as personal advocacy and Chicana feminist positionality. For both Carla and Sylvia to say these are the conditions under which you can engage with me and my body is a practice of radical body politics.

Tres Hombres Sin Fronteras and Sonic Resistance

This radionovela is evidence and example of resistance. In the production of the radionovela, radio programming is a tool of health information and advocacy. The radio station and its programming are doing to work the state should be doing to care for its workers. The programming is not just about entertainment, but about advocating for a vulnerable community, communities that create miserable structural conditions that then feed personal miseries. Radio as public advocacy and as an "acoustic ally" as Casillas states. With a lack of Spanish-language and culturally relevant AIDS/HIV information directed at the Latino community, Radio KDNA and the Novela Health Foundation turned to radio to dispel myths about AIDS and informed listeners that the spread of AIDS could be prevented through condom use.

The resistance in the immigration narrative in the representation of male social relations and how they care for one another throughout the migrant journey. While AIDS frames and propels the radionovela's narrative, it is not contained by it. *Tres Hombres* was not just about the AIDS epidemic in the Latino community, it also sonically constructed the migratory journey of undocumented farmworkers from Mexico to the United States and back. The episodic structure of the series can also be framed as a metaphor for im/migration. That is, migration, particularly for seasonal migrants that work for a certain period of time, can be like episodic events of when one is in the United States and in one's country of origin.

Structure: Telenovelas, Radionovelas, and Corridos

While the content of the series is important to understand how this series conveyed AIDS/HIV prevention to Latinos communities, the structure and format of the series is just as important to understand the significance of the series. *Telenovelas* are televised serial soap

operas popular throughout Mexico, Latin America, and amongst Latinos in the United States. Telenovelas are characterized by a traditional narrative structure of heteronormative love. The series holds viewers in suspense through climactic plot twists and romantic triangulations only to end with a predictable "happily ever after" finale. Scholars have categorized telenovelas into the distinct genres: *telenovelas rosa*—one dimensional characters usually representative of totalizing "good" or "evil"—and *telenovelas de ruptura*—storylines are more complex through an incorporation of Latin American inspired social and cultural subject matter.[154] *Tres Hombres* capitalizes on this telenovela structure with is narrative characteristics drawing from both telenovelas rosa and telenovelas de ruptura. The narrative arc of the episodes simultaneously references telenovela narrative structures and mirrors the migratory journey. The narrative arc, which is inherent in telenovelas, reaches a climatic turning point only to hold listeners in suspense and creates loyalty to listening because you have to listen to the next episode.

Corridos. In her feminist scholarship on the Mexican corrido, scholar María Herrera-Sobek describes corridos as a popular musical form with three genres—epic, lyric, and narrative—that typically "extol the exploits of protagonists, who are usually male. Women generally play secondary roles in the narratives."[155] The affective overtones with corridos and link this to the affective overtones of the radionovela and the emotional labor listeners are doing in tuning-in to the series. "As for the corrido's lyrical nature, it derives from the affective overtones found throughout the songs. The corrido also generally recounts a story in either the first or the third person; hence its narrative character."[156] Parallels between *Tres Hombres* and the classic thematic structure of the corrido consists of the following:

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[154] Carolina Acosta-Alzura. ""I'm Not a Feminist...I Only Defend Women as Human Beings": The Production, Representation, and Consumption of Feminism in a Telenovela"

[155] María Herrera-Sobek. *The Mexican Corrido: A Feminist Analysis* xiii.

[156] Ibid.

1. Initial call from the corridista
2. The place, date, and name of the protagonist
3. A formula preceding the protagonist's arguments
4. Message
5. Protagonist's farewell
6. Corridista's farewell

Tres Hombres invokes the corrido aesthetic, particularly the corridos created in the 1920s and 1930 discussed by Alicia Schmidt Camacho. In her discussion of the corrido "El Deportado" Schmidt Camacho provides incisive theorizing about the cultural aesthetics of the corrido within the migrant imaginary that I find useful for thinking through *Tres Hombres*. She argues, "The song inscribes the migrant imaginary as exclusively the domain of men, in the which the singers, their audience, and their subjects constitute a homosocial world of male mobility and performance."[157] The aesthetics of *Tres Hombres* evoke the corrido familiar to migrant Mexican communities in the Yakima Valley. The theme song is a corrido that was composed and performed by Los Campesinos de Michoacan, a local musical group in the Yakima Valley. Many of the overarching themes within *Tres Hombres* map onto the themes of many corridos that work to conjure a familiar cultural touchstone that audiences recognized, but with a new lesson: HIV/AIDS prevention. These themes included: migration and the journey on the train, leaving home, men migrating and women staying behind, and mothers lamenting the departure of their sons.

Where *Tres Hombres* is different from the traditional corrido is the inclusion of women's voices. Schmidt Camacho says about women in corridos: "…the song extends its account of migrant hardships to the 'women, children, and elders' swept up in the campaign of ethnic

[157] Alicia Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries: Latino Cultural Politics in the U.S.–Mexico Borderlands,* 34.

removal. The song treats this group as mere dependents of the male wage earner and citizen; few corridos gave voice to women's particular testimony as migrants."[158]

In *Tres Hombres Sin Fronteras,* we listen to how migrant Mexican and Mexican American farmworkers attempted to make themselves audible within HIV/AIDS discourses creating moments of resistance to structural and personal miseries. In tuning-in to *Tres Hombres*, audiences utilized these listening spaces as a means by which they could connect to a "larger totality and communicate a sense of relatedness to a particular time, place, and condition."[159] *Tres Hombres's* production is historically situated amidst various social, political, economic and cultural moments of the late 1980s and early 1990s—AIDS epidemic, IRCA, and anti-immigrant sentiments and legislation like Prop 187. We hear how Marco, Sergio, and Victor, negotiate this ever-changing sociopolitical landscape, they convey a particular set of conditions and experiences that were representative of the migrant experience of the time.

Following a practice of producing programming relevant to the Mexican migrant farm worker community in the Yakima Valley, Radio KDNA took on the topic HIV/AIDS for personal reasons as well. One study of migrants and HIV/AIDS conducted by Mario Bronfman and Sergio Lopez Moreno found, "The migrants received HIV/AIDS information from a multitude of sources including Spanish language television, radio and personal contacts. In terms of the credibility of the sources, the migrants believed that the most reliable sources were those who were seropositive, and the sick and their families. These sources of information were frequently shown on the television and were most credible since the infected persons and their families described their own experiences."[160]

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[158] Alicia Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries: Latino Cultural Politics in the U.S.–Mexico Borderlands,* 37.

[159] Ibid.

[160] *AIDS Crossing Borders*, 58-59.

PROGRAMMING SIN FRONTERAS

As a community-based radio stations, KDNA was poised and equipped to produce a radio drama that not only introduced a taboo topic to the Latino community, but it did so through an intersectional approach that brought many experiences to the fore—migration, sexuality, and labor. This was not the first time KDNA's programming would tackled a difficult topic; indeed, they were quite skilled at expanding the dialogue via radio programming. Early radio programming included the following shows: *El Jardín de los Niños* (Children's Garden); *Raíces Culturales* (Cultural Roots), a show airing radio plays; *Amanecer Ranchero* (Ranchera Sunrise); *Mujer* (Woman), a show produced by women with general information for women; *Oportunidades de Trabajo* (Job Opportunities); *Noticias y Comentarios* (News and Commentary); and *Buenas Noches* (Good Night), a call-in interview talk show. Within the musical selection, Radio KDNA attempted to air music that was not degrading to women, in particular, avoiding ranchera or Mexican music that presented women in stereotypical or patriarchal roles. During KDNA's early days, producers strived for airing locally produced content and were successful with ninety-five percent of KDNA's programming being locally produced. Ricardo García and Rosa Ramón both remember KDNA's early days as hectic given the small staff of five. García recalls,

> It was hectic, the very early days, because you were there, you had a radio station you were controlling the radio station. It was a community radio station. It had a board of directors who were Chicanos. It was very hectic because Rosa and her staff were getting into a profession, radio broadcasters, and learning the skills of radio broadcasting as they went along. It also had to face the criticism, the controversy of growers who were beginning, from the very beginning I think it was suspect the radio station that it was being used for purposes other than entertaining them, purposes other than just playing music for them. That it was a station that was doing a lot of talking, a lot of informing, a lot of meaningful interviews. So those beginning days were hectic for that reason.[161]

[161] Ricardo García, interview by author, April 11, 2014.

Producers needed to fill eighteen hours of programming a day with a variety of programming including music, interviews, informational messages or PSAs (public service announcements), and original programs such as the ones listed above. Indeed, KDNA's diverse programming transformed radio into a resource for listeners who "are drawn to radio for more than the musical sounds of homelands left behind; from radio they also seek guidance on how to navigate their newfound social and political lives as immigrants… Specifically, these on-air exchanges broadcast listeners' migrant sensibilities and highlight their economic and racialized status in the United States."[162]

KDNA often invited experts to discuss a relevant topic as a way to inform the community not just about but also to introduce them to experts that had the cultural understanding and community roots to take on difficult topics. For instance, clinical counselor Abel Garza had a weekly call-in counseling program. García recalls that the topic of incest within the Latino community had a great impact. Even after the program aired many people were calling in to learn more about incest and other forms of abuse. For many listeners, particularly amongst women listeners, having a radio program publically discuss incest and other forms of abuse was eye opening and for many it was the first time they opened up about their own experiences with incest and abuse. García remembers the phones started to ring nonstop and continued for several weeks. "Women were calling in and sharing not only their experiences of incest at home," García notes "but what they were going through at home in terms of abuse, harassment by their husbands, who many times were drinking too much and abusing them. They were using radio, through programming that originated at KDNA, that created a change in the way women were thinking."[163] This was the impact of Chicana feminist programming.

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[162] Dolores Inés Casillas, *Sounds of Belonging,* 5.
[163] Ricardo García, interview by author, April 11, 2014.

KDNA's feminist ethos and ethics of care was present in early programming decisions made by the station's founders and programmers. Ramón explains that KDNA would be a radio station or would be a sounding board for resources for migrant Mexican farmworkers as well as the emerging Latino community in the Yakima Valley and Washington State as a whole. From public service announcements advertising the need for volunteers for sexual assault hotlines to prenatal classes for pregnant teens, KDNA's producers—especially with a strong female leadership—were acutely aware of the needs of the community. As such, from its inception, the station was more than just a broadcasting entity, but a site of acoustic intervention and strategizing.

Alicia Schmidt Camacho deftly theorizes the work of Chicana/o narrative as a process of as cultural production that creates a narrative from the traumatic loss experienced as a result of displacement and migration, which can also be applied to radio. Schmidt Camacho argues, "the experience of displacement intensifies migrant desire and exaggerates the demands of memory…Chicana/o narratives challenge the official imaginary of the nation, because experiences of displacement and exploitation have been endowed to transborder communities with vernaculars, ideologies, and values that set them in a category apart from sedentary communities of citizens."[164] Indeed, Radio KDNA and *Tres Hombres* are not the programs of the Golden Age of Radio that advertised directly into the homes of white middle class housewives. Nor is this programming an attempt at imagining a community of racially and linguistically unified citizen subjects (who spoke "proper" English and were white). The transborder aesthetics of Radio KDNA's programming imagined a community that was not sedentary, but rather one that migrated back and forth between an increasingly militarized and less porous border. The

[164] Alicia Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries,* 6.

program itself was made to travel, to air on radio stations throughout the United States, reaching communities outside the imagined "home" of Chicana/os typically identified within the U.S. Southwest. The sonic mediated exchanges heard on *Tres Hombres* insist we remember stories of migration and displacement and the material effects on the bodies of Mexican and Chicana/o communities.

In (re)listening to *Tres Hombres* with an ear tuned to Chicana feminism, this radionovela proves crucial in exploring the tactics migrant male and female farm workers and community radio producers deployed that allowed for public conversations about health, sex, and transnational migration. Audio is able to render a testimonio for migrant Chicana/o and Mexican communities. In addition to highlighting the dangers of AIDS, the show can be heard as a critique or public denunciation and display of the liberal, capitalist transnational policies causing migration. Radio KDNA's radio activism in the 1980s especially around immigration and public health demonstrates that the ethos of the Chicano movement did not end in the 70s. While mainstream and commercial media may have declared the 1980s as the Decade of the Hispanic in order to serve the capitalist and consumer-driven state apparatus, community radio was able to subvert these logics through their programming and community outreach. *Tres Hombres Sin Fronteras* is another example of KDNA's Chicana feminist radio praxis, which I will explore in more depth in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: FEMINISTA FREQUENCIES: CHICANA RADIO ACTIVISM IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Berenice Zuniga and Rosa Ramón, approximately 1980. Courtesy of Rosa Ramón.

> The very first time I did the news live, it was my first time I was very, very nervous and after my news was over I came out and Rosa and Estella were waiting for me at the door and they were applauding me, and that made me feel really good because I get a lot of support from them and I think that's what keeps me going.
>
> Celia Prieto Butterfield, *Women of Radio KDNA* radio segment[165]

Chicanas who stepped up to the microphone for the first time were not only hearing their own voices audibly broadcasted over public airwaves, they were announcing the arrival of a sonically distinct Chicana public sphere. As Celia Prieto Butterfield powerfully acknowledges above, Rosa's and Estellas's affirming applause affectively "made me feel really good," and that their community of Chicana radio producers was a source of support and sustenance. At its core, Chicana radio activism is about creating a space for women to imagine themselves in roles they

[165] *Women of Radio KDNA* produced for a women's conference in approximately 1984. Courtesy of Rosa Ramón.

never thought possible, while supporting each other as they carved spaces for themselves within public broadcasting.

The epigraph that begins this chapter comes from a sound recording produced by Chicanas at Radio KDNA for a women's conference sometime between 1979 and 1984, which I refer to as the *Women of Radio KDNA* program. The program follows a "day in the life" structure whereby audiences are introduced to KDNA's daily operations through interviews with women station employees. The program is hosted by station manager Rosa Ramón whose narration acts as a sonic "walk" through the station, introducing listeners to the work and lives of María Estela (producer and on-air personality), Celia Prieto (public affairs producer), and Estella Del Villar (music director). The program sonically produces a distinct understanding of public broadcasting by centering the experiences of women community radio producers. The program includes a breakdown of the radio production process as well as sound clips from KDNA radio programs produced by these broadcasters. The fluidity of language and the seamless transition between English and Spanish imagines a bilingual audience that does not need translation. The women at KDNA offered insights into what it meant for Chicanas and Mexicanas to have access to the airwaves while the audience learns of the actual labor described in a detailed account of the radio production process. The ten-minute segment ends with a calling out to other Chicanas to claim their voices by imagining themselves as radio producers working in communications, which Estella del Villar notes "is a way of *brotando del silencio* (emerging from silence)."[166]

Working class women of Mexican descent may not be the first population we think of when we consider the deployment of feminist tactics in community radio. Yet, at Radio KDNA, Chicanas on community airwaves altered the cultural landscape of public broadcasting by

[166] Ibid.

incorporating Chicana radio activist tactics designed to reach women farmworkers. As leaders of emergent public radio broadcast stations, their model of community-based production included training women as producers and technical staff; programming for Chicanas and farmworkers, segments of the population that had not been addressed by mass media; and anti-sexist radio station policies. In this chapter, I argue that a small yet influential number of Chicanas in leadership and production roles had a significant impact on the fabric that constitutes community radio broadcasting.

This chapter is an inquiry into the mechanisms enacted by Chicana radio producers, station managers, news directors, and volunteers who shaped a feminist consciousness at KDNA as they developed their own brand of on air Chicana feminism. Chicanas at Radio KDNA imagined the radical possibilities of community radio broadcasting by actively including women not only as listeners, but producers as well. The *Women of Radio KDNA* program is an example of how KDNA's mujeres demystified the radio production process as well as appropriated broadcasting technologies to serve the needs of Chicana/o communities in Eastern Washington. For the listener who is not typically imagined as a media producer (working class woman, migrants, and immigrants) there is power in hearing what exactly goes into making a radio program. By demystifying the production process, the listener is invited to imagine herself as a radio producer. The program provides the tools to produce radio by laying out the step-by-step process. This collaborative feminist praxis is integral to Chicana radio activism, which promotes an inclusive ethos of radio making: "If I can produce radio, so can you." Chicana radio activism captures and records a process not present in the literature on women and sound/radio studies, Latina media studies, and feminist studies.

The field of women and radio/sound studies has produced excellent scholarship on topics that include: women producers and engineers (Rodgers, 2010); female on-air personalities (Hilmes, 1997); and feminist radio communities (Mitchell, 2000; Thompson, et al., 2005; and Bosch, 2007). Research on Internet radio station Feminist International Radio Endeavor (F.I.R.E), produced in Costa Rica in both English and Spanish, demonstrates how women harness the power of the internet to create a network of feminist radio throughout Latina America.[167] Missing from these studies is an analysis of U.S. Latina and Chicana community radio producers, making my study the first in documenting the work of Chicana broadcasters and analyzing this work as Chicana radio activism. As an analytic, Chicana radio activism reveals the processes and strategies deployed by Chicanas, making the act of creating community radio important to our understandings of media production in the United States. By pivoting the lens to community radio, we see Chicanas as early adopters and innovators of community radio platforms. This chapter also fashions a critical genealogy of Chicana radio producers who are instrumental in excavating a history of community radio activism that was deeply engaged with 1960s-1970s political mobilizations. As such, it provides an in-depth analysis of the strategies Chicanas used to create spaces for women at the radio station, which had an impact on their lives. Chicana radio activists honed a feminist praxis that changed the soundscape of community radio, and were inspired to change their lived conditions by leaving abusive relationships, seeking new career possibilities outside of low-wage farm labor, and attending institutions of higher education. This chapter opens a new line of inquiry into Chicanas and their tactics to imagine the possibilities of community broadcasting for Chicana/os living and working in rural areas in the United States. By focusing on Chicana radio producers, I reimagine women's

[167] Thompson, Gómez, and Toro 2005.

activism through the mediated register of community radio production and present an intersectional analysis of the women involved in the production process.

Interviews with Chicana radio activists, radio programs, and archival research provide rich resources for mining feminist histories within community radio. I draw from the experiences of Chicana radio activists at KDNA through oral history interviews, radio programs, audio recordings, photographs, and newspaper articles, which animate women's roles in producing community radio. Indeed, women learned the technical skills of radio production in order to produce the cutting-edge programming they desired. Inspired by Chicana radio activists' collective process of producing community radio, I listened to the *Women of Radio KDNA* program various times alone, and with a listening group I formed with my colleagues.[168] I gained access to this "sonic treasure"[169] when my collaborator Rosa Ramón digitized this radio segment from her personal archives. Upon opening the email that contained this coveted sonic evidence, I quickly downloaded the file and pressed play on my iTunes audio player. The voices emerging through my digital speakers sonically solidified my analysis of women's community radio labor as Chicana radio activism. As a radio producer myself, listening to the voices of Rosa Ramón, María Estela, Celia Prieto, and Estella Del Villar in this over thirty-year-old program reminded me of the power of sound to transport me to a historical moment when Chicanas were carving spaces for themselves within public broadcasting. Chicana feminist scholar Maylei Blackwell's own sonic treasure came from a recording of a radio program Chicana activist Irma Barrera. "As the recording played," Blackwell describes with awe, "we heard the Chicano clap and the momentum building with a long litany of 'Vivas!'"[170] Just as this recording provided a new sonic

[168] The collective listening group of the *Women of Radio KDNA* segment. Ivette Bayo Urban, alma khasawnih, Noralis Rodríguez-Coss, and Miriam Valdovinos.
[169] Maylei Blackwell, *Chicana Power!* 165.
[170] Blackwell, *Chicana Power!,* 165.

understanding of the 1971 Conferencia de Mujeres por la Raza in Houston, the *Women of Radio KDNA* program provides evidence of Chicana media practice and Chicana radio activism.

The first section of this chapter provides an overview of *Chicana radio activism*, a term I have created to describe Chicanas' distinctive engagement with community radio broadcasting. The sonic evidence in the *Women of Radio KDNA* program structures the subsequent sections of this chapter through an in-depth analysis of the four tactics of Chicana radio activism. I pair each tactic with the work and activism of four Chicana radio activists: Rosa Ramón and leadership; María Estela and training and hiring; Celia Prieto and programming; and Estella Del Villar and anti-sexist policies. These women shaped the leadership, training and hiring, programming, and organizational policies at Radio KDNA. I conclude with a discussion and analysis on the sexism and patriarchy encountered within community radio activism, discuss the implications of Chicana radio activism through an analysis of agency, voice and the body, and end with the broader implications of applying Chicana radio activist tactics to present and future community media productions.

The Emergence of Chicana Radio Activism

Chicana radio producers present a never before heard account of feminist activism that challenges our understanding of Second Wave movement models. The emergence of Chicana radio activism is part of 1960s-1970s feminist movements typically referred to as the "Second Wave" and yet, their activism is absent from the record. This silencing is in large part due to the marginal role of community radio within feminist and Chicano movement scholarship. In fact, Chicana radio activism calls us to listen to "waves" not as fixed markers of social activism, but rather as waves that continue to reverberate across spaces and temporalities. I redefine the boundaries of women's activism by problematizing the waves model and placing Chicanas in

community radio broadcasting at the center of analysis. This, in turn, creates new conditions to explore the relationship between technology and activism. I ask: why have Chicanas living in rural areas like Eastern Washington been excluded from feminist narratives? Once identified, what does this narrative tell us about technology and activism? The women behind Radio KDNA's Chicana feminist radio production processes understood the power and impact of community radio.

The term Chicana radio activism is useful as a way of designating women's involvement in community radio stations. Not only does Chicana radio activism present a distinct model of activism and leadership, it adds new depth to Chicano movement and second wave women's activism. Indeed, the formation of Chicana radio activists stands at the intersection of Chicano movement and Second Wave women's activism, audibly shifting our understanding of both. Chicana broadcasters crafted a radio praxis whose tactics centered critiques of gender at the intersections of race, ethnicity, class, citizenship, and sexuality subjectivities that had emerged from their experiences as working class, farmworker Chicana migrant and Mexicana immigrant women. This radio activism, to quote bell hooks, moved them "from margin to center" and highlighted their unique experiences as migrant and immigrant women of Mexican descent in the Pacific Northwest.

Working class women community radio broadcasters produced radio programs that sonically conveyed the advocacy work they performed in the community as farmworker organizers, child welfare advocates, and student activists. In turn, the radio airwaves became a forum for public advocacy, a characteristic echoing amongst other Chicana/o controlled community and Spanish-language radio stations at the time.[171] Chicana feminists utilized

[171] Casillas, *Sounds of Belonging.*

Chicana/o community radio stations as a platform for an emergent form of media activism and community building I call *Chicana radio activism*. Indeed, Chicana radio activists enacted a radical deployment of radio technologies in at least four ways:

1. Occupying positions of leadership within the radio station;
2. Hiring and training women as radio producers;
3. Creating content and radio programming unique to Chicana experiences; and
4. Implementing anti-sexist policies and practices within the radio station.

First, many Chicanas involved in the early days of Chicana/o community radio were founding members or in leadership positions as station managers, news directors, on-air personalities, and producers. Second, Chicana radio activists trained other women as radio producers, a practice that insured technical skills would not be limited to specific individuals while guaranteeing women's involvement in the production process. Third, Chicana radio producers—armed with the technical skills to create high quality radio broadcasts—produced programming specifically for women in their communities. Along with programming, Chicana radio activists pushed for anti-sexist policies at the station, starting with the banning of sexist music from the airwaves. As a technology, radio provided a platform for women to develop a public Chicana voice that was public in its reach, but at the same time could be tuned in the private sphere of the home or places of employment.

Chicana Radio Tactic: Leadership

Chicana Radio Activist: Rosa Ramón

Rosa Ramón, 1979. Courtesy of Rosa Ramón.

Rosa Ramón, Radio KDNA's only woman co-founder and the station's first general manager, understood communications technologies as vital for farmworkers in the Yakima Valley. Ramón's nonprofit community work began shortly after graduating as one of only four Latinos from Grandview High School. At the age of 19, Ramón began working with War on Poverty programs meant to inform farmworker families about early childhood education programs. These experiences trained her to work with the newly established Washington State Commission on Mexican American Affairs and Northwest Rural Opportunities (NRO). Ramón's commitment to working in her community, combined with her growing interest in communication technologies, converged at Radio KDNA. These experiences proved beneficial on the ground training for navigating bureaucratic structures, a skill she would utilize in navigating the quagmire of applying for a broadcasting license.

As a community radio station for Spanish-speaking farmworkers in the Yakima Valley, there was an active intention to include women in all aspects of Radio KDNA's establishment and production. Rosa notes, "Right from the very beginning we wanted to make sure that women had just as much an open door as men."[172] As station manager, one of Ramón's roles was as the the public face for the radio station (as I discussed in chapter two), just as she is the guide in the *Women of Radio KDNA* program. In program's introduction, Rosa announces, "First of all I would like to welcome all of you the studios of Radio KDNA located in Granger, Washington. Radio KDNA broadcasts 18 hours a day seven days a week programming the station with educational, informational, and cultural programs. Come in and meet part of the crew that makes it all possible." Ramón's position as a leader within the station is evident in the program.

Ramón welcomes listeners in a clear and welcoming tone that also asserts her as the leader and public face of the station. However, as I elaborate later in this chapter, Ramón did experience resistance because of her status as a woman station manager. People came into the station looking for the person in charge, they were often surprised because "They did expect a man to be in charge of a radio station because that was really the norm all those decades ago." She goes on:

> I think I may have been the first, certainly one of the few Latina station managers in the country and I know that because I made a presentation to a group of station managers at a national conference, and there was not a single woman in the audience. I was the only woman in the meeting. So yes women were rare in those days as station managers and in the radio industry in general.[173]

Not only was Ramón a leader at her own radio station, she also became a national leader within the community radio station networks.

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[172] Rosa Ramón, interview by author. March 9, 2012.
[173] Ibid.

The mujeres at Radio KDNA belong to a larger network of Chicana leaders in El Movimiento, documented in scholarship by Maylei Blackwell (Las Hijas de Cuauhtémoc), Dionne Espinoza (Chicana Brown Berets and La Raza Unida Party), Dolores Delgado Bernal (East LA Blowouts), and most recently, Rosie C. Bermúdez (Alicia Escalante and the Chicana Welfare Rights Organization).[174] Ramón's role as the station manager at a Chicana/o-controlled community radio station marks yet another node within the network of Chican*a* Movement organizing. Recording feminist activism within community radio stations is of particular importance to Chicano movement historiography because it uncovers new evidence of Chicana grassroots leadership. Chicana radio activism was a political movement manifested through the act of producing aural cultural representations within the broadcast platforms Chicana radio producers helped create. Through an integration of feminist policies and woman-centered programming, Chicana broadcasters ruptured predominantly male-dominated media spaces while countering the cultural nationalism that centered male experiences. Throughout the 1970s, female radio producers at KDNA brought their community to the airwaves while also elaborating a more personal politicized identity—Chicana—to sound out their experiences of living on the borderlands. An emergent Chicana feminist consciousness strongly resonated with women of Mexican descent "who viewed the struggle against sexism within the Chicano movement and the struggle against racism in the larger society as central ideological components of their feminist thought."[175] Claiming a Chicana identity in the 1970s was a conscious and strategic act, whereby Chicana radio producers entered new broadcasting arenas with one foot in the recording studio and the other in sociopolitical movements. Audiences heard this dual identity in the invocation of

[174] See Maylei Blackwell, *Chicana Power!: Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano movement* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011); Dionne Espinoza, Dolores Delgado Bernal, Rosie C. Bermúdez.

[175] Alma García, *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 5.

"Chicana" and "Chicano." Chicana cultural theorist Angie Chabram argues that "…for Chicana liberation to be written, Chicanas had to avail themselves not only of different semantic markers, from which to imagine new subjectivities and intersected social relations, but also of new forms and strategies of representation."[176]

Chicanas' involvement in community radio production not only represents another tactic of Chicano movement organizing, it also enacts an intersectional and multipronged organizing style Chicana feminist scholar that Chela Sandoval describes as differential consciousness. Chicanas' organizational politics enacted a differential consciousness,

> Many have referred to the 70's (*sic*) as the Chicano renaissance period 'Los años del renacimiento Chicano.' This period provided expression to Chicano concerns in a variety of fields such as the arts, literature, politics, labor, economics, education, government and so on. In these years Frances and María, then college students, became involved in radio communications as a result of increasing Chicano activism occurring all over the country. 'In the mid 70's (*sic*),' recalls Frances, 'students at Adams State College in Alamosa, Colorado, we're fighting for bilingual education, Chicano Studies programs, representation of Chicanos at the faculty level, supporting the farmworkers in the lettuce strike movement in the San Luis Valley and the National UFW movement. It was then *that we viewed radio as a way of informing the community about all these issues in an effort to organize ourselves better*.[177] [emphasis mine].

Francis Valdez's insights on the connection between different sectors of Chicano movement activity is proof that radio was a tool to bring different factions of the movement in conversation with one another, but radio sonically unites these movements in the context of education, labor, and politics. Radio served a dual purpose to both communicate and organize. Here they took are really taking advantage of the radio platform in ways that spoke to the power of this technology. Chicana radio producers were realizing the decolonial potential of radio technologies that

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[176] Angie Chabram, "I Throw Punches for My Race, but I Don't Want to Be a Man: Writing Us—Chica-nos (Girl, Us)/Chicanas—into the Movement Script." In *Cultural Studies*, ed. Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula A. Treichler. (New York: Routledge, 1992), 171.

[177] Guerrero, Julio and Rosa Ramón. 1984. "Mujeres in Public Radio." *La Voz: The News Magazine of the Concilio for the Spanish Speaking.*

disrupts a singular method of transmitting information and knowledge by using radio to be better organizers.

Rosa Ramón's leadership is also evidenced in her bilingual article that appeared in *La Voz* were she has the insight to document Chicana radio activism across various mediums like radio and print. Ramón and co-author Julio Cesar Guerrero, another KDNA co-founder, spotlight the early work of Chicanas in community radio. Rather than focus exclusively on the women at KDNA, this article documents the important emergent role of Chicanas in public radio. Published in 1984, this article begins with a powerful claim "The Chicano public radio industry is a relatively new trend, and Chicanas have played a significant role in its development."[178] This article is powerful in its naming of Chicanas at the helm of Chicano-controlled community radio stations and unabashedly claims her place as the first Chicana to hold the position of station manager. Uncovering women leaders within Chicana/o community radio disrupts historiographic narratives of Chicanas not being leaders or coming to feminism after the movement.

The gender politics at Radio KDNA echoed what Dionne Espinoza illustrates in her study of the Texas La Raza Unida Party (LRUP) noting, "The fact that strong women were at the forefront early on influenced other women also to challenge the traditional gender division of labor."[179] In the way that Espinoza claims LRUP as a distinct Chicano movement organization where women were able to attain formal leadership roles, Radio KDNA also became a space where women attained formal leadership roles and harvested Chicana feminist radio activism throughout the Yakima Valley.[180] Chicanas such as station manager Ramón, producer Estella del Villar, and news director Berenice Zuniga, not only held positions of power at KDNA, but they

[178] Ibid.
[179] Dionne Espinoza, ""The Partido Belongs to Those Who Will Work for It": Chicana Organizing and Leadership in the Texas Raza Unida Party, 1970-1980," *Aztlán.* 36 (1) 2011, 196.
[180] Ibid.

also produced *Mujer* (Woman), which aired weekly and whose goal was to provided farm worker women with news stories, music and other informative pieces addressing their distinct subjectivities.

This model of Chicana radio production reverberated throughout the programming and day-to-day activity of KDNA, and represents a vital technological component of the Chicano movement era. These women producers and their audience demonstrate the transformative power of community radio production and the role of women in a movement that often downplays their contributions. The presence of Chicanas as leaders within community radio stations and as producers of content meant that they could then implement anti-sexist policies, such as the banning of sexist music and ensuring that women were also hired as personnel. At Radio KDNA, Chicana leaders influenced station policies and hiring practices from the beginning. As station manager, Rosa Ramón was able to make hiring decision that employed women in positions other than secretarial or clerical staff—positions the Task Force report revealed most women occupied.

Chicana Radio Activist Tactic: Hiring and Training

Chicana Radio Activist: María Estela

> Yo vine hacerme voluntaria de Radio KDNA por que todo el tiempo desde chica tenia la ambición de hacer esta clase de trabajo. Pide la oportunidad y la agarre. Es una de las cosas que estaba dentro de mi todo el tiempo. Quise probar me a mi misma a ver si lo podía hacer y lo hice.
>
> *I became a volunteer at Radio KDNA because ever since I was a young girl I always had the ambition of doing this kind of work. I asked for the opportunity and obtained it. It's something that was inside me all the time. I wanted to prove to myself that I could do it and I did it.*
>
> María Estela, Radio KDNA On-Air Personality and Producer[181]

María Estela, a forty-six-year-old mother of six, started volunteering at Radio KDNA sometime between 1979 – 1984 shortly after the station's "plea for community volunteers to

[181] *Women of Radio KDNA* Program. 1984. Courtesy of Rosa Ramón.

maintain programming."[182] In the *Women of Radio KDNA* program, Rosa Ramón is deliberate in providing details of all the women's work. Ramón describes María Estela's duties, "Now as a producer and on-air personality, María Estela's work includes a character on a children's program, translation of public service announcements, typing—a skill she had never experienced before—daily fifteen-minute production of a community calendar of events, and a daily two hour Monday through Friday live on-air musical and informational program."[183] Performed by a woman like María Estela, this labor or "soundwork" of producing programming at Radio KDNA changes our understanding of the job of a radio producer. Radio scholars Michele Hilmes and Kate Lacey describe soundwork as "useful to designate media form that are primarily aural, employing the three basic elements of sonic expression—music, speech, and noise—to contribute to a lively economy of sound-based texts, practices, and institutions ranging from radio to recorded sound to the soundtracks that accompany visual media."[184]

Chicana soundworkers María Estela and Celia Prieto participated in NRO's job training program in radiobroadcasting, which demonstrates the success of the training program to hire and train farmworkers. María Estela and Celia, working class women of Mexican descent with no prior technical training, now had access the public airwaves, and produced programming for KDNA. The radio training program granted Chicanas access to careers as an alternative to working in the fields. As a young girl, María Estela dreamed of being on the radio. Radio production is a source of agency and of shifting gender roles:

> Pues después de muchos años estar yo de ama de casa como se dice, pensé que después de 20 anos de ser madre de mi hogar y que nunca había trabajado, pensé aplicar para este programa a ver si podía yo trabajar especialmente después de tantos anos de no ver

[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Kate Lacey and Michele Hilmes, "Editors' Introduction," *Feminist Media Histories* 1, no. 4 (2015), 2.

> trabajado. Siempre había el miedo de que mi edad mía estaba contra de mi. Tengo la edad de 46 anos. Iba empezar trabajo con personas mucho mas menores que yo.[185]
>
> *Well after many years of being a housewife as they say, I thought that after 20 years of being a mother and a housewife and had never worked, I thought I'd apply for this program to see if I could work, especially after so many years of not having worked. There was always the fear that my age was against me. I'm 46 years old and I was going to begin working with people much younger than me.*

María Estela fulfilled a lifelong ambition to be on the radio because Radio KDNA's format of community volunteers creating programming facilitated her entry into radio. The radio training program prepared María Estela for a career in radio broadcasting. A job in community radio also provided her with the opportunity to break free of the domestic-bound gender roles that kept María Estela at home for so many years.

Being a radio producer and on-air personality challenged gendered expectations of Mexicana and Chicana women at the time:

> Mi esposo todo el tiempo me decía nunca vas a hacer nada, nunca vas a progresar porque pues esa era la actitud de el pero mis hijos, tres hijas y tres hijos que tengo, ellos tenían diferente actitud. Ellos se sentían orgullosos y me daban el suporte de que yo necesitaba. Mi familia todo el tiempo estuvo al lado mío. El todo el tiempo pensaba que una mujer no debía de trabajar, que debía permanecer siempre en su casa y por eso yo lo hice por muchos años pero después es que el se fue, bueno entonces la decisión fue mía, de querer hacer algo con mi vida. En la edad mía siempre hay la duda per ahora ya no tengo esa duda, lo que tengo es valor.[186]
>
> *My husband would always say to me "you will never do anything because you're never going to progress" because that was his attitude. But my children, my three daughters and three sons, they had a different attitude. They were proud and gave me the support that I needed. My family was always on my side. My husband always thought that a woman should not work, that she should always stay home, and that's why I did it for many years. But because he left then the decision was mine to want to do something with my life. At my age, there will always be doubt, but now I don't have any doubt, what I have is courage.*

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[185] *Women of Radio KDNA* Program. 1984. Courtesy of Rosa Ramón.
[186] Ibid.

Maria Estela's case in particular, highlights this historical moment of tension between cultural nationalist assumptions of a woman's place within the private domestic space, caring for their families, and taking these same concerns onto a public platform like radio. These women were not abandoning their familial obligations, but used radio to help their families. They are not buying into white liberal feminist ideals centered on individual progress, but continuing a legacy of Chicana and Mexicana activism.

Celia emphasizes her process and the skills she learned. This is labor because radio production takes a lot of time. Her tasks included writing scripts, recording, producing, and editing. These are skills you would list on a resume, not frivolous skills. Celia articulates the soundwork of community radio production in the passage below:

> Being a public affairs producer is exciting. Some of the things I have to do is screen three to four newspapers a day for news relevant to the Chicano community plus information and news releases that come into the station daily. I also cover local news stories, which requires research, interviews, attending meetings, and press conferences. Then I have to write my scripts for the two news programs I produce. The first one airs at 12 noon which I do live on air. The second, which airs at 6, is pre-recorded. This involves production, which includes the blending of music, voice, news stories with skillful editing to produce a smooth sounding news report.[187]

While Prieto's step-by-step explanation of her work appears dull, and perhaps unnecessary, the fact we are hearing this information from a 23-year old mother formerly involved in low wage farm work changes its impact and significance. Prieto's pride in the precision of her work comes through when describing production as "skillful editing to produce a smooth sounding news report." The volunteer-based production characteristic of community radio stations can lead some to assume that the production would be of lower quality. While the recording equipment was neither new nor state of the art, producers spoke of high quality productions is important to their craft and soundwork.

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[187] Ibid.

The 1975 Report of the Task Force on Women in Public Broadcasting surveyed public broadcasting to assess the employment and representation of women in this medium. Although the statistics within this report pre-date KDNA's founding, they are indicative of the status of the field of public broadcasting, especially the potential challenges women faced in technical positions. Chicana radio activists found ways to subvert gendered practices typical of radio stations within the day to day activities involved with running a community based radio station, by occupying roles usually gendered as male, such as producers, news directors, and station managers. "According to the fiscal year 1974 employment statistics reported by licenses (all broadcasting stations are licensed by the Federal Communications Commission) to CPB and supplied to the Task Force, women held slightly fewer than thirty percent of all jobs in public broadcasting. Most women employed in public broadcasting industries are found in low-level secretarial or clerical positions."[188]

As the station went on air in 1979, staff included Rosa Ramón, station manager; Julio Cesar Guerrero, program director; Mario Alvarez, news and public relations director; Estella Del Villar, volunteer and training coordinator; Berenice Zuniga, national news network producer; Elisabeth Ortiz, secretary-bookkeeper; Gabriel Martinez, traffic control; Roberto Alvizo, reporter; and Daniel Roble, project director. While a woman did occupy the secretarial role that the Task Force report pointed to, at KDNA we also see women in technical roles and in positions of leadership, which demonstrates the importance of having women in positions of leadership who then hired other women as staff in production positions and not just as volunteers or support staff. The 1978 report *A Formula for Change: the Report of the Task Force on Minorities in Public Broadcasting* found that only 11% of minority females had participated in technical

[188] Muriel G. Cantor, "Women and Public Broadcasting" *Journal of Communication* 1977 27, no. 1, 17.

training.[189] Furthermore, most if not all of the chief engineers in public broadcasting were male, which casted this technical role as male.[190] Radio KDNA served as a site for the negotiation of gender roles, and was another example of the ways Chicanas contested prescribed gender roles at home and within Chicano movement activities.

María Estela and Celia are conscious of the labor they perform, and also articulate a feminist praxis where being a mother, daughter, or sister is not separate from being radio producer. Celia's labor at KDNA intersected with her work as a mother. Here she articulates an intersectional understanding of labor that includes her familial obligations.

> Producing news takes a lot of time plus raising a family, but my family's very understanding. My daughter sometimes is very proud of me she tells all her friends that her mommy's a disc jokey. My family's very proud of me too because they can't believe that I'm working in a radio station. I thought that I better get into something else besides farm work and I though I would give my parents something to be proud of to be in a radio station and be a mother and raise a family and work at the same time and do something that will help the community. I plan to take some classes for communications.[191]

Children are proud of their Chicana radio activist mothers. María Estela "But my children, my three daughters and three sons, they had a different attitude. They were proud and gave me the support that I needed. My family was always on my side." Training women in radio production and hiring them as paid staff created the conditions for women to successfully produce programming by, for, and about the Valley's Chicanas.

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[189] Task Force on Minorities in Public Broadcasting. *A Formula for Change the Report of the Task Force on Minorities in Public Broadcasting.* Washington, D.C.: The Task Force, 1978.

[190] The 1975 Report of the Task Force on Women in Public Broadcasting surveyed public broadcasting to assess the employment and representation of women in this medium. Although the statistics within this report pre-date KDNA's founding, they are indicative of the status of the field of public broadcasting, especially the potential challenges women faced in technical positions. For more on this study see Caroline Isber and Muriel Cantor, *Report of the Task Force on Women in Public Broadcasting,* 1975.

[191] Caroline Isber and Muriel Cantor, *Report of the Task Force on Women in Public Broadcasting,* 1975.

Chicana Radio Activist Tactic: Programming

Chicana Radio Activist: Celia Prieto Butterfield

Celia Prieto Butterfield. Circa 1980. Courtesy of Rosa Ramón.

Women played an active role as content producers, a marked shift rom the male-dominated radio producer as make that dominated public radio of this era. Resulting from the training of many women radio producers, Chicana radio activists were then able to create content unique to the Chicana experience. This radio programming catered to a specific demographic—Chicana farmworkers—whose needs and interests reflected their unique positionality. "Celia Prieto was born in Mexico" Rosa Ramón explains, "She is a wife and a mother to a young 5-year-old child. A farmworker for most of her young 23 years, Celia's experience with Radio KDNA began as a trainee in radio broadcasting. Now she is Radio KDNA's public affairs producer." [192]

[192] *Women of Radio KDNA* Program. 1984. Courtesy of Rosa Ramón.

Community radio programming provides us with evidence that Chicana activists did not focus on single-issue topics but rather integrated an intersectional feminist approach. Conversations regarding abortion and women's sexuality were already happening in emergent Chicana feminist spaces such as Chicana studies classes. The inclusion of these topics on community airwaves meant that a wider audience could tune-in to this content. Because claiming a Chicana identity was a political choice for these women, it was also a political act to transmit this subjectivity onto the airwaves. In doing so, Chicanas in community radio participated in the creation of a Chicana community and audience, and engaged in what radio scholar Susan Douglas refers to as the "I-you mode of address"[193] creating woman-centered programming and the building of community with shows like *Mujer.* Radio KDNA and the radio program *Mujer* (Woman) were instrumental in centering women within the radio production process thereby creating a Chicana radio production praxis that represents a vital technological component of the Chicano movement era and women's activism.

The personal is political took on aural dimensions and was carried out through the soundwork of radio production. The women-focused program *Mujer* aired twice a week on Wednesday afternoons and Saturday mornings.

> Everything in that program was about women and it was the first time that anyone had ever heard a program like that I'm sure. We covered all aspects of a woman's life and focused it on Latinas and in particular farmworker women. We did news stories, interviewed local women, we brought in music about social movements We played music by Mercedes Sosa, and other Latina musicians and artists of the time. We did everything from interviews with directors of community programs to on-air cooking demonstrations.[194]

[193] Susan J. Douglas, *Listening In: Radio And The American Imagination*, 1st University of Minnesota Press Ed edition (Minneapolis: University Of Minnesota Press, 2004), 233.

[194] Rosa Ramón, interview by author, March 9, 2012.

Radio programming is "a powerful communicative tool where women listen to as well as narrate their own experiences in their own language."[195]

Chicana feminist epistemologies emerged on the airwaves by way of programming. The epistemologies of Chicana radio activism engage the knowledge production processes exhibited by other Chicana feminists, yet it does acknowledge the platform of where this epistemology is produced. By rooting Chicana radio activism in a larger network of Chicana feminist epistemologies, I demonstrate how Chicana radio producers at KDNA articulated similar concerns and experiences as Chicanas (and other women of color) across the borderlands. The process of creating Chicana feminist programming enacted a Chicana feminist radio praxis that includes but is not limited to programming. Chicana radio activism is intersectional and brings out the intersectionality of Chicana community radio production. It excavates the strategies of female radio producers who worked in community radio stations and reveals important and sometimes unexpected sites of knowledge production.

[195] M. W. Gatua, "Giving Voice to Invisible Women: FIRE as Model of a Successful Women's Community Radio in Africa," *Howard Journal of Communications* 21, no. 2 (2010), 166.

Chicana Radio Activist Tactic: Anti-Sexist Station Policies

Chicana Radio Activist: Estella Del Villar

Estella Del Villar, December, 19, 1979. Courtesy of Rosa Ramón.

The last Chicana radio activist tactic, anti-sexist station policies, is a culmination of the feminist work by Chicana radio producers at KDNA. One of KDNA's more overtly feminist practice was the station's anti-sexist policies; it was quite rare for Chicano-controlled radio stations to have an overtly feminist policy. Within the context of community radio practices, and it is quite a feat in male-dominated sphere of public radio. KDNA producers were well aware that music could be a source that replicates patriarchal cultural norms. At KDNA, music constituted a significant portion of the station's programming, and KDNA's Chicana producers were cognizant of the impact music could have on their audience.

> Rosa: One of the very important aspects of radio, commercial or public, is music which composes a high percentage of the broadcast day. Programming of music at a community public radio station takes on a more important meaning than just entertainment. Estella Del Villar music director explains.

> Estella: Music carries messages that influence thinking. For instance, there's songs that reinforce attitudes detrimental to the community.
>
> [Sample of song Señor Magistrado by Iván Cruz]
>
> Estella: Listening to the song, you hear a beautiful melody, but that melody disguises the message of the song which is about a man who justifies killing his lover because he felt betrayed. Part of my responsibilities include listening to records received by the station and sifting out music that falls in this category. These songs are then marked as unfavorable for airing. In our music format, we use 15 different styles of music. Each record is individually classified by style and color coded before filing in the record library. The station receives about 45 records weekly. I also conduct workshops in music and program production.[196]

Estella Del Villar, whose career in radio began February 15, 1978, became one of the first Chicana radio engineers and producers. Two weeks after she was hired as a secretary for Seattle's first community radio station—KRAB-FM—Del Villar stepped from behind the desk to the front of the microphone when four male radio announcers were fired and there was no staff to cover airtime.[197]

> Rosa Ramón: Estella Del Villar was introduced to Radio KDNA in Seattle where she was hired as a secretary through the CEDA programs. Estella was born in Yakima and raised in Seattle. She is single and has 2 years of college.
>
> Estella Del Villar: When I got the job at KDNA, it was as work as a secretary and to tell you the truth I'm not the best secretary in the world, but I needed a job and as it turned out two weeks after I started due to the lack of staff, I was forced to go on the air. Although I didn't think so at the time, it was the best thing that could have ever happened to me.
>
> Rosa: Estella is a highly skilled producer and radio technician and before we hired an engineer, Estella would sub and get the equipment going again. She has also participated in the training of many other men and women.

Del Villar would become KDNA's main producer and on-air personality. During KDNA's early beginning at KRAB-FM, Ramón credits Del Villar for keeping the station on air: "She was a

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[196] *Women of Radio KDNA* Program. 1984. Courtesy of Rosa Ramón.

[197] Susan Marionneaux, "KDNA Radio's Estella Del Villar Breaks Gender Barriers With a Strong Voice," *Yakima Herald - Republic*, June 22, 2000.

wonderful producer and almost single-handedly, I should say womanned not manned, the radio station in Seattle. She produced and played music for twelve hours a day seven days a week."[198] Del Villar learned to produce on the job and created health and social educational dramas or radio novelas.

SEXISM AND PATRIARCHY

> Though efforts are made by Chicano public radio to be equally responsive to community needs, regardless of gender and age, it has not been easy to maintain a consistant (*sic*) level of consciousness among the radio staffs and volunteers.[199]
>
> Frances Valdez, KRZA Station Manager

While the anti-sexist policies in theory called for a zero-tolerance policy of sexism at the station, Radio KDNA was a not always free of sexism or misogyny. For instance, Rosa Ramón's experiences with sexism came from members of the larger community that did not want to see her at the helm of the station. Experiences of sexism would be linked to her role as a leader at Radio KDNA. A select group of listeners and community leaders were dismissive of her role as station manager. A group of Latino men attempted to get Rosa fired.

> Rosa: Although it was difficult for some of the men to have a woman who was the boss. In fact, there was an organization of older gentlemen in the city of Granger who wanted to encourage the male staff members to create a petition to fire me because they should not be taking orders from a woman (laughs). And you know this was 40 years ago, at the time a more conservative, culturally conservative rural community and women were to be married at a younger age and I was not, so…"
>
> Monica: Was that a group of Latino men?
>
> Rosa: It was Latino men, oh yeah it was an organization of men, but it was, it was amusing. You can look back at those things now and you can kind of laugh at them. At the time, sometimes it was painful to deal with things like that.[200]

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[198] Rosa Ramón, interview by the author, March 9, 2012.

[199] Guerrero, Julio and Rosa Ramón. 1984. "Mujeres in Public Radio." *La Voz: The News Magazine of the Concilio for the Spanish Speaking.*

[200] Rosa Ramón, interview with author, March 9, 2012.

Despite challenges to their authority and leadership, Chicanas continued to successfully run a noncommercial community radio station because they infiltrated the structure at all levels. That is, Chicanas cultivated a supportive environment like the one described by Celia and Maria Estela earlier in this chapter that included women within leadership, programming, and as staff.

During my first interview with Rosa, quoted above, our discussion of sexism was brief but profound. In my own naiveté, I expected and was prepared to listen to these stories of sexism and policing around the publicness of women's activism. Admittedly, my conversations with Rosa regarding the sexism she experienced have unfolded as our own relationship has developed. On our drives to the Yakima Valley in search of archives at Radio KDNA, Rosa has shared more detailed stories of the difficulties she and other women experienced because of their work at a public radio station. I usually could not take notes or turn on a voice recorder because I was driving. The first time she shared one of these stories, I mentally tried to keep track of the details, the who, when, and why. However, I realized that trying to mentally record these details meant that I wasn't really listening to Rosa's story. As a feminist researcher, I made the decision to not be worried with capturing the details of these stories, and to simply be present and listen. Perhaps one day Rosa along with other women community radio activists will decide to document these experiences more permanently.

As if anticipating the sexists or misogynist claims or critiques of their work, the *Women of Radio KDNA* program ends with Rosa Ramón reminding audiences that KDNA is not only run by women. "We don't want to leave you with the wrong impression. Radio KDNA also has male employees. So we are also experienced with *Chicano* and Chicana interrelations in the work environment. One thing that's really important and that's for a radio station to be really successful

it takes cooperation and support from a total staff. Si, si se puede."[201] Radio KDNA engaged both men and women to create an anti-sexist community radio station environment.

Feminista frequencies names a process of feminist community radio praxis that does not necessarily imply that women produced always identified as feminist. Scholar of Chicana and women of color activism have elaborated on the fact that many women did not embrace a feminist identity because of its association to white middle class feminism. When asked if she believed if her activism in community radio meant "she was the product of a new generation of women" KRZA (Radio Raza) Frances Valdez replied "I believe in traditions, but I also believe women should be more informed about their choices. I think I am important as a human being and I work with the community from that perspective."[202] Thus, feminista frequencies identifies identifies the production of Chicana/o community radio as a feminist project that does not force a feminist identity on any one individual or community.

[201] *Women of Radio KDNA* Program. 1984. Courtesy of Rosa Ramón.

[202] Guerrero, Julio and Rosa Ramón. 1984. "Mujeres in Public Radio." *La Voz: The News Magazine of the Concilio for the Spanish Speaking.*

CONCLUSION

This dissertation constructed a narrative about Radio KDNA that places the emergence of this Spanish-language community radio station within the historical context of social movements in Washington, with particular attention to the Yakima Valley. These social movements—Chicano and feminist activism—are also undergirded by the migration of Tejana/o farmworkers, whose labor serviced a flourishing agricultural economy in the Yakima Valley, abundant in hops, asparagus, cherries, and apples, to name a few. By shifting the analytical lens to community radio, I highlighted how migrant Mexican-American farmworker communities shaped this emergent medium. Additionally, they created community while strategically deploying community radio technologies to contend with social inequities in the region. Through an intersectional framework, my study of Radio KDNA is not only a recuperative history of the nation's first full-time Spanish-language noncommercial radio station, but also an analysis of a distinct and more complex understanding of ethnic nationalism, feminist activism, and media access and cultural production in a place that pushes against the borders of what we understand as Chicana/o history.

As we continue to excavate Chicana activism in the Chicano movement by continuing to expand and even rupture the parameters of what constitutes activism, we find that when women helped build organizational structures, Chicanas became part of the structure and were able to influence its gender politics, divisions of labor, and gender consciousness. Radio broadcasting in the Pacific Northwest highlights the concept of coming to voice or giving voice prominent in feminist scholarship. For some of the women producers at KDNA, there was a literal coming to voice or brotando del silencio (emerging from the silence) that allowed them to uncover an agency that had been covered or kept underground because of patriarchal forces. Radio KDNA

was able to develop a strong female and feminist presence because of the women involved in KDNA's founding. Instrumental to the production of a gender consciousness at Radio KDNA was the prominent role women played in the founding and day-to-day activity at the station.

Radio gave women a space to discuss controversial topics like reproductive rights, abortion, and domestic violence. At Radio KDNA, the show *Mujer* (Woman) was influential in centering women within the radio production process, by playing music by women like Mercedes Sosa and Lydia Mendoza, interviewing local women, creating news content, and training women to actually produce radio programs. Chicana radio activists utilized radio programming to galvanize existing feminist networks built on an intersectional analysis of women's lives and experiences. They were bringing the ethos of "the personal is political" to the airwaves. Chicana radio activists utilized radio programming to galvanize existing feminist networks built on an intersectional analysis of women's lives and experiences.

Radio KDNA's founders, producers, and volunteers leveraged radio technologies because of the medium's capacity to better serve the cultural needs of a migrant Chicana/o community in formation. By tracking the role of radio broadcasting in Washington with a focus on the Yakima Valley, Radio KDNA weaves together the sociopolitical and cultural fabrics of women's activism, labor organizing, the Chicano movement, and national and transnational migration. I end with an analysis of Radio KDNA production of *la voz del campesino* (the voice of the farmworker) that synthesizes the synergetic relationship between KDNA and Chicano movement activism in Washington. Radio KDNA elucidates the role of community radio technologies in amplifying Chicano movement activism by producing an aural record of the Chicano movement in the Pacific Northwest, which is an untapped area of research.

KDNA emerged as a political project with direct ties to the migration of Tejana/o farmworkers to the Pacific Northwest. My intervention was not just to insert KDNA into a timeline of community radio production in the United States, but to argue for a different historiography of radio that attends to the unique aesthetics of Chicana/o community radio programming, and listens to community radio's third world roots. Linguistically and musically, Radio KDNA specialized in Mexican and Chicano programming, making it an important space of analysis in studies of Chicana/o cultural production. These cultural practices are important to our understanding of how marginalized farmworkers utilized community radio to navigate discriminatory social structures. Radio was not only a medium that provided entertainment, but also a site of active resistance that continues today.

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